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POLITICAL UNEMPLOYMENT:

A STUDY OF PALESTINE ARAB REFUGEES

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By

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A B S T R A C T

This thesis grows out of a personal concern on the part of the writer with the economic condition of the Palestine Arab refugees in Lebanon: The purpose is to investigate the causes of unemployment on the part of the refugees and its correlation with proposed concept of "political unemployment". It is hoped that this research will make the actions and attitudes of this group of people better understood, and would help in planning to meet their present and future economic needs. In addition an opportunity is taken in this study to consider the adequacy of the general categories used in classifying the unemployed.

This particular group of unemployed, the Palestine Arab refugees, may be considered as a sub-group of a larger class. With a little reflection it is possible to recall other unemployed people who are not lacking in needed skill or ability and at the same time are residents in a society whose economic system is in an expanding or generally developing period. The important factor is that this class of unemployed are in this condition because of some criterion which is generally irrelevant to the economic system. The scientific problem of the research is to determine the appropriateness of adding a concept such as "political unemployment" to the already existing categories.

In the design of the study, a sample of one hundred male heads of refugee families who were unemployed for two

months or more and who were ration recipients were taken for study. All were to have held jobs while living in Palestine. No special method for the selection of the interviewees was followed. As the refugees came to the office of the Joint Christian Committee they were interviewed, or if time did not permit their addresses were taken and an interview was arranged to be given in their dwellings. This "sample" does not attempt to be representative of the Palestine Refugees as a whole. It is a purposive sample selected with a view to controlling two major factors: religion and residence.

An interview schedule of forty four questions was constructed and pretested. It was first prepared in English and then translated into Palestinian Colloquial Arabic which is the current language used by the Palestinians. It requested information concerning the refugees along three major lines: Their job experience in Lebanon; general attitudes about economic matters; and their background characteristics.

As mentioned above the scientific problem with which this study is concerned is the determination of the appropriateness of adding a concept of "political" unemployment to the already existing categories of unemployment. In the final analysis the one hundred unemployed Palestinian refugees were judged on the nature of their unemployment. Since a variety of data concerned with the economic activity of each refugee had been collected, it was necessary to establish a procedure whereby a final assignment of each case could be made. This necessitated a more explicit description of the concrete referents of each type of unemployment. Before a case could be assigned to one category of unemployment or other it was essential that it be

contained in the class of members of the labor force. Later on the procedure followed was to classify each respondent three times (when- ever possible) according to his responses to three questions which provided relevant information for assigning the cases according to type of unemployment. Also a method for determining the reliability of the results of these judgements was necessary. This was done by checking the writers' final assignment of cases against the assignment of cases against the assignment made by another competent judge.

It was found that the "political unemployment" category was of use for the population studied. Some cases did fall clearly into the category, but only a few. The agreement between judges in classifying the population into unemployment categories was low for all categories, including the category of political unemployment.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The economic plight of the Palestine Refugees has received sympathetic attention from many quarters of the world. The establishment of the United Nations Relief and Works Agency (UNRWA) is evidence of this. Many people especially those outside the Arab countries have wondered why many of these refugees continue to be dependent upon UNRWA for their livelihood. Is it because they are simply lazy and they do not want to work or are there other reasons? This study is the result of an interest on the part of the writer in seeking an answer to such questions.

Besides reviewing the nature and scope of the research problem, the procedures followed in gathering data for examination will be indicated in this chapter. Some of the difficulties encountered during the field work are also to be treated. Finally an overview of the thesis setting forth the order of presentation will conclude this introduction.

The Research Problem

This study of the Palestinian refugees grows out of a personal concern on the part of the writer with the

economic condition of these people. The writer, herself a Palestinian refugee, has served for several years with one of the private religious organizations which have been concerned with alleviating the hardships of these people. It is hoped that this research will make the actions and attitudes of the refugees better understood. In addition an opportunity is taken in this study to consider the adequacy of the general categories used in classifying the unemployed.

It is probable that most of the able-bodied male refugees are employed in some capacity or other. But there is a large number of refugees who are dependent on the United Nations Relief for their subsistence and perhaps existence. An enquiry into the employment experience in Lebanon of the heads of these families should be of considerable value in planning to meet their present and future economic needs.

This particular group of unemployed may be considered as a subgroup of a larger class. With a little reflection it is possible to recall other unemployed people who are not lacking in needed skill or ability and at the same time are residents in a society whose economic system is in an expanding or generally developing period. Examples might be members of the Communist party in Iraq, or people who are confined in prisons, or negroes in certain American

economic condition of these people. The writer, herself a Palestinian refugee, has served for several years with one of the private religious organizations which have been concerned with alleviating the hardships of these people. It is hoped that this research will make the actions and attitudes of the refugees better understood. In addition an opportunity is taken in this study to consider the adequacy of the general categories used in classifying the unemployed.

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communities. Other examples might be noted, but the important factor is that this class of unemployed are in this condition because of some criterion which is generally irrelevant to the economic system.

Not much attention has been given to the problem of unemployment by sociologists since the period of economic depression in the 1930's. Mostly it has been economists who have been interested in developing classification schemes for this type of social behaviour. The scientific problem involved in this research is to determine the appropriateness of adding a concept such as "political" unemployment to the already existing categories.

Study Design

In this section attention will be given to the procedure followed in gathering data for the study. As in all similar research projects, a sample was first selected and controlled for various pertinent factors. Later, an interview schedule was prepared, pretested and administered to this sample. The data thus secured provided material for analysis.

Sample

In planning the sample of refugees to be interviewed, it was decided to limit the size to one hundred male heads of families who were unemployed for two months

or more and who were ration recipients. Fifty members were to be chosen from those residing in camps and fifty from those living out of camp. Furthermore, each of these categories was in turn to be composed of twenty-five Christian and an equal number of Moslem members. All were to have held jobs while living in Palestine. The particular interviewees were to be chosen from those refugees who called at the Joint Christian Committee (J.C.C.) center in Beirut for help either in the form of relief, scholarship or for loans.

This "sample" does not attempt to be representative of the Palestinian Refugees as a whole, nor of those who came to the J.C.C. for help.¹ It is a purposive sample selected with a view to controlling two major factors: religion and residence. In the first place, since the refugees were selected from those who came to a Christian organization, the need was felt for equating their religious affiliations in order to minimize religious bias. In the second place, since the refugees were living both in and out of camps, it was felt that by equating them on residence, any bias in their responses to employment questions would be controlled. Thus the interview sample was in fact composed of four different groups of refugees: Christians living in camps; Moslems living in camps; Christians living out of camps; and Moslems living out of camps. All were unemployed and ration recipients.

1. See Appendix C. p.85.

No special method for selecting the sample to be interviewed was followed. As the refugees came to the office of the J.C.C. they were interviewed, or if time did not permit, their addresses were taken and an interview was arranged to be given in their dwellings. It was necessary at the end to seek some interviews from camp resident refugees who had not come to the J.C.C. center.

The Interview Schedule. An interview schedule was constructed and pre-tested. It was first prepared in English and then translated into Arabic. The Arabic was the Palestinian colloquial Arabic which is the current language used by the Palestinians. Its use insured that the questions would be communicable and reasonably well understood by all the interviewees, even those who were illiterate.

The schedule was composed of forty-four questions. It requested information concerning the refugees along three major lines: their job experiences in Lebanon, general attitudes about economic matters, and their background characteristics.

The questions on job experience sought information on the type of work done previously, the duration of such employment, the type of work sought now, and the degree of hope they had in locating employment. Another set of

questions was designed to reveal what the refugees were thinking about their present economic status and the causes of their unemployment. This formed the set of questions dealing with attitudes. The remaining questions were not different from other similar questions characteristic of sociological research. They secured information on certain background characteristics like age, religion, educational skill, vocational training, size of family and so forth.

Field Procedure and Problems

The process of interviewing people on various subjects is a sensitive affair. Much more so when the respondents are unemployed refugees who have been subjected to political, social, and economic pressures. The field problems that the writer encountered in administering the interview schedule were many.

The interview was performed by the writer alone for several reasons. The most important being that the writer by virtue of her capacity as an interviewer and social worker employed by the J.C.C. had already acquired entré to the refugees and gained their confidence. She had been working with the refugees for about five years; thus her making the interview was accepted by the respondents as a routine procedure.

The field work was begun in January 1957 and continued until March. The interviews with non-camp residents were held in the office of the J.C.C. on Tuesdays and Fridays, the set days for interviewing refugees for various relief purposes. This part of the field work presented no problems and was comparatively simple. When camp residents had to be interviewed, however, the situation was considerably more difficult.

As mentioned before, some of the camp residents were already interviewed at the J.C.C. offices. When the time came for interviewing the remaining members of the sample in camps, permission was sought from the UNRWA Welfare Division. This was not granted on security grounds. The refusal was a result of disturbance in one of the local camps. The primary cause of the trouble was that a Government sponsored interviewing committee had visited the camps and made enquiries about the employment status of the residents. Later on, the unemployed residents were sent to another camp in the south of Lebanon. This had resulted in an armed clash between the Government workers and the refugees. Consequently, the interviewing of camp residents was not looked upon with favor by the Government or UNRWA. However, camp leaders were contacted, and due to already existing rapport, they gave maximum assistance by picking the unemployed refugees.

These were in turn taken in groups of three to the writer's home and interviewed there. After some time, UNRWA agreed to interviewing in camp if done in an unofficial manner and on an individual basis. The balance of the interviews were completed in camp with no commotion arising therefrom.

Another difficulty was present in the selection of interviewees. This was due to the necessity of ascertaining whether the refugee who was to be interviewed was in fact really unemployed. As one refugee expressed it, "If we say we are unemployed, the Government will shift us to a distant camp, and if we say we are working, rations will be cut. In both cases we are in trouble." This presented a serious problem as it was necessary to determine whether or not a refugee was unemployed before the start of the interview. To check on this point, two sources were used: the first were camp leaders who were well acquainted with all the refugees residing in their camp, and the second were other officials employed by the UNRWA, such as social workers, doctors, nurses, who were already familiar with the refugees and their whereabouts. By double checking on the statements of these people, it was possible to determine with relative certainty whether a refugee was really unemployed.

OVERVIEW

As mentioned in the beginning of this chapter, the purpose of this study is to investigate the causes of unemployment on the part of the refugees and its correlation with the proposed concept of "political unemployment". The report will be presented in the following order: after this introduction, which sets out the main theme of the dissertation, it becomes appropriate to present the system of classification currently in use for the different types of unemployment. Following this, the background and history of the selected sample, that is the Palestinian Arab refugees who were interviewed, will be discussed. In order that the reader may have a clear picture of the state of affairs, the many resettlement schemes proposed by various organizations to stimulate the employment of the refugees will be reviewed. Next, an analysis of the employment history and process of groups interviewed is described. Finally it is appropriate to investigate the extent to which the proposed concept, "political unemployment", is a useful category for classifying the unemployed, and an attempt will be made to assign the individual cases to some category of unemployment. Arabic and English copies of the questionnaire are appended.

CHAPTER II

CONCEPTS OF UNEMPLOYMENT

It is important to focus attention at the outset of this study upon the classes of unemployment frequently distinguished. As has been already indicated the goal of this study is to examine whether or not the introduction of a new class of unemployment would seem to be appropriate. Therefore consideration of the abstract classification units will be given priority over the discussion of the nature of the particular data under examination.

In this chapter various concepts used in the area of economic behavior such as employed, unemployed, etc. and which are to be used later in this thesis are broadly defined. The various types of economic unemployment whether cyclical, seasonal, or otherwise and the criteria which delineate the phenomena to which they refer will be examined.

Employment

It is essential at this point to clarify the terms used in this research as they are stated in related studies. Such terms as employed and unemployment as used in economics shall be briefly dealt with.

The concept of employed has received its most precise delineation in the operational definition used by the United States Census Bureau. The employed are those people who during the census week do one of the following:

1. work full time or part time for pay or profit;
2. work without pay in a family enterprise (farm or business) at least fifteen hours;
3. have a job but do not work because of illness; vacation, labor management dispute, bad weather, or layoff with definite instructions to return to work within thirty¹ days.

On the other hand, the unemployed are defined as those who are not working but seeking a job.² Despite that fact that they have the capacity and willingness to work, they are unable to do so because of certain reasons inherent in the organization of commodity production. This definition, however, does not include those who are incapable or unable to work either temporarily or permanently

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1. Dale Yoder, Census Bureau of the United States of America Personnel Management and Industrial Relations New York, Prentice Hall, Inc. 1948, pp. 581-2.
 2. Ibid., p. 582.

due to strikes, illness, injury, etc.¹

To help towards the exclusiveness of the two categories of the employed and the unemployed, it would help clarification to stress the term unemployment. Unemployment, as the term indicates, is a state of affairs that exists at a certain period of time as a result of some defect in the economic machine. In a way, it is involuntary or forced idleness on the part of a member of the normal working force during normal working times and normal wages and under normal conditions. (2, 3) Again, in such a definition, the aged, the physically handicapped, and the mentally ill are to be excluded.

Types of Unemployment

Unemployment and unemployed are fairly common words denoting that someone is out of work. There are less common classifications of economic unemployment

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1. Edwin R.A. Seligman and Alvin Johnson
Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences,
Vol. XV, The Macmillan Company, New York,
1935, p. 147.
 2. Gordon F. Bloom and Bert R. Northrup
Economics of Labor and Industrial Relations.
The Blackstone Company, Philadelphia, 1950,
pp. 351 and 354.
 3. Byrne J. Horton, Julien Ripley, and M.B.
Schnapper Dictionary of Modern Economics.
Public Affairs Press, Washington D.C.,
1948, p. 341.

making the term more specific and comprehensible. Among these are technological, cyclical, seasonal, and frictional unemployment.

Where technological unemployment is used to mean the displacement of workers by new labor-saving devices and technical advances in methods of production, technological refers to the mechanical improvements in machinery. These improvements may cause changes in the occupational requirements of the industry concerned, directly or indirectly. While this may result in the displacement of workers some economists consider this type of unemployment temporary since the new industries in turn create additional jobs.^(1,2) Related to this is unemployment due to new trends in commodities. An obvious example of this is the disappearance of the carriage industry.

Cyclical unemployment is due to the recession of the business cycle and has perhaps the most threatening effect on both the worker and the employer. The impact of it is severe because recovery from depression and the rebuilding of economy is slow. The number of the unemployed as a result rises markedly relative to the

1. Ibid., p. 148.

2. D. Weintraub and H. L. Posner,
Unemployment and Increasing Productivity.
Works Progress Administration, Washington
D.C., 1937, p.95.

intensity of the crisis the duration of which depends¹
upon the length of the depression period.

Seasonal unemployment arises in those occupations which produce goods for which there is a seasonal demand or those whose nature, or the conditions essential for its production, confine work on them to certain seasons of the year. Seasonal changes in the supply and demand of these goods reflect such factors as custom, habit, and style. Also, variations in supply are caused by a fluctuating flow of material and seasonal alterations in production techniques. Included in this type of unemployment are the casual labor demands on the docks in many trades, and in the harvesting of certain crops.(2,3)

Frictional unemployment should be distinguished from what is called the hard core of unemployed which refers to the fact that a few members of the labor force are chronically unemployed. The hard core is often referred to as the unemployable group but experience has shown that in periods of labor shortage, many of the unemployable somehow seem to get and hold employment.(4)

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1. Seligman and Johnson, op.cit., p. 148.
 2. Bassard, J.H.S.
Social Change and Social Problems
Harper and Brothers, New York, 1934, p. 219
 3. Bloom and Northrup, op.cit., p. 354.
 4. Dale Yoder, op.cit., p. 653.

Frictional unemployment can be attributed to time lost in changing jobs or hiring practices that exclude older people rather than to lack of job opportunities. It is the lack of mobility due to change of skill and arises not from the unavailability of jobs but the fact that the supply of workers does not fit the demand for labor. A last important source of such friction is that job seekers are often ignorant of market conditions and do not know where to find suitable employment.

It is felt that the above classes of unemployment do not exhaust the possible types nor provide for the classification of all unemployed people. In particular there appears to be a group of unemployed who while possessing adequate capabilities in a period of general economic well-being are unable to secure employment because of some quality which they possess. The term political unemployment, is suggested for this class. The essential factor is that these people are unemployed while yet possessing all the requirements relevant to adequate performance.

Classification Criteria

While the various types of unemployment have been reviewed it is necessary to inquire directly as to the bases for assigning a particular unemployed person to a

particular class. Criteria for accomplishing this task will be set forth in this section.

A worker is technologically unemployed if he has lost his job because new machinery was introduced in a plant for which he was not sufficiently trained to fit. If he has lost his job due to the closing down of an industry or plant due to competition or replacement by better industries and plants, or if he has lost his job through changes in the management, he is to be so considered.

The criterion for cyclical unemployment takes into account the economic state of a particular area. A country goes through trends which demand more or less man-¹power related to general economic conditions. In order to judge whether a worker is unemployed due to cyclical reasons, it is important to be aware of the present economic conditions of a region or country and its relation to unemployment.

In seasonal unemployment, the criterion differs from the above in that it is more predictable, being due to periodical variations in business caused by climatic or other seasonal variations in supply and demand. Temporary inactivity of a business enterprise whose services

1. Ibid., p. 653.

are not in demand result in the unemployment of that enterprise's employees.

A worker is considered frictionally unemployed if he is in the process of seeking a job and yet is unaware of the available opportunities. This type of unemployment concerns the individual rather than environmental factors around him. It is caused by frictions in the labor market, such as hiring practices, or the job seeker's inability to fit the demands of the employers.

An unemployed worker may be considered as politically unemployed: a) when he is shown to possess the requisite skills for jobs, b) for which there is a demand for workers and c) where it can be demonstrated that there exists a real barrier, formal or informal, to his employment because of some status or quality which publicly identifies him.

Having examined the nature of the concepts it is now appropriate to examine the nature of the empirical phenomena which we wish to classify. In the following chapter the relevant aspects of the Palestinians Refugee group will be discussed.

CHAPTER III

THE PALESTINIAN REFUGEES - THEN AND NOW

The Palestinian Arab refugees are fairly well-known to people residing in the Middle East. After being compelled to leave their country in 1948, they have since lived on the charity of the United Nations in the hope that they shall one day return to their homes. In this chapter recent events which led to their leaving their homeland and becoming refugees are briefly traced. Further, the occupational and social traditions of the refugees in Palestine are compared with the group interviewed for this study. It was deemed necessary to include a few remarks concerning what the UNRWA is doing with reference to their care.

Historical Background

Palestine, better known as the Holy Land, is a stretch of land that lies along the Eastern Mediterranean shore. It is bordered by Lebanon on the north, Syria on the north-east, the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan on the east, and Egypt on the south-- all Arabic speaking countries. The former residents of Palestine were composed of an overwhelming majority of Arabs (subdivided into a

Moslem majority and a Christian minority) and a minority of Jews. The distribution of the population as of 1945 is shown in Table 1.

TABLE 1

THE DISTRIBUTION OF THE PALESTINIAN POPU-
LATION BY ETHNIC AND RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION - 1945

Arabs		
	Moslems	1,101,565
	Christians	554,329
Jews		139,285
Others		14,858
		<hr/>
	TOTAL	1,810,037
		=====

Source: Department of Statistics, Palestinian Government Vital Statistics Tables 1922-1945 Printed at the Government Printing Office Jerusalem, 1947.

On May 15, 1948, the British Mandatory power left Palestine in a state of chaos and war. Jewish terrorism on one side and the lack of Arab leadership and organization on the other forced the Arabs to seek temporary shelter in the neighboring Arab countries. Over one million Arabs left their homes and lands. Of these only the refugees who

came to reside in Lebanon will be considered in this study. Approximately 150,000 took refuge in Lebanon, 101,305 of which are dependent on UNRWA for assistance. This support may include free medical, housing, educational, food rationing, placement, vocational, and other facilities.

Occupational Tradition in Palestine

In Palestine, the occupational tradition followed a pattern which is not essentially different from other Middle Eastern countries or from many other predominantly agricultural Western countries. That the family is a patriarchal one is regionally true in the Western Hemisphere as is the fact that the children are expected to help support the family at a certain age eventually lifting the responsibility from the shoulders of the father.

The male head of the family is recognized as the main provider for his family and other dependents should they exist. His children are expected to start contributing to the family income upon reaching adolescence. However there are three factors influencing the age at which children start work and the retirement age of the father. These are:

- 1) whether the family resides in a rural or urban area,
- 2) the family income, and 3) the religion of the family.

The children of families living in rural areas start work at the age of about 14 either by helping their father or by obtaining employment elsewhere. Should the family income be high, the children supervise the work of hired hands. The women of the family also participate in the work and assume the responsibility of selling produce.

On the other hand, families living in urban districts tend to delay having their children work in order to give them an education. This is especially true where secondary and higher education is available to those who can afford it. Those whose income is low tend to apprentice their children at about 12 years of age to learn a trade.

Girls in urban areas generally receive the same amount of formal education as the boys, although the general attitude is that as their future would be in home-making, they would have little use for it. The adolescent or adult daughters in Christian urban families usually work if they are neither engaged to be married nor at school. Over the past decade or so there has been an increase in the number of women holding jobs particularly among Christians. The few Moslem women who held jobs were restricted to such work as teaching, dress-making, and nursing.

The retirement age of a Palestinian Government employee was 55 at which age he was entitled to a pension. Otherwise, the age when the head of a family could expect his children to support him was approximately 60 (assuming he had adult sons who were able to work). The exact retirement age of a particular individual depends on his health, personal initiative, and desire to work. Though retired, the father is expected to administer the finances of the family. All those working are to give their earnings to him and in some cases the money is paid (by the son's or daughter's employer, for example) directly to the father.

UNRWA and the Refugees

According to UNRWA, every person notwithstanding his nationality who lived in Palestine for two consecutive years prior to the conflict and in consequence has lost his home and means of livelihood is considered a refugee. These refugees fall into four categories: camp resident, ration recipient; camp resident, non-ration recipient; non-camp resident, ration recipient; non-camp resident, non-ration recipient.

In the category of camp residents who are ration recipients fall the poorest of refugees - those whose income does not enable them to rent the simplest living quarters outside the camps. Camp residents who are non

rations recipients are those former rations holders who have found employment, but whose income is too small to enable them to meet all their expenses.

Non-camp residents who are ration recipients comprise those refugees who have been residing outside the camps for reasons of pride, lack of vacancies in the camps, or who have a regular income from work or capital brought with them but whose income is low enough for them to qualify for rations. The last category is that of the non-camp residents who are non ration recipient. These refugees are financially self-supporting and are neither entitled nor usually willing to accept rations.

There are a number of ration recipients living both inside and out of the camps who do not receive full rations for all members of the family. Rations for one or more members are cut depending on the family income.

In the beginning, UNRWA was in favor of admitting to camps most refugees who were ration holders. At present, however, admission depends on the vacancies available in the camp, and the applicants must prove their inability to pay rent. Those asking admission to camps are mainly in the low income group.

There are two different scales of income which UNRWA is adopting to determine eligibility for rations. The

first applies to non-camp residents, the second to camp residents. The scale points out that if one's income does not entitle him to rations but is below a fixed sum, the person may still be entitled to medical and educational services. A lower scale of income is set for cutting rations from camp residents because they receive more services from UNRWA while non-camp residents have to pay for these services from their income.

Social and Occupational Background

The occupational distribution of the refugees who were interviewed is reviewed below (see Table 6). However, before proceeding to a study of the history and process of employment for this group, it is appropriate to note a few of their background characteristics. It will be recalled that this group was selected from those refugees who came to the Joint Christian Committee (for refugee relief) asking for help, whether in the form of work or otherwise.

Table 2 is a resumé of the age range of the interviewees. The lower age group, 25-30 years which comprises one-third of the sample contains a majority of Moslem non-camp residents.

TABLE 2

FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION OF AGES OF HEADS OF HOUSEHOLDS

	<u>Age</u>	<u>Number</u>
	51-55	12
	46-50	18
	41-45	10
	36-40	11
	31-36	16
	25-30	33
Total		100

As is seen in Table 3, the number of members per family ranged from 2 to 13. Every interviewee had on the average (mean) five other persons besides himself to support. No significant difference was found between those in and out of camp.

TABLE 3

FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION OF SIZE OF FAMILY

<u>Number of Members</u>	<u>Number of Families</u>
13	1
12	2
11	3
10	5
9	8
8	14
7	10
6	10
5	13
4	9
3	10
2	15

Table 4 shows the extent of composition in detail. In general, the nuclear type family was found to be more prevalent (66 per cent) than the extended family (34 per cent). Two observations not shown by the table are: first, non-camp residents had more relatives living with them (17 per cent) than camp residents (8 per cent); and secondly, those in camp, on the other hand, had more children (68 per cent) than non-camp residents (39 per cent).

TABLE 4

FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION OF FAMILY COMPOSITION

<u>Member</u>	<u>Number</u>
Husband	100
Wife	99
Sons	54
Daughters	53
Husband's father	16
Husband's mother	31
Husband's siblings	25
Wife's mother	1
Grandchildren	1

Noteworthy here is the fact that out of 16 members with secondary or higher education, 12 are Christians residing out of camp.

TABLE 5

LEVEL OF EDUCATIONAL TRAINING

<u>Education</u>	<u>Number</u>
Secondary or higher	16
Primary	50
No formal education	34
Total	<u>100</u>

About half of the refugees have had vocational training (51 per cent). It is to be noted that non-camp residents have had less training (17 per cent) than those living in camp (38 per cent).

The following are a few of the occupational background characteristics of the refugees as they existed in Palestine and as were present in the group of refugees who were interviewed. The occupational distribution of Palestinians for the year 1944 is shown in Table 6. This census, taken during wartime makes classification of the gainfully occupied population only approximate and thus not wholly representative. Sources for this estimate include birth statistics in which the father's occupation is given, the monthly industrial employment series, statistics on government employment, and data furnished by military authorities concerning persons employed in installations of the armed forces. The preponderance of village type occupations will be readily noted.

While this review of the social and occupational characteristics of the refugees who constitute the group of unemployed persons which will be used to test the concept of political unemployment does not bear directly upon the research problem, it has been included to give the reader a more accurate picture of the persons involved.

TABLE 6

COMPARISON OF OCCUPATIONAL DISTRIBUTION OF
PALESTINIANS IN PALESTINE AND IN THE INTER-
VIEWED GROUP 1

<u>Production Branch</u>	<u>Percentage engaged 1944 Total Population</u>	<u>Percentage engaged 1957 Interviewed Group</u>
Agriculture, livestock, fisheries, forests	50.6 per cent	13 per cent
Industry and handcrafts	4.3	17
Building and construction	6.6	10
War department, civilian employment, Palestinian troops	9.2	-
Transport and communica- tions	5.0	23
Commerce and finance, hotels, restaurants, cafés	9.6	19
Government and local authorities	10.6	8
Other	3.6	10
Total	100.0 per cent	100.0 per cent

1. Loftus, P. J., National Income of Palestine 1944, Printed by the Government Printer, Palestine, 1946.

CHAPTER IV

RESETTLEMENT PROGRAMS AND OBSTACLES

After considering the Palestine Refugees, their background and present status, it is appropriate at this point to inquire into the various projects offered for their resettlement. Such programs may have a definite effect on unemployment. Their presence certainly will increase employment opportunities.

This chapter will describe briefly the projects that various international and local organizations have propounded as an aid to the resettlement of the Arab Palestinian refugees and hence their employment. In addition it will indicate the diverse obstacles to the fulfillment of such programs, whether raised by the refugees themselves, the Lebanese Government, or other sources. The analysis of obstacles may provide a clue to the reasons for the present unemployment of some of the refugees.

PROGRAMS OF RESETTLEMENT

The resettlement of the Arab Palestinian refugees involves programs and projects for integrating them into the country in which they currently reside. The United Nations took steps towards this effect in the establishment of the United Nations Relief and Works Agency (UNRWA). Although UNRWA's primary objective was relief, it later

developed in the direction of resettlement. This it proposes to accomplish in two ways: first, by making the refugees acceptable to the Lebanese people and government, and second, by establishing them in permanent dwellings and developing means for their employment.

Below, various types of projects proposed for resettlement will be discussed. These projects may be summed up into four categories: construction projects, development of small industries, vocational training, and resettlement through emigration. Obstacles to these projects shall be dealt with in another section of this chapter.

Construction Projects

Two distinct types of construction programs have been proposed. The first includes road construction, improvement and maintenance, and the second, hydroelectric power and irrigation.

The project of road construction, improvement and maintenance was presented in a report by the United States Bureau of Public Roads at the request of the Near Eastern Branch of the Department of State. It has two objectives. The first is to utilize able-bodied refugees in the construction of new roads and small drainage structures,

as well as the improvement and maintenance of existing ones. This was thought to help keep the refugees continuously employed and lead to their settlement in the countries where they reside at present. The second objective of the project is a consequence of the first. It supposed that the increased use of these improved systems of transport may eventually lead to the revival of distant, isolated agricultural areas, and hence increase the total agricultural production. This, it is hoped, will result in a better and more stable economy for the countries concerned.¹

The second program which employs able-bodied refugees deals with the development of hydroelectric power and irrigation systems. It was prepared by the Lebanese Ministry of Public Works. This program is based on the utilization of the waters of the three Lebanese rivers: the Litani, Nahr el Barid, and Lake Yamina. It aims at increasing the area of irrigated lands, and hydroelectric power output. Once the waters of these rivers are properly channelled for irrigation, the surrounding lands should increase their productivity. This combined with properly built hydroelectric dams and power stations may

1. U.S. Bureau of Public Roads. How Highway development in the Middle East can aid in the permanent resettlement of the Arab refugees. An explanatory report. Washington, D.C. 1949, p. 1.

result in doubling the amount of arable land. Furthermore, the increase in electric power could be utilized in the development of light industries, such as the setting up and improvement of existing assembly plants.¹

Development of Small Business and Industry

The United Nations Relief and Works Agency and other voluntary agencies have developed other types of schemes to help resettlement. These schemes undertake the granting of loans to refugees and other small local industrial firms. Their aim is to relieve some of the unemployment pressure by sponsoring small business men, factory owners, dressmakers, and others who in turn might open up employment opportunities for a larger group of refugees. On the other hand, if the existing small industries such as leather craft, textiles, copperwork, and other handicrafts could be organized and expanded and if additional capital could be secured along with an assured market, it was thought possible that a few thousand skilled craftsmen among the refugees could find employment.

UNRWA had a scheme by which it would grant loans up to LL 5,000 to responsible and capable refugees who would

1. Thicknesse, S.G., Arab Refugees, A Survey of Resettlement Possibilities, Broadwater Press, London and New York, 1949, p. 46.

be willing to start a business concern. At present, however, it has temporarily suspended the development of this scheme in Lebanon due to government opposition. Such grants have been made outside of Lebanon.¹

Vocational Training

Another scheme proposed for combatting unemployment is vocational training. There are several vocational training centers for the refugees in Lebanon. These centers are undertaken by UNRWA and other voluntary agencies such as the Near East Christian Council and Pontifical Mission. They aim at training the refugee in various vocations such as bookkeeping, accounting, carpentry, typing, sewing, embroidery, and other arts and handcrafts. Although those trained so far form only a small portion of the refugees, it is hoped that they would find less difficulty in locating employment.

Besides having their own training centers, these agencies also grant scholarships to students in secondary schools and universities in Lebanon and elsewhere, particularly to those who are studying for a profession like medicine, pharmacy, nursing, or engineering. Such scholarships have also been granted to those who, having started, had not yet completed studying before the outbreak of war

1. Information obtained from Mr. Rafik Deeb, Placement and Emigration Officer of UNRWA.

in Palestine. These too have been few in number.

Resettlement through emigration

Where the previous programs of resettlement have been planned for Lebanon, this one is designed for execution outside the Arab States. It may be appropriate to note the fact that emigration affects employment. Should resettlement take place outside Lebanon, it will have a direct effect on the amount of unemployment in Lebanon.

Again here, UNRWA and the other voluntary agencies lent a helping hand. Their special emigration offices extend financial loans and aids to cover traveling and other expenses. Some even go to the extent of securing jobs for the refugees in their newly acquired countries. It is estimated that some 1500 refugees have emigrated from the Arab states during 1953-55. However, there are no available statistical figures for those who left Lebanon alone. These refugees have mainly emigrated to Australia, Brazil, Canada, the United States of America, and Venezuela.

OBSTACLES TO RESETTLEMENT

Many obstacles have been raised to resettlement in Lebanon. Although mainly political and economic, some

1. Person, W. "Emigration from the Arab World" Middle East Forum, May 1956, Beirut, p. 13.

are social. To ensure the feasibility of resettlement, cooperation between the Lebanese, their government, and the refugees is very essential. Accordingly, if such cooperation ceases to exist at any time, the implementation of these resettlement schemes will come to a standstill. The obstacles encountered so far are categorized into government attitudes and refugee attitudes.

Government Attitudes

Since most of the aforementioned plans for resettlement have been proposed for operation in Lebanon, it becomes vital at this point to consider the role that the Lebanese Government and people have played in their execution. Although some of the plans have been proposed by the Lebanese Government itself, it also has been the source of some of the obstacles.

The reasons why the government has opposed resettlement are discussed below. They are mainly due to religious, economic, and political factors. Although these reasons have not been officially stated by government spokesmen, they have been expressed by several well-informed persons. (1, 2)

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1. Morrison, S.A., Middle East Survey, The Political, Social, and Religious Problems, S. M. Press, Ltd., London, 1954.
 2. Riggs, F.W., "Refugee question blocks Palestine Settlement" Foreign Policy Bulletin, Vol. 28, July 15, 1949, p. 2.

The economic reasons raised by the government are mainly based on the grounds that Lebanon is already overpopulated, and is unable to solve its own unemployment problem. Furthermore, the economic resources of the country - even if developed - are hardly sufficient for its own rapidly growing population. The few refugees who so far have found work have already depressed the standard of living by accepting lower wages than the inhabitants. Hence, permanent resettlement might seriously disorganize an already impoverished economy. Therefore, the Lebanese Government has decreed that henceforth Palestinians cannot be permitted to work in Lebanon without first securing a work permit.¹ Securing this permit from the Ministry of Social Affairs is usually a very difficult and laborous process. It is only granted to those individuals whose qualifications cannot be filled by a Lebanese citizen.

The religious obstacles to resettlement are mainly raised by the Lebanese Christian leaders. They fear that the absorption of a grossly Moslem refugee community might upset the delicate religious balance in Lebanon (53 per cent Christian to 46 per cent Moslem) and thus reduce them to a minority.²

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1. This information was obtained from Mr. Joseph Raad of the Ministry of Social Affairs, Foreigners Department, Beirut.
 2. Schechman, J.B., The Arab Refugee Problem, Philosophical Library, New York, 1952, p. 82.

The political obstacles in Lebanon and elsewhere are directly related to the Palestine problem as a whole. The acceptance of any resettlement plan by the Lebanese Government bears greatly on two major political issues: the right of the refugees to repatriation, and the recognition of the so-called State of Israel.

The Arab League, wishing to keep the Palestine problem alive, has decided to make restrictions as to granting exit permits for any refugee leaving the Arab countries. Exceptions to this rule are those travelling for study or business. Lebanon has been following this rule by giving only occasional permits that are to be renewed every year, and upon refusal of renewal, the refugee has to return to Lebanon.¹

Resettling the refugees in Lebanon or elsewhere might prejudice their right to repatriation. On the other hand, it would mean the acceptance of the so-called State of Israel as a fait accompli. No Arab government recognizes Israel. The Arab States maintain that it is the duty of the United Nations to return the refugees to their former homes. To them the recognition of Israel means the acceptance of a neighboring enemy who is eager to expand

1. This information was obtained from Mr. Chafic Chatila, Secretary of the Central Committee for Palestine Refugees.

its territory and thus endangers the safety of the whole Arab world.

Refugee Attitude

The Arab Palestine refugees in Lebanon have opposed all resettlement plans for the same political reasons that the Lebanese and other Arab governments have opposed it. They realize that resettlement means losing their right to regain their homes and properties in Palestine. Their country is more important to them than any job in the country of their current residence plus compensation for lost property.

In general, they have no confidence in UNRWA or its reintegration schemes - they fear the projects are designed to make them lose their rights to their homeland.¹ On the other hand, they feel that being refugees, they are placed on a lower status than other Arabs. To regain their lost integrity is to regain their country and^{not} to become assimilated in a host country.

In the absence of a political settlement of the Palestine Problem and the interference of the Lebanese Government in preventing resettlement schemes and forbidding

1. Morrison, S.A., op.cit. p. 50

the employment of refugees, the problem of unemployment is likely to become more acute as the refugee population is constantly increasing. On the other hand, it is well to note that in spite of the difficulties some Palestinians do find work with local firms.

CHAPTER V

EMPLOYMENT EXPERIENCES

Before considering the reasons why the particular group of refugees who were studied were unemployed, some description of their employment experience seems appropriate. While others have talked in terms of large scale resettlement projects, the Palestinians themselves have been more concerned with obtaining as high a degree of economic security as present conditions permit. Even those who have had the support of UNRWA rations have sought additional income wherever it was available.

The review of the employment experience of these refugees will be divided into two major parts. First the history of their employment since they came to Lebanon will be noted. The second part will give some attention to the employment process - that is, how they went about securing and losing jobs.

One note of caution needs to be made for the benefit of the reader. This concerns the reliability of the information presented in this chapter. This is indicated by a check on internal consistency. There is fluctuation in the tabular material which sometimes appears in the form of conflicting results (as, for example, when the

number of refugees who have never worked at all fails to agree with the number who have had no employers).

Several factors seem likely to have caused this error. As was indicated in Chapter III, one-third of the group had no formal training and another 50 per cent had only primary schooling. Thus the relatively illiterate people may not have been so able to recall and present objectively their employment experience as were their more educated counterparts. The use of colloquial Palestine Arabic in the interview schedule was an attempt to minimize the errors due to understanding what was asked, but it is not likely to have eliminated the problems involved in recall. The tension over moving the unemployed to camps more distant from Beirut mentioned in Chapter I may have caused the respondents to give "good" answers rather than the "real" ones. However, the fact that the interviewer was a Palestinian and known to be employed with a non-governmental agency which seeks to aid the refugees may have allayed their fears. Since fairly good rapport was established in all cases, the interviewer feels that the responses were reliable in all but a few cases.

Employment History

Several aspects of the work experience of the refugees in Lebanon will be noted. Information will be

presented concerning when they started working after the Palestine war, at what they were working, how regularly they worked, for how long a period, and the number of employers they have had. A major division is made between the first job that the refugee held after leaving Palestine and the last or most recent position they had before becoming unemployed.

Time lapse. The Palestine war was an unexpected event though there had been growing friction between the Jews and the Arabs for some time prior to the conflict. The Jews were a minority and there was evidently little idea that the Arabs would be forced to flee their homelands. Consequently, the evacuation was chaotic with valuables and economic facilities being left behind.

In the group of refugees with which this study is concerned, it will be seen from Table 7 that one-third started to look for work in Lebanon immediately upon arriving. After a few months half had sought employment. The economic condition of some was not so difficult and one-fourth did not look for work until two years had passed. All seem to have expected to return to their homeland (and still do) but some had money and things to sell which lasted for some time. Some worked before all their resources were gone in order to retain what little security they provided.

It will be noted that seven out of the group of one hundred have never sought work since coming to Lebanon. All of these seven reside in camps. Perhaps other members of their families were able to work. Perhaps they are the casualties of war in an economic sense.

TABLE 7

TIME LAPSE AFTER PALESTINE WAR
UNTIL REFUGEE SOUGHT EMPLOYMENT (a)

Time Lapse	Number
Four years or more	3
Three years	10
Two years	13
One year	15
After a few months	18
Right from the start	34
Never sought	7
	<hr/>
Total	100

(a) Source: Interview question, Job History 1.

Type of Employment. In Chapter III, Table 6 some indication of the occupational activities of the Arabs of Palestine and of the particular group in this

study was given. It is interesting to note that while nearly two-fifths of the interviewees sought work in Lebanon of the same nature as their last job in Palestine (see Table 8), an equal number sought different occupations. It seems that opportunities for employment in Lebanon may have influenced the refugees to seek jobs in occupations other than those with which they had worked immediately prior to the war. However, it should be mentioned that the jobs which these refugees have held are primarily of an unskilled or semi-skilled nature. They include common laborers, waiters, and craftsmen such as painters, carpenters, and mechanics.

TABLE 8

COMPARISON OF EMPLOYMENT EXPERIENCE IN
PALESTINE WITH TYPE OF EMPLOYMENT SOUGHT
AND JOBS HELD IN LEBANON (a)

Employment Experience	Number
Sought employment similar to work in Palestine	39
First and last job secured were similar	15
First or last job was similar (b)	24
Sought employment different from work in Palestine but first or last job similar to one in Palestine	5
Sought employment different from work in Palestine	30
Found first and last jobs as sought	5
Found first or last job as sought (b)	25
Job sought, work in Palestine, first and last jobs all different	4
Never held a job in Lebanon	18
Neither sought nor held a job in Lebanon	4
Total	100

(a) Source: Based on responses to "background information" question, number 1 and "job history" questions number 4, 8, and 15.

(b) Only one case in which last job was the same.

Regularity and Duration. While most of the respondents held some job during the period since the Palestine conflict, it is important to learn how long they worked at that job. Some refugees have worked at the same occupation but have changed employers. In Table 9 it will be seen that only one third of the group have worked half the time or more and of these very few have worked consistently. Again at the other extreme, we have one-third who have hardly ever or never worked since they came from Palestine. (A somewhat greater proportion of those who have worked "some of the time" are Moslems while a greater proportion of those who have "hardly ever" worked are Christians.)

TABLE 9

REGULARITY OF EMPLOYMENT (a)

Time	Number
Most of the time	8
Half of the time	26
Some of the time	31
Hardly ever	20
Not at all	15
Total	100

(a) Based on responses to "job history" question number 6.

The number of employers which the refugees have had reflects the state of their economic situation. Persons employed in the relatively unskilled trades are likely to be more easily replaced and thus an employer may feel free to discharge the employee without much loss to his working force.

68 per cent of those refugees living outside of camps have had only one or two employers. This seems to indicate either that the non-camp resident is more dependent on keeping his job or that he has a job that for some reason or other seeks to keep him. This may be related to his possessing greater skill than the camp residents.

TABLE 10
(a)
NUMBER OF EMPLOYERS

Employers	Number
Six or more	18
Four or five	13
Two or three	24
One	21
None	24 (b)
Total	<u>100</u>

(a) Based on responses to "job history" question number 7.

(b) Some of these are self employed.

The condition of these refugees is further defined by inquiring into the length of time a job usually lasts. Nearly 60 per cent of the jobs which were secured lasted less than a year and some probably lasted only a month or two. Table 11 gives the distribution of the refugees jobs according to their length.

TABLE 11
(a)
DURATION OF JOBS

Years	Number	Percent
4 to 5	9	7
3 to 4	11	9
2 to 3	13	10
1 to 2	22	16
Less than 1	78	59
Total	133 (b)	101

(a) Based on responses to "job history" questions number 13 and 20.

(b) Includes 81 first jobs and 52 last jobs.

Employment Process

When do people learn about jobs? Why are they hired and why do they accept to work for some employer or other? These questions and others concerning wages and reasons for leaving seem relevant to the employment process. They will

be discussed in this section. Consistently, the experiences connected with the first job will be contrasted with those connected with our refugees' last job.

Learning about jobs. Very few employers seem to have sought out the refugees to give them work. At the beginning many refugees seem to have simply gone around asking about work. However, the traditional manner of learning about opportunities from relatives, friends, and neighbors seems to have been, and is even more today, the dominant procedure for securing employment.

TABLE 12 (a)
PROCEDURE WHEREBY REFUGEE LEARNED ABOUT JOB

Method	First Job (b)		Second Job	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Mediations (friends, relatives)	50	69	36	82
Personal inquiry	18	24	3	7
Employers inquiry	4	6	5	11
Totals	72	99	44	100

(a) Based on responses to "job history" questions numbers 9 and 16.

(b) Note three refugees began their own businesses.

Why they were hired. Discovering available jobs is the first step in the employment process, but if the potential employer does not want to hire the worker, the process ends there for that particular event. In the mind of

the refugees it is the employers need for help that was the most important reason for their being given a job. From Table 13 it can be seen that it was not the attributes which the workers possessed (of course, they did not possess much skill) nor the influences of others but the motives residing in the employer which determined whether or not employment was given. These motives include the simple need for help, the opportunity to secure cheap labor, and the fact that there was a desire to help the Palestinians whether out of friendship or pity.

TABLE 13
REASONS FOR EMPLOYING REFUGEES (a)

Reasons	First Job		Second Job	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Attributes of the worker				
Good training or experience	4	5	3	6
Personal qualities	14	15	5	10
Motive of employer				
Need for help	38	45	22	43
Desire for cheap labor	5	6	2	4
Pity	10	12	4	8
Relative or Palestinian	7	8	3	6
Influence of others				
Relatives	4	5	5	10
Friends	3	3	7	14
Totals	85	99	51	101

(a) Based on responses to "job history" question numbers 10 and 17.

Why they accepted. There is another side to the hiring process and that is concerned with the reasons of the prospective employee for accepting the job which is offered. Table 14 classifies the responses of the refugees on this problem. As seems reasonable, their primary motive in accepting their first job was a pressing need for money. It has not been studied but it may be that this first job was taken before the rations of UNRWA had been instituted. However, nearly three-fifths of the reasons given for accepting the last job are of the same nature.

TABLE 14
(a)
REASONS FOR ACCEPTING EMPLOYMENT

Reasons	<u>First Job</u>		<u>Second Job</u>	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Properties of the job	5	7	7	16
Longterm advantage	4	6	4	8
Lack of Alternatives	6	8	4	8
Need for money	56	78	28	58
Totals	71	99	48	101

(a) Based on responses to "job history" numbers 11 and 18.

Remuneration. If the need for money is the single most important factor encouraging these refugees to accept a job, it may be enlightening to discuss how much money they have been paid. This information is summarized in Table 15.

It will be noted that there has been no shift in the distribution of salary income between the first and the last jobs. However, the medium salary for the first job was 120 Lebanese Pounds or about 4 L.L. per day (this computation excludes consideration of irregularly paid employment), while for the last job the medium salary was 150 L.L. or about 5 L.L. per day. This constitutes an increase in amount of payment by 20 percent. But at the same time it must be remembered that 38 per cent of those holding a job the first time were without employment or in other words had no "last" job.

TABLE 15
DISTRIBUTION OF SALARY (a)

Lebanese Pounds Per Month (b)	First Job		Second Job	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
180-500	18	24	7	15
120-175	17	23	12	27
90-115	17	23	12	24
35-85	16	22	12	27
Irregular	6	8	3	7
Totals	74	100	45	100

(a) Based on responses to "job history" questions number 12 and 19.

(b) Categories based on approximate quartile distribution of first job salary.

Termination of employment. The conclusion of the employment process is the termination of the refugee's job. Since all the interviewees were unemployed at the time of this study, they had all experienced this final event. In general, the reasons for leaving a job may be broadly divided into reasons why the refugee left of his own accord and reasons why the refugee was dismissed. Table 16 presents the results of such a classification for the group of refugees which were interviewed.

TABLE 16
(a)
REASONS FOR LEAVING JOB

Explanation	First Job		Second Job	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Left of own accord:				
Dissatisfied with work	27	36	4	8
Health	2	3	5	10
Other reasons	7	9	3	6
	<u>36</u>	<u>48</u>	<u>12</u>	<u>24</u>
Dismissed:				
No longer needed	32	43	30	62
Lebanese preference	4	5	6	13
Other reasons	2	4		
	<u>39</u>	<u>52</u>	<u>36</u>	<u>75</u>
Grand Totals	75	100	48	99

(a) Based on responses to "job History" questions number 14 and 21.

It will be noted that there has been a substantial shift in the direction of the refugees being less likely to leave voluntarily from their last job. This table raises the question of whether or not their unemployment isn't due to causes other than "political". It is appropriate to conclude this study with a careful analysis of this question.

CHAPTER VI

POLITICAL UNEMPLOYMENT

It should be recalled that the scientific problem with which this study is concerned is the determination of the appropriateness of adding a concept of "political" unemployment to the already existing categories of unemployment. A group of unemployed persons who on the surface would seem to fall within this new category was selected for examination. The initial task is to determine to what extent this seemingly obviously "politically" unemployed group may in fact be so classified.

In this concluding chapter the one hundred unemployed Palestinian refugees are to be judged on the nature of their unemployment. The procedure by which the cases were assigned to one category or other of unemployment will be described. Results of this analysis will then be reviewed. Finally an evaluation of the appropriateness of the category of political unemployment as well as of the whole categorical system pertaining to unemployment will be examined.

Assignment Procedure

Establishment of a procedure for assigning the individual cases to an appropriate category required more explicit description of the concrete referents of each type of unemployment. Since a variety of data concerned with the

economic activity of each refugee had been collected, it was necessary to establish some procedure whereby a final assignment of each case could be made. Also, a method for determining the reliability of the results of these judgments was necessary.

Referents. In Chapter II above, a rather general list of the referents for each category of unemployment was presented. However, preliminary inspection of the cases involved in this study suggested that further and more specific referents would be helpful. This was especially desirable for the technological, seasonal, and frictional categories. Thus included in technological were to be cases where a refugee lost his job due to the inability of the business in which he was working to compete; where the skill possessed by the individual was no longer needed; where managerial changes brought changes in the business organization with the result that the employee lost his job; and where the refugee lacked capital to begin a business.

It was difficult to decide whether a respondent should be assigned to the seasonal or to the frictional category in some cases. Where the reason for the loss of work was that the job was temporary and that work got slight the case was called seasonal, but where the job was temporary and there was no need for a workman with his training the

case was assigned to the frictional category. Seasonal, also, was assigned cases where the contracts had finished or "work ended". These were in addition to the more classical type where the "product was not sold or required during that time." Frictional, also, covered cases where there were "too many workers in this job", "no vacancies," and "no luck in finding work."

Preliminary inspection further suggested the need for a residual category into which cases which could not be classified into the other groups might be assigned. For example, cases where a man indicated that he was dissatisfied with his salary and left the job; "got sick and left;" "not up to the job--too tiring"; left job to go see his family"; and where the reply was simply "I don't know."

Decision Procedure. Before a case could be assigned to one category of unemployment or other it was necessary that it be contained in the class of members of the labor force. It will be recalled that inquiry was made as to the first and last jobs held by the refugee as well as whether or not he was seeking work. Thus if a refugee had not held any job since he came to Lebanon but indicated that he was still seeking work, he was included in the labor force. Only those who had not held jobs and were not seeking work were to be excluded as falling outside the labor force.

There were three questions in the interview schedule which provided information relevant for assigning the cases according to type of unemployment. Two had to do with why the respondent left this employment in Lebanon ("job history" questions 14 and 21) and the last had to do with why he was unsuccessful in securing present employment ("job history" question 24). The procedure followed was to classify each respondent three times (whenever possible) according to his responses to each of these questions. A final summary assignment for each case was made in the following manner: If the respondent held a "last" job then his reason for leaving this last job was taken as the basis of the final classification for the case. If the respondent had not held a "last" job but only a "first" job then the classification was based on his reason for leaving the "first" job. If a respondent held no job but had sought work then the reason why he thought he was unable to secure work was taken as the basis for assignment.

Priority was given to experiences connected with an actual job over judgments concerning a yet unachieved goal. It may be that this biased the evaluation in favor of past experiences rather than present ones, but the feeling was that a more adequate picture was to be obtained in this way.

A deliberate attempt was also made to assign the cases to one of the traditional categories of unemployment rather than to the suggested "political" category. A problem of assignment arose only in those cases where the responses were conflicting or ambiguous. This procedure is in conformity with the scientific convention of trying to prove one's preconceived notion's wrong.

Still another check was used, but this one was to determine the reliability of the final assignment. Two judges assigned the cases independently in accordance with the procedures outlined above. The writer's assignment of cases was checked against the assignment made by a graduate student who had received training in scientific methodology. Comparison of the results of the judges will be made in the next section.

Analytical Results

In this section the results of applying the procedures outlined in the previous paragraphs to the cases of unemployed refugees are presented. Consideration will be given first to membership in the labor force and to the conditions bearing on cyclical unemployment. This will be followed by a description of the distribution of unemployment and the agreement of the judges.

Labor Force. In selecting the cases to be included in this study the writer was guided by several criteria.

First, the refugee had to have been unemployed for at least two months prior to the interview. Second, the person had to have held a job in Palestine prior to the War. There were other criteria (see chapter I) but these are the ones with which we are primarily concerned here. It is to be noted that there were no requirements to the effect that the refugee had worked in Lebanon since the War or that he had even sought work here. Thus in the sample of one hundred refugees there were seven cases in which the respondent indicated that he had never worked nor sought work in Lebanon. Two of these cases involved workers whose training and experience were no longer of use in Lebanon. The balance of the group might have been classified as residuals save one who had not sought work because he was certain he would not be given it (since he was a Palestinian refugee). There remained then ninety-three respondents who were seeking work and were therefore in the labor force. For these assignments to one of the categories of unemployment was considered legitimate.

Cyclical unemployment. It may be recalled from the discussion in Chapter II that the classification "cyclical" unemployment obtained when a worker was without work because of the depressed state of economic activity in the community. In the discussion of resettlement projects the notion was raised that there was not enough

work for Lebanese people, hence many had had to leave the country and seek employment in such places as Africa and South America.

It was, however, the considered opinion of the local economic analyst attached to the U.S. Embassy in Beirut that if the present economy of Lebanon was judged from the standpoint of economic cycles then it would be located in the expanding or even "boom" phase of the cycle. Therefore despite the opinions of some Lebanese Government officials and of some refugees to the contrary the position taken, was that no cases of current unemployment could legitimately be classified as due to cyclical conditions.

Distribution of Cases. The distribution of the cases according to type of unemployment is shown in Table 17. It will be noted that while there is some difference between the two judges assignments **the** relative rankings remain the same. Most unemployment falls within the class of seasonal with the residual group being the second largest. Frictional, technological, and political categories follow in this order of frequency.

TABLE 17

FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION OF REFUGEES ACCORDING TO TYPE OF UNEMPLOYMENT AS EVALUATED BY TWO JUDGES

Type	Frequency	
	First Judge	Second Judge
Technological	10	13
Seasonal	39	31
Frictional	11	18
Political	10	9
Residual	23	22
Total	93	93

While Table 17 gives a picture of the relative dominance of the various types of unemployment, it does not indicate exactly how reliable these judgements are. The criterion of reliability here is the amount of agreement between the two judges as to the proper assignment of each case. In Table 18 this correlation is shown.

TABLE 18

CORRELATION OF THE ASSIGNMENTS OF THE FIRST JUDGE WITH THE ASSIGNMENTS OF THE SECOND JUDGE

	T	First Judge			R	Total	
		S	F	P			
Second Judge	T ^{a/}	6	4	-	-	3	13
	S	-	29	-	1	1	31
	F	1	3	8	2	4	18
	P	-	2	1	6	-	9
	R	3	1	2	1	15	22
Total		10	39	11	10	23	93

a/ Letters stand for technological, seasonal, frictional, political, and residual unemployment respectively.

It will be noted that for 69 per cent of the cases there is perfect agreement. The greatest error of the first judge relative to the second lies in her seasonal assignments. The greatest error of the second judge relative to the first lies in his frictional assignments. The difficulties

pertaining to these two categories have already been mentioned in the above discussion of the assignment procedure. While this concludes the analysis of the cases as to their proper assignment under some category or other of unemployment, the judgement as the appropriateness of the "political" category remains to be done.

Evaluation

In evaluating the appropriateness of any category of unemployment it is necessary to inquire first of the criteria for judging the adequacy of any categorial system. Then the adequacy of a particular categorial system such as that of unemployment may then be determined. Only after this does it become meaningful to inquire of the status of a particular category within that system.

Requirements. Several criteria are held to be highly desirable if not necessary in establishing or judging a categorial system.¹ First the categories should ideally fit some order either of a concrete (empirical) or logical nature. Second the categories should be exhaustive or inclusive--that is they should provide a class for every case falling within the domain of the system.

1. Lerner, Daniel and Lasswell, Harold D., The Policy Sciences, Standford University Press, Standford, California, 1951, Chapter IX.

Third, the categories should be mutually **exclusive**, and ideally each concrete case should be classifiable into one and only one category. A fourth consideration which is implied in the first criterion is that the categories individually and as a whole should in some way be of significance to the larger system of order which contains this particular phenomenon. In this case the family or the economic institutions or even the social system as a whole,¹

Status of the System. The present categories of unemployment seem to have been developed in a rather sporadic manner. They appear to have evolved rather independently of each other and are not integrated in a precise way. The large residual group in the distribution above indicates that without the addition of this category the system is not exhaustive or inclusive.

Categories such as cyclical and technological appear to be on two different levels of abstraction, and hence a single case might be classified in both groups. The difficulty already noted in assigning cases to the seasonal or the frictional category when added to this problem suggests that the criteria of mutual exclusiveness is not adequately met in the present system.

1. Suggested to the writer by Professor Thomas Matthews.

The present system of unemployment does not appear to have been developed with the intention of fitting any particular empirical or logical order. Rather each category has been established with reference to some larger problem or system of order. But unfortunately the larger systems to which these refer are not integrated, and hence the categories of unemployment as a whole are not able to directly fit any type of order.

Thus it may be concluded that the present state of the categories of unemployment leaves much to be desired. In fact there is only a loosely connected series of types of unemployment. The importance of employment to the maintenance of a viable system of social relations suggests that the phenomenon of unemployment deserves much more attention by sociologists than it has received up till now.

Political Unemployment. Despite the somewhat chaotic state of the system of unemployment there are several considerations with respect to the concept of political unemployment that may be worth emphasizing.

In the first place, the category draws attention to a type of unemployment that is overlooked in the previously existing categories. Further this particular type of

unemployment seems especially relevant to other aspects of the social system. The obvious connection between "political" unemployment and the political institution is a case in point.

It is the feeling of the writer that the analysis has given justification to the inclusion of a category of political unemployment in a population similar to the refugee population. ¹. The study demonstrated that at least some cases may be clearly assigned on the basis of this quality. In fact the proportion of cases where there was agreement between the judges was substantially the same for the technologically and frictionally as well as the politically unemployed. Further it must be recalled that every effort was made to classify the respondents in some category other than the political one. The outside judge, in addition, has indicated that "it seems that a further analysis of the residual group might yield more cases in favor of the politically unemployed."

In conclusion it may be noted that there is still some ambiguity in the term "political". The focus is upon a relative power position in which the inferior is kept from employment by someone or some group which holds a superior power position. The difference between the two is due to some status factor which is generally ir-

1. See appendix C. p. 85.

relevant to the economic situation (as viewed by the scientific observer). Perhaps some term other than political would be less likely to cause confusion, but this one will help point up the nature of the problem until a better term is devised.

STUDY OF UNEMPLOYMENT

We are making a scientific study of the problems of unemployment and we need to learn about the difficulties that persons like yourself have experienced in finding work.

Job History:

We Palestinians have been compelled to leave our country due to the troubles in Palestine.

1. Now, after leaving Palestine when did you first seek work in Lebanon (if ever)? _____
2. Why did you start looking for work at that particular time?
3. Were you able to secure work then?
_____ a) Yes
_____ b) No
4. What types of work were you seeking?
5. How did you learn that there were jobs available at that time?
Probe: Were there any other ways?
6. Since you came to Lebanon, how regularly have you worked?
_____ a) Most of the time
_____ b) About half and half
_____ c) Sometimes
_____ d) Hardly ever
_____ e) Never

If never, ask: Why is that?

Probe: Are there any other causes?

7. For how many different employers have you worked during this time? _____

Now, about the first job you worked at:

8. Exactly what type of work was that?
9. How did you learn that this job was available?
10. Why do you think they hired you?

Probe: Are there any other reasons?

11. Why did you accept to work for them?
12. About how much did you earn there per day or per month (state which)? _____
13. Approximately when did you begin working there and when did you stop?

Began _____

Stopped _____

14. Why did you leave this job?

Probe: Were there any other reasons involved?

Now, I'm interested in your last job:

15. What type of work did you do?
16. How did you learn that this job was available?

17. Why did they hire you to work for them?

Probe: Were there any other reasons?

18. Why did you accept to work for them?

19. About how much did you earn there per day or per month (state which)? _____

20. For how long did you work there?

You Began _____

Stopped _____

21. Why did you leave this job?

Probe: Were there any other reasons?

You are not working now, are you?

22. Are you looking for work?

_____ a) Yes

_____ b) No

If no, ask: Why is that?

(If answer to 22 is no, skip to section on attitude).

23. How are you going to find a job?

24. Why is it that you have not been able to find work?

Probe: Are there any other reasons you can think of?

25. How hopeful are you that you will be able to secure work soon?

- _____ a) Very hopeful
- _____ b) Somewhat hopeful
- _____ c) Not very hopeful
- _____ d) Not hopeful at all

General Attitudes:

1. In general, what do you think are the most important factors that make for unemployment among the refugees?
2. In general, whom do you feel is to blame for your present economic condition?

Background Information:

1. Where do you and your family live? _____
(If in camps, record name: If not record district or quarter).

2. What members of your family are living with you?

<u>Relationship</u>	<u>Age</u>	<u>Relationship</u>	<u>Age</u>
_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____

3. How many rations do you receive? _____

4. About how long have you and your family lived in a camp (if ever)? _____

5. What is your age? _____

6. Did you ever attend a school?

- ____ a) Yes
____ b) No

If yes, ask: For how long a time was that? _____
What educational diploma did you receive (if any)? _____

7. Were you ever taught any special trade?

- ____ a) Yes
____ b) No

If yes, ask: For what kind of work was that? _____
For how long were you trained? _____

8. During the last year or two before leaving Palestine what did you work at? _____

9. Do other members of your family work?

- ____ a) Yes
____ b) No

If yes, ask: Whom? _____

10. Have you ever sought to find a job outside of Lebanon?

- ____ a) Yes
____ b) No

If yes, ask: Did you go outside to work?

- ____ a) Yes
____ b) No

If yes, ask: For how long was that? _____
Where was that? _____
Why did you leave the job? _____

If no, ask: Why didn't you go? _____

11. Would you be willing now to move to another country if you could have work there?

- ____ a) Yes
____ b) No

In either answer, probe: Why is that?

If answer was yes, ask: Where would you like to go? _____

12. Now I have asked you many questions but maybe I haven't covered all the problems of finding employment that you have experienced. Is there any other comment about these problems that you would like to make?

البطالة في لبنان

رقم المقابلة _____
تاريخ المقابلة _____
مكان المقابلة _____
الوقت _____

سكن المجيب :

(أ) المخيم _____

(ب) خان المخيم _____

ملاحظة : _____

ملاحظات المعداد : _____

نحنا عم نعمل درس علمي عن اسباب قلة الشغل وبدنا نعريف

شوا العمومات التي بتلاقيها الانسان الي زيك وهي تفتن على عمل .

تاريخ الشغل

نحنا الفلسطينية انجبرنا نترك بلدنا بسبب اضطرابات فلسطين

١ - بعد ما تركت فلسطين ، ايتا بديت تفتن على شغل في لبنان ؟

٢ - ليش فتنت على شغل في هذا الوقت بالضبط ؟

٣ - ها لاقيت شغل ؟

_____ (أ) ايوا

_____ (ب) لا

٤ - شونوع الشغل اللي فتنت عليه ؟

٥ - كيف عرفت انه كان في شمل في الوقت اللي كنت تفتش فيه ؟

(عمل كان في غير طريق لمصرنة ماذا ؟)

٦ - من وقت ما جئت للبنان ، عمل كان شملك متواعلر :

_____ (أ) كل الوقت

_____ (ب) اوزن على نس

_____ (ت) اوبعض الوقت

_____ (ث) اوقليل جدا

_____ (ج) او ما عمرك اشتعلت ؟

(اذا كان الجواب " ح " ، اسأليه ؟)

لين عمرك ما اشتعلت ؟

هل كان في اسباب ثانية ؟

٧ - عند كام مستخدم اشتغلت طرا هذه المدة ؟

بخصوص اولا شغل اشتغلته

٨ - شونوع الشغل اللي اشتغلته بالضبط ؟

٩ - كيف عرفت انه هذا الشغل كان موجود ؟

١٠ - ليش بتفكر شغلك ؟

(بتفكرانه في اسباب ثانية ؟)

١١ - اير قبلت الشغل عندهم ؟

١٢ - شوكت توخذ باليوم اوبالشهر ؟

١٣ - تقريبا ايمتى بديت هذا الشغل وايمتى خلصت ؟

_____ : بديت

_____ : خلصت

١٤ - اير تركت الشغل

(هل كان في اسباب ثانية؟)

بحب اعرف شيء عن شغلك الاخير:

١٥ - شونوع الشغل الي اشتغلته ؟

١٦ - كيف عرفت انه هذا الشغل كان موجود ؟

١٧ - ليس بتفكر شغلوك ؟

(هل كان في اسباب ثانية ؟)

١٨ - ليس قبلت الشغل عند عم ؟

١٩ - نوكت توغذ باليوم او بالشهر ؟

٢٠- تقريباً ايمتى بديت هذا الشغل رايمتى نلعت ؟

_____ : بديت

_____ : نلعت

٢١- ليس تركت الشغل ؟

(عل كان فى اسباب ثانية ؟)

انت ماعم تشتغل فى الوقت الحاضر ، من عيبك ؟

٢٢- عم بتفتش على شغل ؟

_____ (أ) ايوا

_____ (ب) لا

انذا كان الجواب "ب" ، اسأليه :

ليس منس عم بتفتش على شغل ؟

(انذا كان الجواب على سؤال ٢٢ "لا" ، اتركى الجزء المتعلق بميوله)

٢٣ - كيف عمال تدبر حاله، حتى تلاقي شغل ؟

٢٤ - لیس مشرق قادر تلاقي شغل ؟

(بتعتقد انه في اسباب ثانية تمنعك من الحصول على شغل ؟)

٢٥ - هل عندك امل انك تلاقي شغل عن قريب ؟

هل تقول ان :

_____ (أ) املك كبير

_____ (ب) عندك بعض الامل

_____ (ت) املك قليل

_____ (ث) او ما فيش امل على طول

المیوا العامة :

١ - بصورة عامة ، سوفکر الاسباب المهمة التي بتسبب البطالة بيمن اللاجئين ؟

٢ - مین فکر المسؤول عن حالة اللاجئين الاقتصادية الحاضرة ؟

(ليس وضعت المسؤولية على عولاء ؟)

محلومات عامة :

١ - وين عاير انت وعائلتك ؟

— (أ) في المنيم

— (ب) خان المنيم

(اذا كان الجواب " ب " اسأليه عن اسم المنطقة والحي :)

٢ - مين افراد عائلتك اللي عاينين معك ؟

<u>العمر</u>	<u>القراءة</u>	<u>العمر</u>	<u>القراءة</u>
_____	_____	(٧) _____	_____ (١)
_____	_____	(٨) _____	_____ (٢)
_____	_____	(٩) _____	_____ (٣)
_____	_____	(١٠) _____	_____ (٤)
_____	_____	(١١) _____	_____ (٥)
_____	_____	(١٢) _____	_____ (٦)

٣ - كم اعانة بتونذ ؟

٤ - تقريبا قديش وقت عشت في المنيم انت وعاءاتك (اذا عشت ابدأ هناك) ؟

٥ - قديش عمرك ؟

_____ سنة

٦ - عمرك رخت على المدرسة ؟

_____ (أ) ايوا

_____ (ب) لا

اذا ٣ ايوا ، امأيه :

_____ كم سنة ؟

_____ شواغذت نهايد ؟

٧- عمرت تدامت سبعة بحينة ؟

_____ (أ) ايوا

_____ (ب) لا

(اذا كان الجواب (أ) ، اسأليه :)

شوالسعة الي تعلمتها ؟

قديس الةة الي تمرنت فيها على هالسعة ؟

٨- قبل ما نترك فلسطين بسنة ار سنتين ، ايس كنت تمتغل ؟

٩- في احد من افراد عائلتا بشتغل ؟

_____ (أ) ايوا

_____ (ب) لا

(اذا كان الجواب " ايوا " ، مين الي بمتغل ؟

_____	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____

١٠ - عمرك فتست على شغل نارج لبنان ؟

_____ (أ) ايوا

_____ (ب) لا

(اذا كان الجواب "ايوا" ، اسأليه :)

هل اشتغلت نارج لبنان ؟

_____ (أ) ايوا

_____ (ب) لا

اذا كان الجواب "ايوا" ، اسأليه :

_____ قديس كانت مدة الشغل ؟

_____ وين اشتغلت ؟

_____ ليس تركت الشغل ؟

اذا كان الجواب "لا" ، اسأليه :

_____ ليش ما رحى تشتغل نارج لبنان ؟

١١ - مستعد بالوقت الحاضر انك تسافر لبلد ثانية اذا وجدت شغل عندك ؟

_____ (أ) ايوا

_____ (ب) لا

اذا كان الجواب (أ) ار (ب) ، اسأليه :

ليس ؟

اذا كان الجواب "ايوا" ، اسأليه :

_____ وين بتحب تروح ؟

١٢ - سألتك سوالات كثيرة ، بس بيجوز اني ما بحثت كل الصعوبات اللي بتواجهها ويتمر عليها وانت تفتش على شغل . في عندك اى ملاحظات او معلومات على هذه الصعوبات بتريد تقلي اياها ؟

Limitations of The Research

This research has a number of limitations which will be stated below.

- I. As the number of unemployed refugees is unknown, there is no known universe, therefore the sample drawn is not a sample strictly speaking. This purposive sample is representative of the refugees but exactly how representative it is, is not known. If circumstances permitted and there was a known universe a random sample would have been chosen which would have yielded more reliable results.
- II. The "political unemployment" category is not on the same level of abstraction as the economic unemployment categories. The economic categories determine the size of the unemployed while the political category determines who will fall under this category rather than how many will fall in it. Thus concluding that the categories are not mutually exclusive.
- III. Although the writer draws the conclusion that the data point to the usefulness of a political category, different interpretations are possible.
 - A. The writer feels that even ten cases clearly falling in the political category justifies the category. On the other hand, other scholars might object on the grounds that if only 10 out of 93 cases in a refugee population fall in this category this does not make this category a major useful category in a variety of population.

- B. There was not complete agreement of assignment to the political category thus this category does not have a high level of reliability. On the other hand it should be noted that the other categories of unemployment suffer from similar degrees of unreliability. Therefore the categories are not as reliable as desired.

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