

(to the village) by the arbitrary drawing of the armistice lines. This occurred in both the Israeli side of the border (particularly in the Triangle region where land was confiscated for Jewish settlements) and in the Jenin and Tulkarem districts of the West Bank, where most fertile plains land fell into Israeli hands (cf. Yacoub, 1976; Cohen, 1965).

Peasant responses to landlessness differed, however, on each side of the new border. On the Israeli side the loss intensified the search for wage labour within the Jewish sector (Cohen, 1965:20-25), especially after the relaxation of military rule in the early sixties. On the Jordanian side, by contrast, outmigration was the natural response to a stagnant economy and differential regional unemployment. In the Nablus district, for example, which had the most significant agricultural sector, unemployment amounted to 23.2% of the civilian labour force (15-24 age categories) in 1961, compared to 17.3% in the Amman district (Hilal, 1975:141). Between 1949 and May 1967 (i.e. before the war) it is estimated that 200,000 people emigrated from the West Bank alone (Löfgren, 1982:11). Of those slightly over 50% went to the East Bank, 40% to other Arab countries (mainly the Gulf states), and less than 10% to non-Arab countries (ibid.).

A study of social change in the border village of Bodros (Ramallah district) carried out on the eve of Israeli occupation shows the dramatic effect of landlessness on occupational structure (Yacoub, 1967). Out of a village total population of 1,250 (1966) about a third (401) had migrated and established residence outside the village (Yacoub, 1967:29-30). But more than half of those migrated to the capital, Amman, in a pattern not typical of the West Bank as a whole, and is related in this case to the high rate of employment in the Jordanian armed forces (army, police and National Guards). Kuwait, Iraq, Saudi Arabia and South America received the highest rate of migrants from the village (ibid.:30).