

DEVELOPMENT TIMES

UNEMPLOYMENT IN THE OPT

March 2008
Issue 2



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Foreword

Development Times seeks to promote debate and support the planning and targeting of humanitarian and development assistance in the occupied Palestinian territory (oPt) through providing topical and people-centered information.

Development Times aims to analyze conditions relevant to Palestinian development. The first few issues are based on findings from recent large-scale public opinion surveys conducted for UNDP/PAPP.¹

Via Development Times, UNDP/PAPP highlights critical issues through comprehensive snapshots. This second issue deals with unemployment in the oPt from a labor market and vulnerability perspective. However, it does not review the existing labor legislation, nor does it tackle the institutional and policy set-up, which might require further in-depth analyses.

INSIDE THIS ISSUE

Foreword	1
Introduction	1
Unemployment - Current Situation	2
Employment - Palestinian Perceptions	5
Concluding Remarks	9

Development Indicators

Total Population	3,761,646
West Bank:	2,345,107
Gaza:	1,416,539

Source: Palestinian Central Bureau of Statistics, 2008

Population Growth Rate	3%
Adult Literacy Rate	92.4%
Under 5 Mortality Rate per 1000 live births:	23

Source: Human Development Report 2007/2008

INTRODUCTION

Following seven years of economic decline and persistently high unemployment rates in the occupied Palestinian territory (oPt), poverty has reached unprecedented levels and more Palestinians are at risk of falling into poverty. As UNDP/PAPP already reported last July², the developments in the oPt have taken such direction that the achievement of the first Millennium Development Goal "Eradicating Extreme Poverty and Hunger", as set by the United Nations, is at stake, and, indeed, will not be achieved without concerted effort to redress the main constraints. Massive unemployment in the oPt is a major challenge in this context. Meaningful

promotion of pro-poor measures will have to include sustainable growth in productive and decent³ employment.

The labor market also impacts the achievement of the third Millennium Development Goal, "Promote Gender Equality and Empower Women". As it will be described later in this issue, not only female participation in the Palestinian labor force stands among the lowest in the world, but those active in the labor market also face substantial gender discrimination.

¹ UNDP/PAPP through sub-contracting Near East Consulting, between 3 April and 8 May 2007, conducted five comprehensive Computer Assisted Telephone surveys (CATI) in five regions of the oPt (north West Bank, south West Bank, middle West Bank, north Gaza Strip and south Gaza Strip), whereby random digit dialling was used to select a random sample of households in each region. More than 1,000 interviews were successfully completed in each region, bringing the combined total of successfully surveyed households in the oPt to 5,050. After weighing the data to avoid over representation of one region over another according to population concentrations, the standardised combined data set of the five regions has a total sample of 5,276. The margin of error is +/- 1.8 and the confidence level is 99 %.

² UNDP/PAPP, Development Times, "Poverty in the occupied Palestinian territory", July 2007, Issue No 1.

³ The concept of 'decent work' involves the right for women and men to obtain work that is productive and delivers a fair income, security in the work place and social protection for families, better prospects for personal development and social integration, freedom for people to express their concerns, organize and participate in the decisions that affect their lives and equality of opportunity and treatment for all women and men.

The establishment of the Palestinian Caretaker Government and the resumed international cooperation with it, have opened new possibilities to re-embark on the development processes in the West Bank, but currently leave the Gaza Strip largely on the sideline and dependent on humanitarian assistance. Following a period of fiscal crises and embargo, during which the PA and the donor community concentrated their efforts on humanitarian assistance and pro-social stability rather than pro-growth and development, the challenges now facing the Palestinian society remain immense. In the past two years, poverty rose significantly and unemployment rates remained high. Surveys suggest that a large part of the Palestinians have exhausted or are on the verge of exhausting their coping capacities.⁴ At the same time, Palestinians have



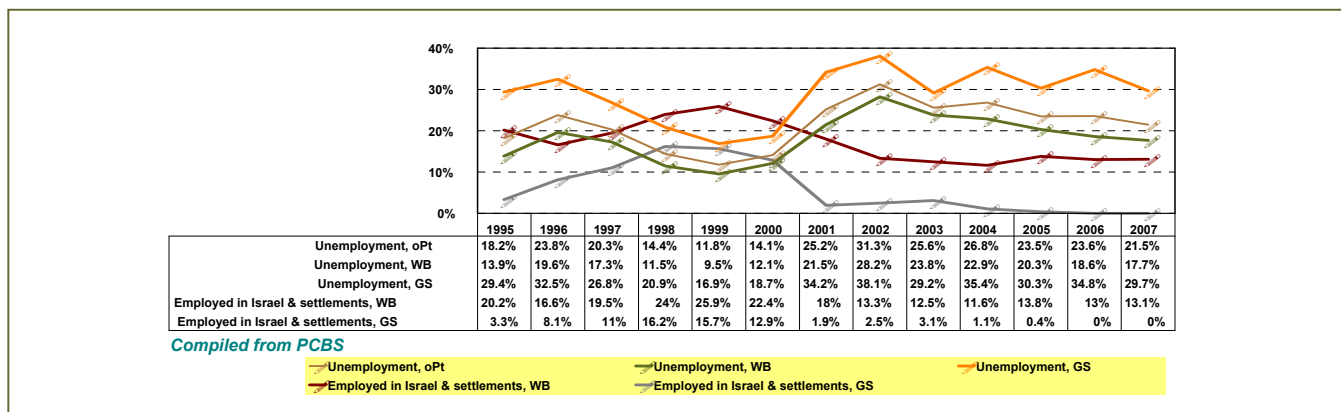
witnessed the weakening of PA institutions, strikes in schools, health and other public institutions, the threat of civil war and a break-down of law and order, combined with the continued restrictions imposed by Israel in movement of both people and goods. Under such circumstances, the situation of workers in the oPt has continued to be difficult.⁵

Unemployment – Current Situation

The conditions for employment in the oPt significantly changed with the start of the second Intifada in September 2000, when the labor market was seriously affected by the deterioration in movement and access of people and goods as well as loss of work opportunities in Israel. Figure 1 shows the trend in unemployment over the past 12 years⁶(ILO standard⁷). As can be noted, the Gaza Strip has been and continues to be worse off than the West Bank in terms of unemployment. Following a peak of unemployment in 2002, at the height of Israeli military incursions, curfews and closures, the labor market has gradually adjusted to the situation.

However, overall unemployment levels remain high and reached 21.5% in 2007: 17.7% in the West Bank and 29.7% in the Gaza Strip.⁸ If the unemployed who are no longer actively searching for jobs are taken into account (the ILO ‘relaxed definition’), the average unemployment rate in the oPt in the fourth quarter of 2007 amounted to 28.8%: 25.9% in the West Bank and 35.3% in the Gaza Strip.⁹ Compared to other countries in the region, these unemployment levels are high. In 2006, for example, when the unemployment rate¹⁰ in the oPt reached 23.6%, unemployment rates in Israel and Jordan were 8.4% and 14.0%¹¹ respectively.

Figure 1: Levels of unemployment (ILO standard) and percentage of the employed working in Israel and settlements since 1995: in the oPt, and separately in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip.



The decline in employment of Palestinians in Israel, particularly since 2000, is shown in figure 1¹². The oPt has traditionally been relying on employment in Israel. At its peak in 1999, 25.9% of the employed in the West Bank and 15.7% of the employed in the Gaza Strip worked in Israel or its settlements. In 2007, this percentage was reduced to 13.1% for the West Bank and 0% for the Gaza Strip.

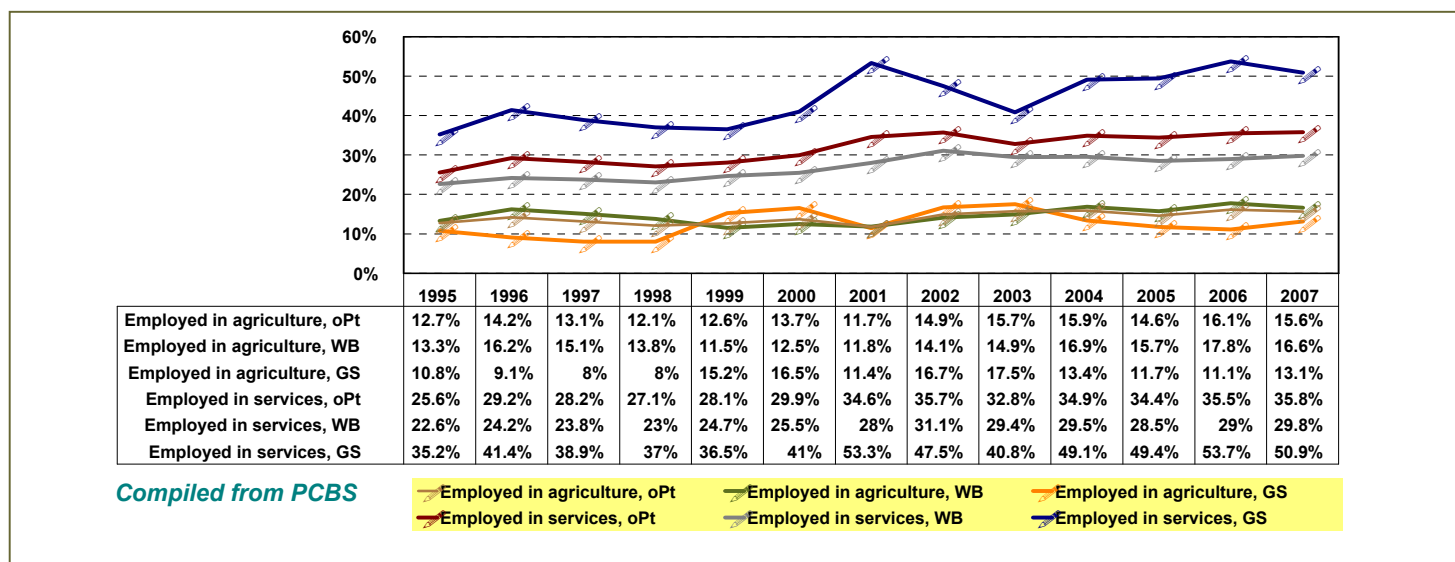
“The service sector is the main provider of employment opportunities in the oPt.”

Two sectors in the Palestinian labor market have played particular roles in the absorption of the unemployed since the second Intifada: **the service sector**, which includes public administration, and a large portion of the health and education providers, and **the agriculture sector**, which, especially in times of economic hardship, partly functions as a shock-absorber.

As detailed in figure 2, below, the service sector is a key employer and, even more so since the second Intifada, it has been the main provider of employment opportunities in the oPt. The expansion of the service sector occurred at a time of job losses in other sectors as the construction and manufacturing, which traditionally provided employment opportunities for unskilled workers in Israel. In 2007, the service sector engaged 35.8% of the employed: 29.8% in the West Bank and 50.9% in the Gaza

Strip.¹³ The expansion of the PA over the past years is the main reason behind these percentages. In the fourth quarter of 2007, 22.5% of the employed were PA employees, 15.0% in the West Bank and 41.1% in the Gaza Strip¹⁴, compared to an average of 17.4% just prior to the Intifada. After the January 2006 PLC elections, PA employees were hit hard by the ensuing fiscal and political crisis faced by the PA. Between March 2006 and June 2007, most of these employees were only partially or irregularly paid. Although employed, the absence of a regular salary negatively impacted their financial status, and precludes the classification of their employment as decent.

Figure 2: Evolution of employment in the agriculture and the service sectors since 1995.



⁴ UNDP/PAPP, *Development Times*, "Poverty in the occupied Palestinian territory", July 2007, Issue No 1.

⁵ ILO, "The situation of workers of the occupied Arab territories", May 2007.

⁶ Compiled from: *Palestinian Central Bureau of Statistics (PCBS)*, "Basic changes in labour force indicators", Labour Force Survey, October–December 2007, Press Conference 9 March 2008.

⁷ 'Unemployed' according to the ILO standard definition refers to those who are actively seeking jobs. In the oPt, however, there is a large group of 'discouraged workers' who are no longer searching for jobs. Therefore, a 'relaxed definition', which includes discouraged workers, is sometimes used as an additional indicator to better capture the unemployment situation.

⁸ PCBS, "Labour Force Survey", October–December 2007, Press Conference 9 March 2008.

⁹ PCBS, "Labour Force Survey", October–December 2007, Press Conference 9 March 2008.

¹⁰ The ILO standard unemployment rate.

¹¹ PCBS press release, 1 May 2007.

¹² Compiled from: *Palestinian Central Bureau of Statistics (PCBS)*, "Basic changes in labour force indicators", Labour Force Survey, October–December 2007, Press Conference 9 March 2008.

¹³ PCBS, "Labour Force Survey", October–December 2007, Press Conference 9 March 2008.

At times, economic uncertainty has provoked an expansion of the agriculture sector as Palestinians tend to revert to subsistence farming when they have no other income possibilities. As indicated in figure 2, since 1995, the share of the agriculture sector in the labor market has fluctuated and developed differently in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip. In the West Bank, the trend has been towards an increased engagement of workers in the agriculture sector since the start of the second Intifada. However, in the Gaza Strip, the contribution of the agriculture sector has been hampered by closures and the consequent isolation from agricultural markets that would enable farmers to receive financial returns. The absorption capacity for labor in the agriculture sector varies between seasons and involves a high share of non-paid family members and part-time work. In the fourth quarter of 2007, 67.2% of workers in the category of unpaid family members and 62.3% of those working 1–14 hours per week were active in the agricultural sector¹⁵. Besides being highly vulnerable to closures, the agriculture sector has also been heavily affected by land confiscation, destruction, and in the West Bank by the construction of the Wall.¹⁶ Increased costs of agricultural inputs have also contributed to making the agricultural sector less profitable since 1995.¹⁷

The Palestinian private sector, in particular the industrial sector, has been unable to grow and provide much needed work opportunities for the unemployed. Between 1994 and 2004, the industrial (mainly manufacturing) sector's share in total employment fell from an estimated 14.1% to 12.3%.¹⁸ The closure regime¹⁹ has effectively discouraged investments in the private sector and many businesses have lost external and internal markets due to high transaction costs and uncertainty in deliveries. In addition, the private sector faces the more fundamental problem of no longer being internationally competitive with their traditional low-value, labor-intensive products as production costs

have increased at a time when Israel has opened up its markets to low cost imports.

In order to survive and expand, Palestinian enterprises will have to move towards higher value added goods, improved quality, reduced costs and expanding their markets.²⁰

Since the take-over of control by Hamas last June, notably, the Gaza Strip has been put under severe closure measures, which caused increased hardship, and negatively affected the already crippled economy, and, in turn, negatively impacted employment opportunities. The private sector in the Gaza Strip was hit hard, with many factories forced to close and lay off workers for want of raw material. A UNDP/PAPP survey targeted at the business community in the Gaza Strip last December revealed that, since June 2007, 65% of the private sector reduced their activities, 27% closed business, 3% moved to a different type of business, whilst only 5% remained unaffected. The results of the same survey showed that 36% of the surveyed businesses reduced salaries by an average of 40% since June 2007, and 78% laid off a considerable number of their employees.²¹

This development is reflected in the employment statistics, for example, as a decrease in the share of the manufacturing sector from 8.0 % in the second quarter to 5.5% in the fourth quarter and a decrease in the share of the construction sector from 6.2 % in the second quarter to 1.5% in the fourth quarter 2007²². The closure has also taken its toll on the agriculture sector in the Gaza Strip, which is highly dependent on import of inputs and raw material and export of produce. The export freeze has resulted in thousands of tons of agricultural produce being held up in the Gaza Strip, sharply reducing the returns for farmers.²³

The rapid Palestinian population growth, annually 3.3%, coupled with a very young population, 46% aged 14 and younger,²⁴ has expanded the labor force. In 2006 alone, it grew at 5.4%.²⁵ Unemployment affects young Palestinians most and the fourth quarter showed a continued difficult situation, whereby 36.2% of 20–24 year olds, 29.6% in the West Bank and

¹⁴ PCBS, "Labour Force Survey, October-December 2007", Press Conference 9 March 2008.

¹⁵ PCBS, "Labour Force Survey, October-December 2007", Press Conference 9 March 2008.

¹⁶ UN Agencies, *Humanitarian Monitor*, January 2008.

¹⁷ Calculations based on "Basic Changes for the Agriculture Sector in the Palestinian territory 1993/94-2004/05", (PCBS)

¹⁸ World Bank, "West Bank and Gaza investment climate assessment: Unlocking the potential of the private sector", 20 March 2007.

¹⁹ According to Humanitarian Monitor (UN Agencies), January 2008, there are 482 unmanned and 87 manned IDF physical road obstacles in the West Bank.

²⁰ World Bank, "West Bank and Gaza investment climate assessment: Unlocking the potential of the private sector", 20 March 2007.

²¹ UNDP/PAPP, "The Gaza Strip: A Private Sector in Decline", December 2007.

²² PCBS, "Labour Force Survey, October-December 2007", Press Conference 9 March 2008.

²³ UN Agencies, *Humanitarian Monitor*, December 2007.

²⁴ PCBS, "Demographic and socio-economic status of the Palestinian people at the end of 2006", December 2006.

²⁵ ILO, "The situation of workers of the occupied Arab territories", May 2007.

48.4% in the Gaza Strip, and 38.6% of the 15–19 year olds, 33.5% in the West Bank and 52.4% in the Gaza Strip, are jobless.²⁶ Unless the situation is reversed, the inability of the labor market to offer young people decent employment opportunities and prospects for the future is bound to affect the long-term social and economic development in the oPt.

The successful achievement of the third Millennium Development Goal of promoting gender equality and empowering women is also challenged in terms of employment. Female participation in the labor market in the oPt is among the lowest in the world at 15.5%: 18.4% in the West Bank and 10.2% in the Gaza Strip²⁷. In comparison, the average female participation rate in the labor market for the Middle East and North Africa region is 29%, while the world average is 52%.²⁸ Women aged 20–24 are the worst off in the labor market with an unemployment rate of 46.0% compared to 33.9% of men in this age group. When considering educational

attainment, high unemployment rates, 28.8%, are found among women with 13 years of schooling and more, whereas for men in this category unemployment is 13.5%.²⁹ The Palestinian labor market is also highly gender segregated. Women are mainly employed in the service sector, 48.9%, and agriculture sector, 33.7%. Once employed, women face further disadvantages compared to men. Whereas 33.2% of women work as unpaid family members, only 6.8% of men do the same. Furthermore, 10.7% of women in the oPt are self-employed compared to 26.4% of men. Additionally, 5.1% of men in the oPt are employers compared to a mere 0.8% of women.³⁰

“42% of the Palestinians in the oPt consider employment as the most important community need.”

Employment – Palestinian Perceptions

The official statistics in the oPt paint a bleak picture of high unemployment and unprecedented levels of poverty. The results of a large-scale public opinion survey conducted for UNDP further confirm the importance of employment generation interventions and, more generally, of employment opportunities as a prime concern and need of the Palestinian public.

Employment is considered the most important *community* need by 42% of the Palestinians in the oPt, followed by 20% who believe that law and order is the most important community need, and 11% who give poverty alleviation the priority. As detailed in figure 3, the

ranking of various community needs in terms of their importance is quite similar in most of the oPt’s sub-regions with the exception of the middle West Bank. In this sub-region, employment and poverty alleviation are ranked lower in importance, while needs such as housing and law and order received a higher score. This may be a reflection of the relatively higher standard of living in the middle West Bank, particularly in Ramallah. Additionally, internal migration into the area driven by employment possibilities make urban needs such as housing more pressing.



²⁶ PCBS, “Labour Force Survey, October-December 2007”, Press Conference 9 March 2008.

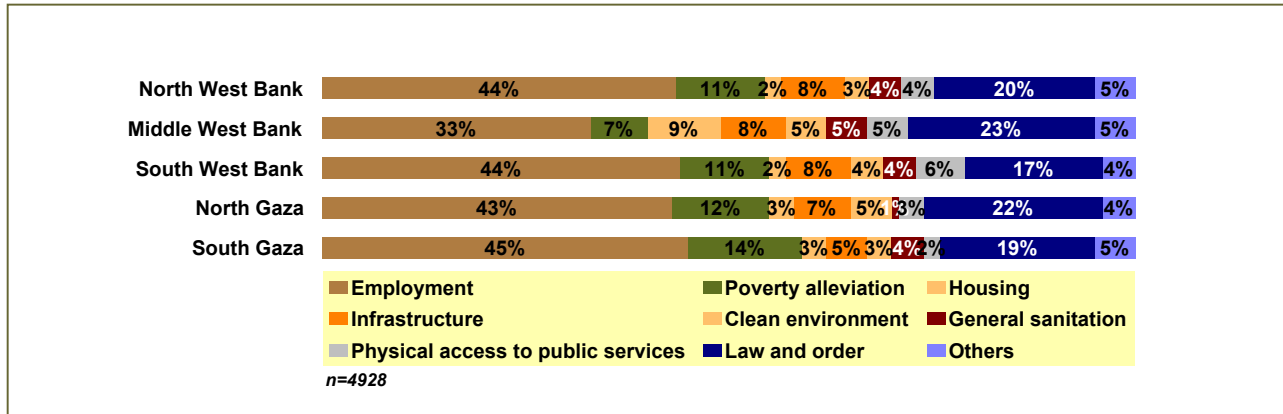
²⁷ Ibid.

²⁸ ILO, “Global employment trends for women”, March 2007.

²⁹ PCBS, “Labour Force Survey, October-December 2007”, Press Conference 9 March 2008.

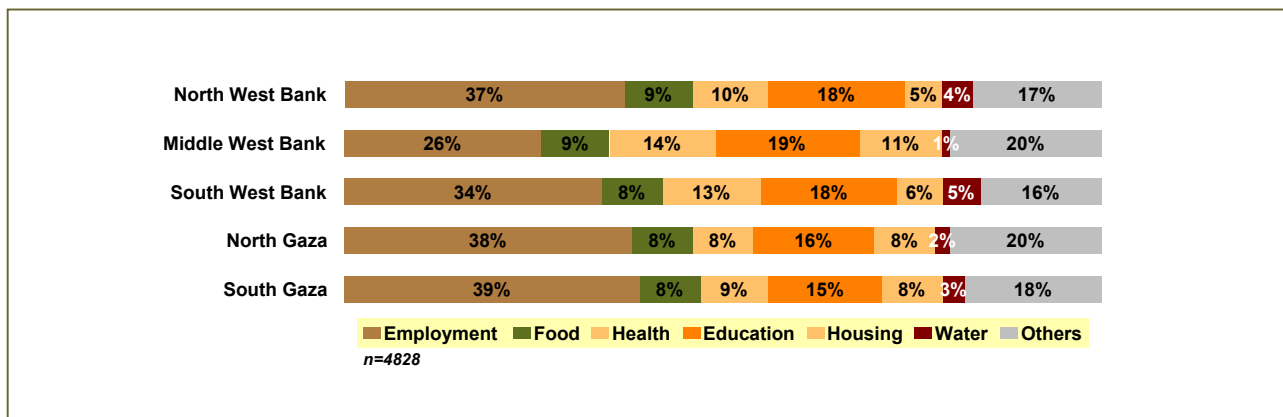
³⁰ PCBS, “Labour Force Survey, October-December 2007”, Press Conference 9 March 2008.

Figure 3: Ranking of the most important community need in the five sub-regions of the oPt.



Employment, 35%, is also considered the top *household* need by Palestinians in the oPt, and is only followed by a distant household need for education. Only 10% of households prioritize health.³¹ As overviewed in figure 4 below, and in line with the responses to the previous question on community needs, respondents in the middle West Bank ranked employment somewhat lower, 26%, than respondents in the other sub-regions of the oPt.

Figure 4: Ranking of the most important household need in the five sub-regions of the oPt.



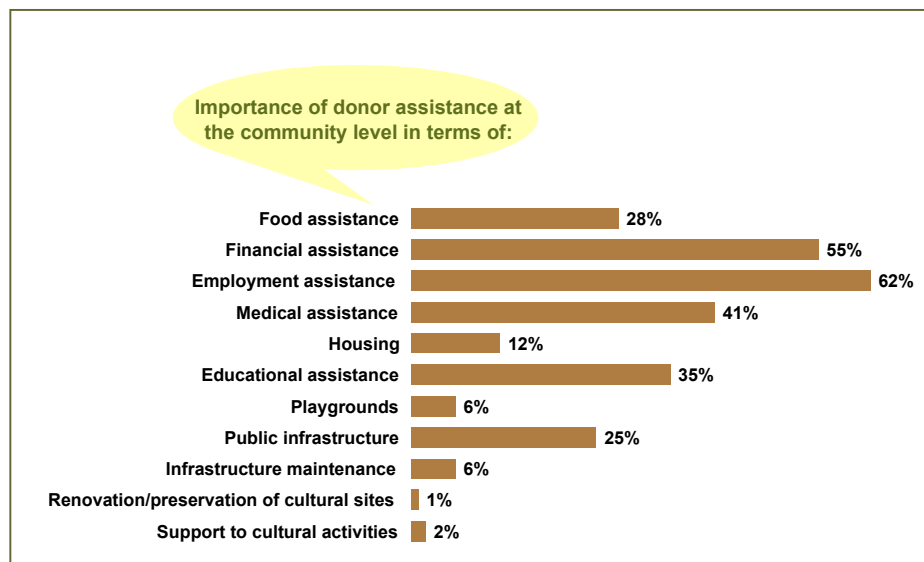
The importance of employment in the Palestinian public opinion is further reinforced by the weight given to employment assistance as a sector in need of donor assistance on a community level. Figure 5 shows that 62% see the employment sector as the one most in need of donor assistance, while 55% perceive financial assistance as the sector most in need of support. These findings underscore that income and its generation are key concerns in Palestinian households, surpassing other basic community needs, including food, medical, and infrastructural assistance.

More generally, interviewees were asked what, in their opinion, is the most important type of assistance required for their community. Once again, the message from the Palestinian public remained consistent with a majority opting for assistance in areas that generate employment and income.

³¹ Notably, 18% of Palestinians opted to answer that their most important household need was different than any of the pre-specified options. There had been a conscious decision not to include the option of security or law and order in the pre-determined list options. However, feedback from the phone operators indicates that most of the respondents who replied 'others' specified that their prime household priority was to have security.

Concretely, 53% of Palestinians in the oPt consider that assistance to the productive sector (including industry, services, agriculture) is most required for their community.

Figure 5: Importance of sectors in need of donor assistance at the community level.

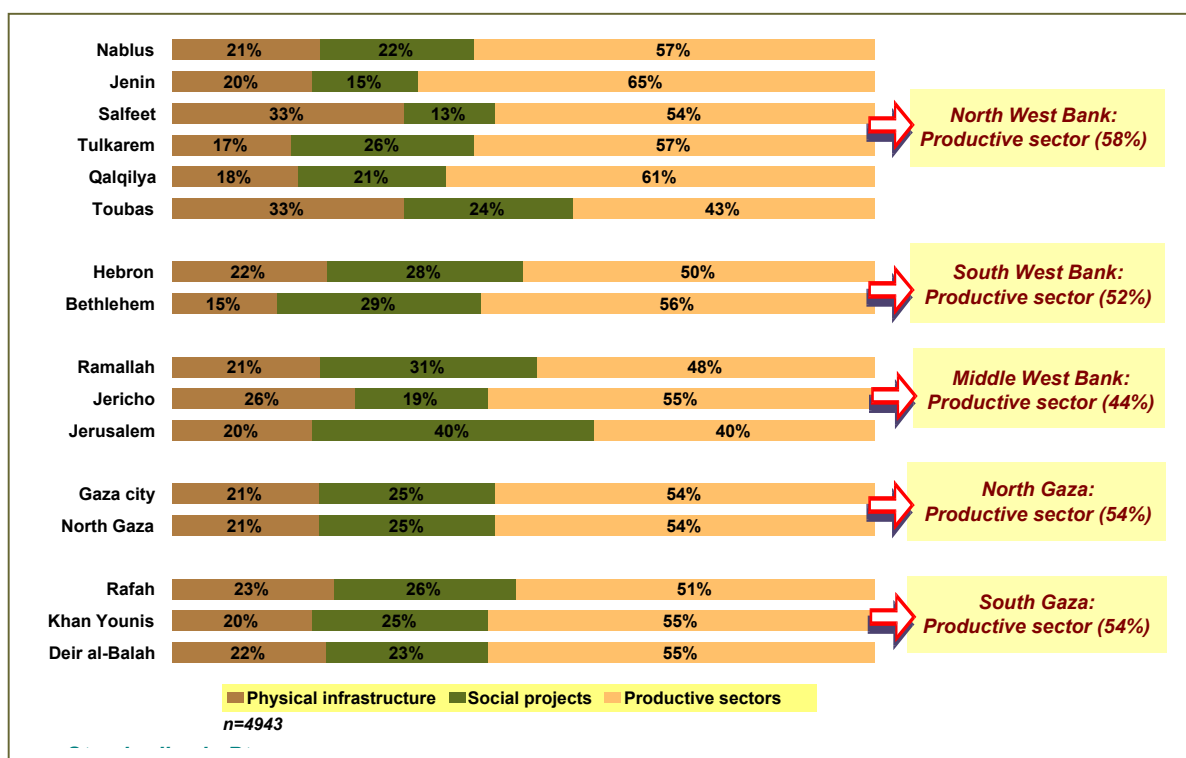


This is followed by 26% who believe that it is most required in the social sector (including education, health, housing), and 21% who prioritize assistance in the area of public infrastructure (including electricity, communications, water, roads, sanitation).

On a sub-regional level, the highest significance given to assistance in the productive sector was found in the north West Bank, particularly in the governorates of Jenin, 65%, and Qalqilya, 61%. Meanwhile, the highest score for support to assistance in public infrastructure in the oPt was located in two other northern West Bank governorates: Salfeet, 33%, and Toubas, 33%.

In line with previously discussed survey results, the preference for assistance to the productive sector was least pronounced in the middle West Bank, especially in the Ramallah, 48%, and Jerusalem governorates, 40%. The highest support in the oPt for assistance to the social sector was recorded in those two specific governorates.

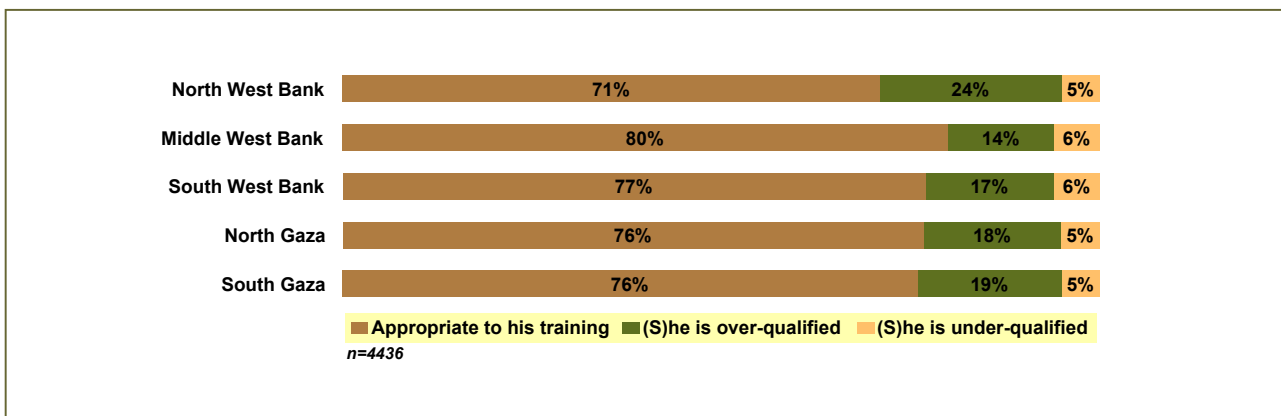
Figure 6: The most important type of assistance required for the community in the 16 governorates of the oPt.



In addition to the information about the needs of the Palestinian public in terms of assistance and employment, it is also useful to find out more about the labor force itself. For example, in the oPt, 76% of main breadwinners currently are perceived as having jobs that are appropriate to their training. Of the remaining 24%, 19% are viewed as overqualified for their current employment, while 5% are under-qualified for it. These results suggest that the absorption capacity of the labor market does not optimally match the skills of the labor force, and that about 1/5th of the labor force are taking on jobs even if they are over-qualified for it.

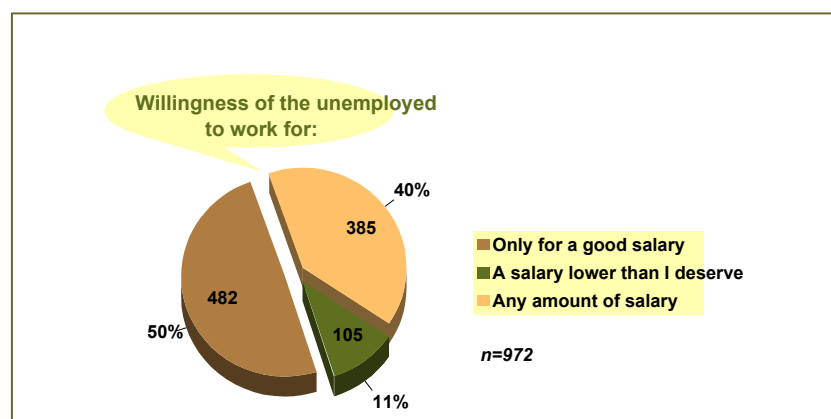
The most favorable conditions for finding employment in line with the received training can be found in the middle West Bank, while the matching between labor market supply and demand in the north West Bank seems to be at its worst. As further detailed in figure 7, 14% of breadwinners in the middle West Bank currently have jobs for which they are overqualified. This is the case for 24% of the main breadwinners in the north West Bank.

Figure 7: Appropriateness of the main breadwinners current job to his/her training in the five sub-regions of the oPt.



Just as a substantial proportion of the breadwinners are actually employed in jobs for which they are perceived overqualified, half of the unemployed in the oPt are prepared to work even if the salary is not what they deserve or would have hoped for. As illustrated in figure 8, 40% of the unemployed are willing to work for any amount of salary, and 11% for less than they deserve. The presented survey results convey that employment is a top concern for the Palestinian population, and that the urge for employment by far outweighs other social and humanitarian needs both at the household and community level. The provision of decent and productive employment is closely connected to the prospects for economic development and the restoration of hope, dignity and social harmony in Palestinian society. Successfully addressing the employment issue is challenging, and requires consolidated action by the PA and all stakeholders involved.

Figure 8: Willingness to work for a certain salary if unemployed in the oPt.



Concluding Remarks

Since the second Intifada, unemployment rates in the oPt remain persistently high, and continue to be a major obstacle to poverty reduction and, ultimately, progress towards the first Millennium Development Goal which aims to eradicate extreme hunger and poverty by 2015.

The centrality of productive and decent employment in achieving pro-poor growth and accelerating poverty reduction has been confirmed through a number of country studies from various parts of the world.³² Poverty reduction typically includes elements of high economic growth on a sustained basis. Therefore, strategies³³ should encourage: i) employment intensive growth promoted by policies that provide incentives towards development of sectors with high employment potential, ii) practices that lead to increased employment impact of infrastructure projects, and iii) measures that enable the poor to obtain means (such as education, skills and access to productive assets and finance) that allow them to utilize the available economic opportunities.

As repeatedly stated by international organizations, restrictions in movement and access for people and goods within and to the oPt are the underlying causes of the current bleak economic situation.³⁴ The lifting of these restrictions would be the single most effective measure to promote economic growth, private sector development and employment generation. Nevertheless, there is still room to address structural weaknesses in the labor market and to continue to create short-term employment opportunities. This would provide relief and promote development in this long-lasting crisis, and it would contribute to the establishment of the necessary conditions for pro-poor economic growth and poverty reduction in the longer term.

In recent years, the PA and the agriculture sector have, to a certain extent, absorbed workers who were made redundant in other sectors.

The PA is not likely to be able to expand any further in the coming years, while employment offered in the agriculture sector is typically low in productivity and part-time in nature. It will, therefore, be critical that the PA takes a pro-active role in promoting growth in productive sectors with high employment potential. This would include the elaboration of policies for pro-poor employment intensive growth that take into consideration the difficulties faced by vulnerable groups in the labor market, such as youth and women. Since the private sector is expected to play a key role in this development, special emphasis should be placed on advancing an enabling environment for the private sector and other measures to promote business development.

Further research on the linkages between poverty and employment in the Palestinian context, including employment in the informal labor market and the gender aspect, would be needed to support such strategies. This work should be complemented with a set of longer-term interventions that address the wider concept of productive and decent employment.³⁵

As short-term job creation schemes are likely to remain a substantial part of the crisis-driven response portfolio in the years to come and infrastructure schemes also will continue to play an important role in early recovery and reconstruction, the potential to achieve more in terms of long-term benefits for this type of interventions should be addressed in a systematic way. There is still potential to increase the employment impact of such interventions through the use of more labor-promoting techniques, which if introduced at scale and linked up to the policy level, could contribute to employment-rich growth in the long run. Job creation programmes through labor-based infrastructure are also excellent means of promoting local development, governance and private sector development, and contribute to peace building and early recovery.³⁶

³² UNDP/ILO/Sida joint programme "Promoting Employment for Poverty Reduction", Discussion paper 14, "The Nexus of Economic Growth, Employment and Poverty Reduction: An empirical analysis", Rizwanul Islam, January 2004

³³ It is worth noting that some strategic areas of intervention have recently been proposed by the ILO in their document "Occupied Palestinian Territory – An Employment and Labour Market Strategy", September 2007.

³⁴ See e.g. World Bank, "Movement and Access Restrictions in the West Bank: Uncertainty and inefficiency in the Palestinian Economy", 9 May 2007; ILO, "The situation of workers in the occupied Arab territories", May 2007; OCHA, "The humanitarian impact on Palestinians of Israeli settlements and other infrastructure in the West Bank", July 2007.

The move towards gender equality and the empowerment of women in the labor market, as reflected in the oPt MDG indicator "share of women in wage employment in the non-agricultural sector", will require a focused and proactive approach. The high unemployment rates registered among young women, specifically those with a high level of education, pose a particular challenge. More research is needed on the various barriers faced by women in the labor market, including elements of gender discrimination, in order to better target labor market interventions and corrective measures.

Interventions aimed at facilitating access to the labor market by youth, women and other vulnerable groups should be based on labor market demand and supply analyses. Such analyses would also be useful in seeking to bridge the gap between the education system and labor market needs.

A range of programmes targeted to the needs of those groups could include training, job placement schemes, access to business development services and micro-finance.

Employment generation in the oPt is currently not being dealt with optimally through the coordination structure of the PA. As a cross-cutting issue, employment interventions are rather handled by a large number of actors across sectors in response to various humanitarian and development needs. Given the centrality of employment and the need for concerted action that is tailored to relevant employment policies, the establishment of a coordination mechanism remains a priority.

UNDP is the UN's global development network, advocating for change and connecting countries to knowledge, experience and resources to help people build a better life. We are on the ground in 166 countries, working with them on their own solutions to global and national development challenges. As they develop local capacity, they draw on the people of UNDP and our wide range of partners.

World leaders have pledged to achieve the Millennium Development Goals, including the overarching goal of cutting poverty in half by 2015. UNDP's network links and coordinates global and national efforts to reach these Goals. Our focus is helping countries build and share solutions to the challenges of:

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- Poverty Reduction*
- Crisis Prevention and Recovery*
- Energy and Environment*
- HIV/AIDS*

UNDP helps developing countries attract and use aid effectively. In all our activities, we encourage the protection of human rights and the empowerment of women.

³⁵ In the ILO report (ILO, "The situation of workers of the occupied Arab territories", May 2007.), several areas of longer term interventions were suggested, including assistance to employers' and workers' organisations, strengthening the functions of labour administration, enterprise development, employment and vocational training programmes, cooperative development, and the establishment of viable social protection systems.

³⁶ ILO/HEI, Employment in Response to Crises: An analytical Report of the Research Project "Strengthening Employment in Response to Crises".