

5.89% of whom were females (Mundas, 1974:179)--a slightly higher rate than the one mentioned because of the proximity of the camp to the industrial district.

Even in a labour force dominated by 'lumpen' elements a considerable degree of social differentiation exists. Mundas suggests the following classification for the camp workers: (1) 'Proletarian workers': those situated in manufacturing enterprises employing more than 50 labourers--in Tel Za'tar, those constituted 7% of the total male workers; (2) 'semi-proletarian workers': those constituted 50 male workers (3% of total) and 150 female workers (18%) employed mostly as lottery peddlers, porters, sanitation workers, and house servants--probably the most insecure sources of livelihood in the Middle East (Mundas, 1974:173-175). Although one may question the stratification criteria employed by Mundas here, the picture of differentiation intended is clear. It must be added that the employment structure also includes a number of shopkeepers, drivers, teachers, artisans, vegetable peddlers and other semi-professionals (e.g. nurses). The camp in addition had a number of contractors and medium-sized merchants (10 altogether) who live in the periphery of the camp, some of whom had become Lebanese citizens. A limited degree of occupational mobility was enhanced by the availability of free university education to refugee students.

Unemployment figures, though high, were actually lower than those for the Lebanese labour force, even when seasonal fluctuations are taken into account (Lebanese Bureau of Statistics/Mundas, 1974:49). But there is an important difference: Palestinian refugees constitute in their majority former peasants who have lost their lands and whose residence in Lebanon, by virtue of their insecure legal status, is far more vulnerable than that of indigenous migrant peasant-workers. The latter, a considerable number of whom have access to land, or to relatives with land, can cushion the impact