





WEST BANK AND GAZA STRIP

ETF COUNTRY ANALYSIS 2005

Summary

The West Bank and Gaza Strip (WBGS) is greatly affected by an unstable political situation and the economic and social consequences for the population that derive from it.

The intifada has hindered the effectiveness of much needed development efforts, and donor support to facilitate these efforts has also been affected by the uncertain situation in the territory.

Other factors that have had an influence on development efforts are the high fertility rate and the ensuing pressures on all public and private systems, including education.

However, there is a growing recognition in most segments of society of the importance of education and training for future development efforts. The population is highly literate; young people are keen to enter higher education in particular; and the government has introduced reform measures for the entire education system aimed at increasing the relevance of technical and vocational education (TVET) to the needs of the labour market.



In order to support the ongoing reform efforts in

TVET in WBGS, the ETF suggests that donor assistance be focused on enhancing capacity at the governance and research and development levels, and on the ability of the TVET system to continually adapt to increase its relevance and attractiveness for students, teachers and labour market partners.

1. Current situation and trends in human resources and labour market development

Background

As its official geographical name implies, the West Bank and Gaza Strip (WBGS) is a divided territory lodged between Israel, Jordan and Egypt at the eastern extremity of the Mediterranean Sea.

The West Bank is divided into three zones that have varying degrees of autonomy, administered by the Palestinian Authority (PA). Since the complete disengagement of Israel from the Gaza Strip in August 2005, this area is now under the sole jurisdiction of the PA.

The conflict between Israel and WBGS has had severe implications for the economic and social development of the territory. The conditions for economic development are greatly affected by the

complicated authority structure; by the wall erected between them; and by the difficult export conditions resulting from a lack of a harbour, airports and other transport facilities that would provide reliable access to export markets.

This has led to a very unstable and unpredictable political, economic and social environment in the territory, and has emphasised the urgency of the need to create a highly skilled workforce able to meet the challenges of an emerging state and an independent dynamic economy able to secure economic growth and prosperity.

Economic context

Over the past ten years the PA has been faced with a number of challenges, namely: providing adequate education, housing, health care and employment opportunities for a young and fast-growing population; building a Palestinian public administration (non-existent prior to 1994) that can deliver the aforementioned services; and undertaking these tasks while still under occupation and under the severe restrictions imposed by this occupation in a very unstable and unpredictable political, economic and social environment. Economic crises followed the imposition of tight closures by Israel in 2000, in the aftermath of the intifada. Between 2000 and 2002, Palestinian exports and imports decreased by a third and investment fell by 90%. The economic collapse has led to a 35% reduction in per capita income and a 16% increase in the average rate of unemployment since the second intifada began in 2000. Around half the population are currently poor, and more than quarter of the labour force are unemployed. Unemployment in WBGS is mainly associated with the economic recession; economic scenarios do not predict that this will change the next few years. Growth in the labour force leading to unemployment is more gradual and slow, though it still poses a major challenge given the current high fertility rates. Structural unemployment resulting mainly from fluctuations in economic sectors such as construction, which is highly dependent on work in Israel, poses another challenge.

The growth of the service and IT sectors perhaps requires different qualifications to those currently found in the labour force. The move to an export-oriented economy will only be possible with a major change in the political setting, which is very hard to envisage. Job creation and poverty alleviation policies have played an important role in previous years, but have failed to produce tangible and sustainable effects.

Labour market developments

In 2004, 528,000 people (66.8% of the labour force) were employed. The participation of women in the labour force was only 13.5% in 2004, which constitutes one of the lowest female labour force participation rates in the world. The labour force is distributed among the following economic activities: 15.9% in agriculture, hunting and fishing; 12.7% in mining, quarrying and manufacturing; 11.7% in construction; 19.4% in commerce, hotels and restaurants; 5.4% in transportation, storage and communication; and 34.9% in services and other branches. The sectoral composition of the Palestinian economy was rather stable throughout the second half of the 1990s, although there were a few exceptions. The financial sector grew very rapidly in 1994. The contribution of financial intermediation to GDP increased from 1.1% to 4.4% between 1994 and 2000. The transportation and communication sector also gained importance and doubled its share of GDP, from 4.4% to 8.7%, during the same period. The shares of agriculture, manufacturing and trade declined, while the contribution of construction was cyclical.

Some 66% of employed people in WBGS work in the private sector, 24% are employed in the public sector, and less than 10% work in Israel and the settlements.

Small and medium-sized enterprises (SMEs) constitute the majority of firms in WBGS: in 2004, 91% of enterprises employed 0–4 employees and 6% employed 5–9 employees. Only 0.2% employed more than 50 employees. Around 57% of these establishments were in the wholesale, retail trade and repair sector, and around 14% were in the manufacturing sector. The potential for private investment and job creation in the export-oriented sector is limited in the current environment of Israeli restrictions at border crossings. The IT sector has shown and can continue to show growth even under the current conditions. Sectors that cater to local demand have stronger potential for growth and job creation than export-oriented sectors under current conditions. These sectors include agriculture, construction, food processing and pharmaceuticals.

The public sector has expanded from 57,000 employees in 1995 to over 130,000 in 2003. The number of workers in Israel fell from 146,000 in the third quarter of 2000 to around 50,000 in 2004. There are no time-line surveys showing trends in the informal sector. However, there is a feeling that the informal sector has been growing in the past few years, as demonstrated by the rapid increase in the number of vendors near checkpoints and the growth of the unregulated transportation sector.

Demographic trends

The estimated number of Palestinians in the world in 2004 was 10 million. Just over half (51%) live outside the area¹, 11% live in Israel, 24% in the WB and 14% in Gaza.

The estimated number of Palestinians in WBGS at the end of 2005 is 3,762,005², 63% (2,372,216) of whom live in the West Bank and 37% (1,389,789) in the Gaza Strip. In 2004, 56.4% of the population was found in rural areas, 24.6% in urban areas, and 15.1% in various refugee camps. In 2004, 46.1% (44.3% in WB, and 49.2% in GS) of people were under 15 years of age, while only 3.1% were 65 and above. Time series data shows a slight but steady increase in the median age of Palestinian society, rising from 16.4 to 16.6 years during the period 1997 – 2004. The average population growth rate in the Palestinian territories for 2005 is estimated at 3.3%.

Key labour force characteristics

Unemployment rose from 25.6% (23.8% in WB and 29.2% in GS) in 2003 to 26.8% (22.9% in WB and 35.4% in GS; 28.1% of males and 20.1% of females) in 2004. The unemployment rate decreased to 26.3% during the first quarter of 2005. Unemployment in the first quarter of 2005 showed a slight increase in the West Bank and a slight decrease in the Gaza Strip compared to the fourth quarter of 2004.

The number of Palestinian workers in Israel³ has fluctuated widely, reaching a peak of 146,000 in the third quarter of 2000. The number has significantly reduced, falling to 33,000 in the second quarter of 2002 and recovering slightly to around 56,000 by the end of 2002. In 2004 the number was around 50,000. The number of Palestinian workers in Israel reflects the political situation in general. Security measures that affect access to the Israeli labour market include changes in the total number of permits granted to Palestinian workers, and partial and general border closures.

The labour force participation rate rose from 40.3% (41.8% in WB and 37.5% in GS) in 2003 to 40.4% (42.5% in WB and 36.4% in GS) in 2004, and decreased to 39.7% during the first quarter of 2005. The current labour force is estimated at 790,000 people. Around 40,000 young people enter the labour force annually.

It is worth noting that the participation of women in the labour force in 2004 was only 13.5%. This constituted one of the lowest female labour force participation rates in the world.

Role of the informal sector

In 2003 there were 98,727 people (91,074 males and 7,653 females) engaged in establishments in the informal sector in WBGS, 885 enterprises. Around 62% of these individuals worked in wholesale, retail and repairs, and another 19% worked in manufacturing. Only 6.1% of informal sector enterprises were established after 2000.

The number of people engaged in the informal economy in household projects (outside the establishments) was 82,303, 91.6% of them males and 8.4% females.

There are no time-line surveys showing trends in the informal sector. However, the feeling is that the informal sector has been growing over the past few years, as demonstrated by the rapid increase in the

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¹ PCBS, Special report on 57th anniversary of Al Nakba, 2005.

² PCBS & MAS, *Quarterly Economic and Social Monitor*, April 2005.

³ Ibid

number of salespersons and vendors near checkpoints and the growth of the unregulated transportation sector.

Poverty

The World Bank estimates that, based on the distribution of household expenditure⁴, before the intifada 21% of the population were living below the poverty line of USD 2.1 per day. The number had increased to 33% by December 2000, to 46% by December 2001 and to 60% by December 2002.

Migration

There appears to be no significant migration taking place into or out of WBGS. Palestinians, however, are known to migrate abroad for work purposes, although this is becoming harder to do. 'Brain drain' has been felt to a greater extent during the past couple of years. The household survey carried out in 1995 showed that of the Palestinians living in the WBGS, 91.9% were born in the territories, 3.8% in Israel and 4.3% in other countries. Around 60% of households in the West Bank have close relatives living abroad, compared to around 53% of households in the Gaza Strip. Most relatives abroad live in Jordan (49.2%); 43% have an Israeli identity card. Around 6% of those currently living in the WBGS have changed their residence since 1987. Of these, 5.1% came from abroad, while around 0.9% changed their districts of residence.

International migration is affected by political and economic factors operating inside and outside WBGS. A very pessimistic trend has to be assumed because of the realities of the peace process. The Palestinian Central Bureau of Statistics assumed that a total of 500,000 people would return to the WBGS during the period 1997 – 2010.

It is estimated that 4,575,000 Palestinians were living in exile in 2001, more than half of them in Jordan.

In the opinion poll conducted by the Development Studies Programme⁵ (DSP) in 2004, 5% of the survey sample declared that one of their family members had permanently emigrated from the WBGS during the intifada, and 11% declared that one of their family members had left the WBGS for study or temporary work purposes during the same period. Some 18% of the individuals surveyed expressed a desire to emigrate.

Current employment policy measures

Job creation is a main pillar of the PA Mid-Term Development Plan (MTDP). A variety of measures have been undertaken by the PA, civil society and donors to create employment guided by a national job-creation strategy.

A review of employment-generation schemes⁶ between October 2000 and January 2002 was produced by the World Bank on behalf of the donor community and coordinated by the Sector Working Group on Employment Creation. The review concluded that job creation is humanitarian aid rather than development aid. It showed that job creation projects have proved to be a significant means of providing purchasing power to those who are poor and those who are unemployed. Such programmes have also allowed communities to undertake a variety of necessary, urgently needed projects, thus supplementing the traditional methods by which humanitarian assistance is delivered. They have also promoted development. However, the review demonstrated that the delivery of this type of humanitarian aid could be made more efficient. The review's findings and recommendations were formally endorsed by Palestinian National Authority (PA), and constituted the basis of a strategy paper on job creation formulated by the Palestinian Ministry of Planning. The strategy envisages that local communities be responsible for the technical implementation of job creation projects. Some larger municipalities have the technical capacity to implement such projects. Other smaller communities need to be supported by larger municipalities, governorates, NGOs and donors.

⁴ World Bank, Twenty seven months – intifada, closures and Palestinian economic crises: An Assessment, 2003.

⁵ DSP, Survey 19, 28/09/2004, 2004.

⁶ World Bank, A review of employment generation schemes between October 2000 and January 2002, 2002.

A number of initiatives and projects that address employment at local and national levels are currently undertaken by various players. The Ministry of Labour (MoL), with help from the International Labour Organisation (ILO), has initiated the establishment of the Palestinian Fund for Employment and Social Protection. The objective of the fund is to support around 400,000 people (55,000 families) from the poorest 10% of the population.

A variety of institutions gather and analyse data on trends in the labour market. The Palestinian Central Bureau of Statistics (PCBS) is well established and produces regular and reliable data in line with the highest international standards.

In 1998 the MoL established a labour market information system (LMI) with help of the ILO and the PCBS.

Human resource development (HRD) trends

In general, HRD systems and strategies in WBGS are influenced by a highly unstable and unpredictable political environment which greatly affects access to work and services, as well as the whole education system.

The current economic recession has hit the private sector hard, and private sector participation in HRD is limited. The economy is unable to generate new work opportunities for a rapidly growing number of annual entrants to the labour force under the prevailing circumstances. The public and non-formal sectors have reached saturation over the past few years. This has all placed a significant burden on the HRD system.

Unemployment, poverty, and the decline in all health and education indicators have made humanitarian and emergency programming the priorities rather than long-term developmental programming in which HRD plays the pivotal role.

Although TVET is declared to be the main pillar of the Palestinian developmental priorities as stated in the MTDP, this is not adequately reflected either in budgets or in the willingness to take the necessary steps required to implement the TVET National Strategy. This requires a high quality labour force that is able to compete, and that can only be developed and maintained through a well developed TVET system.

However, HRD is a component of many employment-generating projects, and since immediate jobs are created by investments rather than by education and training, most of these projects are labour-intensive initiatives for the construction of the infrastructure required to provide basic services.

Summary

The current political, economic and social circumstances contribute to a highly unstable and unpredictable political environment and an economic recession. It is not known whether workers and the population in general will be allowed to move freely, for example between WB and GS, and between WB and GS and Israel on the one hand and the Arab world on the other. The challenge is that the economy is not able to generate new work opportunities for a rapidly growing number of annual entrants to the labour force under the prevailing circumstances. The public and non-formal sectors have reached saturation over the past few years. This has placed a huge burden on the HRD system.

2. Contribution of HRD to socio-economic development

Palestinians are relatively highly literate. The literacy rate in 2004 stood at 92.3% (96.5% for males and 88.0% for females). This is mainly attributed to a well-established education system that consists of four levels including tertiary education.

Following basic education, most students continue in academic two-year secondary education. Some join the two-year vocational education stream offered at the vocational secondary schools (VSSs), and others join the vocational training centres (VTCs), which provide one to two years of vocational training. Some move to the labour market following basic education.

Graduates of VTCs have no opportunities to move up to higher education, while graduates of academic secondary education who pass the general secondary examination join universities or colleges.

Parallel to this formal education system there exist a wide range of for-profit, non-governmental and other types of organisation providing a variety of non-formal further and retraining opportunities.

Displaced Palestinians in the various Arab countries are catered for mainly, and in most cases solely, by the United Nations Relief and Works Agency (UNRWA), which is mandated to provide basic education services to Palestinian refugees in Jordan, Syria and Lebanon, as well as in WB and GS.

Formal school education

Pre-school education is offered almost exclusively by private and non-governmental organisations. The number of children in kindergarten dwindled during the first years of the intifada, but has increased again over the past two years. Overall the number of students has doubled since 1995.

Basic education is provided by the government – the Ministry of Education and Higher Education (MEHE) – by UNRWA, and by private religious, philanthropic and for-profit schools.

Secondary education is provided by MEHE and private schools. There were 112,675 students studying in secondary education in 2004/5. The number of students in the vocational secondary education stream was 5,561 in the same year; in other words, vocational secondary school students made up only 4.9% of the total number of secondary school students.

Higher education is offered by private, public, UNRWA and governmental colleges and universities. Colleges offer two-year diplomas. University colleges have started offering a limited number of Bachelor's degrees as well as diplomas. There are a number of universities in various parts of WBGS that offer a range of Bachelor's and in some cases Master's degrees. There is one large open university providing Bachelor's degrees.

Non-formal school education

Non-formal education and training is an important part of the Palestinian education system and is considered a basic component in dealing with the process of economic and social change.

Basic vocational training for young people is offered by a variety of organisations, namely, MoL, which operates twelve vocational training centres (eight in WB and four in GS), and UNRWA, which runs two vocational training centres in WBGS, offering two-year training programmes.

In addition, Ramallah Women's Training Centre (Al-Tireh), which is a college, provides a few vocational courses for women. A number of NGOs, as well as other religious and philanthropic organisations, provide specialised vocational training programmes for young people

Rehabilitation training for young people

Vocational training as part of an overall rehabilitation programme is used by many organisations, in particular the Ministry of Social Affairs and a number of NGOs.

TVET in the context of HRD

The TVET system is not as efficient as it should be. Vocational schools and technical colleges are still used only during the mornings; student–teacher ratios are relatively low.

There is great potential for improvements in the quality and effectiveness of the system. Improvements are necessary in all aspects affecting quality, namely the quality of teachers and trainers, the curricula used, and the physical resources available.

Under the circumstances the system is generally relevant to the needs of the labour market, a fact demonstrated by the high degree of employability of TVET graduates compared to those of other

systems, as most training institutions base their decisions to introduce new specialisations or cease offering others on labour market information.

The system, however, is still seen as attracting the lower achievers. It is not considered to be meeting the higher end of the training needs of businesses and industries.

Recent reforms

Reform of the TVET system started in 1996 with the development of the National Strategy for TVET by all the various stakeholders and social partners. The aim of the strategy was to create a TVET system that is relevant, flexible, effective, efficient, accessible and sustainable, and that fulfils its general obligations towards Palestinian society.

A detailed implementation plan was developed in October 1999, and was formally adopted, along with the National Strategy, by the Palestinian president and cabinet. The implementation plan was revised and updated in 2003, the main features being the establishment of a Higher Council on TVET, an Executive Board and a TVET Planning and Development Centre. During 2005 many of the reform elements proposed in 2003 have taken on a new dynamic. The Higher Council on VET has been empowered and is functioning, and the TVET Planning and Development Centre is in the process of being established as an operational unit.

In the MTDP 2006 – 2008, TVET is highlighted as a main priority for development by the government, as a vital tool for supporting economic development in the country.

Public contributions

The TVET system depends heavily on government and donor funding. Almost all infrastructure and development expenses are covered by the donor community, with the PA paying basic running cost and salaries.

Private contributions

Social partners are involved in VET, though in a limited way. The main reasons for this are limited capacity, limited channels for involvement, lack of incentives, and the economic recession. However, the situation is gradually changing with the establishment and empowerment of the Higher Council on TVET.

Summary

The current TVET system caters for only 4.5% of the total student population and is mostly considered an option for non-achievers. It is still largely government and donor financed, though recent reform measures aim at increasing the involvement of social partners, and not only in a decision-making and co-financing capacity. There are plans to enhance the support structure for the TVET system and to make the system more attractive to higher-achieving students, teachers and the labour market. An apprenticeship system is being piloted, development of modular curricula is ongoing, and a licensing and accreditation system is under development.

3. Current EU interventions in education and training in West Bank and Gaza Strip

EU support for training and education in WBGS has been rather limited compared to that given to this specific sector in other countries of the region (EU assistance in contrast is very large on humanitarian aid and support). The major EU intervention in education and training has been the support to the establishment of a multipurpose TVET Centre. The project has a total budget of USD 4.3 million and it is expected to be completed by 2006. With the Palestinian Economic Council for Development and

Reconstruction, the EU has supported the expansion of the Khan Younes College of Science and Technology.

WBGS takes part in the MEDA regional project Education and Training for Employment (ETE), managed by the ETF. This project will involve key staff in the sector for the next three years in a number of capacity-building and development activities in areas like teacher training, vocational guidance and elearning.

4. Significant investment by other donors in the field of education and training

It is possible to compile a very long list of active donors in WBGS in the field of education and training.

The most significant of these are: World Bank, which is constructing and equipping four vocational units; Gesellschaft für Technische Zusammenarbeit (GTZ), which has ongoing projects in apprenticeships and teacher training; United States Agency for International Development (USAID), which gives support to technical colleges and schools; and the Belgian government, which gives several types of support to the education sector, including building seven new schools in WBGS.

Donor coordination will become an increasingly urgent issue which will need to be addressed not only by the donor community but also by the PA, in order to increase its institutional capacity in this field.

Around USD 50 million dollars from various donors have been spent on TVET during the past ten years, the majority on infrastructure development.

Since the establishment of the PA, the Palestinian Economic Council for Development and Reconstruction (PECDAR), the Ministry of Finance and the Ministry of Planning have managed international assistance to the PA. The largest share of assistance is absorbed by a limited number of ministries, including the Ministries of Education and Higher Education, Health, and Local Government.

It is expected that the new TVET structure, with the Higher Council on TVET, Executive Board, and the TVET Planning and Development Centre, will facilitate donor coordination and substantially enhance the capacity to handle and coordinate donor support.

5. Main challenges for HRD and labour market related reform and modernisation processes

Trends in recent years have shown a decline in the quality of the outputs of the HRD system at almost all levels as the system has attempted to keep up with quantitative expansion needs.

The HRD system at all levels will not be able to retain or attract highly qualified and professional staff if the working conditions of these staff (including pay, benefits and personal development opportunities) are not addressed. External 'brain drain', and movement out of the HRD system to work in the private and other sectors, will continue to occur.

There is a recognition that the HRD system cannot be left solely in the hands of the government. The establishment of the Accreditation and Quality Assurance Commission and the Higher Council on TVET, and the attempts at reforming the Council for Higher Education are indicators that social partners as well as other stakeholders will start to have more say in the development of the HRD system. This will allow greater transparency and accountability.

Three factors have weighed and are expected to continue to weigh heavily on the development of the TVET system, namely high unemployment, limited growth of new work opportunities, and high growth of the labour force

The implementation of strategies is hampered by many factors: continuation of occupation and its restraining measures, limited capacities, financial constraints, lack of real will and resistance to change, unrealistic expectations of immediate impacts, and fear of taking the right and necessary actions in a highly volatile and insecure environment. All stand in the way of timely and effective implementation of the HRD strategies.

6. Levers in HRD and related labour market policies through which sustainable reform can be triggered

a) Facilitating the creation of efficient, professional, empowered and well-funded TVET governing bodies.

It is vital that the Higher Council on TVET is empowered to become the platform on which all major TVET decisions are made. The respective responsibilities of the Higher Council and Executive Board on TVET must be delineated, and a professional and well-funded Planning and Development Centre (PDC) developed. The centre, which could tap into the various human and other resources present in WBGS and abroad, is becoming one of the most urgent needs. The PDC could also take the lead in the priority areas of flexible modular curricula development, licensing and accreditation, TVET HRD and professionalisation, provision of support functions, including labour market monitoring, vocational quidance and counselling and management information systems.

b) Increasing the appeal of TVET to students and social partners

This can be accomplished by showing that there are returns on training for the individual, for employers and for society as a whole.

There is a need to increase the appeal of TVET to students through the introduction of new pedagogical approaches; a shift to a student-centred learning approach; giving students the opportunity to design courses themselves, for example, tailor-made internet-based learning covering a variety of courses; creating TVET programmes in higher education, for example, the BIT model, including general education in TVET; conducting an information campaign on the added value of TVET; allowing access to higher education via TVET; formally allowing learners to enter selected TVET specialisations at the age of 15 without having obtained any qualifications; and creating close partnerships with industry and social partners to enhance both attractiveness and flexibility.

There is also a need to improve the attractiveness of TVET to social partners by enhancing their direct links with education institutions in the various regions and governorates. It is also important to reduce the centralisation of governance for public TVET institutions in order to provide better opportunities for cooperation with industry and social partners and with other public institutions. However, this must be coupled with robust mechanisms for assuring the quality of provision through quality-assurance mechanisms and the transparency of learning and outcomes through qualification frameworks.

c) Increasing opportunities to take up continuing VET

This could be achieved through funding incentives, the recognition of informal and non-formal learning, and the provision of learning opportunities in non-traditional ways.

Measures targeted towards individuals could include tax incentives for employees; the provision of fixed sums to fund education leave, by the Chambers of Commerce, for example; the creation of a counselling system for adults; obliging universities to develop a system for registering previous work and study experience; and having individual training rights for each employee in labour codes and laws. Measures targeted towards companies could include financial incentive schemes to encourage employers to maintain and enhance vocational qualifications for employees; providing subsidies to train employees for the purpose of higher levels of work; and finding ways to involve SMEs in TVET.

d) Ensuring that TVET clearly addresses social exclusion

TVET reform policies could contribute to a range of economic and social functions for individuals, public authorities and stakeholders, among these, bridging the gap with labour market skill needs, contributing

to innovation, providing a transition pathway between schooling and work for large numbers of young people, and helping to tackle social exclusion.

TVET reform could contribute to address youth unemployment, one of the major challenges facing the Palestinian community, through, for example, the creation of subsidised work practice schemes for young unemployed people who have insufficient or no work experience (with compensation for both the unemployed individuals and their mentors), and back-to-work programmes for young women.

e) Supporting innovation

The development of the TVET system is vital but time-consuming. Funding and technical assistance should be provided for pioneering ideas and projects in the area of TVET. Lessons learned should be documented, disseminated, and internalised for the benefit of the whole system.

Key dimensions of TVET innovation to be supported could include the development of broad occupational competencies through workplace learning; enhanced entrepreneurship teaching and learning; teaching and learning of ICT and e-literacy; new contexts and methods for promoting lifelong learning, assessing and validating learning as well as quality assurance measures.

The PDC could act as a platform for deciding which projects are to be supported, and more importantly for making sure that successes and failures are internalised for the benefit of the whole system.

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