

RAZPRAVE**CHARACTERISTICS OF RURAL UNEMPLOYMENT
IN SOUTH-TRANS-DANUBIA (HUNGARY)**

AVTOR

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IZVLEČEK

Značilnosti nezaposlenosti na podeželju jugozahodne Madžarske

Članek prikazuje probleme podeželja na področju zaposlovanja kot posledico političnih in gospodarskih sprememb v zadnjem desetletju 20. stoletja. Uvodnemu teoretičnemu delu, kjer so predstavljene znanstveni temelji preučevane tematike, sledijo analize prostorskih in strukturnih značilnosti razmer na področju zaposlenosti na izbranem območju. Sledi predstavitevsmernic dolgoročnega razvoja, ki bi spodbujal prostorsko širjenje inovacij, blažil velike razlike v življenjskem standardu in v infrastrukturni opremljenosti ter preprečeval oblikovanje novih problemskih območij.

KLJUČNE BESEDE

nezaposlenost, podeželje, regionalne razlike, jugozahodna Madžarska, Podonavje

ABSTRACT

Characteristics of rural unemployment in South-Transdanubia (Hungary)

The paper presents rural problems relating to employment caused by political and economical changes in the last decade of the 20th century. The introductory chapter consisting of scientific background of the topic is followed by analyses of the spatial and structural characteristics of employment situation in the chosen Hungarian district. Further on we try to draw up aims and directives on which long-term development can be based aiming at promoting the spatial spreading of innovations, moderating the significant differences in life standards and infrastructure, and also at preventing the development of new crisis areas.

KEY WORDS

unemployment, rural, regional differences, South-Transdanubia, Hungary

1 Introduction

In the early 1990s, unemployment was thought to have been typical of urban settlements despite its paralyzing presence in many rural areas then, and throughout history. At the beginning of the last century, mass industrial unemployment was still unknown when agrarian overpopulation was causing serious social tension. By the time of the interwar period both industry and agriculture was suffering, however, the number of people out of work from the agriculture was many times greater than in Hungarian industry even during the period of severe economic depression (Dövényi and Tolnai 1991).

The social structure went through dramatic changes in the second part of the twentieth century. As employment in agriculture fell, the number of people earning their wages in this field became a minority in rural areas. At the same time, villages became homes to masses employed in industry and services, most of them commuting to urban settlements. However, when it came to redundancies, commuters were first laid off to save companies the costs of their transport.

The unemployment crisis of the 1990s widened the line between regions at different levels of development. By the turn of the millennium, the situation had it vital for a detailed analysis of regional differences and rural employment possibilities (project plan for rural employment strategies), and for establishing an environment which complies with EU employment practices.

2 Research background

2.1 Unemployment in villages

Research into regional differences in employment in the 1990s already revealed that villages were more affected by unemployment than cities. Until then, the sole advantage had proved to be the relatively low costs of rural living. It all ceased to be valid with the emergence of mass unemployment. Studies then predicted migration with only a population at the social periphery remaining at place (Dövényi and Tolnai 1991).

At the beginning of the decade, location seemed the primary factor to influence developmental division. However, small settlements with preferable options for employment were less threatened by unemployment than larger ones in underdeveloped areas. (Fóti, Lakatos, Mészáros 1991) The severity of the issue was then reflected on by Dövényi and Tolnai (1993): »... in case the increasing problems of rural areas are not dealt with in due course, there is a risk that areas in vast measures will turn to decay, especially along the borders ...«.

Results published in the mid 90s gathered evidence for typical structural and local features of village unemployment as well as issues negatively affecting rural manpower on the labour market. Notably, the unemployed were in majority compared to the actively employed in the full scale of the villages. The situation seemed especially striking in micro villages. The possibilities in rural areas appeared to be further limited by the fact that their traditional core settlements, the towns, were also fighting an overriding unemployment ratio. The majority of small agricultural regions, which showed higher rates of unemployment, suffered from structural discrepancies with limited levels of industrialization as opposed to industrial and mining areas, where the rate of unemployment was generally lower. In less developed areas, the problem became a cut-to-the-bone issue at a much earlier stage where growing numbers were excluded from the system of benefits. At the same time, in those villages, legal employment was already hard to find by the mid 90s, furthermore, there appeared an emerging group of people for whom exclusion from the labour force did not mean a personal disaster. They are the ones who do not take up a temporary position even when there is a chance; alternatively, they attempt to gather income outside the employment system.

An additional advantage of the study conducted is that it also offered suggestion to ease unemployment problems in the villages. Namely, that the solution lay in strengthening the position of micro region-

al centres on the labour market rather than supporting local employment in individual settlements (Tolnai and Dövényi 1995).

Results published in the second half of the 90s support the reality of the situation forecast years before. In the transition period, rural areas became bound to lag behind when some migration started from the more undeveloped regions into the urban settlements. Studies were primarily focusing on how economic changes influenced rural quality of living, which areas were on the way to impoverishment or where the number of actively employed was rising, and last of all, what the connection was between close proximity to cities and unemployment. According to conclusion drawn from the results, closeness to cities was favoured by the service sector and thus had a beneficial effect on employment ratio. At the same time, the disadvantages of urban inhabitation were excluded. As a result, the benefits of high employment rate in villages around urban cores were near equally divided among all settlements in the same area (Obádovics 1997).

Large cities ensured more preferable conditions than rural areas in the second half of the 90s as well. Also, densely populated settlements remote from cities were in a more advantageous position when it came to employment possibilities than their low-density counterparts. A similar tendency could be observed with settlements close to cities. Rates typical of remote but the most densely populated settlements showed the highest resemblance to the ones of low-density villages close to urban core areas.

Based on the above mentioned, it applies for last phase of the 90s as well, that the main factor of regional differences in employment rate was still not the size or density, but the location. The same tendency was observed in the regional net migration, added, that city centres had less migratory attraction than the extremely densely or densely populated settlements near the city. Studying the relationship between unemployment and migration, it can be stated that high levels of emigration from areas severely struck by unemployment is typical (Obádovics 1997).

By the turn of the millennium, a growing number of studies were examining unemployment in relation to the size of settlements. According to their hypotheses, employment ratio may also be determined by the structure and type of settlement not only the geographical location.

Bódi and Obádovics (2000) pointed out the following as the results of their study. A strong link could be observed between size and unemployment. Where the population was smaller, there was a higher rate of unemployment. Naturally, size is only one component in determining how rural a settlement appeared to be. Results also supported that focusing on other indicators like density, age structure, numerical changes in population, access to cities, or distance from cities drive to a similar conclusion.

By the end of the 90s, the problem of unemployment, especially in small villages, became a permanent phenomenon despite the generally falling rates in the country. In fact, it established itself as one of the most critical social and economic factors in the local communities. In villages with a larger population, the problem of unemployment shrank at a larger scale than in small villages. This caused great difficulties in micro-, and small villages as social support was hard to access. The local governments had been left alone to organize support. It was typical that the local infrastructure and the community support system were underdeveloped and inefficient; in addition, there was no business or industry to ease the problems of unemployment or contribute to the local budget (Bódi and Obádovics 2000).

While in the mid 90s, higher numbers of men were unemployed than women as the intellectual work force, (where women are overrepresented) was not largely present in the micro- and small villages. By the second half, female unemployment had grown in all settlement types; however, the balance of male and female unemployment was the least equal in the traditional communities. In villages with small population, men represent the majority of the unemployed (Bódi and Obádovics 2000).

Employees living more than ten kilometers far from the major employment centres are in an unpleasant position because the companies are unwilling to cover travel expenses. Their disadvantaged situation can also be put down to the fact that their living conditions negatively influence their education. Rural settlements have fewer possibilities for, and more difficulties in accessing to, healthcare and culture and

human resources. This is the part of the national population which failed to spend time on education and was excluded from social benefits, and still lives sporadically; therefore, their issue is less dealt with.

The rate of permanently unemployed people in rural communities was still near 50%, though, they had somewhat fallen in number due to retirement and not, unfortunately, because of their return to the labour market. As far as the regional differences are concerned, it is proved that unemployment had become permanent in the rural areas of Northern Hungary and South Transdanubia, as opposed to Western and Mid-Transdanubia where the problem shrank considerably. Part of the reasons were the cities' close proximity, the large number of business ventures and the settlement of (highstreet) major employers even in villages with small population (Bódi and Obádovics 2000).

Comprehensive analyses on the employment crisis of the 1990s contained essential recommendations. These studies emphasized the critical situation in villages and small settlements alongside with areas modestly fit for agricultural cultivation. Villages with their economic activity of 30% nearly equaled the levels of the least developed regions. In small settlements with a population of less than 1000, where the fifth of the entire Hungarian population is still resident, the proportion of people dependent on aid from their families or the society exceeded 70%. Studies warn that in the most undeveloped small settlements left without a stable economic background, initiations for positive changes are generally halted by social and moral issues besides economic ones (Tóth and Hamza 2000).

3 Results

3.1 Spatial features of rural unemployment at the turn of the millennium (case study: Unemployment in the micro villages surrounding Selye)

Selye region's small settlements have the highest rate of registered unemployment on the South Transdanubian labour market; therefore they attract significant attention in unemployment research. In 1997, the settlements were still disadvantaged in labour terms, in most of them; employment was only available in the local pub. By the end of the decade, though, the major redundancies had already taken place.

Economic stagnation at the time was also indicated by the fact that the employment rates were not going down. Though, monthly reports may have been misleading because of the seasonal employment activity in agriculture and in the building industry. The most dominant feature of the region's economic environment was that it was still short of a real employing centre or a leading industry. The main employers were the remaining woodworks, agricultural and exporting trade firms, the grocery and pub network of 'Drávamenti ÁFÉSZ', food (dairy and baking) and building companies. For them, the short-term target was merely staying in business. The fact that the regional centre was made a municipality in the late 90's did not bring any positive changes to economic development.

Due to a freeze in state subsidies, by March 1997, the agricultural co-operative of Csánydoroszló had become so indebted that funds did not even prove to be sufficient for soil nutrients; therefore, the average yield fell significantly. At the same time, rational and profitable operation was made impossible by an increase in the price of fuel and spare parts. Because of the land's low productive value, the 11 gold crowns worth estate had desperately needed state support. After liquidation, 42 active workers between ages 25–40 became redundant. In the same year, 15 people lost their jobs because the Vajszló forestry unit of 'Mecseki Erdészeti Rt' forestry incorporated gradually leased its forestry activities to private businesses.

Some signs of development were seen when the local government of Selye signed a leasing contract for an estate with a sewing firm. The local government of Hegyhátszentmárton established an adult and children's canteen out of ministerial and regional development funds. The canteen employed cooks and chefs. Another firm, TTT Ltd. invested 500 million HUF to create a holiday village site accom-

modating 75 tourists on the vineyards of Hegyházmárton. The company contracted 10 local people to ease employment problems. Also, a starting production in Baksa contributed to managing female unemployment in the surrounding settlements. Despite changes, the rate of unemployment in the area actually went beyond 27% in 1997. In 1998, raising slight optimism, the rate fell to 23%, although, the figure still represented 250% of the national average, and double the rates measured in the county. The most striking difference appeared in the increase of seasonal employment figures. Owing to a concentration of activities in summer and autumn in agricultural and building industries, the rates were generally 6–7% lower than the ones measured in the winter and spring seasons. DD-Fa Ltd. in Vajszló made a job-creating investment to contract 5 of the local unemployed. They built a wood mill with a 2400 m³ of logwood-processing capacity. The final products were poplar packing components and diking materials made of locust. The rise in staff numbers, mainly physical workers, resulted in a more efficient utilization of the production capacity. Although legal binding to provide employment runs out in early 2003, the company intends to maintain both staff and production levels. In 1998, the farmstead buildings of the formerly liquidated co-operative in Csányosrő were bought up by a limited company with German ownership. The firm leased the arable land, and after obtaining right of usufruct, reintroduced agricultural activity in 2000 hectares (4942 acres) producing crops exclusively. It employed 16 former workers of the late co-operative.

In 1999, the Sellye region's unemployment figures reached the highest levels up to then, which was near three times the national average. At the beginning of the year the machinery of Vajszló forestry was sold off when the former employees became private ventures. Further 45 physical workers were made redundant as a result of narrowing down the base activity (which was sapling nursery), and closing operation on the production support activities like the engine workshop, the maintenance unit and coaching. By the end of the decade, local governments remained the main employers beside private businesses. In 1999, a multifunctional community centre was established in Hegyházmárton. Alongside investing own resources into the project, support to fund the reconstruction of a family home previously purchased by the local government came from the regional development program and ministerial funds. Three people could take up employment: the manager of the pensioner's club, a social worker and a cleaner.

The number of private businesses was still minor in 2000. Even if there were jobs to offer, in most cases, workers were employed illegally or in 4-hour part time. This tendency was further fueled by the increase of the minimum wage to 40,000 HUF. These measures were feared to result in a further boom of unemployment levels. It also raised concerns that although companies would employ workers full time, they were not likely to do so officially in all cases. What is more, one of the region's major employers 'Drávfoki Mezőgazdasági Rt.' agricultural incorporated went under liquidation.

The fact that the fruit and vegetable exporting company of Naszig Ltd. planted asparagus on 5 hectares (12.4 acres) of land brought about a positive change. It means that two years after, four people could be employed at harvest. The same company was planning to start a combined packaging material unit with the support of the SAPARD-program. At completion, it could employ 18–20 workers.

The employment situation of the Sellye micro region reflects changes taking place at a larger regional level. In 1998, conditions in Drava Region settlements south of Vajszló were outstandingly ominous, 4–5 fold worse than the national average. These settlements under a population of 2–300 were namely, Lúzsok, Hírics, Piskó and Vejtő. Other crisis-struck villages from north of Vajszló were added to the list by Gilvánfa, Besence and Páprád where the annual growth of unemployment went beyond 20%. Parallel with this tendency there was a worsening situation in settlements around the regional centre, in the eastern parts mainly.

The conditions in small settlements around Vajszló show a straight connection with the liquidation of companies or a gradual cut-back on their production. In the late 90s, 'Ganz Műszer Rt.' mechanical instruments incorporated was employing a third of the workers than ten years before, also 'Burgonyaphehely' crisps-making limited was having an extremely low output. There was no sign of development with

the DD-Fa wood mill or the 'Mecseki Erdészeti Rt' forestry incorporated, whose operation extended to the forested areas remaining with them after privatization. Lay-offs at these companies mainly affected commuters from the settlements in the above mentioned. The Pécs subsidiary of the Finn electronics firm, ELCOTEQ Ltd. originally targeted the area because of cheap labour. However, due to low levels of qualification, they could only employ or put into training a limited number of people.

What the settlements in context have in common is that all of them are so called 'sack settlements' with only one-way access, not directly linked to any road network; their population is between 200 and 300. It is also noteworthy that, due to lack of railway access, buses are the only means of public transport. They have no schools, post office or a surgery and most of their under qualified population rely on unemployment aid, family support or pension for a living. The rate of the permanently unemployed is striking. In the late 90's, these villages were still not linked to gas supply or a sewage system and cable television services were not available. Collection of communal solid waste was still not organized, and hardly anyone owned a wired telephone. There were only one or two businesses mainly running the local grocery shop. The lowest living standards were detectable among the gipsy population.

3.2 Structural features of unemployment in micro village areas

Despite the fact that in the late 90s, in gender division, there was a small rise in female unemployment, compared to the county average, male unemployment is still significantly higher. No plants are being set up in the area to employ women; male labour force has always been the priority, especially, in the 'Ormánság' region where the traditional role of women is still alive. The majority of them is satisfied with their status and would not attempt to take up employment even if they had a chance. The minority is employed in agriculture seasonally, mainly in the summer. Furthermore, in recent years, the number of positions requiring male labour has been growing. Also, as breadwinners, increasing numbers go into seasonal or casual employment since the amount of unemployment aid granted is very low. For the reasons above, a great number of the men turn to the hidden economy for a living.

Unemployment in gender division in Baranya County reflects the structural differences of the population in various regions. Although, there is no major comparative inequality in the number of the working-age seniors (above 46), the proportion of the young and the middle-aged differ geographically. In the underdeveloped micro village areas in agricultural and industrial crisis with high unemployment rate, like the Sellye micro region, the proportion of the middle aged unemployed (26–45) is high, at the same time; the younger ones at the start of their careers are underrepresented. In contrast, near a third of the unemployed registered are young (17–25) around the county capital.

In personnel – group division, there has been an increase in the rate of unskilled unemployment. The proportion of unskilled people is higher than the county or the national average. The situation is made worse by the early closure of or reduction in operation with major employers contracting those workers. In correlation, unemployment among white-collar employees and skilled workers stand below the county average in Baranya. Unskilled work is naturally abandoned because of technological development in automatisisation. In addition, the majority of the active gipsy population is unskilled, too, and their chances for employment are restricted by race prejudice.

Geographically, the most striking difference in qualification rates can be detected in the division of skilled people and the ones with merely primary school education. In areas where the majority of the active population is skilled, their ratio in the unemployment statistics are, of course, higher. In the rest, like in the Sellye micro region, the small proportion of the skilled population represents a problem. Here, among the unemployed, significantly larger numbers are found without a completed primary school education.

One of the typical features in micro village areas is the high proportion of the permanently unemployed (over 6 months). Encouraging direct demand for under qualified workers is difficult without a drastic economic intervention. Employment programs seem to ignore this category since admission

is based upon a full primary education. If job-seeking is permanently unsuccessful, this group may have to rely on social benefits instead of employment programs. At that point, those people's lives will be determined by social policy instead of employment policy.

3.3 Improving the employment situation in South-Transdanubian microvillages

In economic terms, improvement in the employment situation in South Transdanubia will be likely to depend on small and middle-size enterprises of the remaining industries. These businesses, and the largest employers alike, must play a vital role in the region's development in future, now, that the majority has survived economic transition or went through privatization. It is primarily the small and middle-size businesses that will create new jobs and thus contribute to a rise in living standards. At the same time, they are more certain to create new employment possibilities and are diverse in profile, thus, directly less sensitive to changes in business cycles.

The major employers are the agrochemical firms that pack and sell plant protective chemicals and nitro-fertilizers. Their development requires the expansion of their storage capacity, a more efficient use of energy and advanced drying equipment. Their general status, their contracts are in close relation with efficiency in agriculture.

To promote growing efficiency, site index optima should be defined aiding quality production with output exceeding the average. Forested areas and grassland are expected to be utilized at a higher level and that could result in an employment rise partly due to new forestry plantations. Forestry and fish hatchery farming could expand to areas of low-profit cultivation. Since they represent a long-term investment, their growth could only be made possible through state funds. In the areas west, crop peas, tobacco and rye are the most suitable for production, the Dráva Region offers preferable conditions for oat and rye.

In the areas of Siklós and Ormánság, producing primary vegetables (like green peas and cabbage) or melon could be the ultimate solution. A stable demand and market could take up the produce in Pécs, Budapest and at Lake Balaton. On land unfit for cultivation, herbs could be grown, and on more fertile soil, biofarming of fruit and vegetables demanding long hours of human labour may be possible.

By preserving pastures and meadows, traditional farming could continue. In restructuring, it is advisable to increase the proportion of grazing up to an optimal level at which wooded pastureland is still protected.

Agricultural produce should be made semi- or fully processed and promote the industry built on its production. Free labour from the agriculture (skilled workers) could be employed by extending the capacity of the local food industry. The marketability of agricultural products depends on the level of processing and preparation. The final product fully processed is more likely to perform well. Since they are not the exclusive requirements in the EU, ignoring the importance of processing and packing may result in exclusion from the eastern markets as well.

Motorization meeting modern measures, maintenance works and extending processing capacity all contribute to lifting employment ratio, however, they cannot fully ease unemployment problems.

In recent years, several studies have pointed out possibilities in rural employment. In the Baranya County Employment Centre, a unique agricultural integration program has been worked out through developing an employment strategy. Its aim is to promote the agriculture and food industry of the micro village areas. The main task involved is reducing the small producers' risk and thus their exposure to the market changes, also, providing the conditions for employment and self-employment through job creation, promoting self-employing businesses and finding alternative means of employment. At the same time, funds need to be sought to maintain sustainable financing, especially, in case of unprivileged groups. Last of all, small producers should be provided with continuous training within a complex system of human resources development (Janovics 2000).

Since job-creating investment is not likely to take place in the near future, private farming might play a great role in managing social problems. The majority of the population bears no traditions in

cultivation or gardening. A more professional activity could develop through constant training, and producer businesses should be granted aid enabling them to make necessary investments. With the expansion of cultivated land, new work force could be employed. For biofarming, introduction to new technologies and ensuring low-cost loans are vital.

In conclusion, production utilizing the agro ecological capacity, growing efficiency, maintaining employment levels and environmental protection seem to be the primary issues in development.

In Sellye, the local centre of the border regions, industry has lost its determining role, structural change or real transition are unseen. The regions have no employing centres or a leading industry. Owing to the micro village structure, the infrastructural underdevelopment and difficult accessibility, improvement is hardly present. In recent years, major investment to boost employment has not taken place in the crisis-struck areas, their economy is stagnating.

Significant development has been experienced by businesses after an economic transition having successfully adapted to a new market environment, or the ones that have been restructured with the aid of foreign capital. Nevertheless, they are quite small in number.

Due to unfavourable economic and social tendencies, the level of reinforced self-employment is high. These businesses are not competitive. Among their disadvantages their technological conditions are the worst; their inevitable loss of turnover could only be balanced by investment. However, they do not own the potential for innovation or the technology, nor funds to improve their businesses. Because of high interests and lack of funds, for them, taking up loans is not an option. Underdevelopment in certain fields is so severe that ventures are unable to make changes with their limited self financing. Preferential aids, project financing structures not requiring own recourses, and training programs should be necessary.

Some development is only expected to be seen with a growth in national demand, the opening of border crossings, the encouragement of shopping tourism and retailing or with the designation of industrial zones and the gradual introduction of companies into the industrial park.

Owing to its natural environment and national heritage sites and buildings, the region is ideal to give home to village tourism. These sites have been presented in travel brochures as alternative target destinations, already. Preservation and maintenance to improve the settlement's image are not to be ignored to complement the heritage buildings of churches with sunk-panel ceiling, old houses and clerical buildings. To make tourism a source of income for villages, accommodation should be provided for. Specialized projects could promote the creation of tourist accommodation. Unfortunately, though, most families lack funds to provide acceptable conditions for tourists, therefore, they abandon the idea. There is a strong need for non-profit organizations to back the issue. Alongside with organizing training courses, they could trace down and realize low-cost marketing methods to promote the region.

To ease social problems in small villages, the system of 'village wardens' aiding the aged, the ill and the disabled should be extended. This service could make civilian official affairs less difficult to handle. Access to public transport has sometimes been made almost impossible by reducing the number of buses. Apart from the villages lying next to main roads, the situation elsewhere is not improving.

The utilization of business opportunities (climatic conditions, Drava-Danube National Park) are limited by bad accessibility. So, the Sellye region economy requires infrastructural development, the support and encouragement of business ventures.

Employment programs to preserve and create jobs should be based on the remaining small and middle-size businesses. Industries, such as food producing, baking, timbering, pig farming, building, fruit and vegetable trading, electronics and agrochemicals, having avoided the most serious effects of crises are only selectively suitable to be part of short-term development programs. Among the several reasons are the inefficient human resource management, insufficient national demand, lack of capital investment and foreign investors' attitude.

Primary aspects when advising on improving unemployment ratio are the provision of permanent employment and employment security. In cases of wage support subsidy, employers that offer

long-term maintenance of employment levels beyond their state – contracted obligation should enjoy further benefits.

In the micro village region, scarcity of strong capital, the high proportion of low-profit activities and the merely supplementary nature of project financing build barriers to investment, improvement and job creation. Revalorization of the Hungarian forint further decreases profit with exporting companies. Extending employment is made impossible by the perpetual rise of expenses and the obligation to pay a considerable amount in employer's duties. Familiar with the capital weakness of micro village businesses, putting it into context, it appears more realistic to attempt maintaining employment levels instead of pursuing job creation. Consequently, in future, there is likelihood that a possible investment will only provide chances for the former rather than the latter.

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5 Povzetek: Značilnosti nezaposlenosti na podeželju jugozahodne Madžarske (prevedla Mimi Urbanc)

Na prelomu tisočletja se je območje jugozahodne Madžarske, kjer so prevladovala majhna naselja, soočalo s številnimi problemi. Včasih je bila večina podeželskega prebivalstva zaposlena v kmetijstvu. Po zaprtju oziroma preoblikovanju državnih posestev in zadrug pa se je potreba po tovrstni delovni sili močno zmanjšala. Temu je sledila brezposelnost, z njo pa socialne in družbene stiske. Naša raziskava je pokazala, da se lastna iniciativa in načrti o izrabi notranjih rezerv še niso pojavili, zunanja pomoč pa teh podeželskih območij še ni dosegla in zato ni nikakršnih možnosti zaposlitve v bližini domačega kraja.

Nekdanji veliki zaposlitveni centri, kmetijska posestva in zadruge so se v procesu privatizacije preoblikovali ali so v celoti propadli. Obenem so se močno ali popolnoma skrčile tudi zaposlitvene možnosti v predelovalnih industrijskih panogah, tesno povezanih s kmetijstvom.

Zastarela in neustrezna industrijska in infrastrukturna opremljenost ni pritegnila državnih ali tujih podjetij, da bi investirala v večji meri, s tem odprla delovna mesta za kvalificirano in nekvalificirano delovno silo v njeni bližini in prekinila tok negativnega gospodarskega in prebivalstvenega razvoja. Pomanjkanje finančnih sredstev je bilo v obdobju gospodarskih sprememb glavna ovira razvoju.

V zadnjih dveh desetletjih se zaposlitvena struktura počasi spreminja: nekdanje prevladujoče kmetijske delavce zamenjujejo industrijski. Mladi se vsakodnevno vozijo v gradbena, predelovalna in proizvodna podjetja v bližnjih mestih, kar pa je seveda mogoče samo v primeru, da delodajalec krije stroške prevoza na delo.

Lokalne oblasti na preučevanem območju le težko spodbujajo gospodarski razvoj na lokalni ravni, ker nimajo ustreznih sredstev. Njihovi razvojni ukrepi so omejeni na izboljšanje infrastrukture, in to večinoma s pomočjo državnega financiranja. Sredstva, zbrana od davkov lokalnega prebivalstva, so namreč minimalna.

Blaginja in napredek, značilna za jugozahodno Madžarsko na splošno, sta ta naselja zaobšla. V nobenem od njih ni bilo večjih investicij, ki bi prinesle nova delovna mesta. Gospodarski razvoj mesta Pécs (Peč), glavnega mesta okrožja, ni bistveno vplival na njihove zaposlitvene razmere. Obstoječa podjetja so večinoma s področja trgovine in gostinstva ter poslujejo kot družinska podjetja z enim ali dvema zaposlenima. Neustrezna prometna, še posebej cestna infrastruktura, ovira podjetja, da bi tu postavila svoje obrate, obenem pa onemogoča ljudem zaposlovanje zunaj domačega kraja.