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ON THE CONVEYOR BELT OF PUBLIC EMPLOYMENT PROGRAMS BETWEEN 2009 AND 2013 IN HAJDÚBÖSZÖRMÉNY

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Abstract: Present study focuses on the national and European popularity of public employment programs within the Active Labour Market Policies (ALMP) between 2009 and 2013, and emphasizes the lack of their transitive effects by two national empirical researches. It is a crucial question at either the governmental level or the local level or even at the level of the people that after the participation whether the supported employees can find a job, whether the programs have transitive effects or the possibility of re-employment is greater. 50% one-time participation defined in the first hypothesis was examined in two empirical studies. In the first case this ratio was verified neither in input sampling (45,6%) nor in output sampling (40,83%). In case of the sampling in 2013 it was successful (78%). In Hajdúböszörmény revealing the situation of the labour market we concluded that practically people after the supported employment have minimal chance to find a job, there are still negative tendencies in the primary market, and local government tries to struggle with the price by utilizing public employment as a single tool. The two empirical sampling drew the attention that the lower the transitive effects of the examined programs are, the stronger the phenomenon of locking-in and rotating is.

Keywords: unemployment rate, active labour market policies, government's intervention, public work, re-integration to employment

1. Introduction

One of the worldwide problems of our modern society is unemployment. The unemployment rate in the European Union reflected a relative constancy from 2002 till 2006, when a radical decrease happened. The lowest rate of unemployment was detected in 2008, a year before the crises, showing a rate of 6%. The explosion of the crises affected even the unemployment rate of the European Union, it increased by 1,6% in 2009, by 2,3% in 2010 and 2011 compared to the value in 2008. This increase stopped in 2011, which might cause some optimism; the unemployment rate was 8,3% both in 2010 and 2011. Even this small rate of optimism disappeared as the unemployment rate reached 9,1% in 2012, which means that almost a growth of 1% happened during one year (Eurostat 2013).

Though there is not any way to cease this problem, one of the basic tasks of every nation economy is to deal with the unemployment, to relieve the passing-by stresses by the passive unemployment supply system, but the most important fact is to raise the employment level by the help of active employment policy tools and labour market services and by integration to

work in Hungary and abroad as well (Oláh 2012). Kis (2012) points out that human resources are not only factors of the economy but also fields to be developed in many respects (e.g. employment and income, see, for instance, Kis 2008). The necessity of the government's intervention is inevitable. During the economic crises Active Labour Market Policies (ALMP) became popular among the utilized economic political interventions. Their history dates back to the descending period of the fourth Kondratieff cycle (the oil crises of the 1970s), when governments were forced to take anti-cyclical actions because of the insufficiency of the labour market. By the tools introduced in the OECD countries, the allocation function of the labour market was wished to increase from public sources (Dar–Tzannatos, 1999). From the very beginning the aim of the ALMPs was to temporary reintegrate unemployed people to work, to maintain and develop working skills and to improve the efficiency of the relating services (Employment outlook 1993). Essentially it is a kind of artificial improver of the statistics, as the unemployment rate may be reduced by the number of those involved in the active programs; furthermore, it relieves the overload of the support systems and the evolved social stresses as well. In case of strict economic and social

crises this tool may easily become the toy of the politics, as it shows something all at once, but does not generate any result in the long run.

In the examined period from 2009 till 2013 the importance of ALMPs is proved by the fact that the Europe 2020 strategy contains plans for developing totally new tools (EC, 2010). The diversity of the ALMP varies by countries, but the most common programs, regarding the inputs and the number of the participants, include the education programs (general, technical, work), employment supporting programs (wage support etc), and public employment (Dar, Tzannatos 1999; Boone, Ours 2004; Hudomiet, Kézdi, 2008). Nowadays public employment was highlighted with a different focus in certain countries of the European Union, regarding the inputs and the size of the concerned target group or the differentiation of the tool, which is detailed in Koltai (2013)'s analysis more.

Public Employment in Hungary

In the examined period the high European unemployment tendency is typical even to Hungary; the ratio of the registered unemployed in the official National Employment Service (NES) was 12,3% in February 2009 compared to the economic active population, and it has been 15% in the same period of the year since 2010 (NES, 2009–2013). On the other hand the Central Statistical Office (CSO)/ILO used a rate of 10,0% in 2009 for international comparisons, 11,2% in 2010, and this rate hardly decreased since then (CSO, 2012). It was highlighted as economic news when this value decreased below 10% in the summer of 2013. All these might be the results of the seasonality of the unemployment or the effects of certain interventions (Internet, 1). The ratio of people being long-term registered changes depending on these (2009: 28,5% 2012: 21,1%, 2013: 27,1%), or a jobseeker gets into the public employment relation, by which he or she becomes employed as due to the Labour Code it is a special job relations, and it may be counted to the service period basing the old-age pension. *All in all high unemployment may be still detected behind the movement of the economic active population and the statistical tendencies.*

In the dimension of the intervention and the employment two centralized, widespread national programs are expedient to detail being relevant from the aspect of this study. Instead of the former public employment forms (public work, public aimed work, public benefit work) the Pathway to Work program (PWP) was introduced in April 2009, which is similar to the universal programs typical to the Northern and continental Europe in an international way (Hudomiet, Kézdi 2008). Its highlighted aim was to involve long-term unemployed people, who are able to work and receives well-fare benefits from local governments, into work in a more intensive way, by paying regular wages. Practically it differentiated the target group of people who previously received regularly social assistance and besides the classical benefit it determined the participants, receiving "availability support recipient" (AS) by the title cash benefit of active ages, who may be involved into the program.

In the level of the realization the local governments striving to employ more people receiving 95% subsidy were forced to draw up annual public employment plan. Regarding the numbers 103 247 persons took part in the program in 2009, while in the whole frame of public employment only 140 thousands persons worked in a supported status, which is much lower compared to the previous years, and it did not ceased the labour surplus (Tajti 2009). The Pathway to Work was ceased after the change of the government, and according to analyses, it did not meet the requirements. The cessation of the program may be detected in the statistics of the NES, as after the expiry of the labour contracts near 660 thousand persons (15%) were registered in February 2010 (NES, 2010). Minimal ratio of the concerned was reintegrated in the primary labour market, thus its transitive effect was weak, and it contributed to the evolvement of such a life strategy which stimulated the gain of the benefit by this permanent job opportunity, and it might strengthen the locking-in the public employment. According to the technical term named as "locking-in effect" people after participating in the program give up searching for jobs and become in a more unfavourable situation from the point of view of job-seeking than at the beginning. Both international and national researches proved this fact that in case of education or public employment programs after multiple-participation, the people become dependent on these programs causing an undesirable trap (Boone, Ours 2004; Hudomiet, Kézdi 2008; Csoba et al. 2010; Szabó 2013).

The Orbán-government continued the organization of the public employment in the same centralized structure. It announced the National Public Employment Program on the 1st of January in 2011, which determined aims were to establish the legal frame of the value generating public employment, to involve working-age population and jobseekers into work and to enhance employment. Contrary to the previous view, the following types may be differentiated: short-term public employment (1 to 4 months, daily 4 hours), long-term public employment (12 months, daily 6 to 8 hours), national programs (for force majeure cases, budgetary agencies, e.g. Disaster Management Inspectorate, national parks, forestry), subsidy for serving the mobility of public employment. The START sample project was also introduced, which provided some possibilities for the organizers to employ people receiving wage replacing benefit (the successor of availability support) or jobseekers within several profile (value generating employment, agricultural sample project, sub-regional start-work, energy production, carrying out public tasks, ceasing illegal waste disposal sites etc.) On the basis of the yearly analysis on the active tools, the number of people involved in public employment was 265 607 in 2011, which is twice as much as it was two years earlier. This increased further, as 311 511 persons were registered in 2012 (NES 2012). As a comparison it must be highlighted that during the period of Pathway to Work it was typical that the inactive people became unemployed, since 2011 the movement in the active population that is the employed and jobseeking status in the statistics has changed (Kézdi 2011). Monitoring researches were hardly carried out on the structure of the presently op-

erating public employment, which would aim at detecting the change of the labour market situation of the onetime participants, but the probability of the success transitive effect is minimal.

To sum up neither this system served the reintegration; nevertheless it tried to hide the ever-growing unemployment in the name of the work-based society.

2. Material and method

It was revealed in the Introduction that the national public employment programs between 2009 and 2013 have been extremely popular, the number of those who were concerned increased; on the other hand the transitive effects of the programs are doubtful. *Whether what ratio of the program's participants will become public employed again in case of a certain settlement?* The empirical researches were carried out in Hajdúböszörmény, where surveys were done among the participants of the Pathway to Work Program in 2009 and Start-Work sub-regional sample project in 2013. It is important to highlight the fact that though they are samples of two questionnaire-based panel studies of different objectives, the availability or the lack of the transitive effect may be investigated jointly along the set hypotheses. This is caused by mainly the negative and stagnating labor market situation as the primarily market is closed, and the number of new, not supported jobs are minimal. It is presumable that the severity of the government relating to the insurance and welfare-based supply system will further orient the active-aged job-seekers towards the public employment form. All these are strengthened by an analysis based on secondary sources, and the first hypothesis was form along this: *more than 50% of the respondents have already taken part in public employment once.* The second one connects to this: *it is presumable that the majority of the asked do not reject the opportunity of supported re-employment.* The re-employment is a recurring process in the history of the national programs, but while the supply system was less sanctioned and concerned a more homogeneous target group earlier, till today the market and economic conditions have changed.

The first sampling derives from a program evaluation research in Hajdúböszörmény where measuring the input in November 2009 was followed by monitoring the labor market change (output) of the participants during a longitudinal panel analysis after two and a half years. When carrying out the survey 50% of the Pathway to Work participants was asked and the response rate consisting of 191 persons was representative regarding the independent variable of sex and age as well as the size of the created 4 labor groups compared to the full number of the employed in the examined month. Analyzing several principle components the socio-demographic features (sex, age, education, family status), the profit structure of the households, the employment history and job-seeking techniques etc. of the participants were revealed. In this paper the participations in public employment prior 2009 and its explanatory variables are detailed and the ratio of re-em-

ployment being relevant from the result of output measure is summarized.

The second sampling occurred in the same city, but it aimed at examining the participants in the start work sample program in 2013. Questionnaires and managerial critical interviews were used again during this new analysis. Regarding the structure of the questionnaire it consisted of a general data sheet and questions defined on the basis of the hypotheses in connection with the given target group. The questions were mainly multiple choice questions. The investigated program started on the 1st of March, the survey was carried out in May among the public employed who were the soonest referred in this year. The project elements in the start sample program in 2013 may be divided into two larger fields. One of them relates to program elements of social features, the other field is in connection with economic efficiency. The questionnaire contained 37 questions and altogether 30,7% (300 persons) of the public employed (987 persons) being involved in the program filled them in.

3. Results and discussion

Though the two samplings relate to different periods, the negative tendencies have been still prevailing in the labour market in Hajdúböszörmény since 2009 and the role of the local government in employment has further decreased. First, the tendency of the number of job-seekers based on registration was summarized in Table 1. On the basis of our calculation the change in the number of the registered people decreased by 11% in a monthly average in a year between 2009 and 2012, but the seasonal mid-year fluctuation of the data has to be considered as well or it is necessary to deal with the attractive effect of the published public employment programs, as after their start a part of the people got into employment legal relations. Highlighting a concrete example thank to the sub-regional sample projects in 2012 altogether 840 persons were involved for the whole year, thus the average change in the number reached 15% compared to the year 2011. At the same time by the end of the program 2814 persons were registered again in January 2013 (NES 2013).

The problem may be further investigated by comparing the national and settlement-leveled relative indicators, which reflect the ratio of job-seekers from the working-age population. This value is much higher in 2012 in Hajdúböszörmény (1,2%), in this way the decline caused by the economic crisis still depresses this rural settlement and there are relatively more people without any job. At the same time regarding the regional and county data the settlement is in a much more favourable situation as for example the neighboring Hajdúhadház this ratio is 2,9.

Second, the public employment has to be scrutinized, which is considered as a popular tool for improving the statistics and reveals the employment and social-political endeavor of the actual government. In the work-based society as already mentioned in the Introduction the welfare benefits were got along a stricter control on the basis of "work instead of aid"

Table 1. The Tendency of Important Characteristics of Job-seekers in the City between 2009 and 2013

Indicator/year	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013. I.
number of job-seekers monthly average (persons)	2548	2475	2661	2268	2814
relative indicator, %	12,9	–	–	10,9	13,4
national average* %	11,8	–	–	8,4	10,2
relative indicator compared to the national indicator, %	1,1	–	–	1,2	1,3

Source: Hajdúböszörmény office of National Employment Service, 2009, 2012, 2013.

*the percentage of registered job-seekers compared to the population

principle already introduced a decade ago.¹ The aim of the actual government was to *reduce the state debt by decreasing and rationalizing the expenses*, thus it strived to reduce the number of the concerned by differentiating the supply system and reintegrate them back to the world of work. In spite of this when examining local data, the number of the concerned has not decreased, it has been increasing again since 2010. In 2010 809 persons were registered on average, in 2011 833 persons and in 2012 909 persons, which may show 1200 persons per day in the given months. Their ratio reflected an increased tendency within the job-seekers. While this ratio was 32,7% in 2010, it reached 35,7% in 2012 (Oláh 2013). One of the reasons may be the fact that the insurance-based supply system became stricter, as the number of those entering the local governmental support system increased after the expiry of the shortened job-seeking allowance due to legislative changes.² As a temporary solution increasing number of people were involved into the yearly changing programs from the increasing target group, which cost was covered by the state.

Our third examination aspect was the change in the number of people involved in the programs. The management of the city aimed at employing 400 people in average in the frame of the “Pathway to Work” universal program in the public employment plan in 2009, which ended with an average number of 423 persons. After the change of the government in 2010, 587 persons could work compared to the planned 500 persons, while in 2012 840 persons and in 2013 975 persons were involved in the public employment program (Hb 2012). To sum all these a calculated indicator may be generated, which reflects the ratio of the involved people compared to the whole target group. This value increased yearly, as the involvement ratio of the local government exceeded the 70%, by this it gave job rather than aid. All these may be further analyzed by investigating the quality of the job opportunities or the expected level of capabilities. On the basis of our research result analyzing the labour market tendency of the examined city, the demand of the primary market is stagnating for those who have not had any job since the economic crisis (2008–2010) and the role of the local

government in employment has improved by the expansion of public employment.

As the fourth step, the drastic change of the labour demand of the primary market and the competitive sphere is practical to be investigated. On the basis of the NFSZ databases, the number of the announced new jobs increased three times higher than in 2009 and the employment indicators have improved. On the other hand, the number of supported jobs has radically increased in the number of new job. In 2010 23,5% of the total announced jobs were supported jobs, 83,5% in 2011, and already 88% in 2012.

This means that the employment opportunities recommended by the employment center realized mainly in supported jobs and in large number in public employment. The growth of the economic performance cannot be expected from the expansion of the secondary labour market which is chiefly supported by the sources of the state redistribution.

Returning to the role of the local government in employment, by empirical examinations it can be proved that a certain part of the target group could not step out from the system, thus they took part in further programs for getting social benefits. *The first hypothesis can be derived from this: more than 50% of the respondents took part at least once in public employment.*

3.1. First Sampling in 2009 and Monitoring in 2012

During the sampling in 2009 (191 persons), the 45,6% (87 persons) of the respondents took part at least once in some type of programs, thus it was lower than 50% defined in the hypothesis. Altogether 215 participations might be summarized on the basis of the official databases, which means that one person was a participant for 2,4 times. One of the measuring principal components related to the employment history of the participants before the Pathway to Work, by which the respondents could be classified into five input types. For the first hypothesis of the present study it is practical to highlight

¹ The primary target group of the Pathway to Work program in 2009 was the availability support receivers (ASR), while in case of the program in 2013 the employment replacing support receivers (ERS) constituted the target group.

² Due to the modification of Employment Act 1991 (No. 4 of 1991) in September 2011, regarding the employment conditions of the last 5 years then those of the last 3 years with the modification, the maximum of the period of job-seeking benefit changed from 270 to 90 days. Thus, in case of the existence of other benefits, a jobseeker may get into the system of the local government after a few months of becoming unemployed.

several results on the rotating group. 56 (29,3%) of the 191 persons belonged to this group, who called themselves as public workers, who fulfill public objectives and got aids. Every of them belongs to the already mentioned 87 persons.

Those people were classified into this type who worked in the secondary market before the program in 2009, or received passive supply. Analyzing their socio-demographic features, the ratio of men is 73,2% (41 persons), which is higher by 25% compared to the value (57,6%) typical to the sample. In case of the 56 persons, the ratio of the certain age groups was almost equal, for example the number of people under 28 years old (14 persons, 25%) was the same as those above 49 years of age. It cannot be assumed that exit from a program and entering to another one relates to a certain age group, for example to people above 50 years of age being in the most dangerous situation in the primary labour market.

5 of the 56 respondents did not finish their studies in primary school, 21 persons have a basic level of education (37,5%), and those who completed a specialized school reflects almost the same ratio (22 persons, 39,2%) and 8 persons graduated from high school from which 7 were women. All in all, the highest level of education of the members in the group is at the level of technical school (85,7%).

On the basis of the variable of family status, the group is heterogeneous, most of them are single (18 persons, 32,1%), the number of men is twice as much than that of women, they were followed by the married (14 persons), the divorced (12 persons) and those who live in partnership (9 persons). The size of the households changed from 1 to 12 members, large families with children (8 persons) and multigenerational families belonged to this group. The history of the employment reflected rather a heterogeneous view on the fact that who and how got into the swirl of the public employment and the “work instead of aid” of supply system. The majority of people already getting aids for more than 5 years (34 persons) could not remember all these. According to them they were used to the temporary opportunities of public employment, and the Pathway to Work served not novelty but further opportunity to continue the ordinary work and security for the elderly people (10. 15. 74. 95. 102. 118.³). The so-called locking-in effect proved to be evolved among them, which might be strengthened by the sex, education or ethnic affiliation as an independent socio-demographic variable.

Summarizing the results of the first input sampling we concluded that the first hypothesis might be rejected. It must be highlighted, however, that the ratio of the men (73,2%) in the rotating group is extremely high and those who concerned have mainly (85,7%) technical education. The locking-in effect is likely among them, thus they will be public employees again.

Two and a half years later (2012) the same sample of 191 persons was monitored by a longitudinal panel study. During an impact assessment aiming at revealing the re-integration the output of labour market was analyzed. The only thing be-

ing relevant from the aspect of this paper is that how many persons are known as newly public employees. On the basis of the panel study 78 persons, being 40,83% of the sample, worked for a supported job within the START work program.

The ratio of men was extremely high among the re-employed (51 persons, 65,4%), twice as high as the ratio of women (27 persons, 34,6%). All these differed from the input values of the sample (a sample of 191 persons, the ratio of men is 57,6%), in this way correlations might be revealed. By using crosstabs it turned out that 92,1% (47 persons) of the men have maximum technical education, and the ratio of the graduated is only 7,9% (4 persons). Contrary to this, the difference in the educational level between the sexes is for the women, as the ratio of those who graduated is near five times higher in women (37,1%). The second cause and effect connection is true between the variables of sex and input as 52,9% (27 persons) of the men worked in a supported employment even before 2009. They were rotating in the devil's trap of the public employment and supply systems. 78 persons are between 20 and 55 years of age, the average age is 38,8 years. The distribution of the ages is relatively homogeneous here as well, in this way it is not true that the locking-in effect is stronger in case of certain ages. In harmony with the input measures, the rotating status is independent from the ages, as people under 28 years of age (18 persons) stayed in the system just like the older unemployed (19 persons of 49–55 years of age).

Every second person (38 ones) of the whole group have a technical educational level, the ratio of those having primary education is 26,9% (21 persons), while 5 persons did not finish the primary school. To sum up 82% of the public employed finished maximum technical school, which is parallel to the educational level of those (85,7%) who belong to the input type of the rotating group. Most of them are singles (24 persons, 30,8%). The presence of the married (19 persons) and the divorced (20 persons) is similar (24,4%), and just like in case of the whole sample, the ratio of men of the married is higher (78,9%).

When revealing the history of their employment it turned out that 35 persons (44,8%) of the 78 persons who were public employed during the output measuring in 2012 worked in the same supported form before the program of 2009, in this way they belonged to the input type (56 persons) of the rotating group. According to the official registrations, everybody took part in a program at least once (1–10 programs per one person), moreover, 9 persons worked for three times, while 1 person worked already in 10 programs (166.). Summarizing the number of the participations (2000–2009), they were referred for 93 times, which means 2,65 occasion per one person. Summing up the time of the program and the period of welfare supply won again after it, 1 person have been rotating in the system at least for 6 years. The ratio of men was extremely high among the 35 persons (27 persons, 77,1%). At the same time regarding the educational level this group is more ho-

³ The number relates to the number of the questionnaires.

mogeneous, as a part of the group (51,4%, 18 persons) has a technical educational level, the other part (42,8%, 15 persons) finished only primary school. Only two young women having university degree belonged to them, who got into a public aimed or public program as entrants in 2007–2008 and have been working there with short break since then.

At last thank to the different research methods (questionnaire-based survey, field work, brigade discussions etc.) it turned out that in case of the rotating group a developed hierarchy exists (“elite core”) in the certain building/communal work group, to which the new entrants adjust, while those who were concerned in institutes were given tasks with greater responsibility. The reason is the fact that due to their good working performance the organizers of the system considered them as stable labourforce and they were involved in any programs in order to insure their livelihood as well. From the aspect of the impact assessment, the dependence on tools and locking-in effect might be come to life. Many sociological studies drew the attention to the fact that the system of the public employment is in the trap of the maintainers’ and organizers’ interests, which may conserve the social and labour-market condition of certain groups (Csáki et al. 2007; Váradi 2009; Csoba et. al. 2010).

Summarizing all these output results the survey carried out two and a half years later may be considered as parallel to the input values. In both cases the re-employment may be detected in men independent from the age having maximum technical educational level. The one-time participation of 50% defined in the hypothesis was not verified in the input measure of the sample, at the same time it turned out that in both cases the locking-in effect, the possibility of the further re-employment, is really strong.

3.2. Another Sampling in 2013

As we mentioned in the methodology part 300 persons were asked during the realization of the sub-regional project in 2013. On the basis of the first hypothesis, the justification of the previous participations was a repeated expectation. 78% (234 persons) of the participants said that during the last 5 years they were previously public employed at least once, by which the hypothesis was proved in this case. As there was not any chance to carry out any control test, the number of the real participants cannot be based on precise official data. 70% of the 234 persons is men (165 persons), which ratio differs from the input ratio of the sample of 300 persons, as 110 women (36,6%) and 190 men (63,3%) filled in the questionnaires. The reason was firstly the task profile of the public employment program, as the working tasks of the projects suppose mainly men labourforce based on the feature. Narrowing the sample on the basis of the hypothesis regarding the age, the ratio of people between 36 to 50 years is a little higher than the others as less participants under 28 years took part compared to the data of the Pathway to Work program. It is important to highlight that the two samplings cannot be compared to each other because the selection system of the participants of the pro-

grams changed, thus different age categories were used during the two samplings. Despite these it is relevant to highlight that the public employer is not stimulated by any discounts as in case of employers of the primarily labour market where they get more subsidies when employing people of certain ages. People are rather chosen according to the task profile, where sex and education are dominant (Csoba 2010a).

The highest educational level reflects a heterogeneous condition but the tendency is true even here that the ratio of people having primary education level or lower level than that is high (72 persons, 31%), as the employment opportunities of the unqualified in the primary market is minimal. People having any profession constituted the other group (111 persons, 47%), whose occurrence was higher among the one-time participants compared to the whole sample. The reason is the labour need of the projects as well, as the management of the city handles value-generating employment with high priority as well as the stimulation of becoming self-supporting harmonizing with the objectives of the government. Highlighting a concrete example in case of the agricultural plant production project or public road maintenance it is important to employ people having agricultural or building industrial qualification instead of people hired for fulfilling the classical public cleaning tasks. There are re-employed people among those having secondary education (51 persons, 21%), who were employed for institutional administrative tasks, as professional managers (work organizers, team leaders) or for carrying out educational tasks. Due to the newest legislative severity, the acceptance of the public employment opportunity has become compulsory for those getting welfare benefits: “...the act makes compulsory to accept any job one level lower than the educational level; furthermore, it is compulsory to accept every recommended job regardless educational qualification, including the public work as well. When it is neglected, the subsidy replacing employment ensured by the local governments is sanctioned ceased (No. 4 Act of 1991, 25. § (2)).

The supposition of re-participation is further strengthened by the fact that 54% (161 persons) of the 300 persons worked as public employees for three times or more, thus the majority of the 234 persons were employed for several times. It is clear just in case of the previous sampling that the ratio of people is high who cannot return the primary market after one participation. It must be highlighted, though, that these are two different samples, in this way there is not any correlations between the ratios. Looking for reasons, it is practical to strengthen the result of the secondary analysis, by which the public employment has become primary employment type in the case of the examined local-government. Beside the fact that public employment goes with several positive effects with respect to the employers, on the basis of the survey rotating people who locked-in the public employment return to the primary labour market in a more difficult way. The return to the primary labour market is difficult because they do not have any time for job-seeking, and the participants in the program are used to the seasonality of public employment. They wait for starting a program for even several months without active job-seeking. Regarding the second sampling the justification

of the statement is proved by the result relating to the length of the period spent in public employment (Figure 1).

126 respondents (42%) of the sample consisting of 300 persons have been taking part in public employment programs for more than 2 years with more or less interruptions. 54% of the basic population has already taken part in 3 programs, 21% (64 persons) have been public employed for 1 to 2 years, 13% (40 persons) for 6 to 12 months and 23% (70 persons) for 0 to 6 months.

The **second hypothesis** is the following basing on the previously mentioned facts:

It might be presumed that the majority of the asked do not reject the opportunity of supported re-employment.

3.3. First Sampling in 2009

In case of the sample of 191 persons, the question related to the fact that if they had the opportunity to work as public employers again in 2010, whether they would undertake it. 45% (87 persons) of the respondents would willingly continue the present job even getting such a low salary, because it helps in self-assessment and see their work important. 13% (26 persons) said that they have not any other choice, they have to accept it again and only 5% rejected it totally. It is interesting that in the largest group of the respondents every second person worked in public employment firstly in 2009 and the answers reflected an optimistic attitude and active job-seeking behavior. In total the ratio of those who reject the employment is minimal, which is caused by the negative labour market tendencies, as well as the lack of other typed permanent livelihood opportunities.

3.4. The Other Sampling in 2013

The sampling of 300 persons happened in 2013, when the economic conditions and employment opportunities are likewise limited, though the reached success of the government cannot be neglected. The opportunity of re-employment was also listed in the questionnaire, and the received answers proves the expectations fully as the ratio of those who accept the opportunity is extremely high (57%, 170 persons). Although an announced full-time job would be the most attractive solution for everyone, they showed an accepting behavior towards a newer supported job. The public employment is considered as the best probation, especially for women having graduation got into the institutions of the public sphere. In their opinions in the period of public servant appointments the selection from the known and well-tried workers will become necessary

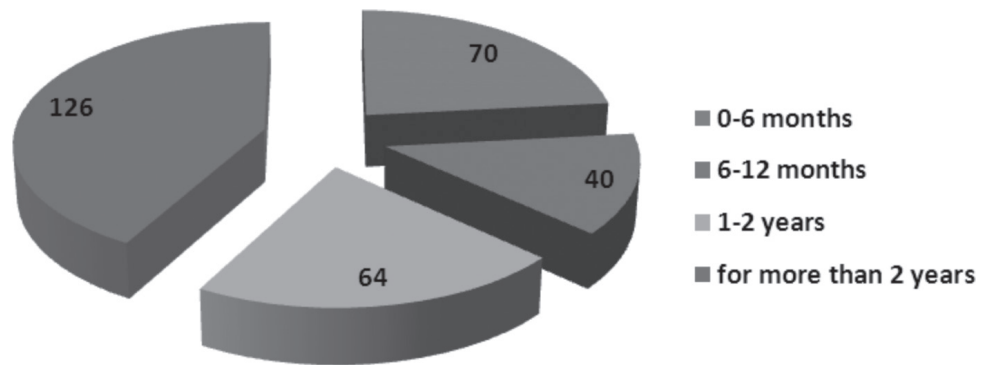


Figure 1. Introduction of the investigated sample

Source: own data gathering, n=300

and possible. Here we have to return to the result of the first hypothesis as the risk of locking-in and rotation is improved by this. The interest of the organizers is clear by which those who are competent take the legislative rules into considerations and concentrate on the fact that they should employ job-seekers into start work program, lasting for at least 12 months, who performed in harmony with the expectations during their previous public employment. As the acceptance of the public employment is compulsory, according to the legislative rules, it is a further reason for the returning participation. Because sample projects require higher ratio of technical workers and secondary educational people, the same people get into the programs due to the lack of the announcement to primary labour market.

During the research interviews were made with the specialists of the labour office as well as with the organizers of the public employment. They strengthened the popularity of the employment form as due to the lack of other job opportunities the demand from job-seekers extremely increased.

4. Conclusion

In the first research there was a chance to carry out input and output measures within a longitudinal panel test, which result of impact assessment highlighted the fact that ratio of men was extremely high independently from the age among the re-employed in both surveys and they have mainly technical education. These statements relating to sex and education are strengthened by other empirical researches as well. Csaba et al. (2010) carried out the evaluation of labour market programs with complex control groups within the TÁMOP 1.3.1. highlighted program. Using a sample of more than 1500 persons from more sub-regions, they analyzed the public employment as an active input and output variable. According to their results the effects of these programs to sexes and education is differentiated, as their returning participants are mainly men having primary education or lower level of education.

On the basis of our further results the locking-in effect may be detected in case of both of the samplings, which is proved even by the research of Hudomiet and Kézdi (2008) or Csoba et al. (2010). Regarding this last one, one third of the people

in the sample took part in public employment programs regularly. The rotation is especially detected in men, who rotate back to the public employment as seasonal workers in a certain period of the year. According to the complex study after participating 5 to 6 times in public employment, there is hardly any chance for the open labour market output. Dependence evolves and there is not any initiating behavior. The longer somebody rotates in the system, the less motivated he or she will be. On the basis of the control group examination after the third supported employment the trap situation of public employment may evolve, called the locking-in effect, when people get into a situation, which is more unfavourable than the starting position (Csoba et al., 2010; Hudomiet–Kézdi, 2008).

The local government of Hajdúbszörmény should cooperate more closely with the minority government, civil organisations and relevant labour offices during the preparation and implementation of public employment programmes (Oláh, 2014).

As a conclusion of the two micro-leveled examinations, the primary labour market is closed, there are not any new jobs in a typical rural settlement, where the unemployment rate is not dominant from the national aspect. Local government involves people into programs again due to the lack of better opportunities. People getting aid are liable to accept it in order to save the entitlement of welfare supplies.

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