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THE DEMOGRAPHY OF THE ARAB VILLAGES OF THE WEST BANK

Hussein Ahmad Al-Haj Hussein Yousef

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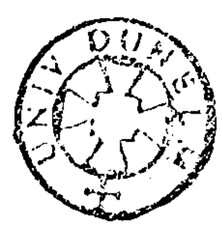
A Thesis Submitted for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy,

Faculty of Social Sciences, Department of Geography,
University of Durham, England

July, 1989



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To:
Amro and Ahmad

ABSTRACT

This study is concerned with population growth and structure of the Arab villages in the West Bank, and attempts to compare the situation in the villages with that of the West Bank population as a whole and to identify significant differences between the various administrative divisions. The data used in this study are from the personal survey carried out by the author in 1987, and the published data from different sources, Jordanian, Israeli, Palestinian and others.

Part one examines the general characteristics of the Arab villages of the West Bank, the housing conditions and the household structure.

Part two concentrates on population growth. In patterns of fertility there is no trend towards a decline in fertility level and there is no significant difference between the fertility level in the West Bank as a whole and that in the West Bank villages. A high percentage of the women in the villages wish to have more children in addition to their children ever-born and a low percentage of them use or know of contraceptive methods. In patterns of mortality, there is a trend towards a decline in mortality level in the West Bank as a whole according to Israeli sources, but there are significant differences between the Israeli figures and those from the 1987 survey. The patterns of mortality also show the life table, the average number of child deaths per ever-married woman, the main causes of death, concluding with an assessment of natural increase. In patterns of migration there is a net migration loss from the West Bank. The direction of movement to and from the West Bank and the characteristics of emigrants from the West Bank villages are also discussed.

Part three is concerned with population structure, including the differential of age and sex structure, the median age, the aged/child ratio and the crude dependency ratio. Marital status, the mean age at first marriage, forms of marriage and the relationships and marriage are discussed in this part, also illiteracy, the level of education and school enrolment. Finally, this part deals with the economic composition of the population.

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 The aims of the study

The general purpose of this study is to analyze the patterns of population growth and structure of the Arab villages in the West Bank. Over the past forty years, the West Bank has experienced major demographic changes. Immediately following the 1948 war and the establishment of the State of Israel, it became the chosen destination of large numbers of refugees from the coastal plain of Palestine. While most of these eventually settled in refugee camps established by UNRWA, significant numbers also settled in pre-existing towns and villages, the latter often close to the cease-fire line. On the other hand, following the 1967 war, as a result of which the West Bank came under Israeli occupation, there was large scale emigration from the area to other parts of the Arab world and to more distant destinations.

The West Bank population as a whole, like Palestinians everywhere, experiences an exceptionally high fertility, but this is offset by high mortality and large scale emigration, resulting in only a modest annual rate of population growth.

This study concentrates its attention on the population of the villages of the West Bank who constitute more than two-thirds of the total population of the area. The intention here is:

(i) to fill an existing gap in the literature and to look in some detail at the demographic and socio-economic characteristics of the village populations. Relevant literature is somewhat limited and little of it deals specifically with the demographic characteristics of the rural population; most of the studies which analyze the demographic characteristics, such as those of Abu Lughod, 1971; Kossaifi, 1980; Godwin, 1982; Hill, 1982; Abu Lughod, 1984; and Saleh, 1985; are concerned with the Pales-

tinians as a whole, with only limited attention being paid to the population of the West Bank specifically. Others consider the demographic characteristics of the population of the Occupied Territories (the West Bank and Gaza Strip) as a whole, without showing the differences between the urban and rural populations, for example: Friedlander, Eisenbach and Goldschreider, 1979; Sabatello, 1983; Gabriel and Sabatello, 1986. Other studies, such as those by Amiran, 1953; Efrat, 1977, 1982, 1984; and Grossman, 1986 deal with the villages in the West Bank but deal only with such matters as their geographic distribution and changes in the settlement pattern. Essentially anthropological studies have been carried out by, for example, Dabagh, 1973; Amiry, 1983; and Araf, 1985;

(ii) to investigate the distribution of the Arab villages in the West Bank and their characteristics and housing conditions;

(iii) to analyze the level and trends of fertility, mortality and migration in the West Bank as a whole and in the West Bank villages in particular, and the factors affecting the elements of population growth;

(iv) to analyze the population structure (age and sex, marital, educational, and economic structure) of the West Bank as a whole and in the West Bank villages in particular.

This study undertakes to answer the following questions:

(i) Are there any significant trends in the levels of fertility, mortality and emigration in the West Bank, and to what extent do the levels of fertility, mortality and emigration in the West Bank villages differ from those in the West Bank as a whole?

(ii) What are the important demographic and socio-economic factors which affect the total number of children ever-born, the numbers of children who have died and the mean age at first marriage?

(iii) What is the level of knowledge and use of contraceptive methods, and what are the important factors affecting this knowledge and use?

(iv) To what extent is the population structure affected by recent growth trends and how far does population structure in the West Bank villages differ from that of the West Bank population as a whole?

1.2 Structure of the Thesis

Following this introductory chapter, the study is divided into three parts:

Part One examines the general characteristics of the Arab villages of the West Bank (Chapter 2), paying special attention to housing conditions as revealed by the author's survey (Chapter 3).

Part Two is concerned with population growth and attempts to compare the situation in the villages with that of the West Bank population as a whole and to identify significant differences between the various administrative divisions. Chapter 4 deals with trends in fertility levels, examining in turn the various standard measures of fertility, and examines such associated matters as desired family size and the impact of family planning. Chapter 5 is concerned with trends in the level of mortality, the life table, the average number of child deaths per ever-married woman and the main causes of death, concluding with an assessment of natural increase. The migration elements are examined in Chapter 6, which deals with the balance and direction of movements to and from the West Bank and the characteristics of emigrants from the West Bank villages.

Part Three concentrates on population structure, particularly as revealed by the author's field survey carried out in 1987, and deals successively with age and sex (Chapter 7), marital status (Chapter 8), literacy and educational attainment (Chapter 9) and aspects of economic structure (Chapter 10).

1.3 Background

After four centuries of Ottoman Empire rule, Palestine was occupied by the British in 1917, and the League of Nations granted the Mandate of Palestine to the British in 1922. During the inter-war period, a continuous migration of Jews to Palestine took place under the aegis of the Balfour Declaration that Palestine should become a national homeland for the Jews. With the ending of the British Mandate in 1948, the Jews were strong enough, with outside assistance, to declare themselves a separate Jewish State. When an armistice agreement was signed in 1949, only the relatively poor areas, which were later named the West Bank and Gaza Strip, remained under Arab control. A year later the West Bank was annexed to Trans-Jordan to form the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan. In June 1967, the West Bank was occupied by Israel, and in July 1988 Jordan declared the separation of the West Bank of the Jordan from the East Bank.

The West Bank is a part of Palestine, which lies on the eastern coast of the Mediterranean Sea, between 34.15 and 35.40 east, and 29.30^o to 33.15^o north. It has borders with Syria and Jordan in the east, Lebanon and part of Syria in the north, and Eygpt in the south-west and 'Aqaba Gulf in the south (Figure 1.1).

Palestine is divided into three topographic units running roughly north-south: the coastal plain along the Mediterranean in the west, a hilly region in the centre, and the Jordan Rift Valley in the east. The West Bank is located mainly in the central hilly area (the Nablus, Jerusalem, and Hebron mountains) between Yizra'el valley in the north and Beersheba valley in the south. It also includes a section of the Jordan Valley between Beisan valley in the north and the Dead Sea in the south, as well as small sections of the coastal plain near Tulkarem and Qalqilya (Figure 1.2).

The Jordanian government divided the West Bank into three administrative Districts (Hebron, Jerusalem and Nablus), and eight Subdistricts (Bethlehem,

Hebron, Jennin, Jericho, Jerusalem, Nablus, Rammallah and Tulkarem), (Figure 1.3).

After the Israeli occupation of the West Bank, the number of Subdistricts was reduced to seven in 1968, and their borders redrawn by the Israeli administration, enlarging the Tulkarem and Jennin Subdistricts at the expense of the Nablus Subdistrict. The rural areas of Jerusalem Subdistrict (after Israel annexed East Jerusalem) were divided between the Bethlehem and Rammallah Subdistricts, and the entire geographical region of the lower Jordan valley was included in the Jericho Subdistrict (Figure 1.4). This study will be based on the eight Jordanian divisions in force until 1968.

The population density of the West Bank in 1961 was 143 persons per square kilometre; in 1967 it decreased to 118, as a result of the 1967 war, when many of the population in the West Bank left for the East Bank. By 1980, it had risen to 145 persons per square kilometre which is nearly equal to that of 1961, and is due to a natural increase in population.

The Christian population in the West Bank represents about 5 per cent of the total, most of them living in Jerusalem District, especially in the cities of Jerusalem, Rammallah, Bethlehem and Beit Jala, and a few villages such as Beir Zeit, Jefna, Taibeh, 'Abud and Beit Sahur. In Nablus District, there is only one village (Zababdeh) in which the Christian population represents the majority, while in Hebron District there is no predominantly Christian village.

1.4 Data sources

Data on the population of the West Bank are available from a variety of sources, but comparability is hindered by numerous changes in the territory's political position and the boundaries of its administrative sub-divisions. The main data sources used in the study are as follows:

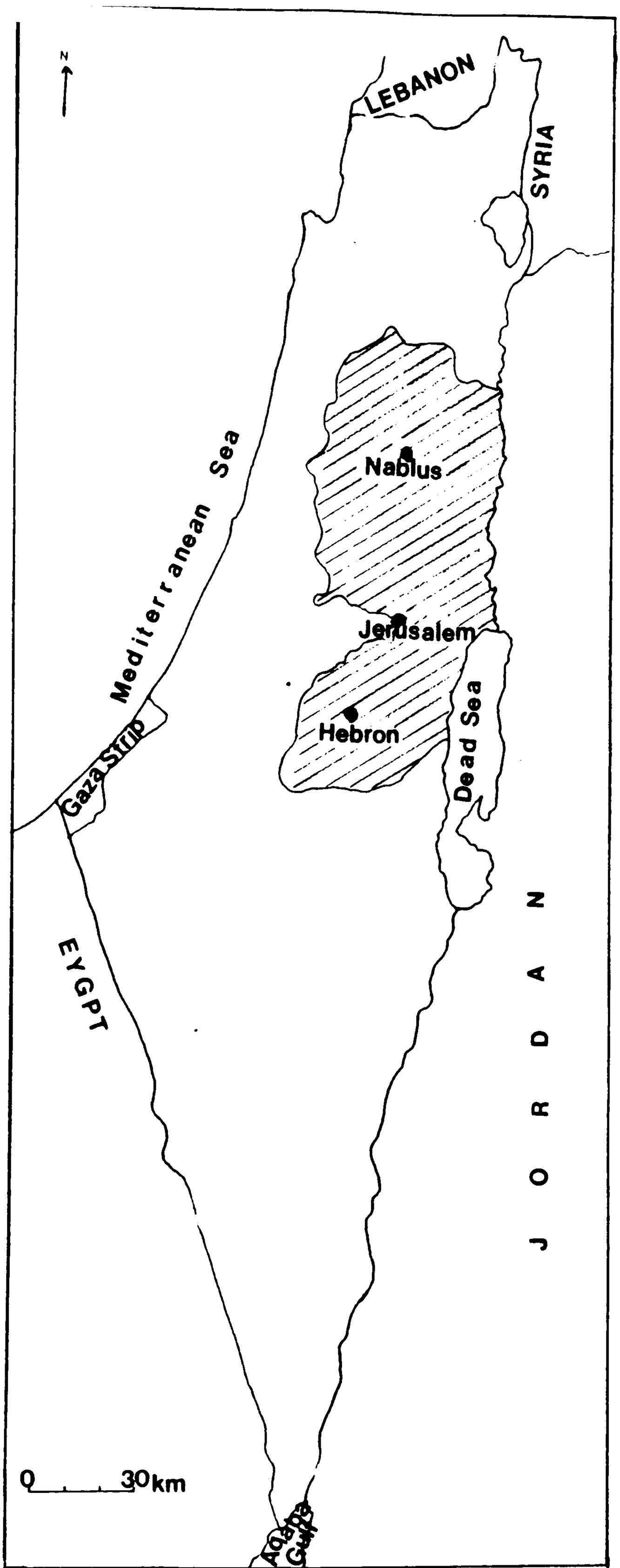

Figure 1.1 The West Bank: location

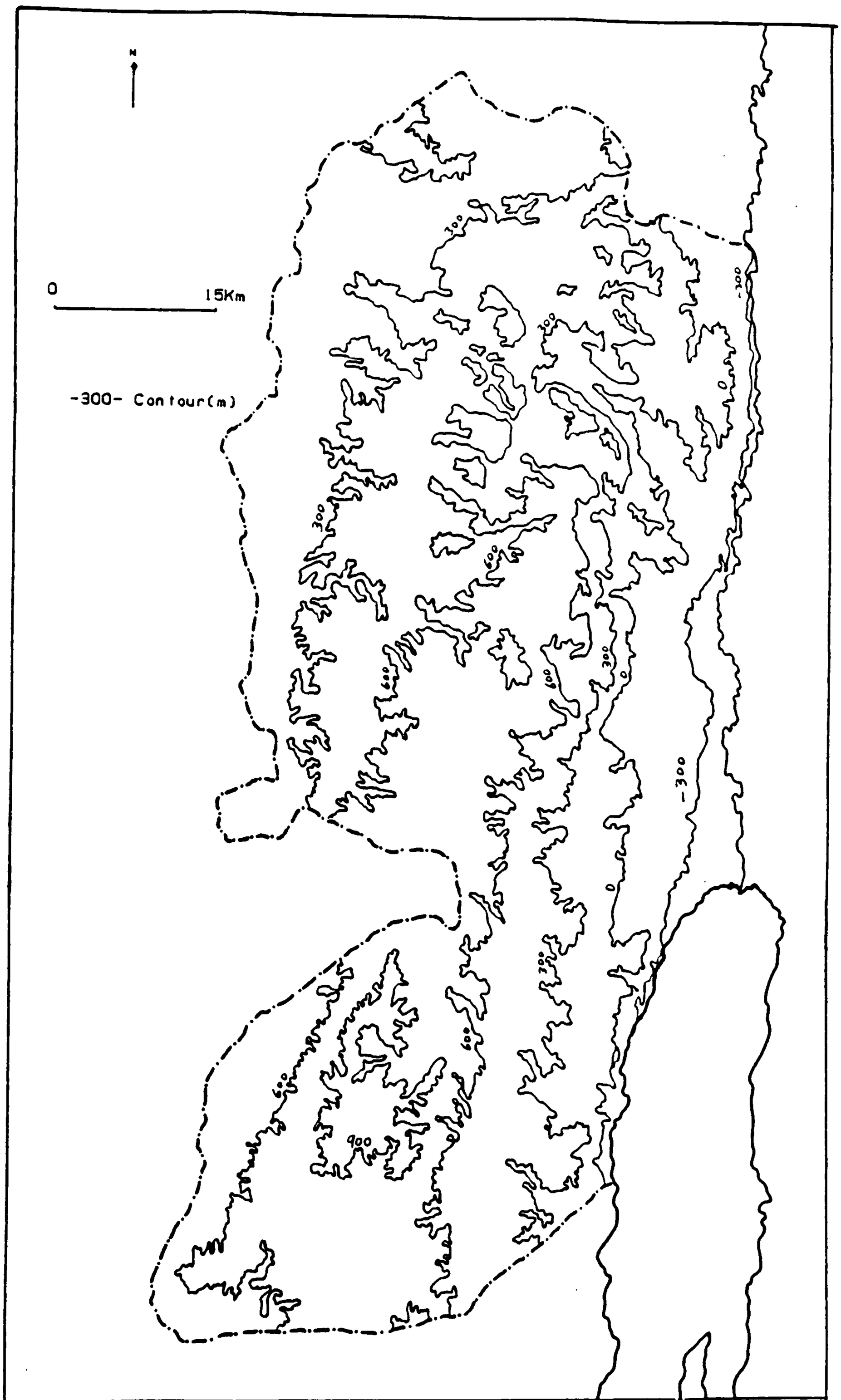

Figure 1.2 The West Bank: physical map

Source: Survey of Israel, 1970

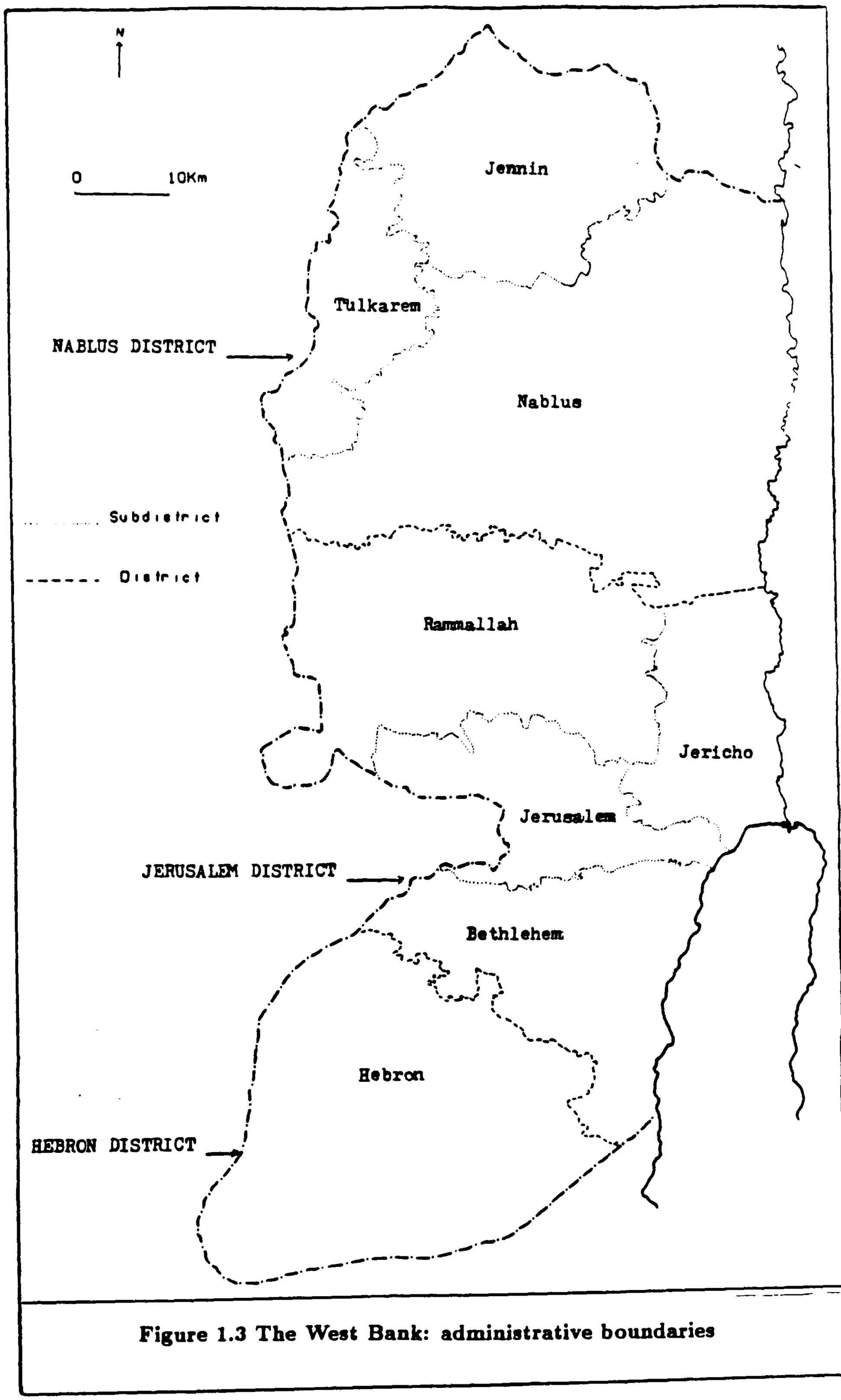

Figure 1.3 The West Bank: administrative boundaries

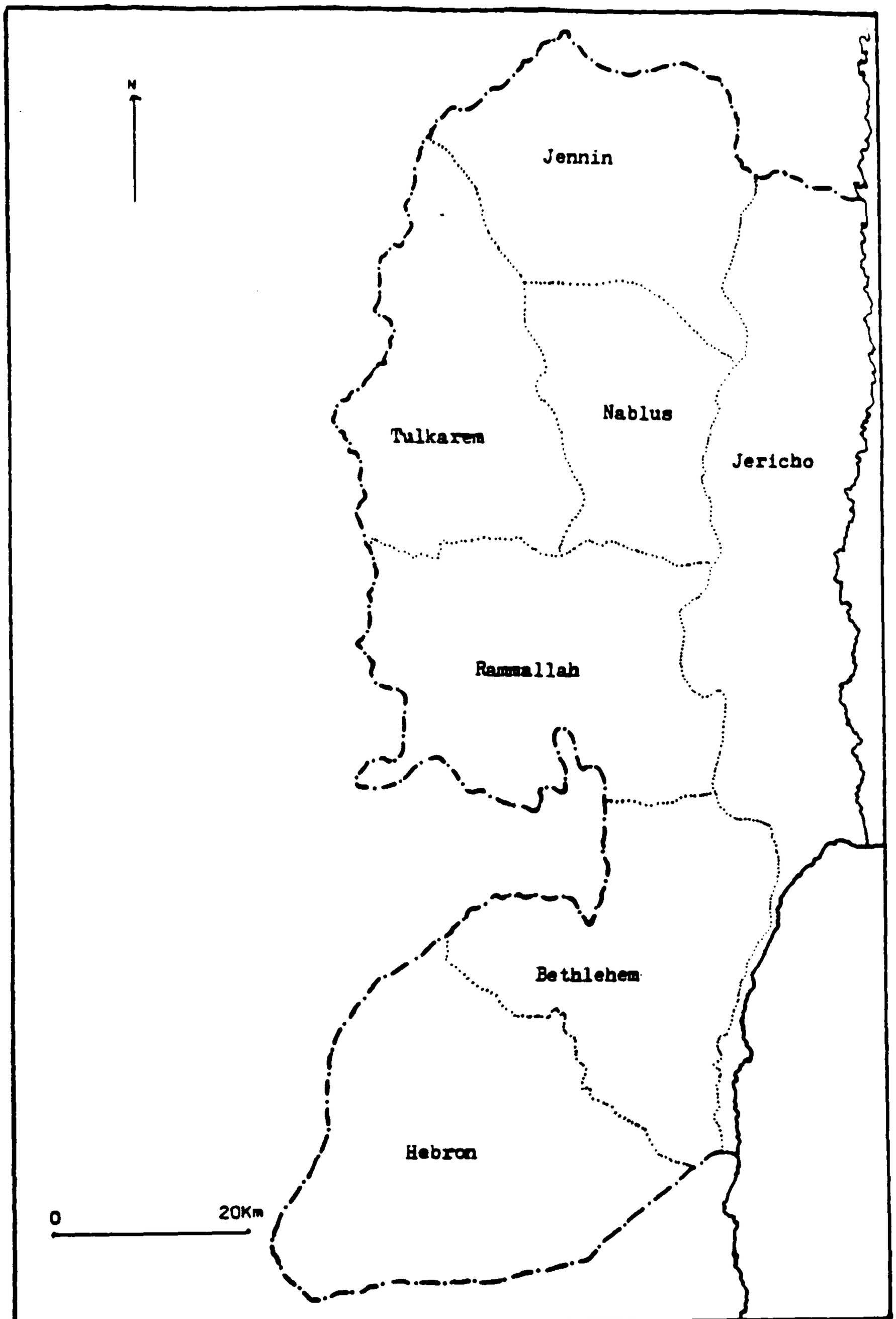

Figure 1.4 The West Bank: administrative boundaries after Israeli Occupation

1.4.1 The 1922 census

A census of Palestine was held on the night of 22-23 October, 1922. The instructions issued to District Governors provided for the division of each town and village into areas containing approximately five hundred houses, and in each area an enumerator was appointed who, in the majority of cases, was a government official. In the larger towns it was found convenient to divide well defined quarters into a number of smaller areas and, where inhabitants of the quarter or village included persons of different religions, the number of enumerators was doubled or trebled in order to ensure that each family was visited by an enumerator of the same faith. Though necessary, this procedure increased the amount of work entailed and added considerably to difficulties in achieving a correct tabulation. The population in this census was classified by religion, age and sex, civil condition and language and data were given for Districts and Subdistricts.

1.4.2 The 1931 census

The second census of Palestine under the British Mandate was taken as at midnight on 18th November, 1931. Operations began on the 1st of May in that year, when instructions were issued that all houses in towns and villages throughout the country should be numbered, and that a mosaic of census division in the country should be constructed. The General Census Report was completed at the end of November 1932.

This census recorded population distribution, movement of population, religion, age and sex, education, language, occupation and industrial structure.

1.4.3 The village statistics 1945

In 1943, the Palestinian Government decided to make such statistical information public, and the Department of Land Settlement thereupon issued the first

printed "Village Statistics", showing the position as on 1 April 1943. Circulation of this publication was limited to government offices and a few interested private organizations. The Department of Land Settlement was called upon to provide, as a matter of urgency, a revision of the "Village Statistics" of 1943. At the same time, the Department of Statistics was instructed to supply figures on population. Both Departments co-operated in the preparation of this information, which eventually emerged in the form of "Village Statistics, 1945". The difference between the 1943 and 1945 editions is that, whereas the former gave only particulars as between Jews and non-Jews, the latter was more detailed and included information on the estimated population by community as at the end of 1944, together with details of land holdings broken up according to Arabs, Jews, public bodies (government, municipalities, local councils) and others.

The village names appearing in the "Village Statistics" are in accordance with the Administrative Division (Amendment) Proclamation as published in the "Palestine Gazette" No. 1415 dated 7 June 1945. This proclamation divided Palestine into six Districts (Galilee, Gaza, Haifa, Jerusalem, Lydda and Samaria) comprising sixteen Subdistricts, with each Subdistrict consisting of a number of town and village units.

1.4.4 The 1952 census

The Jordanian Government carried out a census of housing in August 1952. This census was primarily concerned with gathering information as to the number and type of buildings. There is no detail about the population characteristics in this census except the numbers of males and females in Jordan. This number did not include foreigners, the Jordanian army and their families living in military installations, or Jordanian residents abroad.

1.4.5 The 1961 census

For the enumeration, Jordan was divided into nine Census Districts and the West Bank into three (Hebron, Jerusalem, and Nablus). Each Census District comprised two to nine census areas, the boundaries of which always coincided with either an administrative or a natural boundary. A ninth District was created to include the "Scattered Tent" population. Two broad categories were formed, (a) the eastern nomads or bedouin and (b) the western nomads and other scattered tent-dwellers resident adjacent to and scattered between localities.

During the enumeration each enumerator undertook to visit all buildings within his/her area, to enter on the census questionnaires personal and housing details for all households, and to maintain a register in a household record book for every building he/she had visited and every household he/she had enumerated. The enumeration period was three weeks. On Census Day, 18th November 1961, all persons were required to stay indoors. The enumerator was instructed to revisit all parts of the enumeration area to ensure that no building had been omitted, and where necessary to amend the register and the questionnaires to reflect the conditions obtaining on the Census Day.

The final tables, comprising four volumes, were not published until April 1964, and included the following:

(i) General characteristics of the population; geographic location, personal and cultural characteristics, educational characteristics, fertility and Jordanians abroad.

(ii) Economic characteristics of the population; type of economic activity, occupation, industry and economic status.

(iii) Household and housing characteristics; housing facilities and appliances, tenure, construction of building, in addition to the class, size and structural type of household and the number of the households reporting members abroad.

(iv) Method report; which included the methods used in the census.

In addition to the final reports there is a separate volume recording the general characteristics of the population in each District.

1.4.6 The 1967 census

After one month of the Israeli occupation of the West Bank, the Israeli Central Bureau of Statistics was ordered to carry out a census of population in the area occupied by the Israeli Defence Force for their Headquarters. The intention of census was:

(i) to enumerate the inhabitants by localities and to supply basic demographic data on each locality. In most cases, refugee camps were distinguished as a separate form of settlement;

(ii) to supply detailed data on the demographic characteristics, education, labour force characteristics, housing conditions, etc., of the population of these areas, distinguishing the refugees from the 1948 war;

(iii) to supply each head of family with a document certifying his presence at the time of the census and which could serve him for identification purposes in all his dealings with the authorities;

(iv) to prepare a basis for a population register, if one should be required.

The West Bank was divided into four enumeration regions, enumerated on September 17th, 19th, 21st and 25th. On September 27th the Central Bureau of Statistics carried out a census of population and housing in East Jerusalem (the results of this census were published separately).

In order to ensure maximum coverage of the population, it was decided to carry out the enumeration from house to house under curfew (one day in each region) and to record the persons present in each household (or institution), i.e. on a *de facto* basis. Special permits were given to inhabitants whose occupation required them to

work outside their houses during the curfew hours (physicians, nurses, etc.), and they were enumerated at their home addresses on the basis of a special questionnaire filled in when the permit was issued.

The demographic, socio-economic characteristics, housing and living conditions of the household were studied in a sample of 20 per cent of the households.

The results of this census were published in five volumes, during the period 1967-1970:

(i) The data from full enumeration, which presented data concerning the households and persons by residence, age and sex, place of origin, and type of settlement.

(ii) Housing conditions, household equipment, welfare assistance and farming, and average size of household.

(iii) Demographic characteristics of the population (data from sample enumeration), which presented data concerning the geographic distribution, religion, marital status, emigration of sons/daughters and fertility.

(iv) Labour force; which presented data concerning occupation, economic branch and wages.

(v) Additional data from sample enumeration. This volume included completion of a few subjects which had already appeared in previous volumes and which had been compiled from the detailed data; marital status, fertility, infant mortality, emigration of sons/daughters, labour force and housing.

1.4.7 Other sources

A number of statistical bureaux have published data concerning the West Bank population, for example:

(i) Israeli Central Bureau of Statistics published (a) *Statistical Abstract of Israel*, one part of it concerning the West Bank and Gaza Strip; (b) *Administered Territories Statistics Quarterly* so called until 1981, when its name was changed to *Judaea,*

Samaria and Gaza Area Statistics Quarterly in 1982.

(ii) PLO Central Bureau of Statistics; since 1979 it has published *Palestine Statistical Abstract*, one part of which concerns the West Bank.

(iii) Rural Research Centre; since 1980, published *Statistical Bulletin for the West Bank and Gaza Strip.*

(iv) Arab Studies Society; since 1985, published *Occupied Arab Territories; Numbers and Facts.*

1.5 The 1987 sample survey

To provide a more detailed set of data on population of the West Bank in general and of the West Bank villages in particular, data have been obtained through a personal survey. Many problems face anyone who wishes to collect data about the Occupied Territories. Roy (1986), for example, reported that the problems created by the inability to achieve access to data from Israeli sources are exacerbated by the unreliability of much of the data that is available. The Central Bureau of Statistics in Jerusalem publishes what is probably the most comprehensive compendium of statistics on the West Bank and Gaza Strip. Most of the data is economic in nature although information exists for other sectors as well. On the other hand, the employees of Israeli administered offices, both governmental and non-governmental, are unable to release information on the West Bank and Gaza Strip, and numerous requests by Roy to obtain such information were denied. Official procedures do exist for securing the release of information which require permission from the appropriate government official. However, this permission can take months or years to acquire with absolutely no guarantee of success.

As a result of these difficulties the author carried out a personal survey, conducted through the period mid-May to mid-July 1987, which focused on the demographic characteristics of the Arab villages in the West Bank.

The West Bank is divided into eight Subdistricts, each Subdistrict containing a different number of villages. There were 436 villages in the West Bank in 1981, and to choose his sample the author used a stratified random sample technique. Five percent of the villages in each Subdistrict were chosen and thus the number of villages in the sample amounted to 23 (Figure 1.5). In each Subdistrict the villages were chosen to represent the various size groups.

The basic unit in the 1987 sample survey was the household (the term household is used here to describe a unit consisting of one person or more occupying one house in which members share their food and other like requirements. The members may consist of the father, mother, children and any married sons/daughters, their families, and any other relatives who are living with the family). The author divided the number of population in each chosen village by 6.9 (the average number of persons per household in the West Bank in 1981 according to the Israeli Central Bureau of Statistics). After this he chose 10 per cent of the households to be in the sample.

To collect the data the author worked with a group of students from An-Najah National University who came from the villages chosen in the sample, because the villagers would refuse to help anyone unknown to them, believing them to be from the tax department or other organization. Thus, the first question they asked when the author arrived in the village was for whom were the data being collected. When the author arrived with a student from the same village, he was introduced by the latter and the inhabitants then agreed to answer the questionnaire. If a student from a particular village was not available, another village of the same size and located in the same Subdistrict was substituted. Within each village, questionnaires were administered in different sections of the village.

The questionnaire was divided into six sections (Appendix I):

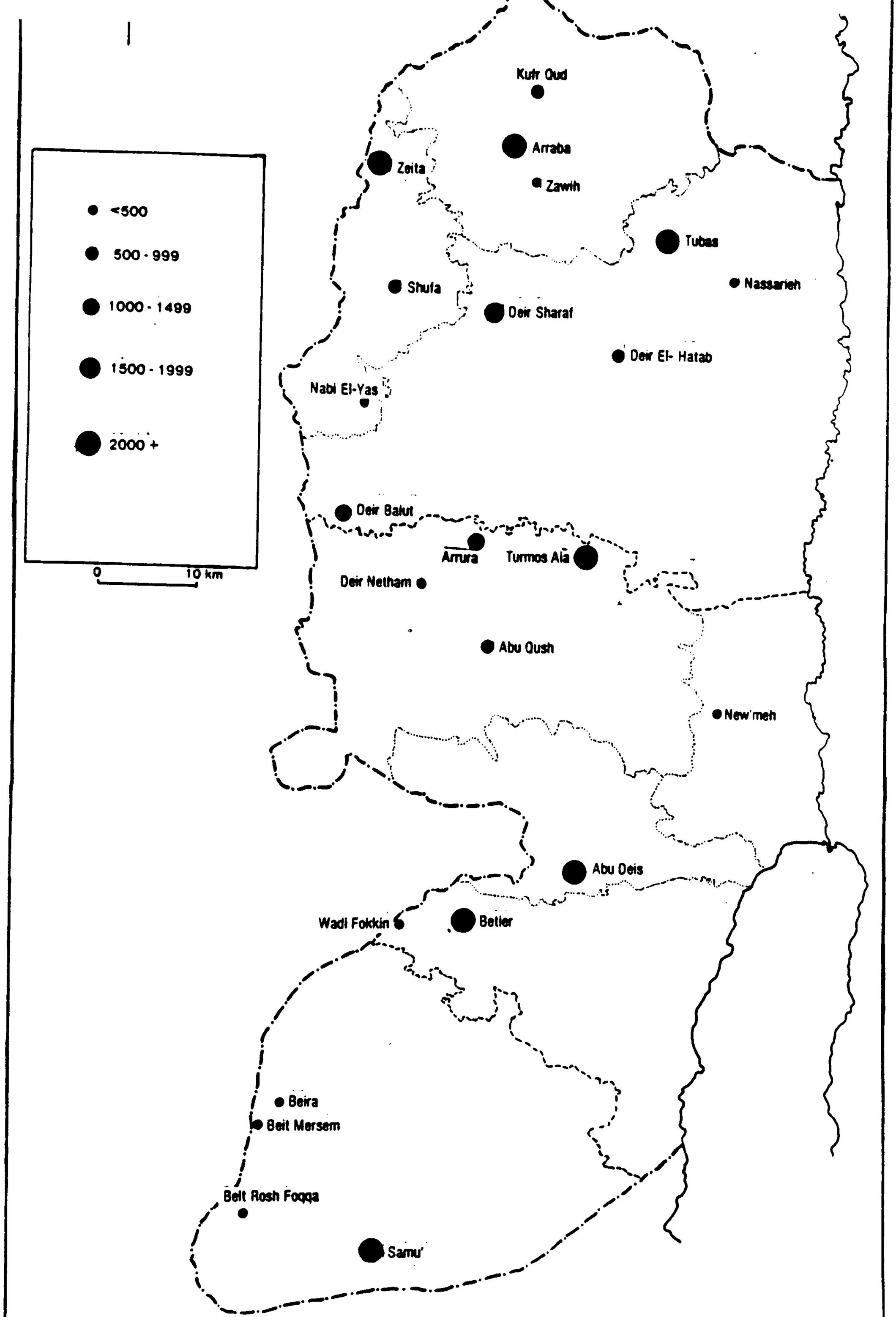

Figure 1.5 The villages in the 1987 sample survey

(i) The village questionnaire, containing questions about administration, communications, health services, educational services, and commercial services in the village. 23 completed questionnaires were collected.

(ii) The household questionnaire, containing questions about ownership of the house, size of household living in the house, number of rooms, garden, building materials, facilities in the house, and the monthly family income of the household. 701 completed questionnaires were collected.

(iii) The individual questionnaire, containing questions about family relations, age and sex, place of birth, place of previous residence, location at the time of the survey, religion, educational, marital, and economic status. 5141 completed questionnaires were collected.

(iv) The fertility questionnaire. This questionnaire was used only with ever-married women in the household and included questions about age, marital status, number of children (alive and dead), number of children desired, breastfeeding, abortion, contraception, and the economic and educational status of the wife and the husband. 717 completed questionnaires were collected.

(v) The mortality questionnaire. This questionnaire asked if anyone in the household had died in the year previous to the survey, and contained questions about the age and sex, marital, economic and educational status of deceased persons in the year previous to the survey. 79 completed questionnaires were collected.

(vi) The migration questionnaire. This questionnaire asked if there was one or more from the household living outside the village, and whether he/she had a continuous economic relation with the household. There were questions about family relations, age and sex, place of birth, place of previous residence, location at the time of the survey, religion, reunion, educational, marital, and economic status of the emigrants. 718 completed questionnaires were collected.

In the West Bank, the questionnaire results were entered on the coding sheets; on the author's return to Durham, the data were fed into the Computer Centre of Durham University. The Statistical Package for Social Science (SPSSX) was utilized at all stages of data processing. Statistical and demographic techniques have been used in the analysis of the data collected in the questionnaire survey.

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CHAPTER TWO

THE ARAB VILLAGES IN THE WEST BANK

The traditional Arab villages in the West Bank are characterized by tightly clustered jumbles of houses connected by narrow alleys. There are considerable size variations in the area of the dwellings, and the stone structure which is the common pattern of building varies from one Subdistrict to another. In the centre of most villages is a *Sahah*, or open space, which serves as a central marketing and gathering place, near which the village mosque, church, shops and, in many villages a guest-house are situated. The rural population of the West Bank tend to live in villages communities, with only a few living outside or on their lands.

The distinction between urban and rural settlements and populations has been different in successive censuses. According to the 1961 census, (Department of Statistics, 1965) the fully urban was defined as the population resident in the following types of locality:

(i) all District headquarters.

(ii) all other localities of 10,000 or more persons.

(iii) all localities of 5,000 to 9,999 persons in which two-third or more of the economically active males were engaged in occupations other than agriculture.

(iv) those suburbs of Jerusalem city in which two-thirds or more of the economically active males were engaged in non-agricultural pursuits, regardless of the size of the locality.

Refugee camp localities were excluded from the urban population, unless they were located within a locality classed as urban by the above criteria; on the other hand, the mainly rural included all persons not classified as fully urban with the exception of those enumerated in scattered tents. This last category formed 1.86 per cent from

the total population in the West Bank in 1961. At the same time, the 1961 census, while reporting the socio-economic and demographic characteristics of the urban and rural populations respectively, gives data for Jordan as a whole without distinguishing between the East and West Banks.

The 1967 census (Central Bureau of Statistics, 1967) divided the settlements in the West Bank into the following types of localities:

(i) Urban settlements: localities which had at least 10,000 inhabitants in the 1961 census.

(ii) Large villages: localities which, in 1961, had 5,000-9,999 inhabitants.

(iii) Small villages: permanent localities with 50-4,999 inhabitants.

(iv) Refugee camps outside urban settlements: in this group were included the camps run by UNRWA.

(v) Nomads: tent dwellers outside the boundaries of any locality. Nomads dwelling in the outskirts of localities were included in the population of those localities. Former nomads who had settled in houses were enumerated as part of the rural population.

(vi) Living outside settlements: population in places inhabited by less than 50 persons, excluding nomads.

Today, when many of the villagers have left their work in agriculture, the classification as urban of all places with more than two-thirds of their working male population in non-agricultural occupations is no longer valid; many villages have abandoned agriculture to the extent that well over two-thirds of their inhabitants now work outside the agriculture sector. In fact, there are eleven settlements in the West Bank considered as cities; Bethlehem, Beit Jala, El-Bire, Hebron, Jennin, Jericho, Jerusalem, Nablus, Qalqilya, Rammallah, and Tulkarem. Other settlements (with the exception of the refugee camps run by UNRWA) are considered to be villages.

2.1 Number of villages

The number of villages recorded in the West Bank differs from one census to another. This may be due to the establishment of new villages, or the destruction of others; in addition, settlements recorded as a single village in one census may be sub-divided into two or more in a subsequent census, or vice versa.

Between 1945 and 1961, the number of villages recorded increased by 156 or 52.53 per cent (Table 2.1) but this increase differs from one Subdistrict to another; the largest increase occurred in Hebron District, where many villages were sub-divided into a number of smaller ones, and several new villages were created for the settlement of the Bedouin.

After the 1948 war and as a result of the partition of Palestine, most of the Subdistricts lost several villages, especially those near the armistice line; Jennin Subdistrict lost ten villages, Tulkarem Subdistrict twenty four, Jerusalem Subdistrict forty, and Hebron Subdistrict fifteen; Rammallah Subdistrict, however, has gained twelve villages. In this period 1945-1961, two Subdistricts were created; Bethlehem Subdistrict and Jericho Subdistrict, which were attached to Jerusalem District. Moreover, two of the villages became cities; El-Bire and Qalqilya, increasing the number of the cities in the West Bank to eleven.

In the period 1945-1961 many new villages were created (Table 2.1 and Figures 2.1, 2.2). Refugees from the coastal plain and people of the villages near the armistice line (who lost their lands) started to cultivate land which they owned in mountainous area, thus renewing the ancient village *khirbah* (villages which had been inhabited in the past either permanently or, in some cases, only during the sowing and harvesting seasons) and creating others.

The 1967 census missed many of the West Bank villages (Table 2.1 and Figures 2.2, 2.3) or in most Subdistricts combined several to form one unit for statis-

Table 2.1
Number of villages in the West Bank

Subdistrict	Numbers of villages				Percentage change		
	1945	1961	1967	1981	1945-1961	1961-1967	1967-1981
Nablus	86	129	96	99	+50.00	-25.58	+3.12
Jennin	48	56	54	63	+16.67	-3.57	+16.67
Tulkarem	35	42	42	47	+20.00	0	+11.91
Nablus District	169	227	192	209	+34.32	+15.42	+8.85
Rammallah	69	73	70	69	+5.80	-4.29	-1.43
Jerusalem	28	36	27	32	+28.57	-25.00	+18.52
Bethlehem	9	34	26	33	+277.78	-23.53	+26.92
Jericho	2	0	4	8	0	0	+100.00
Jerusalem District	108	143	127	142	+32.41	-11.19	+11.81
Hebron	20	83	67	85	+315.00	-19.28	+26.87
Hebron District	20	83	67	85	+315.00	-19.28	+26.87
Total	297	453	386	436	+52.53	-14.74	+12.95

Source: Calculated from;

1. Hadawi,S., 1970.
2. Department of Statistics, 1963.
3. Central Bureau of Statistics, 1967.
4. Arab Studies Society, 1985

tical and administrative purposes, although in many cases, the villages thus combined were a considerable distance from each other. Examples of such combinations include:

Nablus Subdistrict: 'Aqraba, 'Aqrabaneah and Nassareyah; Kafr Ed-Deek and Beit Amin; Taluza, Ain El-Beida and El-Far'a.

Jennin Subdistrict: Zababdeh and El-Kufeir; Sanour and Meslya; Taibeh and Khirbaht Taibeh.

Tulkarem Subdistrict: Nazla Gharbeyah and Nazlet Abu-Nar.

Jerusalem Subdistrict: Jip-Rum and El-Sawahreh.

Bethlehem Subdistrict: Khirbaht Beit and El-Ta'amreh.

Hebron Subdistrict: Khirbaht Safa Tahta and Khirbaht Safa Foqa; Req'a and Khirbaht Req'a; 'Alqa Foqa and 'Alqa Tahta.

After the 1967 war, the whole of Jerusalem City was annexed to Israel and most of the villages of the Jerusalem District were distributed between Bethlehem and Rammallah Subdistricts. Nablus Subdistrict was rendered smaller by attaching some of its villages to Jennin and Tulkarem Subdistricts. Despite these changes Nablus Subdistrict still contained the largest population and the largest number of villages.

As a result of the 1967 war, many of the villages were destroyed and deserted, especially near the armistice line, for example, 'Imwas, Nuba and Yalu in Rammallah Subdistrict.

Also, the areal extent of the villages was fixed by the Israeli authorities, who prevented villages from building new houses outside a small area around the villages. The intention of this action was to provide more space in which Israeli settlers could establish new Israeli settlements. Nevertheless, the 1981 estimate gives a bigger number of villages (Table 2.1 and Figures 2.3, 2.4) than that of the 1967 census, because it disjoined the villages that were counted as one in the 1967 census. Still, the number is smaller than in the 1961 census, because of the destruction of

many villages, and the abandonment of some by their population.

Jericho Subdistrict has the smallest number of villages and the smallest population of all the Subdistricts of the West Bank, because of its location in the Jordan Rift Valley and its climate. In 1945 there were two villages; after 1948 this Subdistrict attracted a lot of refugees and its two villages become the nucleus of the refugee camps. After the 1967 war, most of its population emigrated to the East Bank of Jordan, but a few of them remained on the agricultural land of the West Bank and stayed in the old villages.

In the West Bank many of the small villages have come into existence out of the earlier *khirbah.* The newcomers to these new villages owned larger amounts of land than they had been the case in their places of origin. Other factors contributed to their movement, including social and psychological difficulties in their place of origin such as marriage, and the factions between the families. Hebron Subdistrict had experienced the creation of the largest number of villages amongst the Subdistricts of the West Bank, as indicated in (Tables 2.1, 2.2).

However, many of these daughter villages are no longer inhabited due to emigration, or other factors such as the need for security, the lack of services, and to the very small numbers remaining dependent on the land and working in agriculture as the only source of income.

2.2 Location of villages

Physical, socio-economic and political factors all affect the distribution of the settlements in the West Bank. The location of the villages is affected by the topography, water supply, roads, security and the quality of the land.

The villages of Nablus District have a significantly different location pattern from those in Jerusalem and Hebron Districts. While more than two-thirds of

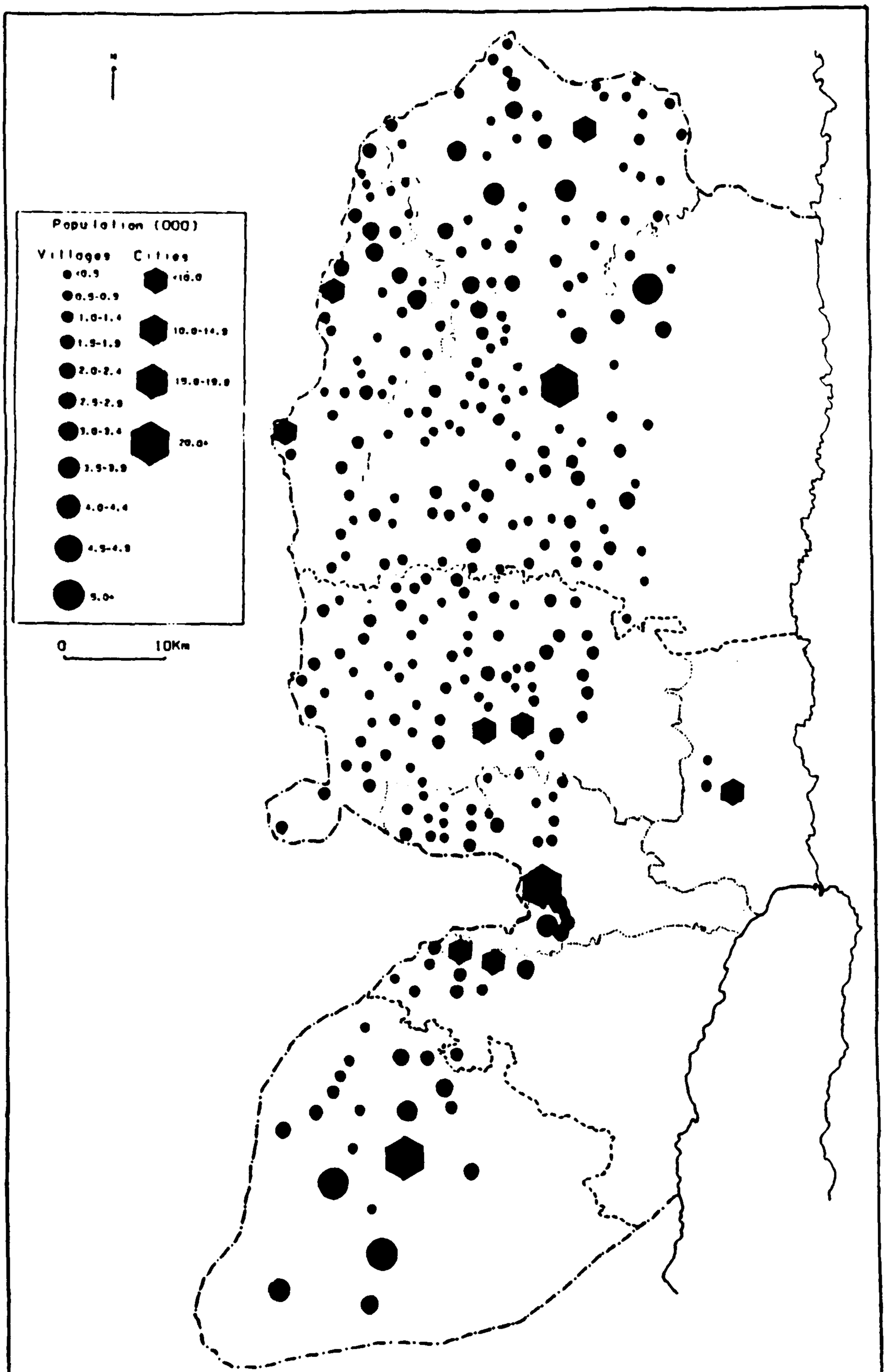

Figure 2.1 Distribution of settlements in the West Bank, 1945

Source: Data based in Hadawi, 1970

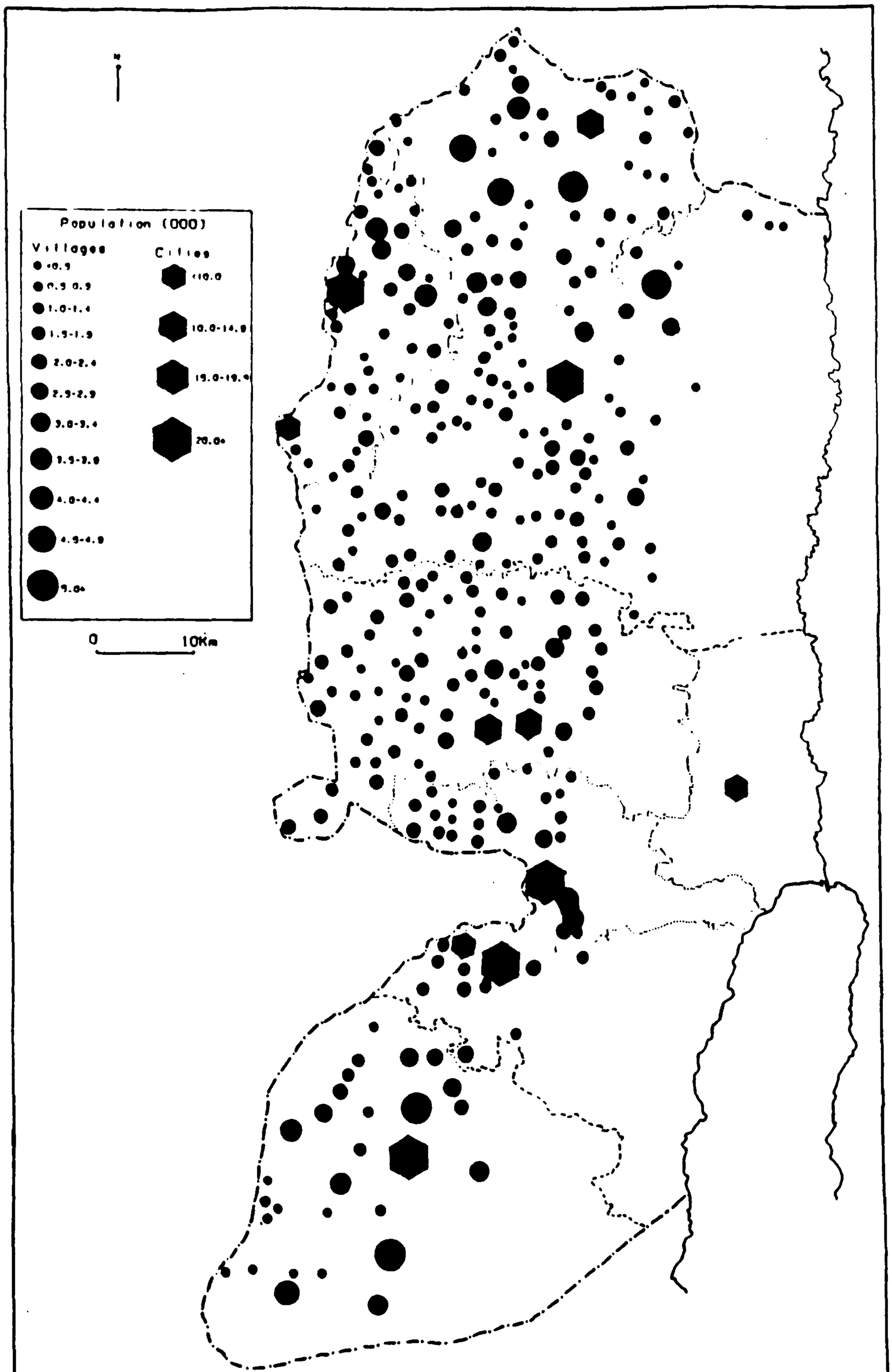

Figure 2.2 Distribution of settlements in the West Bank, 1961

Source: Data based in Department of Statistics, 1964

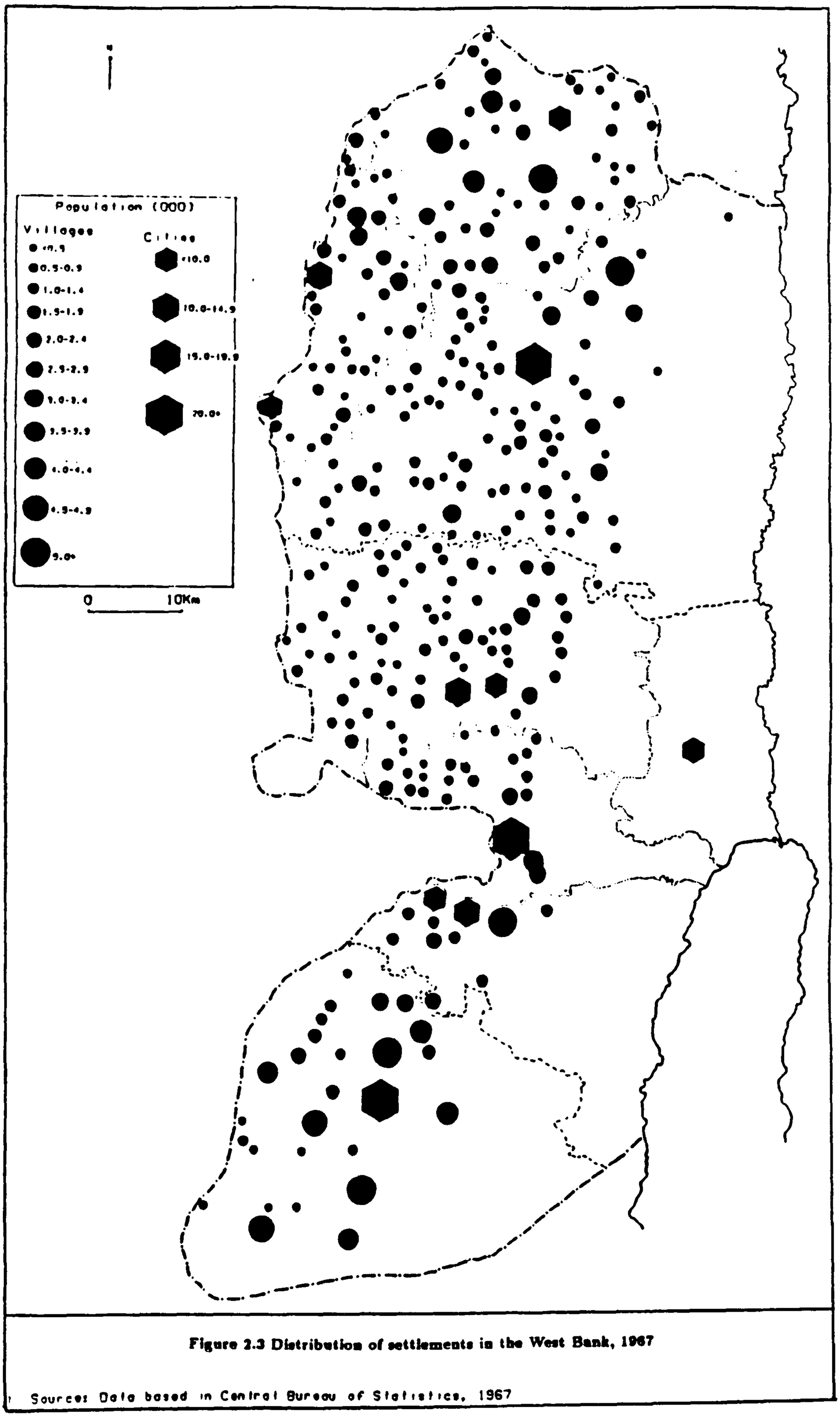

Figure 2.3 Distribution of settlements in the West Bank, 1967

Source: Data based in Central Bureau of Statistics, 1967

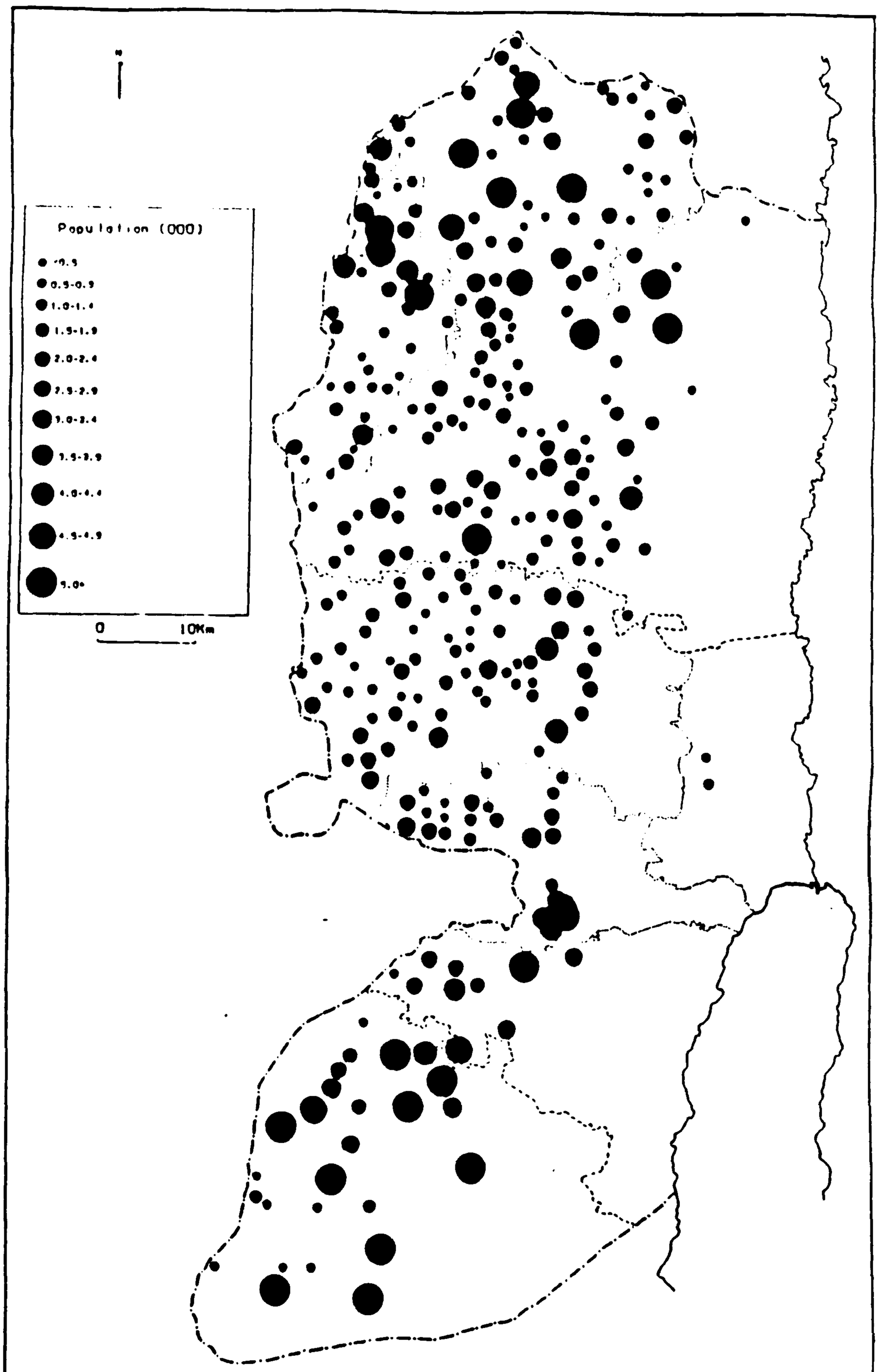

Figure 2.4 Distribution of the Arab villages in the West Bank, 1981

Source: Data based in Arab Studies Society, 1985

Table 2.2
Examples of mother and daughter villages in the West Bank

Subdistrict	Mother village	Daughter villages
Nablus	Beit Dajan	Frosh Beit Dajan, Jureash.
	Tubas	Ibzeq, Khirbaht Ibzeq, Khirbaht Sakut, El-Deir, Berdelah, Deir Abu-Sus, Is'aydeh, Deir Ilqra',Ireqa, Marej Na'jeh, Mehan El-Samen, Abu-Sedreh, Ein Beida
Tulkarem	Kafr Thulth	Wadi Hawash, Wadi El-Rasha, Ras Tera, Shqeef El-Sannem,Mgharet Da'a, Khirbaht Ras Atteyeh, Khirbaht Khreash, Zakur, Elghuzlan, Khirbaht Abu-Selman, Khirbaht Mustafa, El-Mdewer, El-Ashqer.
	Deir El-Ghusun	Masqfa, Seeb Jarusheah, Nuzha, Rahel, Marjeh, Ibthan.
Jennin	Qabatiya	Meselys, Talfite, Samareah, Farawneh, Shata, Kafereh, Kawkeb El-Hawa, Um-El-Tut, Jelebun, Sa'ein, Deir Ghazaleh, Nureas.
Bethlehem	Breit Fajjar	Um Salamoneh, Beida, Lweza, El-Mosrareh, Murah Zentah, Jurat Shama.
Hebron	Dura	El-Burj, Beit 'Awa, Bneyeh, El-kum, El-Mwaraq, El-Sekeh, Deir E-'Asal Foqa, Deir El-'Asal Tahta, Beit Rosh Foqa, Beit Rosh Tahta, Deir Samet, Esmeyah, Beit Merseem, 'Abelamam Qarantena, El-Beir, Qarmeh, 'Abdeh, Kharazeh, 'Alaqa Tahta, 'Alaqa Foqa, El-Hajer, Suba, Ismya, Deir Razekh, Tarmeh, Imreas, Kharsa, Tapaqa, Salameh,
	Yatta	Beir Nabala, Khirbaht Karmel, Kafr Aziz.
	Sa'ir	Nasib, El-Rabre'ah, Zawyeh, Khirbaht Iraq Trad, Kanub, Mughur Salman, Beir El-Masiadeh, Mgharet Bud En-Nemer, Jurn El-Loz, Mugharet Um Khalil, Murah El-Botton, El-'Adasiyah, Beit Anun, Ras Altaweel, Khirbah Ras Tura

Sources:

1. Dabagh, M., 1973.

2. Araf, S., 1985.

the villages in the Nablus District are located on the mountain slopes and on the low ground, in the Jerusalem and Hebron District, on the other hand, 60.0 per cent of the villages are located on the hill tops (Table 2.3), because of the physical structure of the Hebron and Jerusalem mountains.

Table 2.3

Location of the Arab villages in the West Bank

%

Location	Nablus District	Jerusalem & Hebron Districts	The West Bank
Hill tops	29.0	60.0	41.0
Mountain slopes	34.0	20.0	28.0
Low ground	37.0	20.0	31.0

sources:

1. Conder, C., and Kitchener, H., 1882.
2. Survey of Israel, 1970, sheet No. XI/2.
3. Amiry, S., 1983.

In general, the barren mountains of Hebron and Jerusalem are simple and compact in structure. The top of the Jerusalem mountains is a compact upfold, very little disturbed by faults. The Hebron mountains dome is narrow, its crest is a flat plateau. The southern part of these mountains is almost arid. The eastern slopes are extremely steep and arid. Western slopes are gently sloping and more fertile than those of the south and east. The Nablus mountains are morphologically more diverse. Many branches and rift valleys dissect the mountains blocks. Internal basins separate the different mountains ridges. All of these valley and basins are fertile. These eastern slopes in this area are not particularly arid, due to the broken nature of the Nablus mountains, so that moisture bearing sea winds coming from the west reach the eastern flank. The western slopes are of low foothills also broken by valleys;

which connect the central parts of the mountains with the coastal plain. Unlike the mountains of Hebron and Jerusalem, which have a relatively small number of springs, those of Nablus have many water sources, (Amiry, 1983, pp 16-23). The soil found in the valley is an important factor for the villages in Nablus mountains. The valleys themselves are not settled since they contain fertile sedimentary soil suitable for intensive cultivation. In Sanour Valley, for example; the villages lie on the fringes of the valley, close to the mountain, a location made possible by the abundance of springs.

Villages in Hebron and Jerusalem generally take the highest topographical locations for sites (Table 2.3) for historical reasons (danger of attack). In addition, the relatively broad upland surface attracts cultivation to higher elevations and settlement with it, for example Selwade village in Jerusalem District. The narrow, deeply dissected valleys on the other hand are not attractive for the location of villages. For reasons of security, it is desirable, and at times even imperative, to site villages at places providing strategic command of surrounding area. The extent to which security take precedence over other considerations is illustrated by relations between the villages and the springs supplying their water (Amiran, 1953, p 203). Many villages in the West Bank are built hundreds of metres away from but above the springs; thus, women have to carry water required for domestic use all the way up to the village.

Efrat (1977, 1982, 1984) compares the locations of settlements in Nablus District with those in Jerusalem and Hebron District: In the Hebron mountains,the layout of the rural settlement follows a linear, concentrated pattern in line with the geographical structure. To the east the influence of the desert is very noticeable; the annual precipitation is between 100-300 mm., the vegetation is sparse, there are few springs and little soil. Human settlement accordingly does not extend beyond a line running about 5 km. east of the watershed. To the south, the influence of the Negev Desert penetrates some distance into the Hebron mountains and, as a

result, the number of villages falls off as one nears the border of the desert. The villages on the mountain crest run parallel with the watershed but are located at some distance from it, where soft stone is available for building, rather than in the fertile soil of the crest proper. To the west, a further series of villages is located along the tectonic flank line running parallel with the mountains. Their position on the edge of the mountainous backbone ensures geographical advantages and adequate supplies of spring water. The dispersion of the villages in the Hebron and Jerusalem mountains is linear, clustered and concentrated owing to the limitations imposed by nature and to the mountainous topography. This limits the eastward expansion of settlement beyond a line passing through Bani-N'aim, Beit-Fajjar and Beit-Sahuar. In the south the desert influence of the Negev is very noticeable. It penetrates between the Dahiriyeh and Tel-Keryout ridges and makes itself felt by the decrease in rainfall and population density as one approaches the threshold of the desert. Towards the west, the concentration of settlement is limited by morphological and geographical factors. A number of villages are strung out along the Hebron mountains backbone in a northeast-southwest direction, parallel to the crest of the mountains. These are Idna, Tarquimiya, Beit-'Awa, Kharas, Surif, Nahalin, Husan and Bettir.

On the other hand, in Nablus District the settlements are more widely dispersed. Here, too, the settlement pattern is influenced by climate, topography, soil, water and roads. The broken mountainous topography has resulted in a network of villages which are located on pinnacles, domes and ridges dominating the surrounding countryside and offering a good strategic position. The valleys, with their rich alluvial soil, are generally uninhabited, being left free for intensive cultivation. The numerous springs which are the outcome of the fault lines characteristic of the Nablus mountains facilitate the extensive dispersion of the population. There is a sharp division between the rainy Mediterranean climate in the west and the semi-arid desert climate in the east. The dividing line coincides more or less with the 300 mm. isohyet, and there is

almost no settlement east of the line that passes through the villages of Mughaiyer, Magdel Bani-Faddil, Beit-Dajan, Tammun and Tayasir. Owing to the structure of the Nablus mountains, which are open to the west, the Mediterranean climate and consequently the boundaries of the agricultural area penetrate farther east than in case of Hebron. There are no settlements in the semi-arid Jordan Valley except Jericho in the south, which was in the past based on an oasis, and two small villages . (Efrat. 1977, 1982, 1984).

A number of historical factors such as the threat of Bedouin raids in the nineteenth century affected the expansion and location of the villages in the peripheral zone, and the internal threat that might have a strong impact on the siting of some highland villages was inter-village war, the ongoing wars between the different rival domains or factions, especially the Qays and Yemen factions.

Amiran (1953) found that the alignment of routes affects the location of the West Bank villages; the ancient mountainous highway connected south and north, running through Beer-Sheba to Hebron, Jerusalem, Nablus and Nazareth. Whereas this highway passes through all the towns along its route, the overwhelming majority of the villages keep off it. This becomes obvious as soon as the highway enters the Hebron mountains. Having passed through Dahiriyeh, which serves as a kind of outpost, it does not pass through one single village on the 60 km. to Jerusalem. A string of villages keeps a safe distance from the road and is located west of it. This line includes the large village of Dura in south-west Hebron and such others as Taffuh, Beit-Ummar. A second group is removed to the east of the road including villages like Yatta, Bani-N'aim, Beit-Fajjar and others. To this eastern group too belongs the village of Halhul, north of Hebron. With few exceptions, we find the same relationship north of Jerusalem as far as the large plain of Marg Ben-'Amir where the road joins the old Via Maris (Amiran, D., 1953, p 204). The exceptions are few in number; Sh'ufat on the outskirts of Jerusalem, Silat-Dahir between Nablus and

Jennin grew only recently towards the highway, similarly, Halhul between Bethlehem and Hebron, 'Ein-Sinya and Huwara between Nablus and Rammallah, Deir-Sharaf at the Nablus-Jennin-Tulkarem roadfork.

Many of the names of the West Bank villages are related to their environment, for example Huwara which means the white soil. The topography of the land also produces place-name elements like *Ture, Ras, Tel*, which mean a high place. Some village names are prefixed with the name of morphological features like *wadi* (valley), *'Ain* (spring), *Beir* (well) as in Wadi-Fokkin, 'Ain-Sinya, Beir-Zeit, respectively. Other villages have derived their names from their location relative to other villages, for instance; Beit-'Aur *El-Foqa* (upper), also Beit-'Aur *At-Tahta* (lower), this indeed coincides with their position on the land. Still other villages are named after prophets: *Zakaria, An-Nabi Saleh.* Others are named following the building of a place of prayer or Abbey; such as *Deir*-Nedham. Other settlements tend to carry the name of God as a clue to their religious status; Ramm*allah.* Some villages began with the words *Kafr* which mean agriculture land like, Kafr Ed-Deek. Not surprisingly, some of the villages are named after plants or animals: *Farkha* (chicken), *Anza* (goat), *Beir-Zeit* (the well of oil). Finally, villages may be named after their inhabitants like *Beit-Surik* (the house of Surik), *Bani-N'aim* (the tribe or the people of N'aim).

Efrat (1977, 1982, 1984) discusses the distribution of the cities in the West Bank. He found that the cities in Hebron and Jerusalem Districts are aligned along the watershed from Hebron through Bethlehem, Beit-Jala, Jerusalem and Rammallah to El-Bire. There are located on the mountain crest, each constituting a service, administrative, agricultural, marketing and commercial centre for the surrounding villages. Jerusalem of course has the central function of being the capital of the West Bank. Hebron is the main centre of the southern mountain area, while Bethlehem and Beit-Jala to the south, and Rammallah and El-Bire to the north, form secondary centres, which are economically and otherwise dependent on Jerusalem. In Nablus

District, on the other hand, the cities have developed primarily on the edge of the mountains facing the coastal plain and Jerzel Valley or as intra or inter-regional communications centres. The urban system is largely focused on Nablus, with Jennin as a subsidiary in the north, Tulkarem in the west and Qalqilya in the south-west.

2.3 Population of the villages

The West Bank villages had a high rate of the population increase in the period 1945-1961, averaging about +2.75 per cent per year, despite a high rate of emigration to the East Bank of the Jordan, to the Gulf States and to the towns of the region (Table 2.4 and Figures 2.1, 2.2). During this period the annual rate of increase differed considerably from one Subdistrict to another, mainly because many of the 1948 refugees settled in villages near the armistice line, hoping to return to their homes. Also during this period, most of Bedouin were settled.

The villages in the West Bank experienced significant population decline during the period 1961-1967 (Table 2.4 and Figures 2.2, 2.3). Internal rural-urban migration continued throughout this period as did emigration to other Arab countries, but the most important factor was the large scale emigration from the West Bank which occurred in association with the June 1967 war and the Israeli occupation of the territory. The the annual growth rate from 1961 to 1967 was -1.64 per cent per year, but this rate differed from one Subdistrict to another, because some Subdistricts were more affected by the war than others; as Table 2.4 shows, for example, villages in the Jerusalem and Rammallah Subdistricts had a higher proportionate population loss than those of other Subdistricts.

According to the available published data, the period 1967-1981 saw renewed rapid increase (Table 2.4 and Figures 2.3, 2.4) in the population of the villages, averaging about +3.78 per cent per year, compared with an annual rate of increase in the West Bank population as a whole of about +1.16 per cent. Given the scale of

emigration from the West Bank during this period, both to Jordan and to the Gulf States, the latter becoming particularly important following the oil price rises and the subsequent expansion of employment opportunities in the Gulf, a growth rate of 3.78 per cent seems remarkably high. This may well be due to an over-estimate of the population in the villages in 1981.

West Bank villages are generally small (Table 2.5 and Figures 2.1, 2.2, 2.3, 2.4). The average size of villages in the West Bank was 911 persons in 1945, and reached 1483 persons in 1981. While the average village population increased continuously between 1945 and 1981 both in the West Bank as a whole and in Nablus District, in Hebron District the figure actually decline from 2171 persons in 1945 to only 763 in 1961. This was due to the creation of many small villages, which drew their initial population from larger ones. After 1961, however, average village size in Hebron District also increase. In Jerusalem District, on the other hand, average village size recorded by 1967 census was smaller than in 1961. Jerusalem District was most affected by the 1967 war and suffered a higher rate of emigration than other Districts. Between 1967 and 1981, however, average village size in Jerusalem District also increased rapidly. As Table 2.5 shows, village size also differs considerably between the various Districts and Subdistricts.

Although the average population of a West Bank village has risen from 911 in 1945 to 1483 in 1981, more than one-third of all West Bank villages still have populations below 500 (Table 2.5 and Figures 2.1, 2.2, 2.3, 2.4). Such villages, of course, contain only a small proportion of the West Bank village population: 12.91 per cent in 1961, 4.92 per cent in 1981. The proportion of all villages falling in this category rose from 41.75 per cent in 1945 to 47.02 per cent in 1961, a period during which many new villages were created; thereafter it declined to 34.40 per cent in 1981 owing to the destruction of some villages and rapid population growth in the remainder.

Table 2.4
Population growth of the villages in the West Bank

Subdistrict	Population				Annual growth rate (%)		
	1945	1961	1967	1981	1945-1961	1961-1967	1967-1981
Nablus	64,710	106,857	90,966	14,4969	+3.13	-2.68	+3.33
Jennin	43,680	63,422	63,886	106,912	+2.33	+0.12	+3.68
Tulkarem	3,3690	47,045	44,142	72,858	+2.09	-1.06	+3.58
Nablus District	142,580	217,324	198,994	324,739	+2.63	-1.47	+3.50
Rammallah	48,250	79,556	60,226	95,233	+3.13	-4.64	+3.27
Jerusalem	25,530	40,419	27,221	55,986	+2.87	-6.59	+5.15
Bethlehem	10,310	19,698	22,728	43,469	+4.05	+2.39	+4.63
Jericho	970	0	1,201	2,945	0	0	+6.41
Jerusalem District	85,060	139,673	111,376	197,633	+3.10	-3.77	+4.10
Hebron	43,410	63,333	70,610	124,181	+2.36	+1.81	+4.03
Hebron District	43,410	63,333	70,610	124,181	+2.36	+1.81	+4.03
Total	270,550	420,330	380,980	646,553	+2.75	-1.64	+3.78

Source: Calculated from;

1. Hadawi,S., 1970.
2. Department of Statistics, 1963.
3. Central Bureau of Statistics, 1967.
4. Arab Studies Society, 1985.

Table 2.5
Village size in the West Bank

Subdistrict	Year	No. of		Village size										Average
		Vill.	Pop.	<500		500-999		1000-1499		1500-1999		2000 +		village
				Vill. %	Pop. %	Vill. %	Pop. %	Vill. %	Pop. %	Vill. %	Pop. %	Vill. %	Pop. %	size
Nablus														
	1945	86	64,710	51.16	20.93	24.42	23.35	13.96	22.93	4.65	10.68	5.81	22.11	752.44
	1961	129	106,857	15.43	46.51	24.81	21.30	13.95	20.08	6.20	13.42	8.53	29.77	828.35
	1967	96	90,966	30.21	8.67	37.50	28.29	16.67	21.40	5.21	9.48	10.41	32.16	947.56
	1981	99	144,969	22.22	4.19	22.22	11.85	20.20	16.10	12.12	14.81	23.24	53.05	1464.33
Jennin														
	1945	48	43,680	45.83	12.13	29.17	25.23	6.25	7.74	4.17	7.78	14.58	47.12	910.00
	1961	56	63,422	44.64	11.63	16.07	9.45	21.43	23.06	0	0	17.86	55.86	1132.54
	1967	54	63,886	38.89	9.89	22.22	13.24	16.67	17.47	1.85	2.38	20.37	57.02	1183.07
	1981	63	106,912	26.99	2.80	25.40	10.95	9.52	6.67	9.52	9.20	28.57	70.38	1697.02
Tulkarem														
	1945	35	33,690	40.00	11.67	25.71	19.62	11.43	14.81	8.57	14.66	14.29	39.24	962.57
	1961	42	47,045	35.71	6.96	23.81	15.24	14.29	14.61	7.14	11.07	19.05	52.12	1120.12
	1967	42	44,142	38.09	8.51	21.43	14.43	19.05	21.54	2.38	4.48	19.05	51.04	1051.00
	1981	47	72,858	36.17	5.93	17.02	8.36	10.64	8.87	8.51	9.78	27.66	67.06	1550.17
Nablus District														
	1945	169	142,080	47.34	16.03	26.04	23.04	11.24	16.34	5.32	10.73	10.06	33.86	840.71
	1961	227	217,324	44.05	12.49	22.47	16.53	15.86	19.77	4.85	8.99	12.77	42.22	957.38
	1967	192	198,994	34.37	9.03	29.69	20.38	17.19	20.17	3.65	6.09	15.10	44.33	1036.43
	1981	209	324,739	26.79	4.13	22.01	10.77	14.83	11.37	10.53	11.83	25.84	61.90	1553.78

continued

continued Table 2.5

Subdistrict	Year	No. of		Village size										Average
		Vill.	Pop.	<500		500-999		1000-1499		1500-1999		2000 +		village
				Vill. %	Pop. %	Vill. %	Pop. %	Vill. %	Pop. %	Vill. %	Pop. %	Vill. %	Pop. %	size
Rammallah														
	1945	69	48,250	40.58	15.94	34.78	36.52	20.29	36.04	2.90	7.19	1.45	4.31	699.28
	1961	73	79,556	24.66	7.56	23.29	15.30	26.02	30.14	17.81	27.15	8.22	19.82	1089.81
	1967	70	60,226	30.00	10.33	38.57	33.03	20.00	28.77	7.14	14.97	4.29	12.90	860.37
	1981	69	95,233	17.39	3.68	26.09	14.56	21.74	21.40	11.59	14.72	23.19	45.64	1380.19
Jerusalem														
	1945	28	25,530	39.29	12.77	32.15	23.81	10.71	14.18	7.14	13.83	10.71	35.41	911.79
	1961	36	40,419	30.56	7.61	30.56	19.41	19.44	20.86	2.78	4.69	16.66	47.43	1122.75
	1967	27	27,221	25.93	7.21	33.33	23.73	25.93	30.39	3.70	5.86	11.11	32.81	1008.19
	1981	32	55,986	15.63	1.96	21.87	8.70	21.87	14.84	3.13	3.26	37.50	71.24	1749.56
Bethlehem														
	1945	9	10,310	11.11	2.71	33.33	21.24	44.45	49.18	0	0	11.11	26.87	1145.56
	1961	34	19,698	64.71	23.95	8.82	9.83	17.65	32.76	2.94	9.13	5.88	24.33	579.35
	1967	26	22,728	53.85	12.61	7.69	5.00	26.92	38.81	0	0	11.54	43.58	874.15
	1981	33	43,469	57.58	7.58	9.09	5.11	0	0	6.06	7.60	27.27	79.71	1317.24
Jericho														
	1945	2	970	50.00	24.74	50.00	75.26	0	0	0	0	0	0	485.00
	1961													
	1967	4	1,201	75.00	50.87	25.00	49.13	0	0	0	0	0	0	300.25
	1981	8	2,945	62.50	30.46	37.50	69.54	0	0	0	0	0	0	368.13
Jerusalem District														
	1945	108	85,060	37.96	13.48	34.26	31.30	19.45	30.66	3.70	8.23	4.63	16.33	787.59
	1961	143	139,673	35.66	9.88	21.68	15.72	22.38	27.82	10.49	18.11	9.79	28.47	976.73
	1967	127	111,376	35.43	10.47	30.71	25.21	22.05	30.91	4.72	9.52	7.09	23.89	876.98
	1981	142	197,633	28.87	4.45	21.83	11.64	15.49	14.52	7.75	9.69	26.06	59.70	1391.78

continued

continued Table 2.5

Subdistrict	Year	No. of		Village size										Average
		Vill.	Pop.	<500		500-999		1000-1499		1500-1999		2000 +		village
				Vill. %	Pop. %	Vill. %	Pop. %	Vill. %	Pop. %	Vill. %	Pop. %	Vill. %	Pop. %	size
Hebron														
	1945	20	43,410	15.00	1.57	20.00	7.10	10.00	5.87	10.00	7.44	45.00	78.02	2170.50
	1961	83	63,333	74.70	19.43	4.82	4.39	4.82	7.88	2.41	5.27	13.25	63.03	763.05
	1967	67	70,610	62.68	12.80	11.94	7.65	4.48	5.71	4.48	7.09	16.42	66.75	1053.88
	1981	85	124,181	62.35	7.73	11.77	5.37	3.53	2.78	3.53	4.07	18.82	80.05	1460.95
Hebron District														
	1945	20	43,410	15.00	1.57	20.00	7.10	10.00	5.87	10.00	7.44	45.00	78.02	2170.50
	1961	83	63,333	74.70	19.43	4.82	4.39	4.82	7.88	2.41	5.27	13.25	63.03	763.05
	1967	67	70,610	62.68	12.80	11.94	7.65	4.48	5.71	4.48	7.09	16.42	66.75	1053.88
	1981	85	124,181	62.35	7.73	11.77	5.37	3.53	2.78	3.53	4.07	18.82	80.05	1460.95
Total														
	1945	297	270,550	41.75	12.91	28.62	23.08	14.14	19.16	5.05	9.42	10.44	35.43	910.94
	1961	453	420,330	47.02	12.67	18.99	14.43	15.89	20.65	6.18	11.46	11.92	40.79	927.88
	1967	386	380,980	39.64	10.15	26.94	19.43	16.58	20.63	4.15	7.28	12.69	42.51	987.00
	1981	436	646,553	34.40	4.92	19.96	10.00	12.84	10.68	8.26	9.69	24.54	64.71	1482.92

Vill.:Village Pop.:Population

Source: Calculated from;

1. Hadawi,S., 1970.
2. Department of Statistics, 1963.
3. Central Bureau of Statistics, 1967.
4. Arab Studies Society, 1985

At the other end of the scale, both the number of villages with more than 2,000 inhabitants and the proportion of the West Bank village population living in such settlements have increased continuously since 1945. In 1981, villages with more than 2,000 inhabitants accounted for nearly a quarter of all villages (10.44 per cent in 1945) and contained 64.71 per cent of the village population (35.43 per cent in 1945). Rapid natural increase is an obvious factor, though it could also be the case that populations were over-estimated in 1981 (see above page 59,60).

The annual growth rate in the West Bank cities, at 3.35 per cent, was more than that in the villages in the period 1945-1961; most of the refugees entering the West Bank in this period settled in or near the cities and there was considerable internal migration from rural to urban areas. However, in the period 1961-1967, cities lost a larger proportion of their population than did the villages and the urban population actually declined by about -2.11 per cent per annum, because the cities were more affected by the war than were the villages. Large number of town-dwellers emigrated to the East Bank and there was a high rate of movement to the oil-producing countries from the towns rather than from the villages because the former's inhabitants had higher levels of education and training. The cities of the West Bank are relatively small, there are three cities; Jerusalem, Nablus, Hebron whose population was more than 20,000 in 1967; most of the other cities had a population of less than 10,000 inhabitants; Jennin, Qalqilya, Beit-Jala, Jericho and El-Bire. No later censuses are available.

2.4 Services in the villages

Change is visible in all aspects of life in the Arab villages of the West Bank. The principal factors governing the creation and subsequent development of these villages have been, and still are, environmental, political and socio-economic in nature. Since it is true that such factors have a common influence on all the

Arab villages, great similarities can be observed in their development and present characteristics.

2.4.1 Village administration

According to Jordanian law, there are three elected local bodies in the West Bank; Municipalities (in the cities and in a few large villages), Village Councils (in some villages), and Chambers of Commerce (in the cities). Municipal and chamber of commerce elections are held every four years, and village council elections every three years.

Of the 23 villages in the 1987 sample survey, 2 are administered by municipalities, 7 by village councils, and 14 by *Mukhtars*. The *mukhtars* are individuals chosen by the *hamula* (extended family) to represent it before the authorities. In small villages which are not administered by a municipality or village council, the *mukhtars* constitute the only local authority and are personally appointed by the administration. In towns and large villages, the *mukhtar* is not involved in administration but represents the interests of the *hamula*. They receive small salaries from the administration, but their major source of income is from fees received in exchange for services rendered to individuals such as the certification of documents, licenses, etc.

The legal basis for the activities of the municipalities on the West Bank is contained in the Jordanian Law of Municipalities. This law gives them the authority to control such matters as the supply of water and electricity, the establishment of public markets and butcheries, schools and other institutions.

The village councils' powers include the establishment and management of roads, schools, markets, slaughter houses and water and electricity supplies on a local basis, with the cooperation of the authorities and under their supervision.

Immediately preceding the 1967 war, there were 96 village councils in the West Bank. After the war, the military government gradually reactivated them, wishing to show the occupation as being enlightened and also to create a centralized medium for controlling the rural sector of the West Bank. At the beginning of the 1970s, 64 councils were operating. By the early 1980s the number of village councils had risen to over 85 (Benvenisti, Abu-Zayed, and Rubinstein, 1986, pp 217-218).

On the other hand, the chambers of commerce are bodies established by Jordanian law, which have continued to function under the Israeli occupation by order of the regional commander. Under Jordanian rule, the chambers of commerce served as clubs for the urban financial elite and naturally wielded great political and economic power. After the occupation, their position became even stronger, for a number of reasons. Regional bodies ceased to function and community political and economic activities were taken over by local bodies such as the municipalities, chambers of commerce, and religious organizations. Chamber of commerce activities were considered to be political by the military government. Economic expansion in the area increased their importance. The chambers of commerce handle the export of goods to Jordan and issue licenses authorizing the export of West Bank products to Jordan. They serve as a channel of communication with the military government and represent various commercial bodies (Benvenisti, Abu-Zayed, and Rubinstein, 1986, p 22). The chambers of commerce are managed by a board of 6 to 12 members. In the West Bank, chambers of commerce operate in all the main cities; Jerusalem, Nablus, Rammallah, El-Bire, Bethlehem and Hebron.

The Joint Jordanian-PLO Committee was established in late 1978, by a decision of the Baghdad Summit. Its purpose was to subsidize investment and economic activities in the West Bank, to preserve the economic independence of the Palestinian sector, to create the infrastructure of an embryo state, to develop existing institutions, to provide assistance to individuals and organizations and to help them

defend themselves against Israeli annexation policies (Benvenisti, Abu-Zayed, and Rubinstein, 1986, p 136). The establishment of the Joint Jordanian-PLO fund created an additional incentive for re-activating the village councils, since Jordan distributed aid to villages with functioning councils. The Israeli administration and international voluntary aid organizations also provided resources for development in villages which had organized administrative bodies.

The village leagues were an organization of the rural population of the West Bank, sponsored by the Israeli Civil Administration 1981-1984, as a counterweight to the Palestinian mayors, who were viewed as PLO sympathizers. The village leagues were the cornerstone of the civilian administration policies. The leaders of the village leagues were given broad authority, both statutory and other, funds for development were placed at their disposal, and they were permitted to raise armed militias. The residents were directed to approach the league leaders for recommendations for the release of detainees, family reunification, etc. The village leagues attracted a marginal element in the Palestinian community, and in general their members were viewed by other Palestinian leaders as collaborators and their leaders as corrupt. The decision of the Jordanian government (March 1982) to treat membership in the village leagues as treason dealt them a death blow. Some of their leaders were arrested, tried, and found guilty of murder and corruption. The Israeli administration changed its attitude towards them in view of their failure (Benvenisti, Abu-Zayed, and Rubinstein, p 220).

When the village leagues were established in 1981, the village councils lost their importance in the eyes of the authorities. Administrative authority was transferred to the leagues, and many councils ceased functioning in protest. However, when the village leagues were no longer in favour with Palestinian community and the Israeli authorities, the village councils once again became the Israeli means of controlling the rural sectors.

2.4.2 Communications in the villages

After the 1948 war, the east-west road links with the coast were cut. In the 1950s, Jordan realigned its road system to give a predominantly north-south orientation instead of the previous east-west direction. Road planning after 1967 followed the Israeli geostrategic concept. Until the 1970s the prevailing geostrategic concept was the Allon plan, which presaged linear north-south links between the Jordan Valley and Israel proper, and no major connections with the west. At a later stage, however, the Israeli government started to create east-west links between the coast and the Jordan Valley (Figure 2.5).

Benvenisti (1984) defines the Israeli master plan for roads in the West Bank as, in order of declining priority:

(i) the integration of the Israeli national road network with that of the West Bank.

(ii) the opening up of areas for suburban development by creating road axes from urban centres to these areas.

(iii) the enhancement of new areas by improving road standards and by "by-passing local population areas".

(iv) the interconnection of new settlement blocks.

(v) the by-passing of the main Arab urban centres.

(vi) the connection of Arab settlements to the main road network.

In fact there are two types of roads in the West Bank; the Israeli roads which serve the Israeli settlements and regions, and the Arab roads of the old pre-1967 network, that continue to serve Arab towns and villages.

Road connections between the Arab villages and neighbouring cities, and the roads inside the villages differ from one Subdistrict to another (Table 2.6). Most Arab villages are connected to neighbouring cities by asphalt roads, while most roads within the villages combine asphalt sections with stretches made of earth; (asphalt

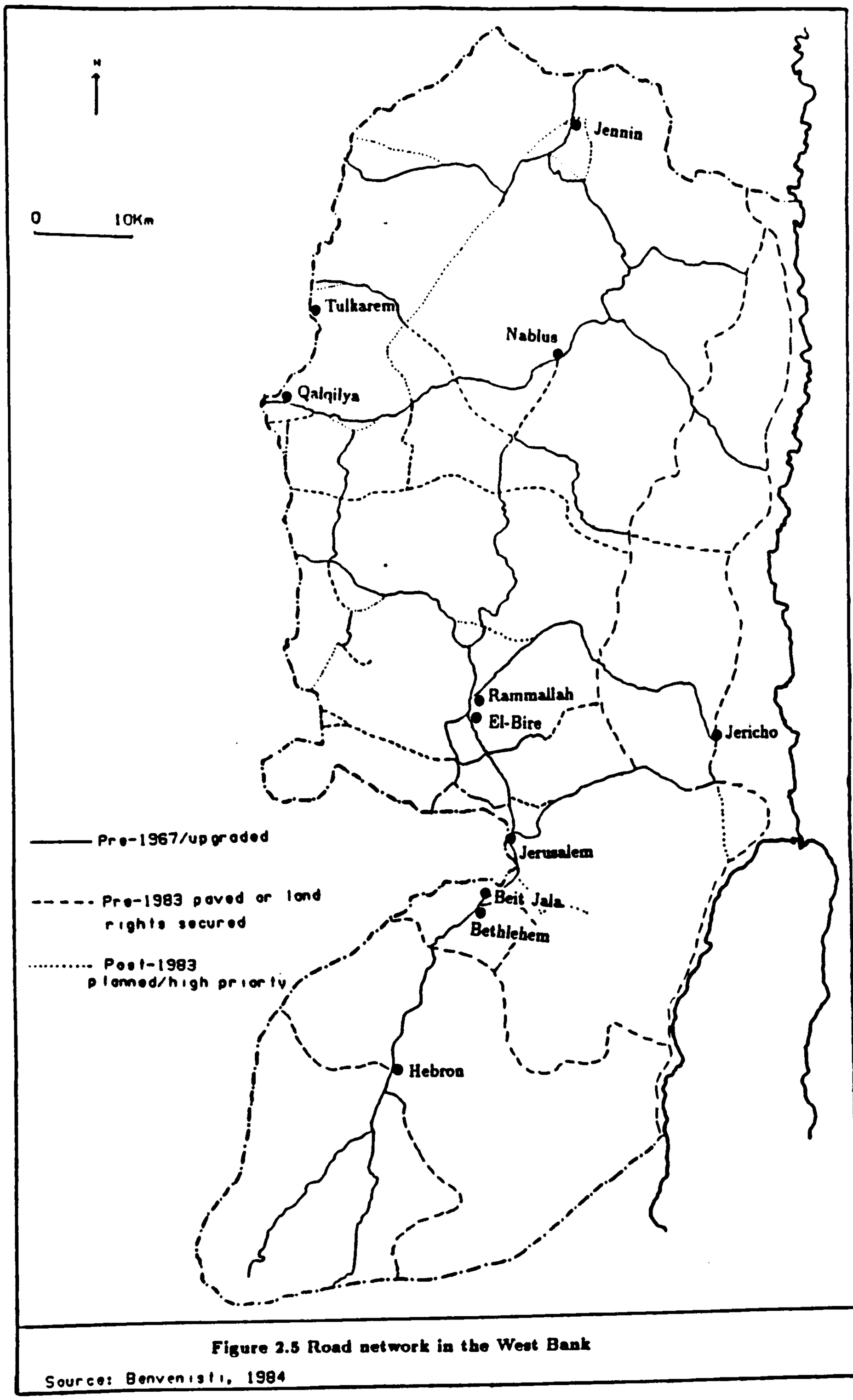

Figure 2.5 Road network in the West Bank

Source: Benvenisti, 1984

and earth). The authorities in the West Bank take more care of the main roads which connect the cities and villages than the roads within the villages, the latter being considered the responsibility of the municipalities and village councils. Since most of the villages are not far away from the main inter-city roads, extending the existing village roads so that they connect with the main road is preferred to building expensive new roads within the villages. The roads inside the villages are narrow and most of them are made of earth only.

As a result of the poor condition of the roads inside the villages, most taxi and bus drivers refuse to enter the villages. Thus most of the villagers are dropped by taxi and bus far from their houses. Of the 23 villages in the sample survey, only 2 have a taxi rank, 3 have a bus station and a taxi rank, and 18 have neither. In order to travel between villages or to the cities, the population of 5 villages use buses only, those of 4 villages use taxis only and those of 14 villages use both. In general, most of the public transport to and from the villages is irregular.

The mail and telecommunication system in the West Bank is characterized by an almost complete physical integration with the Israeli system, although there is a functional separation between the services supplied to the Israeli population and those supplied to the Palestinian population. The mail service for the Palestinian population in the West Bank as a whole is based on 37 local post office and 250 village postmen, who also operate more than 100 manual telephone exchanges, including 27 which are manned 24 hours a day in the villages and towns (Benvenisti, Abu-Zayed, and Rubinstein, 1986, p 172). Of the villages in the 1987 survey 10 have a post office, and of most these post office are part of a shop.

The telephone network on the West Bank is connected to the Israeli network and its dialling area. Of the 23 villages in the survey, 11 have no kind of telephone system, 3 have public and private telephones, 4 have private telephones

Table 2.6
Road connnections between villages and neighbouring cities and the roads inside the villages in the West Bank, 1987

Subdistrict	Roads connection villages and neighbouring cities			Roads inside the villages		
	Asphalt	Earth	Asphalt & Earth	Asphalt	Earth	Asphalt & Earth
	No. of villages	No. of villages	No. of villages	No. of villages	No. of villages	No. of villages
Nablus	4	0	1	0	2	3
Jennin	3	0	0	0	1	2
Tulkarem	1	1	1	0	0	3
Nablus District	8	1	2	0	3	8
Rammallah	3	0	1	1	0	3
Jerusalem	0	0	1	1	0	0
Bethlehem	2	0	0	0	1	1
Jericho	0	0	1	0	0	1
Jerusalem District	5	0	3	2	1	5
Hebron	3	1	0	1	3	0
Hebron District	3	1	0	1	3	0
Total	16	2	5	3	7	13

Source: The 1987 sample survey.

only, and 5 have public telephones only.

At present four daily papers, five weeklies, and four bi-weeklies are published in the West Bank (in East Jerusalem). Only 3 of the 23 villages have newspapers distributed regularly; another 3 have irregular distribution and those are 17 where there is no distribution of newspapers at all. None of the villages in the 1987 sample survey has a cinema.

2.4.3 Health services in the villages

Such vital matters such as expectation of life, infant mortality and the general health of the population are affected by a variety of factors. These include: water supply, waste collection, sewerage and sanitation systems, levels of employment, standard of living and wages, the standard of the health system itself, the number of hospitals and mother and child care clinics and levels of hygiene and sanitation.

Public health services are provided by Subdistrict public health bureaux. In the West Bank as a whole in 1983 there were 146 general clinics, 83 mother and child care clinics, and two facilities for TB patients and for those suffering from lung diseases (State of Israel, Ministry of Defence, 1983, p 29).

The health services in the West Bank villages are insufficient for the population (there are 5120 persons per clinic, and 1575 children aged 0-4 years per mother and children care clinic) and, consequently, most people must travel from the village to the city or to another village which has a clinic. There is no hospital in any of the villages of the West Bank. Most of the villages in the Subdistricts of Jerusalem and Rammallah have clinics (Table 2.7), whereas those in the Subdistrict of Jericho do not have any kind of health facilities. Only a few villages in the West Bank have a sewage system which is administered by the municipality, and often this is an incomplete system serving only part of the village.

Table 2.7
Health services in the West Bank villages, 1987

Subdistrict	Pharmacy	Health Clinic	Mother & Child care Centre	Family Planning Clinic	Private Clinic
	No. of villages	No. of villages	No. of villages	No. of villages	No. of villages
Nablus	1	4	1	0	1
Jennin	0	1	1	1	1
Tulkarem	0	1	0	0	0
Nablus District	1	6	2	1	2
Rammallah	0	2	2	1	3
Jerusalem	1	1	1	1	0
Bethlehem	0	2	1	0	0
Jericho	0	0	0	0	0
Jerusalem District	1	5	4	2	3
Hebron	0	2	0	0	1
Hebron District	0	2	0	0	1
Total	2	10	6	3	6

Source: The 1987 sample survey.

Table 2.8
Water supply in the West Bank villages,1987

Subdistrict	Running Water	Spring	Wells	Running Water & Spring	Spring & Wells	Running Water & Wells
	No. of villages	No. of villages	No. of villages	No. of villages	No. of villages	No. of villages
Nablus	1	1	1	1	0	1
Jennin	1	0	1	0	1	0
Tulkarem	1	0	2	0	0	0
Nablus District	3	1	4	1	1	1
Rammallah	1	0	0	1	1	1
Jerusalem	0	1	0	0	0	0
Bethlehem	1	0	0	1	0	0
Jericho	0	1	0	0	0	0
Jerusalem District	2	2	0	2	1	1
Hebron	0	0	1	0	1	2
Hebron District	0	0	1	0	1	2
Total	5	3	5	3	3	4

Source: The 1987 sample survey.

2.4.4 Water supply

The Israeli water authority is working towards the integration of the West Bank system into large regional plants linked up with the Israeli network. The separate West Bank water system, which had been under military control since 1967, was handed over to the Israeli national water company (Mekorot) in 1982.

Israel uses the vast majority of the water and the West Bank only about 20 million cubic meters per year (1982). According to estimates, the Israeli authorities are overpumping the water tables, so that the main water potential of the West Bank, shared with Israel, is exploited to its limit, in a ratio of 4.5 per cent to the West Bank and 95.5 per cent to Israel (Benvenisti, 1986, p 21).

Most of the inhabitants of the West Bank villages draw water for their homes from rain water cisterns or from nearby springs; piped water is only available in some of the larger villages (Table 2.8), and its supply is intermittent or rationed. The quality of the water is low, and no cholorination is applied.

2.4.5 Electricity

Electricity in the West Bank is supplied by three sources; the Israeli national grid, Arab municipal and regional grids, and small diesel generators in Arab villages.

The towns of Qalqilya, Tulkarem, Hebron, Jennin, and part of Nablus are connected to the Israeli national grid, as are 33 Arab villages; 3 in Jennin Subdistrict, 10 in Nablus Subdistrict, 16 in Tulkarem Subdistrict, and 4 in Hebron Subdistrict (Benvenisti, Abu-Zayed, and Rubinstein, 1986, p 8). Many of the villages on the West Bank are not linked to either the national or the local electric grid. In recent years it has become common to establish an association in order to provide electric lighting. These organizations used to receive loans from Jordan or from the Joint Committee

(Jordan-PLO). According to the 1987 sample survey, 1 village had no electricity supply, 6 were supplied by private generators, and 16 villages were supplied with public electricity.

2.4.6 Educational services

The Arab educational system operates according to the Jordanian system which existed before the occupation. Three different systems function in the West Bank; government, UNRWA, and private. Arab education comprises three levels; elementary, preparatory, secondary (see Chapter 9).

The data in Table 2.9 show that the higher the level of education, the fewer the places at which it is available and there are a few villages which lack even elementary schools. Thus the student is required to transfer to another village or to the city to continue his or her education. Co-education in the villages began only after 1967 in response to increased demand for education of women and to achieve economies of scale in small settlements. Of the 23 villages in the survey 7 have a sports club.

Table 2.9

Educational services in the West Bank villages, 1987

Level of education	Male only		Female only		Co-educational		Male & Female separately		None	
	No. of villages	%	No. of villages	%	No. of villages	%	No. of villages	%	No. of villages	%
Elementary	0	0	1	4.35	7	30.43	13	56.52	2	8.70
Preparatory	2	8.70	0	0	2	8.70	10	43.47	9	39.13
Secondary	2	8.70	0	0	6	26.09	4	17.39	11	47.82

Source: The 1987 sample survey.

2.4.7 Commercial services

Since the Arab villages in the West Bank are small in size, the commercial services which supply the population are limited. Most of the population of the villages goes to the neighbouring cities to take advantage of the wider selection of services which are available there.

Table 2.10

Commercial services in the West Bank villages, 1987

Commercial Services	No. of villages	%
Shop	23	100.00
Butcher	6	26.09
Mechanical	8	34.78
Bakery	3	13.04
Electric shop	7	30.44
TV & radio repair	8	34.78
Barber	8	34.78
Agriculture implement shop	3	13.04

Source: The 1987 sample survey

The data in Table 2.10 show that all villages in the 1987 sample survey have a general store, but there are few other commercial services. In spite of the fact that agriculture is of prime importance in the Arab villages of the West Bank, there are only 3 villages in the sample which have shops selling agricultural implements. These shops are found only in the large villages or in the cities, and therefore, the

farmers must travel some distance to obtain what they require.

2.5 Summary

There are eleven cities in the West Bank, all other settlements being considered as villages, with the exception of the twenty refugee camps which run by UNRWA. The number of villages recorded has varied from one census to another; while there were 297 villages in the 1945 village statistics, it was 453 villages in the 1961 census, 386 villages in the 1967 census, and 436 villages in the 1981 estimation. These differences result from the creation or destruction of the villages, the coverage of the census or the estimation, and the definition of the village in each census.

The distribution of the villages in the West Bank differ between Nablus District (in the north), and the Jerusalem and Hebron Districts (in the middle and the south). While the villages in Nablus District are situated mainly on the mountain slopes and in the low ground, the villages in Jerusalem and Hebron Districts take the highest topographical locations for their sites.

The West Bank is characterized by its large number of small villages. Among the Subdistricts, Nablus has the largest numbers of both villages and people; Jericho has the smallest.

There are three types of administration to the villages in the West Bank; the municipalities in the large villages, the village councils in some villages, and the *mukhtar* in others. Most of the villages are connected to the nearby city with roads made of asphalt, while the roads inside the villages are mainly made of earth. Few of the villages have a telephone. The villages in the West Bank have a low level of health provision, and most of the population draw water for domestic purposes from the rain water cistern or from springs. Other services like electricity, education, and commercial services differ between the villages according to the size of the village and its administration.

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CHAPTER THREE

HOUSING CHARACTERISTICS

Housing is one of the most important problems which faces the Third World today. The governments of many of these countries, together with a variety of international agencies, support the housing sector by establishing, for example, banking services which specialise in financing the building of new houses (such as the Housing Bank in Jordan, which gives long loans to those needing to build a house).

The Palestinian population in the West Bank suffers from housing problems more than others, both because of the economic situation in the West Bank, and because the Israeli authorities create many difficulties for those wishing to build houses, especially in the rural areas. For example, a military commander may prohibit construction or order a halt in construction if he believes it necessary for the security of the army or to ensure public order; such orders are issued in relation to the areas around Israeli Defence Force camps, around individual settlements and large settlement blocks, and in a 150 metre wide strip along both sides of main roads.

A housing unit is the place inhabited by a set of individuals who share the cooking facilities, irrespective of the kin relationship they may have. The number of individuals in a housing unit may vary from one to many. The definition of a housing unit is not related to its size or the level of domestic facilities available.

3.1 House ownership

The ownership of the housing units in the West Bank is divided into three categories (Table 3.1). Those who owned their house in the 1987 sample survey represented 92.73 per cent (650 households). This high proportion is because villagers in the West Bank like to own their own houses, and will do a great deal to achieve this. Most of these houses come to their owners by hereditary transmission from father or

other relatives. The proportion of home owners was found to be nearly equal in all Subdistricts (Table 3.1).

The second category is rented property which accounted for 5.99 per cent (42 households) of the houses in the 1987 sample survey (Table 3.1). The occupants of these houses are young couples unable to find accommodation with their extended families and who are therefore obliged to rent a house. The occupants might also be refugee families who live in the villages and not in the refugee camps, and have subsequently rented houses from the villagers, or families who have emigrated from one village to another or from the city to the village. Teachers, nurses and doctors who also work in the villages often do not own a house there and thus have to rent a property.

At the District level, variations in the proportions of rented property are relatively small, though Jerusalem District, with 7.21 per cent, stands out as being significantly above the West Bank average. This is due mainly to the situation in the Jerusalem and Bethlehem Subdistricts, where 12 of the 102 properties in the sample were found to be rented. In the Jerusalem Subdistrict, the village of Abu-Dies contained 7 rented properties, constituting 16.67 per cent of the total. This is due to the presence in the village of a science college and the accompanying demand for rented property from students and staff. Both Subdistricts are affected by their proximity to the city of Jerusalem where a number of Arab families have been forced to leave their houses in Old Jerusalem under pressure from the Israeli authorities. In the case of the Nablus Subdistrict there is a particularly high proportion of rented property in the village of Tubas, which is near the Jordan Rift Valley. A number of farmers in the Rift Valley had their lands confiscated as sites for Israeli settlements and many of these migrated to Tubas.

The average payment for rented property in the West Bank villages, accord-

Table 3.1
House ownership in the West Bank villages, 1987
by Subdistrict

Subdistrict	Owned		Rented		Others		Total
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.
Nablus	200	93.02	13	6.05	2	0.93	215
Jennin	109	93.16	5	4.27	3	2.57	117
Tulkarem	74	92.50	5	6.25	1	1.25	80
Nablus District	383	92.96	23	5.58	6	1.46	412
Rammallah	72	96.00	1	1.33	2	2.67	75
Jerusalem	63	90.00	7	10.00	0	0	70
Bethlehem	36	85.71	5	11.91	1	2.38	42
Jericho	6	85.71	1	14.29	0	0	7
Jerusalem District	177	91.24	14	7.21	3	1.55	194
Hebron	90	94.74	5	5.26	0	0	95
Hebron District	90	94.74	5	5.26	0	0	95
Total	650	92.73	42	5.99	9	1.28	701

Source: The 1987 sample survey.

ing to the 1987 sample survey, is 103.65 Jordan Dinars (£207.31) per year, ranging from about 50.00 Jordan Dinars (£100.00) per year in the villages in the Tulkarem, Rammallah and Jericho Subdistricts to 192.86 Jordan Dinars (£385.72) per year in the villages in the Jerusalem Subdistrict. The latter high figure is due to the huge demand for rented property in this Subdistrict.

The third category ("others" in the questionnaire and in Table 3.1) concerns householders who live in houses which they neither own nor pay rent for; this group accounted for 1.28 per cent (9 households) in the 1987 survey. Householders live in these houses because the original owners emigrated from the West Bank before or during the 1967 war and, according to Israeli law, any land, moveable property or other economic interest owned by residents who left the West Bank before or during 1967, is transferred to the Custodian of Abandoned Property. The burden of proof of ownership or tenancy of a property rests with the individual claiming rights. About 430,000 dunams of land were identified after the 1967 war as being abandoned property, as well as 11,000 houses and stores, (Benvenisti, 1986. Benvenisti, Abu-Zayed, and Rubinstein, 1986). To overcome this law many emigrants who owned property or lands in the West Bank allowed relatives to live in the house or to cultivate the land either for a nominal rent or for nothing at all. If the Israeli authorities knew about this property or land they would take possession of it.

In the 1961 census, an average of 54.5 per cent of the householders in the West Bank as a whole owned their home; 56.6 per cent in the Hebron District, 43.4 per cent in the Jerusalem District, and 64.4 per cent in the Nablus District. This contrasted with 62.6 per cent in the rural areas of the East and West Bank of the Jordan (Department of Statistics, 1964).

3.2 Building materials

The villagers build their houses from materials which they find in their

locality, and thus the materials used in construction differ from one Subdistrict to another. There are also variations in the construction materials used within individual villages, even within different parts of the same house, depending on the time at which additional building work may have been carried out. Income and the social status of a family within the village may also affect the type of construction.

The data in Table 3.2 show that stone and cement are the most widely used building materials in the West Bank villages. Indeed the West Bank is an important area for the quarrying of good quality stone especially in the Jennin, Nablus, and Hebron Subdistricts. Most of this stone is exported to Jordan or to the Gulf States. While a combination of stone and cement is most widely used for building in the Rammallah, Jerusalem, Bethlehem and Hebron Subdistricts, cement is often used on its own in the Nablus and Jennin Subdistricts. Bricks and cement are generally used in the Tulkarem Subdistrict, whilst bricks on their own are used in the Jericho Subdistrict. This is because in the Jericho Subdistrict the climate is too hot and unlike the other Subdistricts rainfall is very low, because of its location below sea level; also, quality stone for building is not found in this Subdistrict. Clay was used as a building material in the West Bank villages in ancient times and is nowadays still found in the construction of the houses of low income families; however, this material is no longer widely used.

In the 1961 census, 44.8 per cent of houses in the West Bank were built with dressed stone, 31.2 per cent with undressed stone, 3.2 per cent with concrete, 7.2 per cent with cement and bricks and 8.4 per cent with mud bricks (Department of Statistics, 1964).

The materials used in the construction of a house differ according to its age. Before 1950 a high proportion of buildings was made of stone; 34.85 per cent (23 properties) in the 1987 sample survey, because during this period modern building

Table 3.2
Building materials of the houses in the West Bank villages 1987, by Subdistrict

Subdistrict	Stone		Bricks		Cement		Clay		Stone & Bricks		Stone & Cement		Bricks & Cement		Bricks & Clay		Cement& Clay	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Nablus	13	6.05	4	1.86	82	38.14	5	2.33	10	4.65	61	28.37	36	16.74	0	0	4	1.86
Jennin	15	12.82	2	1.71	29	27.79	5	4.27	8	6.84	25	21.37	28	23.93	0	0	5	4.27
Tulkarem	2	2.50	14	17.50	11	13.75	3	3.75	6	7.50	7	8.75	35	43.75	1	1.25	1	1.25
Nablus District	30	7.28	20	4.85	122	29.61	13	3.16	24	5.83	93	22.57	99	24.03	1	0.24	10	2.43
Rammallah	13	17.33	0	0	14	18.66	0	0	2	2.67	42	56.00	2	2.67	0	0	2	2.67
Jerusalem	12	17.14	4	5.71	6	8.57	0	0	6	8.57	24	34.29	15	21.43	1	1.43	2	2.86
Bethlehem	8	19.05	0	0	9	21.43	0	0	3	7.14	18	42.86	3	7.14	1	2.38	0	0
Jericho	0	0	4	57.14	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	42.84	0	0	0	0
Jerusalem District	33	17.01	8	4.12	29	14.95	0	0	11	5.67	84	43.30	23	11.86	2	1.03	4	2.06
Hebron	10	10.53	1	1.05	40	42.11	0	0	1	1.05	41	43.16	1	1.05	0	0	1	1.05
Hebron District	10	10.53	1	1.05	40	42.11	0	0	1	1.05	41	43.16	1	1.05	0	0	1	1.05
Total	73	10.41	29	4.14	191	27.25	13	1.85	36	5.13	218	31.10	123	17.55	3	0.43	15	2.14

Source: The 1987 sample survey.

technology was not employed in the West Bank villages. The villagers used materials found in their locality, and at that time stone, especially undressed stone, was readily available. In the period 1950-1967, the combination of stone and cement became predominant; this was due to the fact that the Jordanian Government established a cement factory in the East Bank, which led to a reduction in its price. Villagers, therefore, found it cheaper to use a mixture of cement and stone, rather than all stone, and used the latter for those parts of the house which were more visible. After 1967, most buildings were made solely of cement; 30.66 per cent (130 properties), because the price of stone during this period rose greatly due to its finding a large market in Jordan and the Gulf States.

The choice of materials employed in the construction of a house also depends greatly on the family income. Families who build their houses with stone and cement are those with a high monthly income of about 177.52 Jordan Dinars (£355.00). Families who build their homes with clay are those with low incomes (about 78.85 Jordan Dinars (£157.70) per month); families living in the latter type of housing are very poor and cannot find the money necessary to build a new house, and therefore often occupy buildings which are very old.

Houses in the villages of the West Bank are generally detached and of single story construction, 87.59 per cent (614 properties) in the 1987 sample survey. In the rural areas of the Jericho Subdistrict all of the houses in the sample were of single story construction.

More than half (398 properties; 56.78 per cent) of the village houses in the survey have no garden, but this varies from one Subdistrict to another. In the Rammallah, Jerusalem and Bethlehem Subdistricts, for example, the majority of houses have gardens. Most of the houses in the villages are very close to each other, to the extent that they may in fact sometimes share an adjoining wall in terrace-

fashion. For the properties which have gardens, the average surface area of the garden is 1.03 dunams, ranging from 1.15 dunams in the Jennin Subdistrict to 0.59 dunams in the Hebron Subdistrict. Most of the gardens in the West Bank villages are used to produce seasonal vegetables or fruit for home consumption, while some people use the garden for rearing animals such as goats, lambs and cows.

3.3 Services in the house

The level of services found in a property is to a certain extent dependent on the socio-economic status and standard of living of the individual home owner. Clearly the provision of services such as water and electricity dramatically improves the quality of life for families.

3.3.1 Lighting, water, sewage, cooking and heating

According to the 1987 sample survey, 96.86 per cent (679 households) of homes in the West Bank villages use electricity for lighting, whilst only 3.14 per cent (22 households) use kerosene. The largest concentration of households using kerosene was in the Hebron Subdistrict, where there were 10 such households in the sample. These figures suggest a considerable improvement since the 1961 census when, in the West Bank as a whole, only 13.4 per cent of households used electricity for lighting and 85.4 per cent used kerosene. In the rural areas of Jordan as a whole, only 1.6 per cent used electricity and 96.0 per cent used kerosene (Department of Statistics, 1964).

Electricity in the West Bank villages is not available twenty four hours a day; most villages have their own diesel generator for producing electricity which runs between three and six a hours per day; some families have their own generator which they keep running for a few hours each day, and when the electricity is off they use kerosene for lighting.

The 1987 survey showed that a high proportion (78.60 per cent, 551 households) of homes in the villages have running water. Wells dug in the earth to collect the winter rains for use throughout the year are used by much fewer households (120; 17.12 per cent); more than half of these (69 households) are in the Nablus District. A small proportion (30 households, 4.28 per cent) obtain their water for domestic purposes from springs; women and children go every day to the springs to carry water back to the house on their heads or by using animals; sometimes these springs may be far away from the villages. In the Jericho Subdistrict all the households in the sample obtained their water from springs.

Once again, the 1987 survey indicates a considerable improvement from 1961 when only 31.1 per cent of households in the West Bank as a whole obtained water from a regular piped supply, 59.3 per cent from wells, and 13.0 per cent from springs or streams (Department of Statistics, 1964). In the rural areas of the East Bank of the Jordan in the the 1979 census, 54.6 per cent of households obtained water from a piped supply, 4.6 per cent from wells and 6.2 per cent from springs (Department of Statistics, 1983. Department of Statistics, 1984).

Of the households in the 1987 sample, 654 or 93.30 per cent were found to use absorption pits for the disposal of sewage; sewage systems were found only in the large villages administered by a municipality, and even here the system was not connected to all the houses in the village, and only 11 households (1.57 per cent) were found to use this system. Of the other households in the sample, 36 (5.13 per cent) disposed of their waste water outside in the road or the garden, because they had no inside toilet facilities; about half of these households (19) were found in the Hebron Subdistrict. This method of sewage disposal constitutes a considerable health hazard for the population.

By comparison, in the 1961 census, 55.6 per cent of households in the West

Bank as a whole and 35.9 per cent of the households in the rural areas of the East and West Bank of Jordan had inside toilets (Department of Statistics, 1964). In the 1979 census, however, 94.38 per cent of households in the rural areas of the East Bank of Jordan owned a septic latrine (Department of Statistics, 1984).

The most important fuel used by villagers for cooking and for heating during the winter months is firewood, used by 273 households, 38.94 per cent of those in the sample. This is because it is very cheap, and most villagers use wood which they have cut from their own fields for heating and cooking. A combination of wood and kerosene is also fairly common (228 households; 32.53 per cent) since kerosene is cheaper than gas or electricity. The percentage of households which use gas or electricity is very low, only about 8.70 per cent (61) of the households in the sample. In the 1979 census, however, 10.7 per cent of households in the rural areas of the East Bank of Jordan used wood or coal, and 88.0 per cent used kerosene and diesel for heating (Department of Statistics, 1983 and 1984).

The data in Table 3.3 show that, while the great bulk of the houses in the West Bank villages contain a separate kitchen and bathroom, there are 37 (5.28 per cent) without the former, and 66 (9.42 per cent) without the latter. In the case of the families who have not a separate kitchen they cook outside the house; near the door or in the garden during summer, and in winter in the sitting room or the bedroom. 24 (3.42 per cent) of the houses in the sample contain only one room, and this is used for sitting, cooking, bathing, and sleeping; sometimes the whole family will sleep together in this room with their cows, sheep and lambs during winter. By contrast in the 1961 census 28.7 per cent of the houses in the West Bank as a whole contained a separate kitchen (Department of Statistics, 1964).

3.3.2 Domestic equipment

A telephone is rarely found in the West Bank villages; only 35 households

Table 3.3
Services in the houses of the West Bank villages 1987, by Subdistrict

Subdistrict	Kitchen %	Bath-room %	T.V. %	Radio %	Tape recorder %	Telephone %	Washing machine %	Refrigerator %	Solar bath %	Oven %	Sewing machine %	Car %	No. of households
Nablus	93.02	92.09	88.37	88.84	71.16	3.72	30.23	68.37	59.54	46.51	25.12	13.95	215
Jennin	97.44	96.58	88.03	90.60	73.50	4.27	58.12	85.47	72.65	62.39	42.74	17.09	117
Tulkarem	97.50	87.50	91.25	93.75	76.25	3.75	56.25	82.50	71.25	38.75	30.00	5.00	80
Nablus District	95.12	92.48	88.84	90.29	72.83	3.88	43.20	75.97	65.53	49.52	31.07	13.11	412
Rammallah	98.67	97.33	97.33	97.33	88.00	8.00	46.67	90.67	77.33	88.00	57.33	21.33	75
Jerusalem	100.00	95.71	90.00	97.14	94.29	5.71	44.29	68.57	68.57	68.57	40.00	18.57	70
Bethlehem	97.62	92.86	92.86	80.95	83.33	19.05	50.00	95.24	69.05	37.81	26.19	28.57	42
Jericho	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	0	28.57	100.00	0	57.14	42.86	14.29	7
Jerusalem District	98.97	95.87	93.81	93.81	86.69	9.28	45.87	84.02	69.59	76.80	43.81	21.65	194
Hebron	84.21	71.58	71.58	71.58	66.32	1.05	3.15	34.74	27.37	25.26	31.58	11.58	95
Hebron District	84.21	71.58	71.58	71.58	66.32	1.05	3.15	34.74	27.37	25.26	31.58	11.58	95
Total	94.72	90.58	87.88	88.73	76.61	4.99	38.52	72.61	61.48	53.78	34.67	15.26	701

Source: The 1987 sample survey.

(4.99 per cent) in the survey had a telephone (Table 3.3). These households were found in large villages administered by municipalities, while occasionally a telephone would be found in the house of the *mukhtar*, or the president of the village council. By comparison with the 1979 census, in the rural areas of the East Bank of Jordan, the percentage of households who owned a telephone stood at 9.12 per cent (Department of Statistics, 1983 and 1984).

Electrical equipment such as T.V., radios, tape recorders, refrigerators, and so on is obviously only found in villages which have an electricity supply, and can only be used during the hours when the electricity is on; the percentage of households which own such equipment varies from one Subdistrict to another (Table 3.3).

In 1985, however, the percentage of households in the West Bank villages owning a refrigerator was 55.2 per cent, washing machine 23.3 per cent, radio 77.1 per cent, T.V. set 65.8 per cent, colour T.V. 6.2 per cent, tape recorder 50.7 per cent, electric mixer 3.9 per cent, and electric boiler 1.7 per cent (Central Bureau of Statistics, 1986). These figures indicates a considerable improvement from the 1961 census, when the percentage of household in the West Bank as a whole which owned a radio was 30.0 per cent, refrigerator 1.8 per cent, and washing machine 1.7 per cent (Department of Statistics, 1964).

The percentage of households owning an oven is low about 53.78 per cent (377 households) of the survey, because many of them use firewood for cooking purposes. Solar water heating systems are a recent phenomenon in the West Bank villages, but have spread very quickly, since they are cheap and easy to use; the percentage of households which had the system in the survey was 61.48 per cent (431 households), while in 1985 the percentage of households in the West Bank villages using solar water heating systems was 39.5 per cent (Central Bureau of Statistics, 1986). In Jericho Subdistrict this system was not found, due probably to the small

size of the sample from that Subdistrict.

In the 1987 survey, 34.67 per cent (243) of households owned a sewing machine, which the women used for making the clothes for household members, or for trading purposes, such as making clothes for neighbours or for other people in the village. The percentage of households in the survey owning a car was 15.26 per cent (107 households); most these cars were used for transport from villages to the nearby city, or from one village to another, or for carrying agricultural products from the village to the markets. In 1983, the percentage of households in the West Bank villages which owned a private car was 6.2 per cent (Central Bureau of Statistics, 1986).

Sample households in the villages of Hebron District were found to have fewer facilities than those in other areas, a fact which is clearly related to income differentials. At 115.53 Jordan Dinars (£231.06), the average monthly household income in Hebron was significantly below those recorded in Nablus (143.81 Dinars) and Jerusalem (162.89 Dinars). The factors underlying these income differentials are explained elsewhere; they include the proportion who have emigrated and the level of remittances (Chapter 6), the percentage employed, the nature of their work and the location of their workplace (Chapter 10).

3.4 Household densities

The average number of persons per room, sometimes referred to as room density, is a widely used indicator of density of occupation and of housing conditions. Unfortunately, this measure ignores the size of rooms, an important factor when one considers that rooms are often smallest where densities are highest, as in tenements (Clarke, 1975, p 32). As a result, overcrowding has been defined in different ways according to the socio-economic conditions and the standards of living in individual countries because the amount of living space, or density of persons per room, is a

measure of how much a society cares for its members. In relation to the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, Abu-Kishk (1980), and Abu-Kishk and Ghurani (1980) mention that experts on housing agree that families who live in houses with an average of three or more individuals per room are suffering from inadequate housing. In Britain until the 1961 census, the average density of two persons per room was considered the lower limit of overcrowding, but the rapid and persistent decline in room densities and overcrowding led to the use of 1.5 persons per room as a more valid index in England, Wales and Scotland (Clarke, 1975, pp 32-33).

The data in Tables 3.4 and 3.5 show that 21.25 per cent (149) of the households in the 1987 survey live in dwellings of two rooms or less, while 78.89 per cent (553) live in dwellings of two bedrooms or less. This difference in percentage between rooms and bedrooms is due to the fact that villagers in the West Bank often use rooms in their homes for animals, for storage or as sitting rooms, and sometimes they also use one room in the dwelling as a shop. Thus one or two rooms may be used as bedrooms in the dwelling, and here the entire family will sometimes all sleep together. The figures differ from one District to another; whereas in the Hebron District 40.00 per cent (38 households) had two rooms or less and 85.26 (81 households) had two bedrooms or less, in the Jerusalem District 11.34 per cent (22 households) had two rooms or less and 70.11 per cent (136 households) had two bedrooms or less. This variation can be accounted for by differences in the relative standards of living in the two Districts. The 1987 survey also revealed that 4.00 per cent (28 households) live in dwelling of eight rooms and over and that 4.71 per cent (33 households) live in dwelling with four bedrooms and over. In the Al-Amal resettlement project in the Gaza Strip, 8.6 per cent of the households live in dwellings of two rooms or less, and 10.7 per cent of the resettled households live in dwellings of eight rooms and over (Dahlan, 1987, p 298). Since this project in the Gaza Strip is a new one and the residents were only moved to it within the last few years, housing

Table 3.4
Housing density by number of rooms in the West Bank villages, 1987

No. of rooms in dwelling	Nablus District				Jerusalem District				Hebron District				Total			
	Frequency		Total No. of inhabitants	Density of persons per room	Frequency		Total No. of inhabitants	Density of persons per room	Frequency		Total No. of inhabitants	Density of persons per room	Frequency		Total No. of inhabitants	Density of persons per room
	No.	%			No.	%			No.	%			No.	%		
1	11	2.67	66	6.00	2	1.03	11	5.50	11	11.58	52	4.73	24	3.42	129	5.38
2	78	18.93	508	3.26	20	10.31	101	2.53	27	28.42	164	3.04	125	17.83	773	3.09
3	119	28.88	850	2.38	62	31.96	446	2.40	22	23.16	171	2.59	203	28.96	1467	2.41
4	101	24.51	810	2.01	44	22.68	314	1.78	23	24.21	188	2.04	168	23.97	1312	1.95
5	50	12.14	396	1.58	27	13.92	186	1.38	5	5.26	51	2.04	82	11.70	633	1.54
6+	53	12.87	485	1.53	39	20.10	278	1.19	7	7.37	64	1.52	99	14.12	827	1.39
Total	412	100.00	3115	2.08	194	100.00	1336	1.73	95	100.00	690	2.38	701	100.00	5141	2.01

Source: The 1987 sample survey.

Table 3.5
Housing density by number of bedrooms in the West Bank villages, 1987

No. of bedrooms in dwelling	Nablus District				Jerusalem District				Hebron District				Total			
	Frequency		Total No. of inhabitants	Density of persons per bedroom	Frequency		Total No. of inhabitants	Density of persons per bedroom	Frequency		Total No. of inhabitants	Density of persons per bedroom	Frequency		Total No. of inhabitants	Density of persons per bedroom
	No.	%			No.	%			No.	%			No.	%		
1	147	35.68	922	6.27	47	24.23	275	5.85	42	44.21	238	5.67	236	33.67	1435	6.09
2	189	45.87	1511	4.00	89	45.88	633	3.56	39	41.05	300	3.85	317	45.22	2444	3.86
3	59	14.32	533	3.01	43	22.16	328	2.54	13	13.69	141	3.62	115	16.40	1002	2.90
4+	17	4.13	149	2.19	15	7.73	100	1.67	1	1.05	11	2.75	33	4.71	260	1.97
Total	412	100.00	3115	4.05	194	100.00	1336	3.22	95	100.00	690	4.23	701	100.00	5141	3.82

Source: The 1987 sample survey.

conditions there are generally better than those in the West Bank villages.

Housing densities vary from 1.73 persons per room in the Jerusalem District to 2.38 persons per room in the Hebron District (Table 3.4), and from 3.22 persons per bedroom in the Jerusalem District to 4.23 persons per bedroom in the Hebron District (Table 3.5). This difference between Districts is related to their respective standards of living. In Israel in 1985, by comparison, the average density per room for Jews was 1.08 persons, and for non-Jews was 2.03 persons (Central Bureau of Statistics, 1986). The average number of rooms per person in the West Bank villages according to the 1987 sample survey was 0.50, 0.42 in the Hebron District, 0.58 in the Jerusalem District, and 0.48 in the Nablus District. By contrast, it was 0.92 rooms per person for Jews in Israel in 1985 and 0.49 for non-Jews (Central Bureau of Statistics, 1986).

The median housing density in the West Bank has declined from 3.0 persons per room in 1972 to 2.4 persons per room in 1985 (Table 3.6). In the West Bank villages the median housing density was the same in 1972 and 1980 (Table 3.6), while in the 1987 sample survey it was 2.39 persons per room. There is a differential in housing densities between the rural and urban areas of the West Bank; while the median housing density in the villages of the West Bank in 1975 was 3.3 it was 2.8 in the cities, and in 1980 it was 3.0 in the villages and 2.5 in cities (Central Bureau of Statistics, 1976 and 1981). The quality of life and the standard of living of the urban population is better than that of the rural.

The proportion of households with fewer than two persons per room increased in the West Bank as a whole from 23.7 per cent to 34.7 per cent between 1972 and 1985, while in the villages it increased from 20.8 to 24.9 per cent (Table 3.6). By contrast, in the 1987 survey it was 54.64 per cent. For the Jewish population in Israel in 1985, on the other hand, it was 90.9 per cent, and for non-Jews 45.8 per

cent (Central Bureau of Statistics, 1986). The proportion of households with three persons per room and over decreased from 53.5 per cent in 1972 to 36.4 per cent in 1985 in the West Bank as a whole, and from 57.1 per cent in 1972 to 49.1 per cent in 1980 in the West Bank villages. In the 1987 sample survey it was found to be 3.28 per cent (Table 3.6). This change may be a result of development in the housing sector in the West Bank, since many households have received long term loans on favourable terms from the Jordan-PLO Joint Committee to build new houses. The percentage of households with three persons and over per room in Israel in 1985 was 1.0 per cent for Jews, whilst for non-Jews it was 23.5 per cent (Central Bureau of Statistics, 1986).

Table 3.6

Households by housing density in the West Bank

Persons per room	1972		1975		1980		1985	1987
	Villages	Total	Villages	Total	Villages	Total	Total	Villages
< 1.00	4.8	5.0	3.3	4.0	4.2	4.9	6.7	12.41
1.00 - 1.99	16.0	18.7	17.4	19.0	20.7	22.3	28.0	42.23
2.00 - 2.99	22.1	22.8	24.1	24.4	25.7	25.6	28.9	24.08
3.00 - 3.99	16.4	16.0	20.7	20.4	21.1	20.3	18.1	3.13
4.00 +	40.7	37.5	34.5	32.2	28.3	26.9	18.3	0.14
Median housing density	3.0	3.0	3.3	3.2	3.0	2.9	2.4	2.39

Sources:
1. Central Bureau of Statistics, 1973, 1976, 1981 and 1986.
2. The 1987 sample survey.

The occupancy ratio in the West Bank villages is 16.07 square metres per person (Table 3.7), a large surface area for one person in the dwelling area in the West Bank villages compared with, for example, the 5.26 square metres per person

Table 3.7
Average area of dwelling and occupancy ratio in the West Bank villages 1987, by Subdistrict

Subdistrict	Total No. of population	Total area of building (m^2)	Average surface (m^2)	Population Density persons per m^2	occupancy ratio m^2 per person
Nablus	1763	25275	117.56	0.07	14.34
Jennin	783	14325	122.44	0.06	18.30
Tulkarem	569	8300	103.75	0.07	14.59
Nablus District	3115	47900	116.26	0.07	15.38
Rammallah	462	11925	159.00	0.04	25.81
Jerusalem	532	7650	109.26	0.07	14.38
Bethlehem	297	3900	92.86	0.08	13.13
Jericho	45	525	75.00	0.09	11.67
Jerusalem District	1336	24000	123.71	0.06	17.96
Hebron	690	10725	112.90	0.06	15.54
Hebron District	690	10725	112.90	0.06	15.54
Total	5141	82625	117.87	0.06	16.07

Source: The 1987 sample survey.

in the Al-Amal resettlement project in the Gaza Strip (Dahlan, 1987, p 300). These large surface areas found in the dwellings of the West Bank villages are due to the fact that a dwelling is used for many purposes. Although the average surface area of dwellings in the West Bank villages is 117.87 square metres (Table 3.7), not all of this area is used for sitting and sleeping; most of it is in fact used for cooking, storage, and keeping animals.

Table 3.8

Area of dwelling in the West Bank

Area of Building	1980 Total	1985 Total	1987 Villages
< 50	2.8	1.4	2.91
50 - 99	16.2	9.3	20.42
100 - 149			33.43
150 - 199	34.9	34.5	16.52
200 - 249			10.08
250 -299	19.1	18.3	3.66
300 +	27.0	36.5	12.98

Sources:
1. Central Bureau of Statistics, 1981 and 1986.
2. The 1987 sample survey.

The data in Table 3.8 show that dwellings with a surface area of less than 100 square metres decreased from 19.0 per cent in 1980 to 10.7 per cent in 1985 in the West Bank as a whole. Houses with a surface area of more than 300 square metres, however, increased from 27.0 per cent in 1980 to 36.5 per cent in

1985, which demonstrates the preference amongst the population of the West Bank for the dwellings with a large surface area. This improvement in the surface area of dwellings because many households in the West Bank received long term loans from the Jordan-PLO Joint committee to improve their housing conditions (see Chapter 2). The percentage of dwellings in the villages with more than 300 square metres is 12.98 per cent.

The 1987 survey also collected data on the amount of agricultural land held by the households in the sample and these are displayed in Table 3.9. The 5,141 individuals in the sample controlled a total of 12,655 dunams of agricultural land, giving an average density of 0.41 persons per dunam. There is a wide range of values at the Subdistrict level, from 1.22 persons per dunam in Jerusalem to 0.22 in Rammallah Subdistrict, reflecting such influences as the number of land owners among the population, the size of their households, the area of their holding, as well as the nature of their livelihood. The average area of the agricultural land owned by each household in the sample was found to be 18.05 dunams. In the Jennin Subdistrict it was 24.44 dunams and in the Jericho Subdistrict 5.71 dunams, despite the fact that these two Subdistricts have the highest proportions of population employed in agriculture. It is worth noting that most of the agricultural land in the Jericho Subdistrict has been confiscated by the Israeli authorities to build settlements in the Jordan Rift Valley near the Jordan border, and to cultivate tropical crops in an area where the climate is particularly suited to these crops.

3.5 Household composition

Household composition is considered to be a measure of social development, structure and modernization. Some of the Arab families, especially in rural areas, can be described as extended families in that they tend to remain together as a traditional unit; when a son marries, for example, he and his wife often live with his

Table 3.9
Agricultural land holdings in the West Bank villages 1987, by Subdistrict

Subdistrict	Households No.	Population No.	Agricultural land area (Dunams)	Agricultural land area per household (Dunams)	Persons per Dunam of agricultural land
Nablus	215	1763	4675	21.74	0.38
Jennin	117	783	2860	24.44	0.27
Tulkarem	80	569	815	10.19	0.70
Nablus District	412	3115	8350	20.27	0.37
Rammallah	75	462	2125	28.33	0.22
Jerusalem	70	532	435	6.21	1.22
Bethlehem	42	297	310	7.38	0.96
Jericho	7	45	40	5.71	1.13
Jerusalem District	194	1336	2910	15.00	0.46
Hebron	95	690	1395	14.68	0.50
Hebron District	95	690	1395	14.68	0.59
Total	701	5141	12655	18.05	0.41

Source: The 1987 sample survey.

father's family, in the absence of alternative suitable accommodation.

The household data in Table 3.10 show that 65 households, or 9.27 per cent in the 1987 survey, contain two or more families (a family being defined as a husband, his wife, and their children). The highest percentage of households containing more than one family was found in the villages in the Hebron District with 24.99 per cent (18 households) containing two or more families, and lowest in the villages in the Jericho Subdistrict, where no household in the 1987 sample survey was found to contain two or more families; it must be noted, however, that the Jericho sample was the smallest in the 1987 survey.

Households containing two or more families result from a number of factors: for example, young families where the husband has emigrated, leaving his wife and children in his father's home, where they will be cared for. Other families do not own any land to build a house on, or the parents have a large house, and in this case it is preferable for the son and his wife to live with his father's family (especially if the son has married a relative). Most married sons are regarded as family providers for the extended family. Most married sons also take their father and mother to live with them when they become elderly, since in this society children represent a form of social security for their parents.

The average size of a household in the West Bank as a whole was 6.9 persons in 1980, a figure which fell to 6.6 persons in 1985 (Central Bureau of Statistics, 1981 and 1986). This compares with 7.33 persons according to the 1987 sample survey. This difference may be due to the fact that the average size of a household in the villages is higher than that in the cities; the average number of persons per household in the West Bank cities in 1980 was 6.5 persons (Central Bureau of Statistics, 1981). In contrast, the average number of persons per household in Israel in 1985 amongst the Jewish population was 3.35 persons, while amongst the non-Jewish population it

Table 3.10
Average size of household in the West Bank villages 1987, by Subdistrict

Subdistrict	One family			Two families			Three Families			Total		
	No.	%	Average size	No.	%	Average size	No.	%	Average size	No.	%	Average size
Nablus	195	90.70	7.91	19	8.84	10.95	1	0.46	12.00	215	100.00	8.20
Jennin	113	96.58	6.58	4	3.42	9.75	0	0	0	117	100.00	6.69
Tulkarem	75	93.75	7.09	5	6.25	7.40	0	0	0	80	100.00	7.11
Nablus District	383	92.96	7.36	28	6.80	10.14	1	0.24	12.00	412	100.00	7.56
Rammallah	66	88.00	6.17	9	12.00	6.11	0	0	0	75	100.00	6.16
Jerusalem	64	91.43	7.61	6	8.57	7.50	0	0	0	70	100.00	7.60
Bethlehem	39	92.86	7.05	3	7.14	7.33	0	0	0	42	100.00	7.07
Jericho	7	100.00	6.43	0	0	0	0	0	0	7	100.00	6.43
Jerusalem District	176	90.72	6.90	18	9.28	6.78	0	0	0	194	100.00	6.89
Hebron	77	81.05	6.87	14	14.74	8.57	4	4.21	10.25	95	100.00	7.26
Hebron District	77	81.05	6.87	14	14.74	8.57	4	4.21	10.25	95	100.00	7.26
Total	636	90.73	7.17	60	8.56	8.77	5	0.71	10.60	701	100.00	7.33

Source: The 1987 sample survey.

was 5.71 persons (Central Bureau of Statistics, 1986).

The average size of household varies from one Subdistrict to another (Table 3.10); whilst it was 8.20 persons per household in the Nablus Subdistrict it was 6.16 persons in the Rammallah Subdistrict. The average size of household also varies according to the number of families living in the household; the average size of household with three families was 10.61 persons, with two families 8.77 persons, and with one family 7.17 persons. These figures also differ from one Subdistrict to another (Table 3.10).

Table 3.11

Household size and number of families in the West Bank villages, 1987

Household members	One family		Two families		Three families		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
< 5	138	21.70	7	11.67	0	0	145	20.69
5 - 9	346	54.40	32	53.33	2	40.00	380	54.21
10 -14	146	22.96	18	30.00	3	60.00	167	23.82
15 +	6	0.94	3	5.00	0	0	9	1.28
Total	636	100.00	60	100.00	5	100.00	701	100.00

Source: The 1987 sample survey.

The data in Table 3.11 show that more than half the households in the sample contain between five and nine members, although there is a positive correlation between the number of persons and the number of families in the household (R = +0.16678), but there are also exceptions while one household contained one family consisting of seventeen persons, there were also households with three families

consisting of only seven persons. This is due to differentials in levels of fertility and emigration.

According to the 1987 survey, whenever the number of families in a household is high, the number of persons per room, and the number of persons per bedroom falls, because the average number of rooms and bedrooms per household is higher in households with two or three families, than in households with only one family (it was 1.98 persons per room to the households with two or more families, and 2.01 persons per room to the household with one family, while it was 3.60 and 3.85 persons per bedroom respectively). Often many people in the households containing two or more families are out working, on the other hand most of these households are traditional and own a high proportion of the agricultural land. According to the survey, households consisting of one family own an average 17.25 dunams of agriculture land, whilst households consisting of two or more families own an average 25.92 dunams of agricultural land.

Occupancy ratio also varies according to the number of families in the household; households containing two families have a ratio of 17.40 square metres per person, those containing one family have 15.93 square metres per person, and those containing three families have a ratio of 15.57 square metres per person. Despite this, those dwellings containing three families have the highest average surface area.

3.6 Summary

A high proportion of the households in the West Bank villages live in their own houses, while a small number live in rented houses. Stone and cement are the most commonly used building materials. The building materials and the services in the house depend on the socio-economic situation of the household.

The West Bank villages are characterized by a high density of persons per room and specially per bedroom, in spite of the high occupancy ratio. The average

size of household in the West Bank villages according to the 1987 sample survey was 7.33 persons, this average differing from one Subdistrict to another, and according to the number of families in the household. The villages in the Hebron District have a high percentage of households containing two or more families

There has been some improvement in housing conditions in the West Bank villages in the last two decades, due to an improvement in household income which has resulted from an increase in employment opportunities in the Israeli labour market, and is also due to the emigration of many young people from the villages to neighbouring countries, who then return a part of their salary to their families in the West Bank. But this improvement in housing conditions is lower in the West Bank villages than in the rural areas in the East Bank of Jordan, if we compare it between the 1961 and 1979 censuses in the East Bank, and between the 1961 census and the 1987 sample survey in the West Bank.

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CHAPTER FOUR

PATTERNS OF FERTILITY

The population of the West Bank has one of the highest rates of fertility in the world. This may be attributed to various factors related to the economic, political, religious, cultural and social background of the area. These include limited knowledge of contraceptive methods and the value placed upon children by a predominantly rural population where children help in agricultural work. The extended family system facilitates the support of large numbers of children. In addition, the occupation has led to a demographic struggle between the Palestinians and the Israeli settlers as to who is to form the majority in the West Bank.

Since 1968, the Israeli Central Bureau of Statistics has published the number of births each year and their place of occurrence (home or hospital), and on occasions has published age-specific fertility rates. In the 1987 sample survey, 82.32 per cent (717 women) from the ever-married women in the sample agreed to answer the parts of the questionnaire concerning fertility.

4.1 Crude birth rate

On the basis of the 1961 census data, the crude birth rate in the West Bank was estimated at about 51 per thousand by Hill (1982) and 53 per thousand by Abu-Jaber *et al* (1980). By contrast it was estimated at 47 per thousand in the East Bank of the Jordan by Wander (1966) and 49 per thousand by Abu-Jaber *et al* (1980). There seems to be widespread agreement that the crude birth rate was higher on the West Bank than on the East Bank of the Jordan.

According to the figures published by the Israeli Central Bureau of Statistics (Table 4.1 and Figure 5.10) the crude birth rate was above 40 per thousand throughout the period 1968-82, fell slightly below that level in 1983 and 1984 but

rose above 40 again in 1985. Overall, there was very little change between 1968 and 1985. The data in Table 4.1 indicate an increase of 5.88 per cent between 1968 and 1976, a decline of 16.97 per cent between the latter date and 1984, followed by a rise of 8.24 per cent in 1985. From 1968 to 1985 there was an overall decline of only 4.85 per cent.

By comparison, the crude birth rate in the Gaza Strip in 1984 was 48.3 per thousand (Central Bureau of Statistics, 1985), and among the Samaritans (a small minority living in the City of Nablus), it was 41.5 per thousand in 1984 (Berghouti and Yousef, 1985), while in South Lebanon in 1976 it was 33.9 per thousand (Zurayk, 1980).

According to the 1987 sample survey, the crude birth rate was 44.74 per thousand in the West Bank villages; 44.94 in the villages in the Nablus District, 41.92 in those of the Jerusalem District, and 49.28 per thousand in the villages of the Hebron District. This suggests that the birth rates among the population in the rural areas of the West Bank are higher than that of the population of the West Bank as a whole; a phenomenon which is common in most developing countries, where fertility is generally higher in rural than in urban areas.

The variations between the Districts are related to the socio-economic level of each District; most of the villagers in the Hebron District for example are Bedouins employed in grazing, living in extended families, and more traditional in their ways than villagers in other Districts of the West Bank. They tend to marry earlier and to have more children than others. Whereas the crude birth rate in the villages in the Nablus and Jerusalem Districts is high, it is still lower than that in the villages in the Hebron District. This is related to the fact that in the Nablus and Jerusalem Districts, most of the villagers work in non-agricultural activities, and are more educated than the villagers of the Hebron District. The influence of the urban centres on the lives

Table 4.1
Crude birth rate and general fertility rate in the West Bank 1968-1985

Years	Crude birth rate (per thousand population)	General fertility rate (per thousand women aged 15-49)
1968	43.91	213.93
1969	42.74	203.76
1970	43.53	204.29
1971	45.40	210.92
1972	45.49	216.20
1973	44.89	210.37
1974	44.60	206.41
1975	45.20	206.93
1976	46.49	210.39
1977	44.99	211.90
1978	43.00	196.93
1979	43.80	197.20
1980	41.97	186.05
1981	41.61	184.01
1982	40.00	184.33
1983	39.21	181.29
1984	38.60	177.17
1985	41.78	193.40

Source: Calculated from;

Central Bureau of Statistics, 1969-1986.

of the villagers is also greater in the Nablus and Jerusalem Districts; there are four urban centres in the Nablus District, and six in the Jerusalem District, whereas there is only one centre in the Hebron District.

4.2 General fertility rate

Although the crude birth rate is a valuable measure of natality, particularly in indicating directly the contribution of natality to the growth rate, its analytic utility is extremely limited. This is because it is affected by many factors, particularly the specific composition of a population with respect to age, sex and other characteristics. Since the age and sex composition of a population has such a strong influence on the level of its crude birth rate, measures of natality that are less affected by differences in age-sex composition are more useful analytically for inter-area and inter-group comparisons. A number of such measures have been developed and are variously referred to as specific, general, adjusted or standardized, and as birth rates, fertility rates, or reproduction rates, depending generally on their degree of complexity or on their particular significance (Shryock and Siegel, 1980, p 472). The simplest overall is the general fertility rate, defined as the number of births per 1000 women of childbearing age (15-49 years old).

The general fertility rate in the West Bank according to the data in Table 4.1 was over 200 births per thousand women (aged between 15-49 years) until 1977, but fell below that level from 1978 to 1985. Overall it decline from 213.93 per thousand in 1968 to 177.17 per thousand in 1984 (a decline of 17.18 per cent), and it rose by 9.16 per cent to 193.40 per thousand in 1985. These variations in the general fertility rate are related to changes in the number of live births in each year, and in the proportion of married women aged 15-49.

The results of the 1987 survey indicate a general fertility rate in the West Bank villages of 177.33 per thousand, 176.55 per thousand in the Nablus District,

160.00 per thousand in the Jerusalem District, and 220.78 per thousand in the villages in the Hebron District. These variations are due primarily to variations in the proportions of single women in the 15-24 age group. In the villages of the Nablus District, 92.08 per cent were single and in Jerusalem District the figure was 86.57 per cent; in Hebron District, however, it was only 73.30.

4.3 Total fertility rate and age-specific fertility rates

The total fertility rate is the sum of the age-specific fertility rates of women over their reproductive span, as observed in a given year, while the age-specific fertility rate is defined as the number of births to women of a given age group per 1000 women in that age group (Shryock and Siegel, 1980). The total fertility rate is regarded as the best single cross-sectional measure of fertility, because it is closely restricted to the childbearing population and is not influenced by differences in the age composition of the childbearing populations. Also, because it assumes that all women survive from birth to the end of the childbearing period, it is independent of mortality (Bogue, 1969, p 659).

The total fertility rate in the West Bank in the 1961 census was estimated at about 7.47 by Hill (1982), and 7.48 by Abu-Jaber *et al* (1980). In the East Bank of the Jordan, on the other hand, it was 7.32 in 1961 (Abu-Jaber, *et al*, 1980). However, there has been a slight decrease in the total fertility rate in the West Bank since 1968; the Central Bureau of Statistics (1982) estimated a total fertility rate of about 7.64 in 1968, falling to 6.96 in 1978 and 6.92 in 1980. On the other hand, Sabatello (1983) estimated that the total fertility rate was 7.2 to 7.5 until 1977, and slightly less than 7 in 1978-1981.

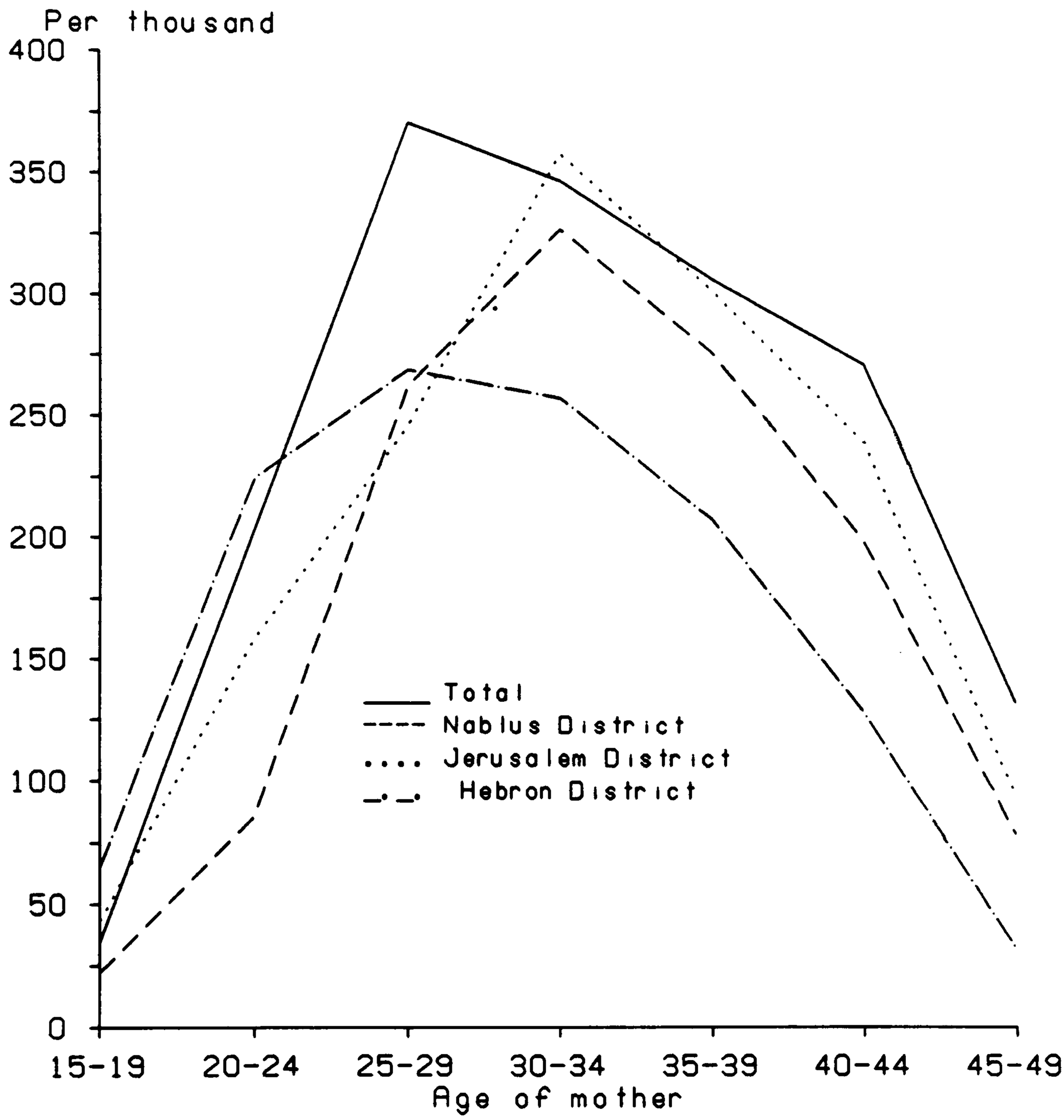
In the 1987 sample survey the total fertility rate (Table 4.2) in the West Bank villages was 6.93; 5.83 in the villages in the Jerusalem District, 7.13 in the Nablus District, and 7.95 in the villages of the Hebron District. This shows that the

total fertility rate was higher in the West Bank villages than in the West Bank as a whole, and that there are differences in the total fertility rates between villages in the West Bank Districts; while the total fertility rate was very high in the villages in the Hebron District for example, it was relatively low in the villages in the Jerusalem District. This is a result of differences in socio-economic levels between the villages in the Districts.

The curve of the age-specific fertility rate (Figure 4.1) differed from one District to another. While the highest rate in the villages of the Nablus District was that of women aged 30-34, the peak in the Jerusalem District was in the 25-29 age group and in Hebron District it occured among women aged 20-24. This differential may well be due to the differences in the age at which women first marry; for all ever-married women in the sample it was 19.25 years in the villages in the Nablus District, 19.14 years in the Jerusalem District, and 18.05 in the villages in the Hebron District. Furthermore, there were two age groups (30-34 & 35-39 years) in the villages in the Nablus District where the age-specific fertility rate was over 30 per thousand, and three age groups (20-24, 25-29, & 30-34 years) in the villages in the Hebron District with a similar rate, but no age group in the villages in the Jerusalem District where the age-specific fertility rate was over 30 per thousand. Another explanation for the rise in the age-specific fertility rate until the age group 30-34 years, is that women prefer to have their children at an early age; thus, many women have a child every year during the early of marriage with a minimum age gaps between the children.

The higher age-specific fertility rates in the young age groups may be explained by the parents' desire for more children early on who can assist the father and the mother in their life, and for other children to replace those who may have died. It is also possible for women not to have any knowledge of methods of contraception, and therefore to have more children they she would in fact wish. Traditional factors may also play a role; a women often tends, for example, to have more children if she

Figure 4.1 Age-specific fertility rate in the West Bank villages by District



Source: The 1987 sample survey

Table 4.2
Total fertility rate and gross reproduction rate in the West Bank villages 1987, by District

Age of mother	Nablus District		Jerusalem District		Hebron District		Total	
	Age-specific fertility rate	Age-specific female fertility rate	Age-specific fertility rate	Age-specific female fertility rate	Age-specific fertility rate	Age-specific female fertility rate	Age-specific fertility rate	Age-specific female fertility rate
15-19	0.02222	0.00556	0.04348	0.02174	0.06522	0.02174	0.03459	0.01258
20-24	0.15854	0.07317	0.22472	0.10112	0.37143	0.17143	0.20486	0.09375
25-29	0.24648	0.11972	0.26923	0.11539	0.34783	0.17391	0.26267	0.12442
30-34	0.35897	0.17949	0.25807	0.12903	0.30769	0.15385	0.32787	0.16393
35-39	0.30303	0.15152	0.20833	0.16667	0.27273	0.09091	0.27723	0.14852
40-44	0.24051	0.12658	0.12903	0.03226	0.13333	0.06667	0.20000	0.09600
45-49	0.09524	0.05952	0.03226	0.03226	0.09091	0.09091	0.07937	0.05556
Total	1.42499	0.71556	1.16512	0.59847	1.58914	0.76942	1.38659	0.69476
TFR	7.13		5.83		7.95		6.93	
GRR		3.58		2.99		3.85		3.47

Source: The 1987 sample survey.

achieves high social status, since they safeguard against her being divorced by her husband. Similarly, when a man achieves high social status he often wants to have many children (especially boys), so that they can help him in future years in his work, and become a form of "social security" for him and his wife in retirement. Another factor, leading to high fertility rates is that when a woman gives birth to a girl she often becomes pregnant again in hope of having a boy, since male children are highly prized.

4.4 Gross reproduction rate

The gross reproduction rate is a special case of the total fertility rate. Whereas the total fertility rate measures the total number of children a cohort of women will have, the gross reproduction rate measures the number of daughters it will produce. The gross reproduction rate is such an important demographic measure that we should realize that it may be viewed and defined in several ways, namely as:
(i) an age standard fertility rate with each age given a weight of one.
(ii) the average number of daughters that a group of females starting life together would bear if all the initial group of females survived the childbearing period.
(iii) the ratio between the number of females in one generation at, say, age 15 and the number of their daughters at the same age, if there was no mortality during the childbearing period.
(iv) the ratio between female births in two successive generations assuming no deaths before the end of the childbearing period.

The last three definitions are phrased as if the measure applied to a real cohort, or pair of cohorts; but any of these interpretations can be used regardless of whether the gross reproduction rate is computed from synthethic cohort data or data compiled over the life time of a real cohort (Shryock and Siegel, 1980, pp 524-525).

In the 1987 sample survey, the gross reproduction rate (Table 4.2) was 3.47

in the West Bank villages, ranging from 2.99 in the villages in the Jerusalem District, to 3.58 in the villages in the Nablus District, and 3.85 in the villages in the Hebron District.

4.5 Factors affecting fertility (average number of children ever-born)

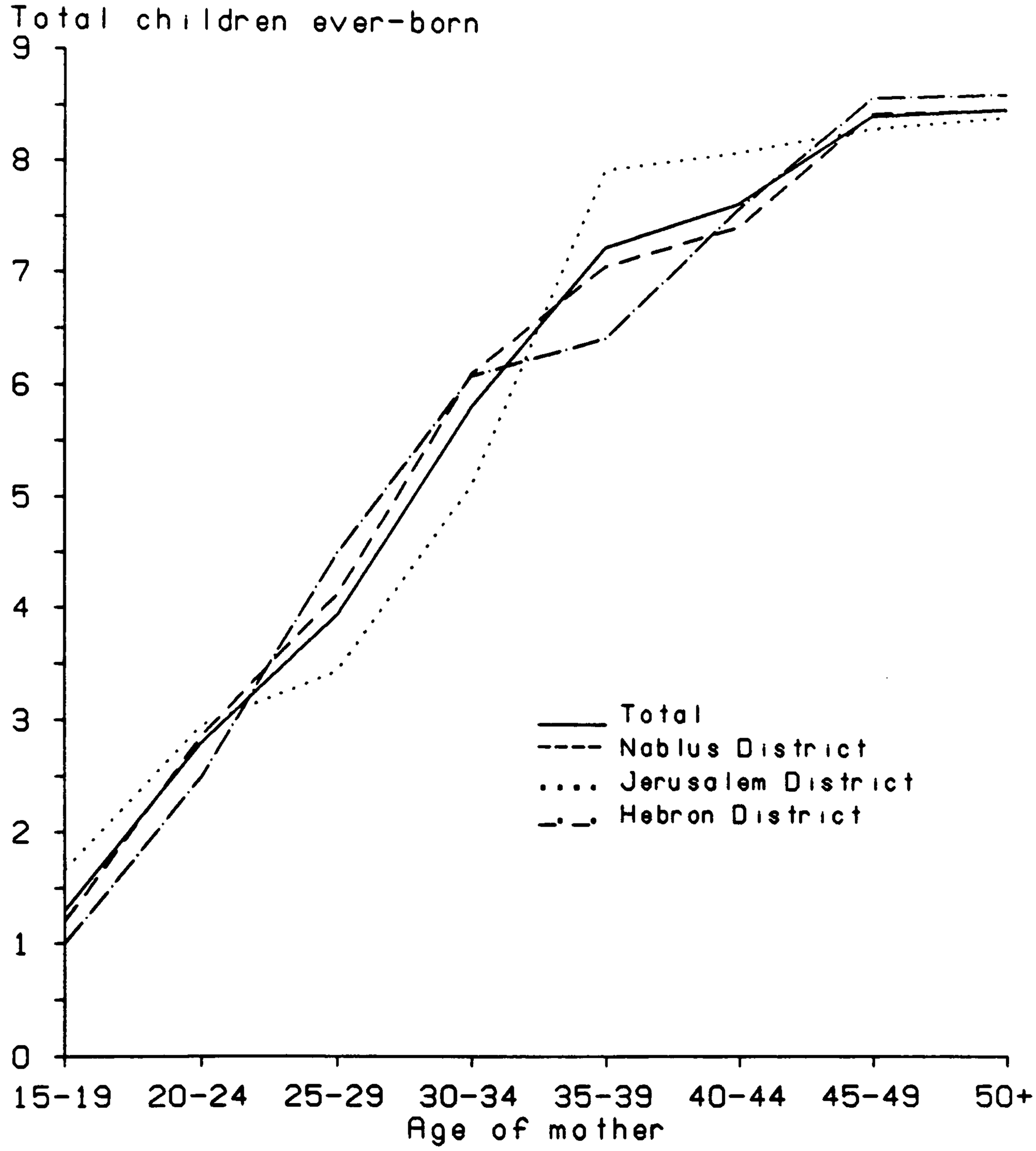
Socio-economic and demographic factors affect the level of fertility. Some of these factors have an inverse relationship to the level of fertility, whilst several others show a positive relationship.

Age: The age of mother is one of the significant factors (R = +0.5490) affecting the number of children ever-born to women; whilst the average number of children ever-born to ever-married woman (CEB to EMW) aged 15-19 years in the West Bank villages was 1.29, it was 8.48 to women aged 45-49 years, and 8.54 to women aged 50 years and over (Table 4.3 and Figure 4.2). This age differential was found in all Districts of the West Bank but at the sametime, within certain age groups, there were differences between the three Districts. These differences themselves appear to diminish with increasing age. For example, for the age group 15-19, the number of children ever-born per ever-married woman was 1.66 in the villages of the Jerusalem District, 1.20 in Nablus and 1.00 in Hebron. For women aged 45-49, however, it was 8.36 in Jerusalem District, 8.49 in Nablus and 8.64 in Hebron.

There is also a significant correlation (R = +0.5502) between the number of children ever-born and the age of the husband. The wives of husbands aged 20-24 have on average 2.59 CEB in the West Bank villages, 3.80 in Nablus District, 1.63 in Jerusalem District, and 1.50 in Hebron District. By contrast, the wives of husbands aged 50 years and over have 8.23 CEB in the West Bank villages, 8.14 in the villages in Nablus District, 8.45 in Jerusalem, and 8.41 CEB in Hebron District.

Another point which was noted was that, whenever parents are of an equal

Figure 4.2 Total children ever-born by age of mother in the West Bank villages, by District



Source: The 1987 sample survey

Table 4.3
Average children ever-born per ever-married woman in the West Bank villages 1987, by age of mother

Age of mother	Nablus District			Jerusalem District			Hebron District			Total		
	CEB	Standard deviation	No. of cases	CEB	Standard deviation	No. of cases	CEB	Standard deviation	No. of cases	CEB	Standard deviation	No. of cases
15-19	1.2000	0.4472	5	1.6667	1.3663	6	1.0000	0.8944	6	1.2941	0.9852	17
20-24	2.8621	1.4072	29	2.9600	1.6197	25	2.5000	1.7573	18	2.8056	1.5622	72
25-29	4.1282	2.7547	39	3.4400	1.9807	25	4.5000	2.8771	10	3.9459	2.5314	74
30-34	6.1200	3.0348	50	5.1200	2.2605	25	6.1000	3.2128	10	5.8235	2.8543	85
35-39	7.0889	3.2038	45	7.9524	2.2908	21	6.4444	2.9202	9	7.2533	2.9459	75
40-44	7.4559	3.7314	68	8.1290	3.3837	31	7.6154	3.9904	13	7.6607	3.6479	112
45-49	8.4938	3.3058	81	8.3548	3.8083	31	8.6364	5.0650	11	8.4715	3.5835	123
50 +	8.5347	3.4368	101	8.4722	3.1029	36	8.6818	3.2570	22	8.5409	3.3199	159

CEB: Children ever-born.

Source: The 1987 sample survey.

age they tend to have a smaller number of children, 5.94 CEB in the West Bank villages, whereas if the husband is older they have 6.76 CEB in the West Bank villages, and if the wife is older they have 6.39 CEB in the West Bank villages. The reverse of this also applies; if their ages differ greatly, then they tend to have more children, 5.28 CEB in the West Bank villages if there is a difference in age of less than two years, and up to 7.32 if there is a difference in age of more than ten years. This is due to the fact that, where there is a large age gap, we tend to find that the women married early, and therefore have more years in which to bear children.

Age at first marriage: The age at first marriage affects the number of children ever-born per ever-married woman, and this age differs from one village to another. For example, the mean age at first marriage of the women who agreed to answer the fertility questionnaire was 19.39 years in the West Bank villages as a whole, compared with 19.58 years in the villages in Nablus District, 19.18 in Jerusalem, and 19.02 in Hebron District. The minimum age at which a girl can marry in the West Bank is 16 years old according to Jordanian law, although there are in fact many cases of girls who marry before that age. In the 1987 sample survey, 8.09 per cent (58 women) of the EMW who agreed to answer the fertility questionnaire married before the age of fifteen; 10.05 per cent (42 women) of EMW in the villages in Nablus District, 4.50 per cent (9 women) in Jerusalem, and 7.07 per cent (7 women) of EMW in Hebron. There is no cases in the 1987 sample survey of women marrying for the first time after the age of thirty. This is because girls are married to the first suitable bridegroom who arrives, in accordance with traditional social custom. Another contributory factor is the practice of early marriage among those who are related.

From Table 4.4 and Figure 4.3 there is a negative correlation (R = -0.2063) between the children ever-born per ever-married woman and the age at first marriage of the women; whilst it was 7.88 CEB in the West Bank villages to women married

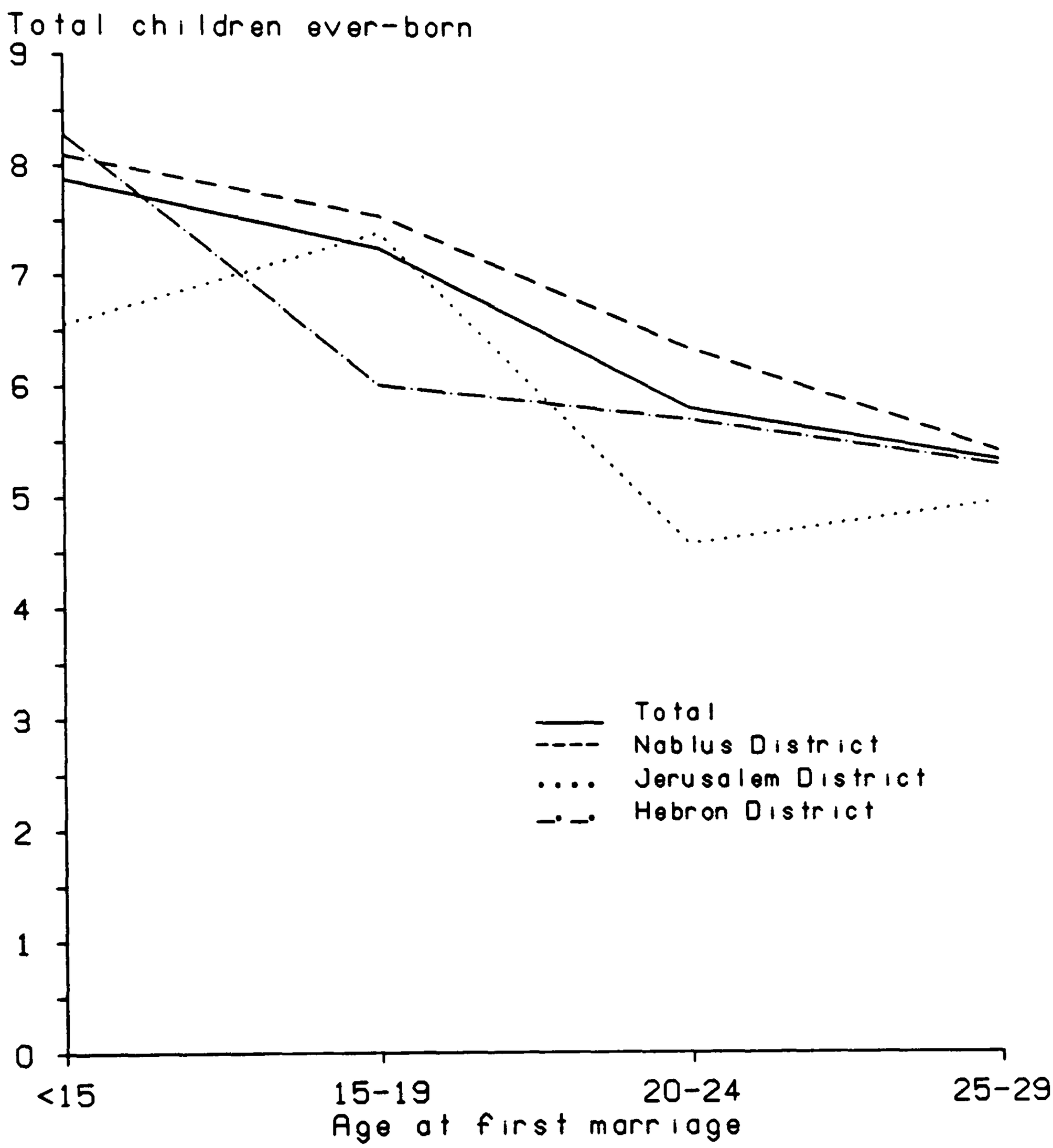
below the age of fifteen, it was 5.38 CEB to women who married between the ages of 25-29. This suggests that, whenever the age at first marriage is low, the number of children ever-born is high, this applies in the West Bank villages as a whole, and in the villages in the Nablus and Hebron Districts in particular. However, in the villages in the Jerusalem District women who married between the ages of 15-19 bore more children than those who married below the age of fifteen, and women who married between the ages of 25-29 bore more children than women who married between the ages of 20 -24.

Duration of marriage: Whenever the duration of marriage is long, then the number of children ever-born is high (R = +0.5848), since the duration of marriage is related to the age at first marriage of the women, and their current age. The data in Table 4.5 and Figure 4.4 show that women who are married for less than five years have 1.80 CEB in the West Bank villages, 2.03 in the villages in the Nablus District, 1.43 in the Jerusalem District, and 1.58 in the villages in the Hebron District. In contrast, women who have been married for 40 years or more have 9.41 CEB in the West Bank villages, 9.27 in the villages in the Nablus District, 9.58 in the Jerusalem District, and 9.44 CEB in the villages in the Hebron District.

If we compare these figures with Israel's Arab population (the rural Moslem group) we find that fertility in the latter group is extraordinary high reaching a maximum of nearly ten births per married woman in the completed fertility of the older cohort (up to the 1950-54 marriage cohort), while among the Arabs in the West Bank and Gaza Strip the completed fertility of the older cohorts is high; from nine to ten births per married woman (Friedlander, Eisenbach and Goldschreider, 1979, pp 250-251). The figures for the West Bank villages according to the 1987 sample survey were found to be similar.

Level of education: The level of education which both parents receive also

Figure 4:3 Total children ever-born by the age at first marriage in the West Bank villages, by District



Source: The 1987 sample survey

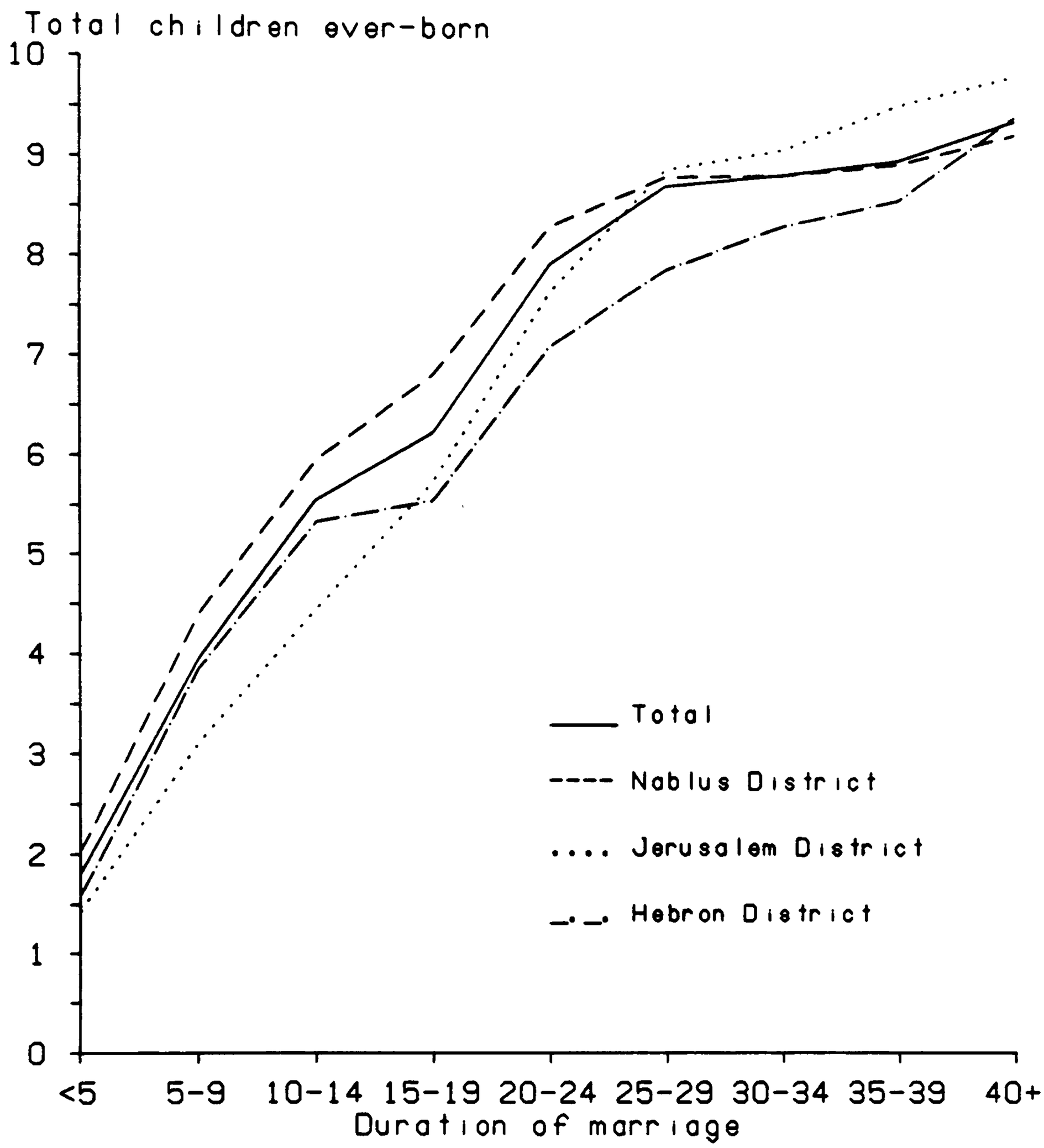
Table 4.4
Average children ever-born per ever-married woman in the West Bank villages 1987, by age at first marriage

Age at first marriage	Nablus District			Jerusalem District			Hebron District			Total		
	CEB	Standard deviation	No. of cases	CEB	Standard deviation	No. of cases	CEB	Standard deviation	No. of cases	CEB	Standard deviation	No. of cases
< 15	8.0952	4.1190	42	6.5556	3.5395	9	8.2857	3.4503	7	7.8793	3.9429	58
15-19	7.5487	3.6015	195	7.3934	3.7074	122	6.0164	4.1170	61	7.2513	3.7527	378
20-24	6.3630	3.6726	146	4.5968	2.8020	62	5.7200	4.3062	25	5.8240	3.6054	233
25-29	5.4571	2.8424	35	5.0000	2.5166	7	5.3333	3.2042	6	5.3750	2.7877	48

CEB: Children ever-born.

Source: The 1987 sample survey.

Figure 4.4 Total children ever-born by duration of marriage in the West Bank villages, by District



Source: The 1987 sample survey

Table 4.5
Average children ever-born per ever-married woman in the West Bank villages 1987, by duration of marriage

Duration of marriage	Nablus District			Jerusalem District			Hebron District			Total		
	CEB	Standard deviation	No. of cases	CEB	Standard deviation	No. of cases	CEB	Standard deviation	No. of cases	CEB	Standard deviation	No. of cases
< 5	2.0286	1.0428	35	1.4286	0.7559	14	1.5833	0.9003	12	1.8033	0.9801	61
5-9	4.4082	1.9463	49	3.1200	1.6411	25	3.8571	2.3157	14	3.9545	1.9879	88
10-14	5.9605	2.1996	76	4.4583	1.9777	24	5.3333	2.4254	18	5.5593	2.2553	.118
15-19	6.8182	3.5586	44	5.7436	2.3251	39	5.5556	4.3333	9	6.2391	3.1947	92
20-24	8.3111	3.3967	45	7.6571	2.8070	35	7.1111	4.8074	9	7.9326	3.3296	89
25-29	8.8261	3.9061	46	8.9000	3.1772	20	7.8889	3.9826	9	8.7333	3.6993	75
30-34	8.8478	3.5899	46	9.1000	3.0591	20	8.3333	4.1833	9	8.8533	3.4901	75
35-39	8.9655	3.2457	29	9.5556	4.9272	9	8.6000	4.7656	10	9.0000	3.8537	48
40 +	9.2708	3.1740	48	9.8571	2.9315	14	9.4444	2.8771	9	9.4085	3.0593	71

CEB: Children ever-born.

Source: The 1987 sample survey.

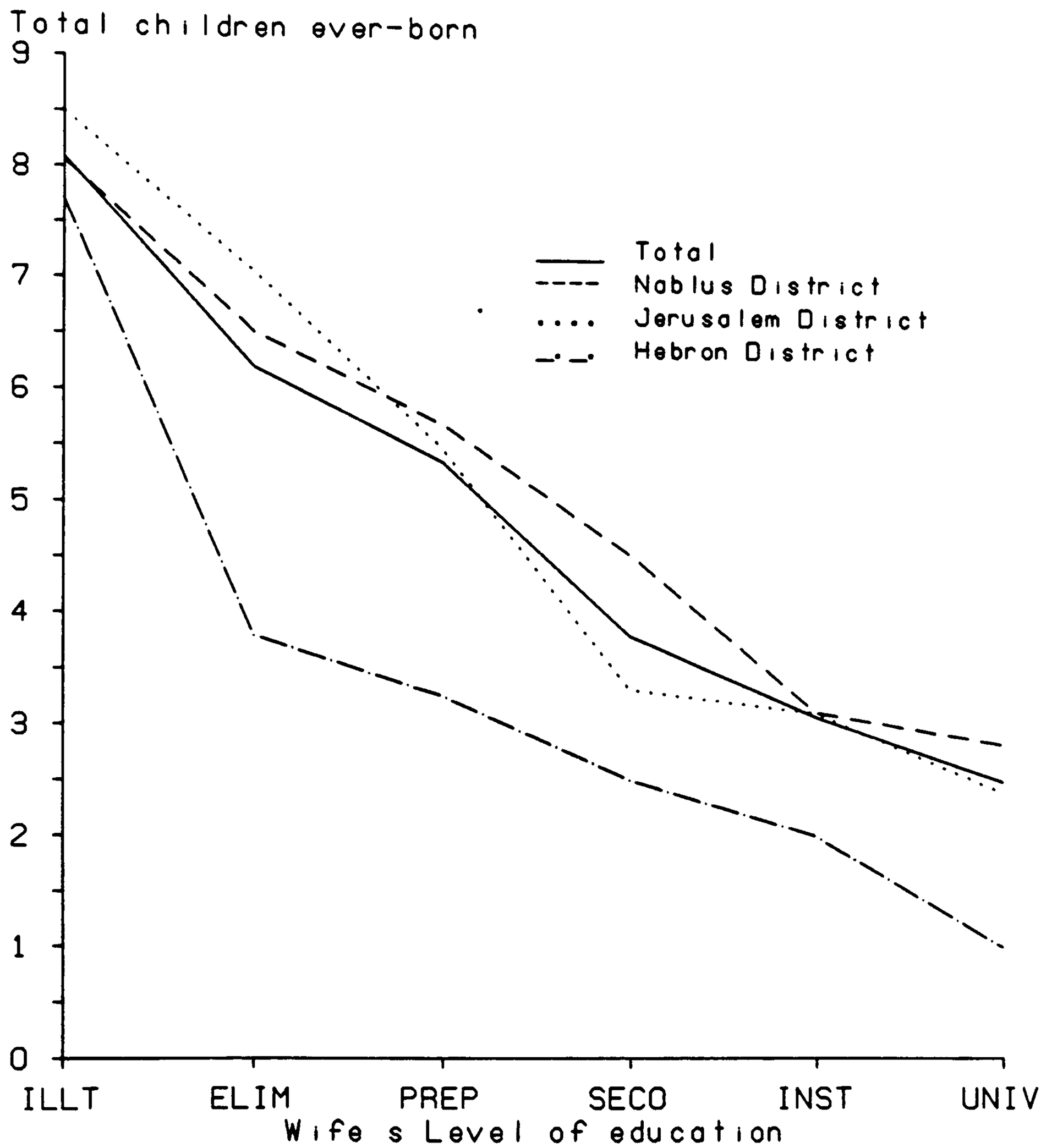
has a great effect on the number of children ever-born per ever-married woman. However, the level of the education which the women receives has a greater effect than that of the man, since she spends time being educated when she could be bearing children, and often gains knowledge of family planning methods through education. In addition, education increases her chance of gaining employment outside the home, and of not having to work in agriculture. All such factors, therefore, tend to mean that she has fewer children.

The data in Tables 4.6, 4.7 and Figures 4.5, 4.6 show that the average number of children ever-born per ever-married woman is related to the level of education which the husband and wife receive; for example the average number of children ever-born to illiterate ever-married woman in the West Bank villages was 8.09, whereas it was 8.01 if the husband was illiterate. By contrast it was 2.50 if the women was university educated, and 3.75 if the husband was university educated. This shows that there is a negative correlation (Tables 4.6 and 4.7) between the level of education of the wife (R = -0.4485) and husband (R = -0.3690) and the number of children which they produce. These differentials appear to increase when both parents have the same level of education. For example in the West Bank villages if both parents are illiterate they have 8.05 CEB on average, 5.89 if both parents have had elementary education, 5.81 if both parents have had preparatory education, 3.27 if both parents have had secondary education, 3.50 if both parents have had institute education, and 2.50 if both parents have had university education.

We can compare this with Jordan in the 1972 fertility survey; where the mean number of children ever-born if both parents were illiterate was 6.20, while it was 2.94 if both parents had secondary education, and 2.00 if both had received university education (Kandis, 1977, p 21).

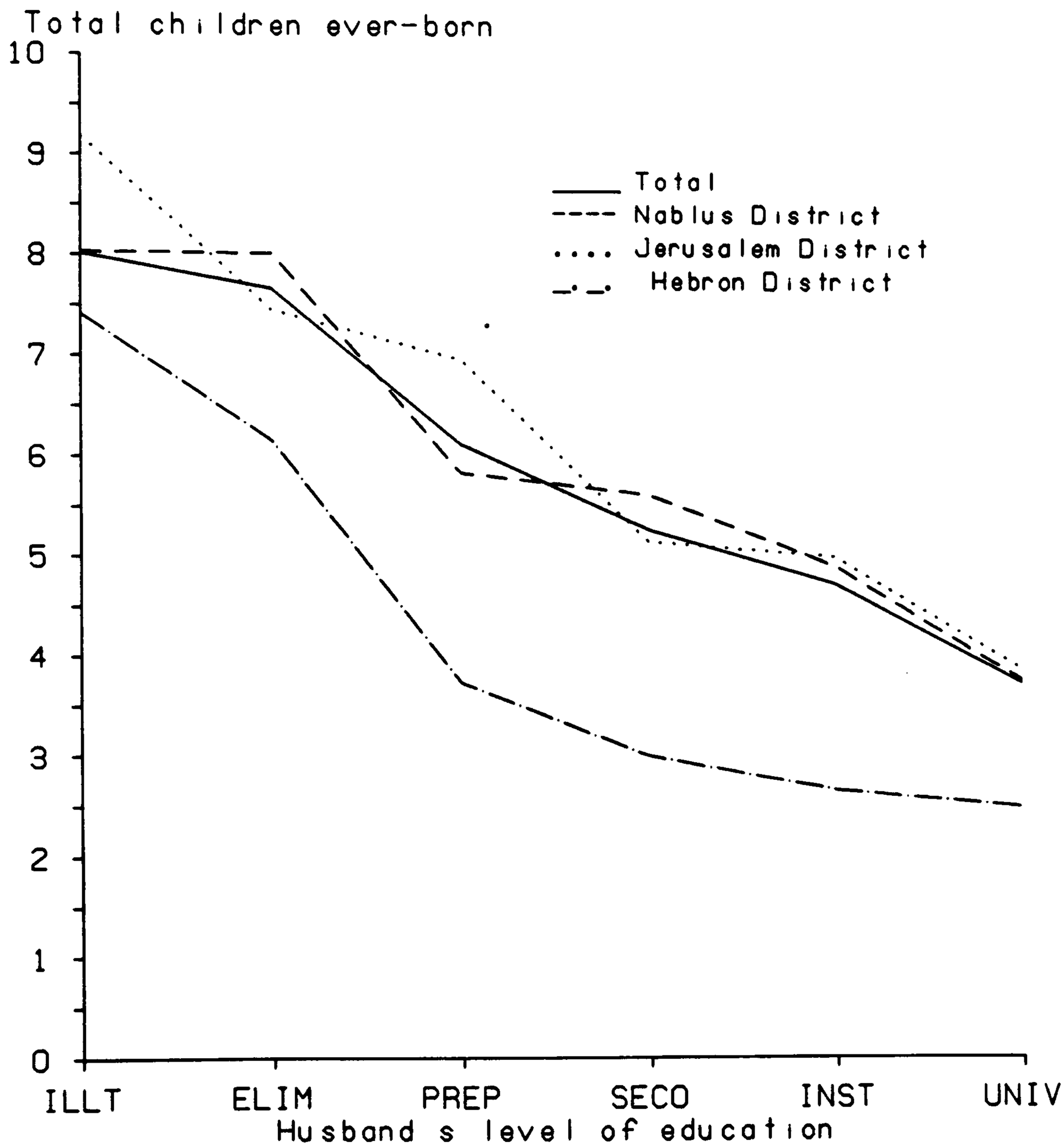
Religion: Ever-married Moslem women in the West Bank villages have on

Figure 4.5 Total children ever-born
by wife s level of education,
West Bank villages, by District



Source: The 1987 sample survey

Figure 4.6 Total children ever-born
by husband s level of education,
West Bank villages, by District



Source: The 1987 sample survey

Table 4.6
Average children ever-born per ever-married woman in the West Bank villages 1987, by wife's level of education

Level of education	Nablus District			Jerusalem District			Hebron District			Total		
	CEB	Standard deviation	No. of cases	CEB	Standard deviation	No. of cases	CEB	Standard deviation	No. of cases	CEB	Standard deviation	No. of cases
Illiterate	8.0526	3.5074	247	8.4937	3.4227	79	7.7049	3.9087	61	8.0879	3.5553	387
Elementary	6.5125	3.4714	80	7.0526	3.0398	38	3.7917	3.0500	24	6.1972	3.4543	142
Preparatory	5.6842	3.7424	38	5.4706	2.9463	34	3.2500	2.3755	8	5.3500	3.3455	80
Secondary	4.5333	2.5289	30	3.3143	1.8435	35	2.5000	1.9149	4	3.7971	2.2464	69
Institute	3.1176	2.4971	17	3.1111	2.4210	9	2.0000	0.0000	1	3.0741	2.3847	27
University	2.8333	1.4720	6	2.4000	1.5166	5	1.0000	0.0000	1	2.5000	1.4460	12

CEB: Children ever-born.

Source: The 1987 sample survey.

Table 4.7
Average children ever-born per ever-married woman in the West Bank villages 1987, by husband's level of education

Level of education	Nablus District			Jerusalem District			Hebron District			Total		
	CEB	Standard deviation	No. of cases	CEB	Standard deviation	No. of cases	CEB	Standard deviation	No. of cases	CEB	Standard deviation	No. of cases
Illiterate	8.0303	3.7238	99	9.1905	4.2381	21	7.4091	3.8175	44	8.0122	3.8292	164
Elementary	8.0118	3.2690	170	7.4490	3.3669	49	6.1515	4.2948	33	7.5687	3.4794	252
Preparatory	5.8246	3.8551	57	6.9600	3.0234	50	3.7273	2.4936	11	6.1102	3.5150	118
Secondary	5.6154	3.2736	39	5.1429	3.4961	42	3.0000	4.0825	4	5.2588	3.4231	85
Institute	4.9048	3.0807	21	5.0000	2.4944	10	2.6667	2.8868	3	4.7353	2.8952	34
University	3.7813	2.8025	32	3.8929	2.8066	28	2.5000	2.3805	4	3.7500	2.7603	64

CEB: Children ever-born.

Source: The 1987 sample survey.

average 6.73 CEB, while ever-married Christian woman have 4.75 CEB. This suggests that religion plays a part in the number of children ever-born, even though the number of Christian women in the sample was small (only 8 ever-married women). We can compare this with the rural Christian population in Israel, where the size of the completed family has been estimated at 6.4 children for the 1950-59 marriage cohort, falling to 4.5 for the 1960-69 cohort (Friedlander, Eisenbach and Goldschreider, 1979, p 249). A similar effect can be seen in the case of Lebanon in 1971, considering the average children ever-born to women 40-44 years old who had probably completed their reproduction. The rural Shiite women showed the highest average children ever-born (9.18) followed by the urban Shiite women (7.85), rural Maronite women (5.86) and finally the urban Maronite women (5.03) (Zurayk, 1977, p 35).

Previous residence: The previous residence of men and women before marriage also has an effect on the number of children ever-born to them. Table 4.8 shows that women in the West Bank villages who had previously lived in the refugee camps have more children, 7.14 CEB on average, than those previously lived in the villages (6.88), or the cities (4.11). The husband who previously lived in the villages tend to father more children (6.82 CEB) than those who previously lived in refugee camps (5.00), or the cities (4.43). Only a small number of men in the sample, however, were found to have previously lived in the refugee camps. However, couples who previously lived in the cities have fewer children ever-born in all the villages in the West Bank, since they are affected by the city life, and the fact that the cost of raising children in urban areas is higher than it is in semi-urban or rural areas (Easterlin, 1980, pp 14-15). Thus people in the rural areas have more children than those in the urban areas. On the other hand, the completed fertility among the urban Arab Moslem group in Israel is 8.5 births, while it is 10 births to rural Arab Moslem in Israel (Friedlander, Eisenbach and Goldschreider, 1979, pp 249-250).

Breast-feeding: Natural breastfeeding has been spreading among the women

Table 4.8
Average children ever-born per ever-married woman in the West Bank villages 1987, by previous residence of the husband and the wife

Previous residence		Nablus District			Jerusalem District			Hebron District			Total		
		CEB	Standard deviation	No. of cases	CEB	Standard deviation	No. of cases	CEB	Standard deviation	No. of cases	CEB	Standard deviation	No. of cases
Village													
	W.	7.1809	3.6975	387	6.5870	3.6219	184	6.2211	4.0664	95	6.8799	3.7445	666
	H.	7.1028	3.6912	399	6.5851	3.6223	188	6.1020	4.0728	98	6.8175	3.7421	685
City													
	W.	4.5926	2.9123	27	3.7857	2.6364	14	1.3333	0.5774	3	4.1136	2.8220	44
	H.	5.0000	3.3781	18	3.7273	2.4121	11	2.0000	0.0000	1	4.4333	3.0477	30
Refugee camp													
	W.	7.2500	2.9861	4	8.0000	4.2426	2	5.0000	0.0000	1	7.1429	2.9114	7
	H.	8.0000	0.0000	1	2.0000	0.0000	1	0	0	0	5.0000	4.2426	2

CEB: Children ever-born.

Source: The 1987 sample survey.

of the West Bank villages; 84.94 per cent (609 women) usually breastfeed their children, 11.71 per cent (84 women) rarely breastfeed (or breastfeed only some of their children), and 3.35 per cent (24 women) do not breastfeed at all. The average length of time for which women breastfed their last child in the West Bank villages is 8.61 months, on the other hand, there are 42.26 per cent (303 women) who breastfed their last child for more than twelve months.

Women who usually breastfeed their children tend to have more children than those who do not or who only rarely breastfeed. Whilst those women in the West Bank villages who breastfeed their children have on average 7.02 CEB, those women who rarely breastfeed have 5.19, and those who do not breastfeed at all have only 4.38 CEB. There is a positive correlation (R = +0.2490) between the length of time for which women breastfed their last child and the number of the children ever-born, since most of these women have a low level of education, and are in the older age bracket.

Abortion: Women who have used abortion as a mean of birth control have more children, 11.50 CEB in the West Bank villages on average, than those who have used it for health reasons only (8.11), or those who have not used abortion at all (6.48). Women who use abortion as a means of birth control tend to get pregnant more often, and so have more abortions. This is turn means that their health deteriorates because of multiple pregnancies (see Section 4.7.3).

Knowledge of contraception: In the West Bank villages, knowledge of contraceptive methods appears to have very little influence on fertility; the number of children ever-born to women with contraceptive knowledge (6.68 CEB) is barely five per cent below that for women who lack such knowledge (6.96 CEB). Similarly, the number of children ever-born to women who use some form of birth control (6.35 CEB) is less than 10 per cent below that of women who do not (6.89 CEB). Clearly,

where birth control is used it is a mechanism for regulating the timing and spacing of births rather than a means of reducing total fertility rate (see Section 4.7). Most of the women who use family planning methods have many children out of choice, since large families are popular in the villages of all the West Bank. A large proportion of women in the West Bank villages are illiterate and have no knowledge of active contraception methods; some women do not like to use contraceptives for religous reasons or simply because they do not wish to delay pregnancy. The women who use contraceptive methods do so at a later age, and thus the effect of such methods on the number of children ever-born is limited. If, however, women use birth control methods from an early age, then the number of children they have is small.

Economic factors: The economic position of the husband and the wife influence the number of children ever-born. Women who have worked outside the home for example, before or after marriage, and before or after having children, tend to have fewer children, 6.51 CEB on average in the West Bank villages, than those who have never worked outside the home in any kind of employment (6.76).

The same applies to the relationship between women and their work; the women who worked for the family without payment have more children, 8.01 CEB, than either the women who were self-employed (3.83), or those were employed as paid workers (5.26). This variation was due to the fact that most of the women who worked for the family without payment were working in the agricultural sector and illiterate.

Husbands who worked as family workers without payment had 8.08 CEB on average, while those working as employers had 7.65, and self-employed workers 7.37, whereas those working as paid workers had 5.81 CEB. The sizeable difference in the number of children ever-born between those working for the family without payment, and those who are self-employed or are working as employers is due to the

fact that the former own large plots of agricultural land and need children to assist in their cultivation.

The number of children ever-born also varies according to the woman's occupation (Table 4.9). Women who were not working at the time of the survey and were housewives had 6.92 CEB on average; those working in agriculture had 6.55 CEB in the West Bank villages. By comparison, those working in professions had 1.50, those in administration 2.75, those in clerical work 3.60, those in commerce 5.00, and those in services 3.68 in the West Bank villages. Women employed in the professions, in administration, clerical work or the services tend to have a higher level of education than those who are not. These women do not have large families because their work takes up a large proportion of their time, and their social attitudes tend to be more progressive than those of other women.

The husband's occupation also affects the number of children ever-born (Table 4.10). Men working in agriculture, for example, have 7.64 CEB on average, and those working in transportation have 7.41 in the West Bank villages. By contrast, men working in professions, and administrative or clerical jobs tend to have fewer children, since they are more highly educated than those men working in agriculture or transportation. Those employed in agriculture need to have large numbers of children who can assist them in working the land. Such people are also often member of extended families which encourage the raising of large numbers of children, and most of those employed in agriculture are illiterate and have married early. Men working in transportation also tend to have many children, because most of them are in fact employed in agriculture, transporting product to the nearby cities or villages. Their background is similar to those who work on the land.

We also found that, when women are employed, the number of children they have is smaller than when the men are engaged in a similar occupation (Tables

Table 4.9
Average children ever-born per ever-married woman in the West Bank villages 1987, by wife's occupation

Occupation	Nablus District			Jerusalem District			Hebron District			Total		
	CEB	Standard deviation	No. of cases	CEB	Standard deviation	No. of cases	CEB	Standard deviation	No. of cases	CEB	Standard deviation	No. of cases
Housewife	7.2134	3.6684	389	6.7127	3.6263	181	6.1368	4.1221	95	6.9233	3.7395	665
Professional	2.0000	1.4142	2	1.0000	0.0000	2	0	0	0	1.5000	1.0000	4
Administrative	2.8333	1.8348	6	2.5000	2.1213	2	0	0	0	2.7500	1.7525	8
Clerical	4.0000	0.0000	1	3.5000	1.2910	4	0	0	0	3.6000	1.1402	5
Commerce	0	0	0	5.0000	0.0000	1	5.0000	0.0000	1	5.0000	0.0000	2
Services	3.6364	2.8731	11	3.7778	2.1082	9	3.5000	3.5355	2	3.6818	2.4955	22
Agriculture	6.7778	2.8626	9	6.0000	0.0000	1	5.0000	0.0000	1	6.5455	2.6216	11

CEB: Children ever-born.

Source: The 1987 sample survey.

Table 4.10
Average children ever-born per ever-married woman in the West Bank villages 1987, by husband's occupation

Occupation	Nablus District			Jerusalem District			Hebron District			Total		
	CEB	Standard deviation	No. of cases	CEB	Standard deviation	No. of cases	CEB	Standard deviation	No. of cases	CEB	Standard deviation	No. of cases
Professional	4.6667	2.6458	9	2.6000	1.5166	5	6.0000	0.0000	1	4.0667	2.4339	15
Administrative	4.1818	2.1826	11	5.3846	2.5344	13	9.0000	0.000	1	5.0000	2.5000	25
Clerical	3.8000	3.2249	10	5.4286	4.8599	7	0	0	0	4.4706	3.9230	17
Commerce	6.8036	3.7242	56	7.0000	3.7350	41	7.5000	4.5494	6	6.9223	3.7408	103
Services	5.5526	3.2855	38	4.0000	1.8898	15	2.7500	2.3629	4	4.9474	3.0262	57
Construction	6.6364	3.6812	33	6.9474	3.4402	38	5.0000	3.1623	10	6.5802	3.5209	81
Agriculture	7.9372	3.6901	191	7.3617	3.7441	47	6.4167	4.4361	36	7.6387	3.8255	274
Industry	5.3043	3.3903	23	4.8571	3.5703	14	7.0000	0.0000	1	5.1842	3.3840	38
Transportation	7.2000	3.1722	20	8.7000	3.5606	10	6.1429	3.6253	7	7.4054	3.3867	37
Others	8.2941	3.5841	17	4.6250	2.7223	8	6.1200	4.6217	25	6.6200	4.1791	50

CEB: Children ever-born.

Source: The 1987 sample survey.

4.9 and 4.10). In other words, the woman's occupation has more effect than the man's on the number of children ever-born

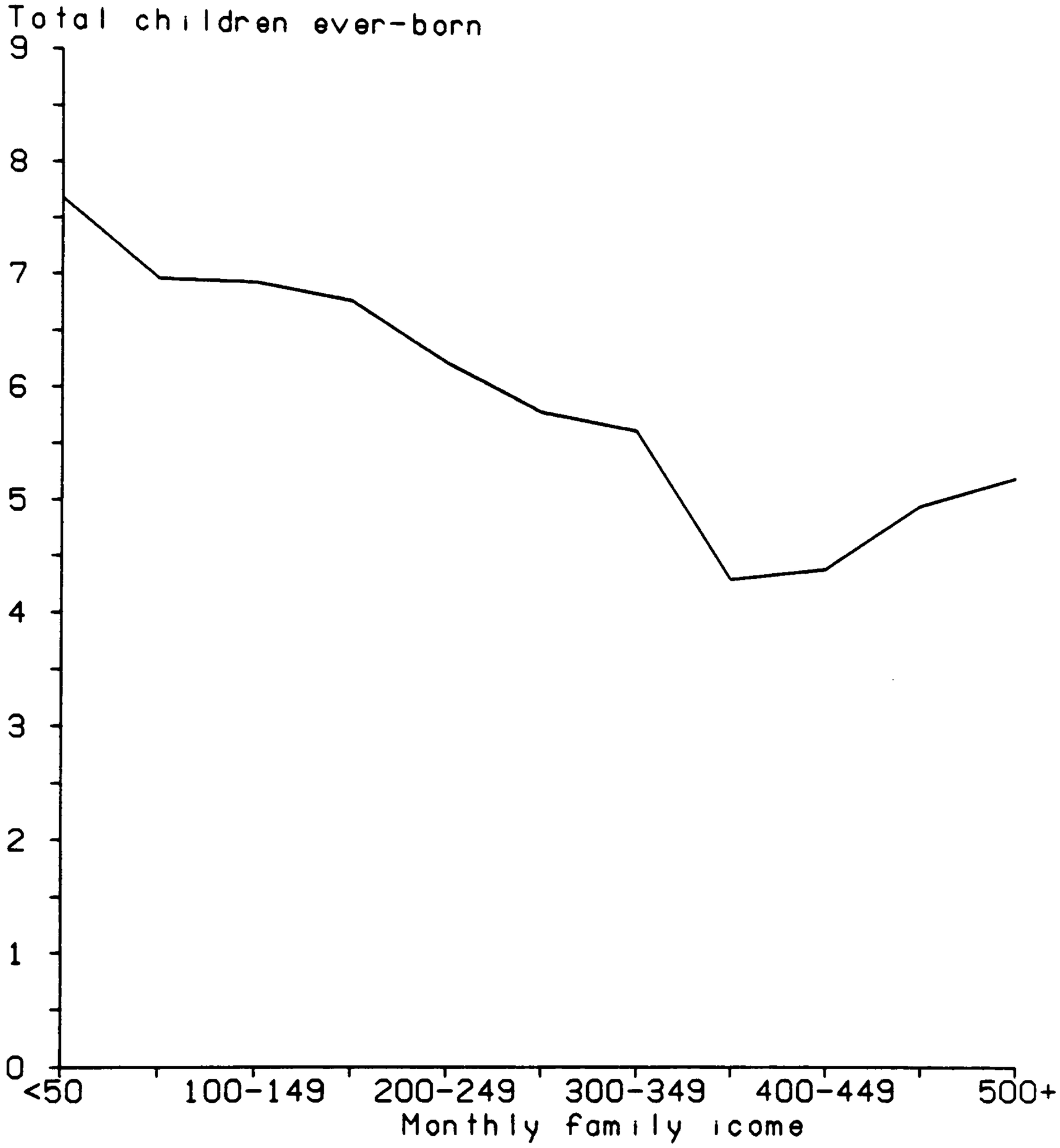
The number of children ever-born per ever married women differs according to the work place of the husband or the wife in the West Bank villages. Those women working in their own villages had 6.93 CEB, those working in other villages had 4.50, those working in cities on the West Bank had 3.00, and those working inside Israel had 7.33 CEB.

By contrast, men working in their own villages had 7.18 CEB, 6.86 if they were working in other villages on the West Bank, 5.63 if working in cities on the West Bank, 6.33 if working in refugee camps in the West Bank, 6.15 if working inside Israel, and 6.00 if working elsewhere outside the West Bank. This show that, if the husband or wife works in the cities, they tend to have a small number of children ever-born, due to the effect on them of urban life.

The number of children ever-born to ever-married women appears to be related to family income (Table 4.11 and Figure 4.7). There is a negative correlation (R = -0.1449) between the monthly income and the number of children ever-born; whilst there was a high number of children ever-born to families receiving less than 50 Jordan Dinars (<£100), about 7.68 CEB on average in the West Bank villages, the number born to families receiving 350-399 Jordan Dinars (£700-798) was very low, about 4.33 CEB. The curve goes down at first, but then rises slightly among those with very high income; the number of children ever-born rises to 4.43 on average to families receiving 400-449 Jordan Dinars (£800-899) and 5.25 in the West Bank villages to families receiving more than 500 Jordan Dinars (£1000+). This is due to the fact that those families receiving high monthly incomes tend to have large areas of agriculture land, where large numbers of children can be useful later on.

Relationship: The relationship between husband and wife has an important

Figure 4:7 Total children ever-born
by monthly family income in the
West Bank villages
(in Jordan Dinar)



Source: The 1987 sample survey

Jordan Dinar=2 Pounds

Table 4.11
Average children ever-born per ever-married woman in the West Bank villages 1987, by monthly family income (J.D.)

Monthly Family Income	Nablus District			Jerusalem District			Hebron District			Total		
	CEB	Standard deviation	No. of cases	CEB	Standard deviation	No. of cases	CEB	Standard deviation	No. of cases	CEB	Standard deviation	No. of cases
< 50	7.0909	4.4605	22	0	0	0	9.1111	4.9357	9	7.6774	4.6144	31
50-99	7.3333	3.8857	129	6.9512	3.9176	41	5.4333	3.8478	30	6.9700	3.9238	200
100-149	7.3016	3.5265	126	6.7927	3.8321	82	5.8276	4.0802	29	6.9451	3.7191	237
150-199	6.8679	3.6901	53	6.9286	3.1023	28	6.3333	3.5314	18	6.7879	3.4767	99
200-249	6.6818	3.1532	44	5.0500	3.0345	20	7.0000	2.5298	6	6.2429	3.1274	70
250-299	6.5385	4.1556	13	6.1000	3.5730	10	1.6667	1.5275	3	5.8077	3.9296	26
300-349	5.5000	3.3417	10	4.5000	3.0166	6	14.0000	0.0000	1	5.6471	3.7407	17
350-399	5.1667	3.9707	6	2.6667	3.0551	3	0	0	0	4.3333	3.7081	9
400-449	6.0000	2.6458	3	3.2500	1.5000	4	0	0	0	4.4286	2.3705	7
450-499	3.0000	0.0000	1	6.6667	2.3094	3	2.0000	0.0000	1	5.0000	2.8284	5
500 +	5.4545	3.6156	11	5.0000	1.0000	3	4.5000	6.3640	2	5.2500	3.4157	16

(J.D. =£ 2) CEB: Children ever-born.

Source: The 1987 sample survey.

effect on the number of children ever-born; when the relationship is close, they tend to have more children (Table 4.12). If a man, for example, marries a cousin from his father's side then we find that the average number of children ever-born to them in the West Bank villages is 7.58, while if the husband and wife were from same family then they have 6.36 CEB, 4.35 if the wife from the city, and 1.50 if the wife came from a non-Arab country. This happens because in the extended family there is encouragement for early but secure marriage, in order to increase the likelihood of large number of children who can later work on the land and increase the power and status of the family. Women from outside the villages tend to be influenced by their cultural background and marry educated men from the villages.

Deaths of children: The number of children ever-born per ever-married woman has highly positive correlation to the total number of children who die per ever-married woman (R = +0.5751). This is due to the fact, that if a women loses a child (especially a boy), she wants to give birth to another to replace the one lost, which she can do if she is young. Therefore, the correlation between the total number of children ever-born and the total number of children who die in their first year is (R = +0.4311).

4.6 The desired number of children

Questions regarding the desired number of children were asked only to ever-married women of childbearing age (15-49 years old). The demand for children was determined by a number of socio-economic factors, the most important of which were; age, educational level and religion. In the West Bank villages in the 1987 sample survey, there were only 25.27 per cent (141) of the women of childbearing age wanted no children additional to those already born.

Age: The data in Table 4.13 show that the percentage of women who wanted no children additional to those already born increases with the age of women

Table 4.12
Average children ever-born per ever-married woman in the West Bank villages 1987, by the relationship husband and wife

Relationship	Nablus District			Jerusalem District			Hebron District			Total		
	CEB	Standard deviation	No. of cases	CEB	Standard deviation	No. of cases	CEB	Standard deviation	No. of cases	CEB	Standard deviation	No. of cases
Cousin on father's side	7.5842	3.7954	101	7.6875	3.5440	48	7.3571	4.2358	28	7.5763	3.7818	177
Cousin on mother's side	7.5200	3.2340	50	7.2800	3.4823	25	6.9167	4.0778	12	7.3678	3.3933	87
Same family	6.9681	4.0200	94	6.4808	3.1529	52	5.8077	4.5168	26	6.6453	3.8612	172
Same village	6.9478	3.5586	115	5.6275	3.7734	51	5.8527	3.2870	28	6.3608	3.6326	194
Other village	6.4103	3.4160	39	4.6429	3.9924	14	2.7500	2.0616	4	5.7193	3.6192	57
City	4.9375	3.1721	16	3.3333	3.1411	6	1.0000	0.0000	1	4.4478	3.1853	23
Refugee camp	0	0	0	6.3333	2.3094	3	0	0	0	6.3333	2.3094	3
Other Arab	4.0000	0.0000	1	2.0000	0.0000	1	0	0	0	3.0000	1.4142	2
Non-Arab	1.5000	0.7071	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	1.5000	0.7071	2

CEB: Children ever-born.

Source: The 1987 sample survey.

because the majority of women at the end of their childbearing age have had the number of children which they wanted to have. For example, all women (17) aged 15-19 wanted more children, while 5.48 per cent (146 women) aged 20-24 did not want more children, this percentage becomes higher 42.13 per cent (235 women) among the women aged 40-49. The number of women who did not want more children still relatively small among the women whose at the end of their childbearing age because these women belonged to a generation that was not given educational opportunities and they were still strongly attached to traditional customs and beliefs.

Level of education: The level of education which women have received also influences the number of children they want to have additional to those already born (Table 4.13). For example, the number of illiterate women who did not want more children was higher than the number of women with elementary, preparatory, and secondary level of education. However, if we take the age group into consideration we find that 64.78 per cent (160 women) of the illiterate women were of the age group 40-49 years; only about one-third of them wanted no children additional to those already born. This percentage increase to 77.78 per cent (14 women) to the women with secondary level of education and above at the same age group, because in most cases the woman with high level of education want to have small number of children, and at the end of here childbearing age she has the number of children which she wants to bear. In the case of Jordan (the 1976 fertility survey), we find that 44.0 per cent of illiterate women did not want additional children, while 44.7 per cent of women with secondary level of education and above did not want more children (Jalal El-Deen, 1982).

The average number of children which illiterate women in the West Bank villages wish to have additional to those already born is 6.38 children, while the figure is 2.17 children for women with university education.

Table 4.13
Percentage distribution of women who did not want to have any more children in the West Bank villages 1987, by age group and level of education

Level of education	15-19		20-29		30-39		40-49		Total	
	No. of cases	%	No. of cases	%	No. of cases	%	No. of cases	%	No. of cases	%
Illiterate	0	0	2	8.33	7	11.29	56	35.00	65	26.32
Elementary	0	0	0	0	8	18.61	20	45.46	28	22.58
Preparatory	0	0	0	0	9	34.62	9	69.23	18	22.79
Secondary	0	0	4	10.53	5	27.78	8	88.89	17	24.63
Institute	0	0	0	0	4	50.00	4	57.14	8	29.63
University	0	0	2	28.57	1	33.33	2	100.00	5	41.67
Total	0	0	8	5.48	34	21.25	99	42.13	141	25.27

Source: The 1987 sample survey.

The husband's level of education did not have the same influence as the wife's level of education on the question of whether or not they wished to have additional children; 36.61 per cent (36 women) of the women whose husbands were illiterate did not want more children, whereas 36.51 per cent (23 women) of women whose husband were university educated did not want more children.

By contrast, if both parents were illiterate 35.17 per cent (32 women) did not want more children. While if both parents were university educated 41.67 per cent (5 women) did not want more children. If both parents were illiterate they wanted 6.18 additional children, this figure decline to 5.87 if both parents had elementary education, and 2.17 if both parents had university education.

Religion: The number of Moslem women who did not want more children was 24.91 per cent (137 women), which was less than the number of Christian women who did not want more children, 50.00 per cent (4 women). The number of the children which Moslem women wished to have in addition to those already born was 5.29 children, whereas the figure for Christian women was 2.00 children.

Previous residence: The place where women have previously lived also influences whether or not they want more children additional to those already born. 25.00 per cent (127 women) for example who previously lived in villages did not want more children, whereas 27.91 per cent (12 women) who previously lived in cities did not, and 28.27 per cent (2 women) who previously lived in refugee camps did not. Women who had previously lived in villages wanted to have 5.30 children in addition to those already born, those who had previously lived in cities wanted 4.67 children, and those who had previously lived in refugee camps wanted 4.14 children. We can compare this with Jordan in 1976 where 29.95 per cent of women who lived in small, medium size and large villages did not want additional children, while 43.00 per cent of women who had lived in cities did not want additional children (Jalal El-Deen,

1982).

Economic factor: If a women works outside the home, this often affect whether she want more additional children or not; 30.21 per cent (29 women) of women who worked outside the home did not want more children, whereas 24.24 per cent (112 women) of women who did not work outside the home did not want more children because most of the working women in the young age groups. Women who did not work outside the home wanted another 5.37 children in additional to those already born, whereas those who did work outside the home wanted 4.59, because many of the working women have high level of education.

Relationship: The number of women closely related to their husbands (cousin on the father's side, or mother's side, or from the same family), who wanted no children additional to those already born was 26.77 per cent (87 women). This compares with a figure of 23.38 per cent (54 women) of women not closely related to their husband. Women closely related to their husbands wanted 5.25 additional children, whereas those not closely related wanted 5.22.

Knowledge of contraception: Knowledge of contraceptive methods has also affected the number of additional children which women wants; the number of women who knew nothing about contraceptive methods and did not want more children was 6.98 per cent (3 women), whereas the number of women who did have knowledge about such methods and did not want more children was 26.78 per cent (138 women). A similar difference was found in the number of additional children which they wanted to have; women who knew about contraception wanted 4.90, whilst women who did not wanted 9.35 additional children, because most of the women who did not know about contraceptive methods were illiterate (see Section 4.7).

The number of women who used methods of birth control and did not want additional children was 29.35 per cent (59 women), whereas the number of women

who did not use any methods of birth control and did not want additional children was 22.95 per cent (82 women). Women who employed birth control methods wanted 4.21 additional children, whilst those who did not wanted 5.82.

Children still alive: The proportion of women who did not want additional children increased in relation to the number of their children still alive (particularly boys), (Table 4.14). The number of women without living sons but with living daughters not wanting additional children was 4.84 per cent (3 women). This proportion rose to 45.35 per cent (39 women) of women who had five living sons with living daughters. This mean that most of the women not wanting more children already have the desired number of male children. The value of male children is higher than that of female children in traditional society. There were no women who did not want more children if they did not have any living children, but the proportion rose to 33.33 per cent (1 women) if the women had four daughters but no sons, and to 50.00 per cent (4 women) if they had four sons and no daughters.

The proportion of women who did not want to have any more children increased as the number of sons exceeded the number of daughters, for example; 9.68 per cent (3 women) of those who had two living children (one male and one female) did not want children, whereas this figure rose to 11.11 per cent (2 women) for the women who had two boys only. Similarly, 16.67 per cent (2 women) of the women did not want more children if they had two boys and four girls, whereas the figure rose to 31.82 per cent (7 women) for the women who had four boys and two girls.

We can compare this with Jordan in 1976; where 5 per cent of the women who had only two children (both female), said that they did not want to have any more children. This proportion grew to 17.2 per cent in cases where the two children were male. In cases where the women had four living children (all females) 18 per cent of the women did not want to have any more children, as if four female children

Table 4.14
The women who did not wish to have any more children in the West Bank villages 1987, by the number of the male and female children still alive

No. of male children still alive	No. of female children still alive													
	0		1		2		3		4		5+		Total	
	No. of cases	%	No. of cases	%	No. of cases	%	No. of cases	%	No. of cases	%	No. of cases	%	No. of cases	%
0	0	0	2	10.00	0	0	0	0	1	33.33	0	0	3	4.84
1	3	12.00	3	9.68	3	13.64	6	37.50	2	50.00	1	20.00	18	17.48
2	2	11.11	2	11.11	8	26.67	7	31.82	2	16.67	5	26.32	26	21.85
3	0	0	3	17.65	7	31.82	8	42.11	1	9.09	4	21.05	23	23.96
4	4	50.00	5	50.00	7	31.82	4	40.00	7	33.33	5	23.81	32	34.78
5 +	2	33.33	3	50.00	4	23.53	10	43.48	8	57.14	12	60.00	39	45.35
Total	11	12.79	18	17.65	29	23.20	35	37.23	21	32.31	27	31.40	141	25.27

Source: The 1987 sample survey.

were the equivalent of two male children, whereas this figure rose to 44.5 per cent in cases where all four children were males. The same general patterns has also been detected in Khartoum; in the cases where there were two children (both males) 19.6 per cent of the women did not want any more children. This proportion dropped to only 6.2 per cent when both children were females, and to a mere one per cent if the only child was a girl (Jalal El-Deen, 1982, pp 73-74).

Preference for male children: The majority of women who wanted more children prefered males; 66.91 per cent (269 women) of the women who wanted more children, hoped that the newborn baby would be male, whereas only 5.04 per cent (21 women) hoped for daughters, and 28.06 per cent (117 women) expressed no preference.

The preference for male children was found to be present from the outset of marriage; 77.06 per cent (430 women) prefered their first child to be male, 3.94 per cent (22 women) prefered it to be female, and 19.00 per cent (106 women) expressed no preference.

The response to the question, if you were pregnant what would you prefer; a son or a daughter? 60.93 per cent (340 women) prefered a son, 5.91 per cent (33 women) prefered a daughter, and 33.15 per cent (185 women) expressed no preference.

4.7 Family planning

The Jordanian Family Planning and Protection Association was established in Jerusalem in 1963, to provide planning services and advice throughout the East and West Bank of the Jordan. The Association continued its work after the 1967 war. The Association maintains close contacts with the International Organization for Family Planning and Improvement. The goal of the Association is to help mothers plan their families; it supplies contraceptives to married women at cost price, provides treatment for mother and child up to the age of one year, and guidance to mothers on infant care, as well as planning family size according to the economic circumstances

and state of health. Mother and infant are under the regular care of the Association doctor (Benvenisti, Abu-Zayed and Rubinstein, 1986, p 8). The Association currently operates more than twenty clinics on the West Bank (Sahawneh, 1982). Most of these clinics are found in the cities. Family planning services are also available from private physicians and chemists as well as from mother and baby clinics.

4.7.1 Knowledge of contraceptive methods

The proportion of women in the 1987 survey who used or know about family planning methods is very small. Only 37.94 per cent (272 women) of the ever-married women had used any methods of birth control, whilst 11.58 per cent (83 women) of the ever-married women know nothing of such methods, we can compare this with the Gaza Strip where, in the Khan Yunis area, about 7.7 per cent of the women had not heard of methods of contraception, 65.1 per cent had heard of them but not used them, and 27.2 per cent had heard of them and used them (Dahlan, 1987). According to the Population Report (1985); in most countries fertility and family planning surveys have found that the great majority of women know of at least one family planning method, usually a modern one. Women's knowledge of family planning is slightly influenced by age, very little influenced by parity, somewhat influenced by rural/urban residence, and greatly influenced by education.

In the West Bank villages (Table 4.15), 40.17 per cent (288 women) did not use or know of any methods. This figure decline to 16.60 per cent (119 women) used and knew four methods or more; 62.06 per cent (445 women) did not use any method of contraception, 19.95 per cent (143 women) used one method, 13.11 per cent (94 women) used two methods, 2.93 per cent (21 women) used three methods, and 1.95 per cent (14 women) used four methods. Whilst 56.07 per cent (402 women) did not know of any methods, 15.62 per cent (112 women) knew one method, 12.55 per cent (90 women) knew two methods, 6.83 per cent (49 women) knew three methods, 3.21

per cent (23 women) knew four methods, and 5.72 per cent (41 women) knew five methods or more. In addition, there were 22.18 per cent (159 women) who had not heard of any methods of contraception at all.

Level of education: There is a positive correlation between the level of education of the wife (R = +0.45503), and of the husband (R = +0.38973), with the number of contraceptive methods the wife knew or used (Table 4.15). Whilst the proportion of illiterate women who did not use or know of any methods was 54.78 per cent (212 women), the proportion of university educated women who did not use or know of any methods was zero. However, the women who used or knew five or more methods represented 3.36 per cent (13 women) among illiterate women, and 58.34 per cent (7 women) among university educated women.

The figures based on the husband's level of education are different; 62.20 per cent (102 women) of wives with illiterate husbands did not know or use any method, whereas 18.75 per cent (12 women) of wives with university educated husbands had no such knowledge. Thus wives who know or use five or more methods represented 2.44 per cent (4 women) of the wives with illiterate husbands, and 29.68 per cent (19 women) of the wives with university educated husbands.

This difference is due to the fact that the wife's level of education has more effect in this area than that of the husband. Women with higher education have greater experience of modern technology than illiterate women. However, many men with university education marry illiterate women, since the number of university educated women is small.

Taking the level of education of the couple, we found that if both of them were illiterate, then 64.70 per cent (99 women) of wives did not use or know of any method of contraception; 84.31 per cent (129 women) did not use any method, and 77.12 per cent (118 women) did not know of any method. By contrast, if both husband

Table 4.15
Knowledge and use of contraceptive methods among ever-married women in the West Bank villages 1987, by level of education to the wife and husband

Level of education	No method		One method		Two methods		Three methods		Four methods		Five methods		No. of cases	
	W. %	H. %	W. %	H. %	W. %	H. %	W. %	H. %	W. %	H. %	W. %	H. %	W.	H.
Illiterate	54.78	62.20	12.92	14.63	17.57	14.63	8.01	4.27	3.36	1.83	3.36	2.44	387	164
Elementary	29.58	44.04	23.94	14.29	21.12	22.62	9.16	10.32	9.16	4.76	7.04	3.97	142	252
Preparatory	26.25	27.12	15.00	20.34	18.75	18.64	8.75	9.32	16.25	11.02	15.00	13.56	80	118
Secondary	14.49	30.59	11.59	12.94	23.19	17.65	11.59	5.88	13.05	15.29	26.09	17.65	69	85
Institute	11.11	14.71	11.11	17.65	18.52	20.59	22.22	23.53	7.41	11.76	29.63	11.76	27	34
University	0	18.75	0	9.38	25.00	18.75	8.33	14.06	8.33	9.38	58.34	29.68	12	64
Total	40.17	40.17	14.92	14.92	19.11	19.11	9.21	9.21	7.11	7.11	9.48	9.48	717	717

W: Wife. H: Husband.

Source: The 1987 sample survey.

and wife had secondary education, we found that 19.23 per cent (5 women) did not use or know of any method, 46.15 per cent (12 women) did not use any method, and 34.62 per cent (9 women) did not know of any method. If both were university educated then we found no women who did not use or know of some method, although 25.00 per cent (3 women) did not use any method, because they were newly married and had not yet had the number of children they wanted.

In the case of Jordan (the 1972 fertility survey), we find that among the illiterate in the survey only 21.1 per cent were fertility controllers. This proportion rose to 44.3 per cent for the group with primary or preparatory education, and 70.8 per cent for those with secondary or higher education. In fact, this proportion rises to close to 80 per cent for those with university degrees. The same is true with regard to the degree of sophistication in knowledge of family planning methods of these three groups. Thus, the proportion of couples knowing four methods of fertility control or more was was 51.7 per cent amongst illiterate, 79.5 per cent for those with primary or preparatory education, and 97.5 per cent for those with secondary education or higher. In fact it was 100 per cent for those with university education (Tabbarah, 1978, p 282).

Age: Age also affects the degree of knowledge which women have regarding contraceptive methods; the proportion of women aged 15-19 who did not use or know of any methods was 64.71 per cent (11 women); and 82.35 per cent (14 women) simply did not use any method. These women were young and newly married, without much education and did not have the number of children they wants to bear. The proportion of women aged 20-24 years who did not use or know of any method was 36.11 per cent (26 women); 62.50 per cent (45 women) did not use any form of birth control. By contrast, 47.16 per cent (58 women) of women aged 45-49 years did not use or know of any method; 66.67 per cent (82 women) did not use any method of birth control. This is due to the fact that most of the women in the old ages was illiterate

and many of them want to have more children.

Previous residence: The proportion of women who previously lived in cities and did not use or know of any contraception method was 22.73 per cent (10 women); 54.55 per cent (24 women) did not use any method of birth control. 41.29 per cent (275 women) of those women previously living in villages did not know of or use any method; 62.46 per cent (416 women) did not use any method of contraception. And 42.86 per cent (3 women) of women who previously lived in refugee camps did not know of or use any method; 72.43 per cent (5 women) did not use any method of birth control. Of those women whose husbands previously lived in the cities, 20.00 per cent (6 women) did not use or know of any method, whereas of those whose husbands previously lived in villages 41.17 per cent (282 women) did not know of or use any method of contraception. This is due to the fact that those who previously lived in the cities have high level of education and want to have small number of children.

Religion: Whilst we found no Christian women in the sample (8) who neither used nor knew of any method; 37.50 per cent (3 women) did not actually use any method. Among Moslem women, 40.62 per cent (288 women) either did not know of or did not use any method, and 62.34 per cent (442 women) did not use any form of birth control. The proportion of Moslem women who used or knew two or more methods was 44.57 per cent (316 women), whereas 75.00 per cent (6 women) of Christian women know two or more methods.

Total children ever-born: There is a negative correlation (R = -0.16471) between the total number of children ever-born and the number of contraceptive methods which women use or know about. The proportion of women who had zero parity and did not know of or use any method was 72.22 per cent (13 women); 94.44 per cent (17 women) did not use any method of birth control, since they still wanted more children. The proportion of women who had between 1-4 CEB and did not

know of or use any method of birth control was 30.73 per cent (63 women); 59.51 per cent (122 women) did not use any method. The proportion of women who had between 5-9 CEB and did not use or know of any contraceptive method was 39.88 per cent (130 women); 60.12 per cent (196 women) did not use any method. By contrast, the proportion of women who had ten or more children ever-born and did not know of or use any family planning methods was 48.81 per cent (82 women); 65.48 per cent (110 women) did not use any method of birth control. This is due to the fact that women with high number of children was in the old ages and most of them illiterate (see Section 4.5).

The desired number of children: The proportion of women who did not wish to have additional children, and did not use or know of any contraceptive method was 44.29 per cent (128 women); 63.32 per cent (183 women) did not use any method of birth control, this group was the important one which take into consideration to reduce the fertility rates in the West Bank in the future. The proportion of women who wanted additional children and did not know of or use any contraceptive method was 37.38 per cent (160 women); 61.22 per cent (262 women) did not use any method of birth control, this group did not reach the number of children they want, thus small proportion of them use the contraceptive methods (see Section 4.6).

Economic factors: The proportion of women who had never worked and did not use or know of any contraception methods was 39.80 per cent (236 women); 61.89 per cent (367 women) did not use any contraceptive method. By comparison, the proportion of women who had worked outside the home and neither used nor knew of some contraceptive method was 41.94 per cent (52 women); 62.90 per cent (78 women) did not use any contraceptive method, because many of the working women in the villages are illiterate and working in agriculture.

These figures vary according to women's occupation; for example, the pro-

portion of women working in services or administration who neither use nor know of some method of contraception was 13.33 per cent (4 women); 26.67 per cent (8 women) did not use any contraceptive method, because many of these women are young and did not have the number of children they want. However, the proportion of women working in agriculture who did not use or know of some contraceptive method was 45.46 per cent (5 women); 90.91 per cent (10 women) did not use any contraceptive method. The proportion of women who were housewives (most of these women was illiterate) at the time of the survey and who neither knew of nor used some form of contraception was 41.96 per cent (279 women); 63.76 per cent (424 women) did not use any method of birth control.

Looking at the subject from the point of the husband's occupation, we found that the proportion of wives whose husbands were employed in professional or administrative occupations, and neither knew of nor used some form of contraception was 15.00 per cent (6 women); 27.50 per cent (11 women) did not use any method of birth control. By contrast, the proportion of wives whose husbands were employed in agriculture and who did not know of or use some form of contraception was 55.84 per cent (153 women); 74.09 per cent (203 women) did not use any contraception method.

Knowledge of contraceptive methods also varies according to family monthly income. Amongst families receiving less than 100 Jordan Dinars (< £200) 49.78 per cent (115 women) of the women did not use or know of any contraceptive method; 75.33 per cent (174 women) did not use any form of birth control, because these families were poor and most of them was illiterate and they have small connection with the family planning clinics which found in the cities. Families receiving 100-299 Jordan Dinars (£200-598), 36.11 per cent (156 women) neither used nor know on any method; 56.02 per cent (242 women) did not use any form of birth control. Families receiving 300-449 Jordan Dinars (£600-898), 24.24 per cent(8 women) neither

used nor knew of any contraceptive methods; 51.52 per cent (17 women) did not use any method of birth control. Finally, families receiving 450 Jordan Dinars and over (£900+) 42.86 per cent of the women (9 women) neither used nor knew of contraceptive methods; 57.14 per cent (12 women) did not use any form of birth control, because the families with high income have high proportion of agricultural land and wish to have more children, thus small number of the women from this group use the contraceptive methods.

The District: Knowledge of contraceptive methods varies from one District of the West Bank to another. 33.50 per cent (67 women) in the villages in the Jerusalem District did not use or know of any contraceptive methods; 58.50 per cent (117 women) did not use any form of contraception. In the villages in the Nablus District 38.76 per cent (162 women) neither used nor knew of contraceptive methods; 59.57 per cent (249 women) did not use any form of birth control. In the villages in the Hebron District, however, 59.60 per cent (59 women) neither knew nor used any contraceptive method; 79.80 per cent (79 women) did not use any form of birth control. This is due to the fact that most branches of the Family Planning Association are located in the Jerusalem District, and to the differential of the socio-economic characteristics of the population in each District.

4.7.2 Contraceptive methods

The pill was the method most widely used by women in the West Bank villages (Table 4.16), since it is simple to use, very cheap, and easy to obtain at most chemists and mother and baby clinics in the West Bank. The coil (I.U.D.) came in second place in terms of its usage and knowledge of the method among women in the villages. Some methods such as (douche, cap, condom) were very limited in their use and in the knowledge which women had of them; women who used these methods tended to be highly educated. The rhythm method, withdrawal, and abstinence came

in the third place in terms of use and knowledge which women had of them, since these method are very simple and natural, not relying on the use of any chemical or mechanical device. Sterilisation (male and female) is not accepted in the society (particularly male sterilisiation), although female sterilisation does occur in a small proportion of women.

4.7.3 Women's attitudes towards abortion

According to Jordanian law, abortion is only permitted when a doctor considers that a pregnancy is endangering a mother's life.

In the West Bank villages, according to the 1987 sample survey; 13.53 per cent (97 women) had had miscarriages, and 0.28 per cent (2 women) had had abortions because they did not want more children. An earlier study by Husseini (1981) revealed a significantly lower incidence of abortion in rural than in urban areas. Of the women in his sample (88) 10.22 per cent of those living in cities and towns had had an abortion, while for those living in villages the figure was only 5.93 per cent (114 women), which is higher than in the 1987 survey.

In the 1987 sample survey, women were asked whether, if the law on abortion were to be relaxed, they agreed or disagreed with the idea that women should be allowed to have an abortion, performed by a doctor, under the circumstances listed in Table 4.17. Responses varied according to the socio-economic characteristics of the women asked and the context of the question. While the majority of women agreed that abortion should be allowed in cases where the life or the health of the mother was in danger, most disagreed that it should be allowed in cases where the husband would be unable to support the new baby, or where the women wanted to terminate a pregnancy for reasons not connected with health. Most women believe that God assists them in their lives and that God will, therefore, provide for any new baby. About half the women agreed with the principle that abortion should be allowed in

Table 4.16
The knowledge and use of the contraceptive methods in the West Bank villages, 1987

The methods	Use %	Know %	Hear of %	Do not know %	No. of cases
Pill	30.68	20.09	36.82	12.41	717
Coil (I.U.D)	16.74	16.04	40.72	26.50	717
Douche	0.28	4.18	12.41	83.13	717
Cap	0.14	4.60	17.57	77.69	717
Condom	1.39	5.30	21.06	72.25	717
Rhythm method	4.18	13.11	18.13	64.58	717
Withdrawal	4.60	15.34	22.18	57.88	717
Abstinence	3.77	15.34	23.71	57.18	717
Female sterilisation	0.56	7.53	27.61	64.30	717
Male sterilisation	0	5.72	25.52	68.76	717
Other methods	0.42	2.09	6.28	91.21	717

Source: The 1987 sample survey.

rape cases, or when the mother is unmarried, since the question here is one of honour, and it is considered better that the child is not born in such cases. Many of them also supported the principle of abortion when it is likely that the child would be born malformed or handicapped.

Women did not agree with abortion in any circumstances was 16.50 per cent (33 women) in the villages in the Jerusalem District, 19.19 per cent (19 women) in the villages in the Hebron District, and 19.62 per cent (82 women) in the villages of the Nablus District. The percentage of who supported abortion in all circumstances described was 2.39 per cent (10 women) in the villages in the Nablus District, and 4.00 per cent (8 women) in the villages of Jerusalem District. In the villages in the Hebron District however no woman supported abortion in all the circumstances described.

The percentage of women aged 15-19 in all the villages in the 1987 sample survey who did not support abortion under any of the circumstances described was 23.53 per cent (4 women); this fell to 22.22 per cent (16 women) aged 20-24, and 15.29 per cent (13 women) aged 30-34. Amongst women aged 45-49, however, the figure rose again to 20.76 per cent (33 women).

The percentage of women who had previously lived in cities and who did not support abortion in any of the circumstances described was 13.64 per cent (6 women). This figure rose to 19.22 per cent (128 women) amongst women who had previously lived in the villages.

The proportion of women who did not agree with abortion under any circumstances was influenced by their level of education. While the proportion of illiterate women who did not support abortion under any circumstances was 23.51 per cent (91 women) this figure fell to 16.20 per cent (23 women) with elementary education, 15.00 per cent (12 women) with preparatory education, and 5.80 per cent (4 women) with secondary education, but rose again to 14.82 per cent (4 women)

Table 4.17
Women attitudes towards the abortion in the West Bank villages, 1987

Assumption	Agree %	Disagree %	I do not know %	No. of cases
Pregnancy endangers the mother's life	75.73	13.53	10.74	717
Pregnancy endangers the mother's health	52.16	30.13	17.71	717
Pregnancy resulting from rape	50.77	21.62	27.61	717
Child likely to be malformed or handicapped	42.26	35.43	22.31	717
Mother not married	47.28	25.52	27.20	717
Husband unable to support additional child	13.25	60.67	26.08	717
Abortion for unspecified reason	7.39	67.23	25.38	717

Source: The 1987 sample survey.

with institute education. Amongst university educated women, however, there was no one who disagreed with abortion in every one of the circumstances outlined. The proportion of women who supported abortion in all the cases described was 1.81 per cent (7 women) amongst illiterate women, 1.41 per cent (2 women) with elementary education, 7.25 per cent (5 women) those with secondary education, and 33.33 per cent (4 women) with university education.

Among the small number (8) of Christian women in the survey, there was none opposed to abortion under all the circumstances listed and two who agreed that abortion should be available in every case. By comparison, of the 709 Moslem women in the survey, 134 (18.90 per cent) were opposed to abortion under any circumstances and only 16 (2.26 per cent) who were prefered to allow it under all the conditions listed.

Attitudes towards abortion also varied according to the number of children already born. Of the 18 women who had had no children, 8 (44.44 per cent) were opposed to abortion under all circumstances. This proportion fell to 14.64 per cent (30 women) among those with 1-4 children ever-born but then rose to 18.41 per cent (60 women) of those with 5-9 CEB and 21.43 per cent (36 women of those with 10 or more CEB. This is due to the fact that women with high number of children ever-born was in the old age and most of them illiterate and strongly attached to traditional and beliefs.

4.8 Summary

The West Bank as a whole and the West Bank villages in particular are characterized by high fertility rates, and there is no evidence of any significant decline in fertility over the past 25 years.

The average number of children ever-born to the women in the West Bank villages who had completed their fertility (those aged 50 years and over) was 8.54.

The number of children ever-born is affected by the women's socio-economic and demographic characteristics. While there is a positive correlation between the number of children ever-born and the women's age and duration of marriage, there is a negative correlation with the age at first marriage, the educational level of the husband and the wife, and the family monthly income.

In spite of the high fertility rate in the West Bank villages, about 75 per cent of the women in the childbearing age groups wanted more children in addition to their children ever-born.

More than one-third of the ever-married women in the West Bank villages neither used nor knew of any contraceptive method; the number of methods which the woman used or knew was affected by her socio-economic and demographic characteristics. The pill and the coil (I.U.D.) were the methods most widely used and knows by the women. On the other hand, there is a small number of women in the West Bank villages had had abortion and agree with the abortion in all the circumstances listed in the questionnaire.

The limited knowledge and use of contraceptive methods among the women in the West Bank villages and the general desire for large families are major factors in the maintenance of high fertility levels.

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CHAPTER FIVE

PATTERNS OF MORTALITY

The level of mortality in any region is a reflection of the availability of health services, and of the level of socio-economic development reached by the population in that region. The West Bank as a whole, and the West Bank villages in particular suffer from a lack of adequate health services. In the villages which have medical clinics (10 out of 23 in the sample), it is usually the case that these are only open one or two days per week, and then only for a few a hours at a time (see Chapter 2). We also find that there is no official organisation responsible for keeping the villages clean, or for collecting refuse. These factors create a good environment for the spread of diseases amongst the village population.

The data concerning mortality in the West Bank are poor, mainly due to under-registration of the number of deaths, especially infant and childhood deaths, in the rural areas. In the last few years the health authorities in the West Bank have made the registration of deaths compulsory, although there is still under-registration, especially of deaths among new born babies and the elderly.

5.1 Crude death rate

The crude death rate is defined as the number of deaths in a year per 1000 of the midyear population. Crude death rate may be computed for any period, but typically they are computed for the calendar year or the fiscal year. This eliminates the effect of seasonal or monthly variations on the comparability of the rates. In the calculation of the crude death rate, as well as of other measures of mortality for the census years, the census counts of population are commonly employed (Shryock and Siegel, 1980, pp 394-395).

The crude death rate for Jordan as a whole (including both East and West

Banks) in the 1961 census was estimated at about 16 per thousand (Wander, 1966. Abu-Jaber, *et al*, 1980).

Following the 1967 war, the Israeli Central Bureau of Statistics has published an annual series of estimated crude birth, death and natural increase rates for the population of the West Bank (Table 5.1 and Figure 5.10). According to these estimates, the crude death rate in the West Bank declined from 21.61 per thousand in 1968 to 8.10 in 1984. If this decline is genuine, it cannot be attributed to widespread improvements in medical care, though there has, it is true, been an increase in the number of local doctors. More likely factors include improvements in the economic situation of the population due to increased employment opportunities in Israel and in other neighbouring countries which have led, among other things, to better housing conditions, coupled with a rise in education levels and a greater awareness of hygiene.

In any case, the results of the 1987 sample survey suggest that the Israeli estimates are too low. According to the survey, the crude death rate in the West Bank villages as a whole was 15.37 per thousand; 15.41 per thousand in the villages in the Nablus District, 14,.22 per thousand in the villages in the Jerusalem District, and 17.39 per thousand in the villages in the Hebron District. This means that the crude death rate in the West Bank villages is double the published Israeli estimate for the West Bank as a whole. This variation may be due to two factors. Firstly, the crude death rate in the villages is higher than in other settlements in the West Bank though this is unlikely to account for the whole discrepancy. Secondly, the crude death rate published by the Israeli sources is inaccurate, owing to under-registration of deaths in the official records, especially in the rural areas, (more than two-thirds of the West Bank population live in rural areas).

Variations in the crude death rates between the villages can be accounted for by differences in socio-economic status, and the level of health care services pro-

Table 5.1
Crude death rate in the
West Bank 1968-1984

Years	Crude death rate (per thousand)
1968	21.61
1969	20.14
1970	19.03
1971	17.60
1972	16.39
1973	16.69
1974	14.60
1975	14.70
1976	13.59
1977	12.39
1978	12.50
1979	11.40
1980	10.37
1981	10.01
1982	9.10
1983	8.91
1984	8.10

Source: Calculated from;

Central Bureau of Statistics, 1969-1985.

vided in each District.

The crude death rates for neighbouring populations are as follows; Gaza Strip (1984) 8.0 per thousand (Central Bureau of Statistics, 1985), Israel (1983) 6.8 per thousand, Jordan (1983) 8.4 per thousand, and Syria (1983) 7.2 per thousand (United Nations, 1986). These figures are similar to the Israeli estimate of the crude death rate in the West Bank, since as in most developing countries, we are likely to find under-registration of mortality. Obviously, the youthful age structure is another major factor.

5.2 Mortality by age and sex

An age-specific death rate is defined, conventionally as the number of deaths of persons of a given age during a year, per 1000 of the midyear population at that age. Age is the most important variable in the analysis of mortality, and most tabulations of deaths require cross-classification with age if they are to be useful (Shryock and Siegel, 1980, p 397). The crude death rate is influenced by the age structure of the population, and is not a good index for the comparison of mortality levels. For example, the crude death rate in Sweden in 1980 was 11 per thousand, compared with 3.6 per thousand in Kuwait. This does not, however, mean that mortality in Kuwait is, in any real sense, lower than in Sweden (Kohli and Al-Omaim, 1986, p 92).

The data in Table 5.2 and Figure 5.1 show age-specific death rates for the male, female, and total population in the West Bank villages as revealed by the 1987 survey. The curve of mortality is J-shaped with high death rates for the first year of life and for the age group 1-4. The death rate declines rapidly during the early years of life and reaches a low point between the ages 15-29 years, after this age group the death rates rise again. These variations are due to the fact that the incidence of death is not uniform throughout all ages. Infants are subject to a greater risk of death than

children of older ages, and similarly the elderly are subject to greater risk of death than the young.

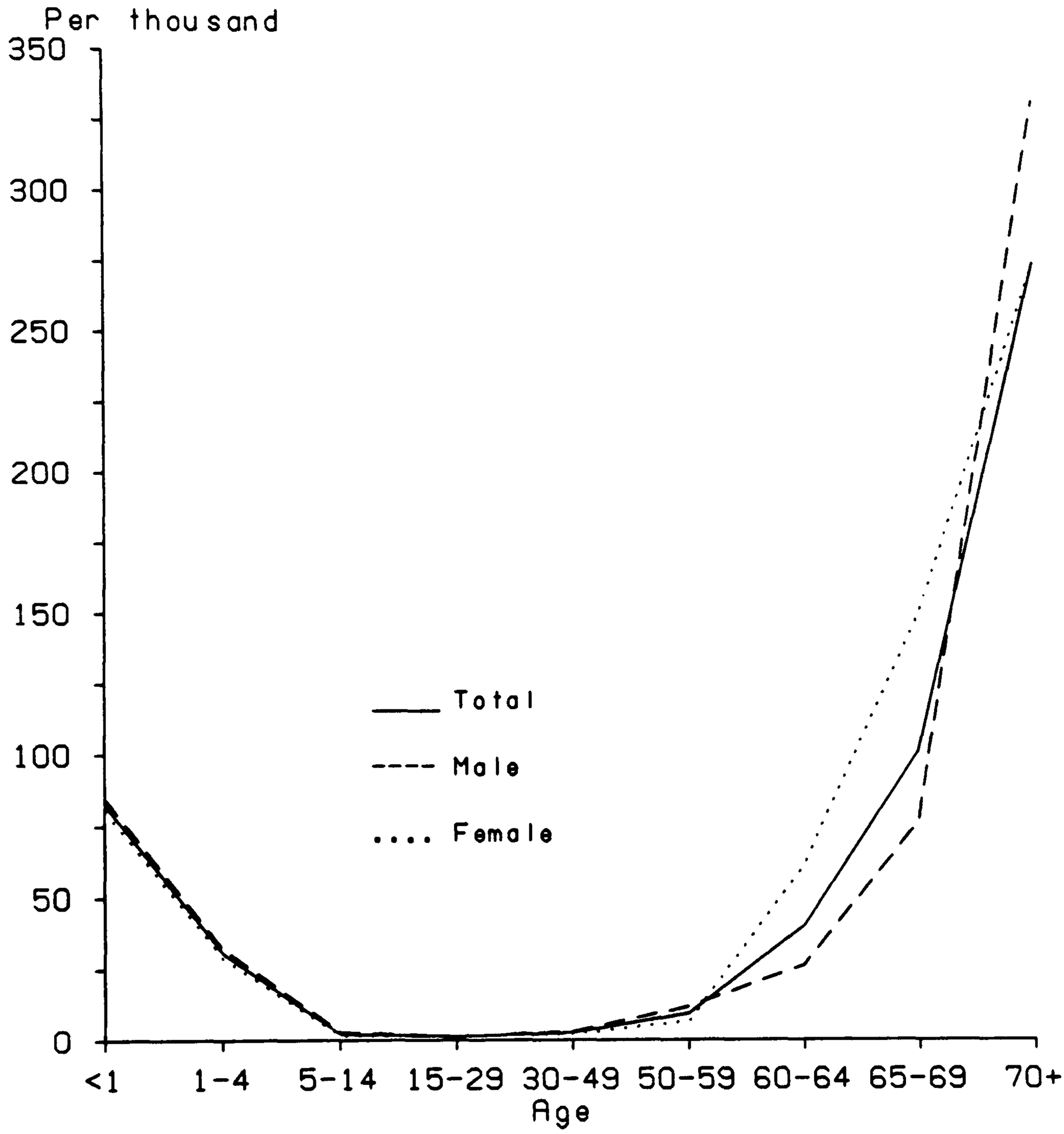
Overall, mortality among males appears to be some 20 per cent higher than among females; while the crude death rate for the male population was 16.77 per thousand, for females it was 13.97. Age-specific death rates are also different for the two sexes. Rates were higher among males until age group 50-59, whereafter they were higher among females (Table 5.2). This is due to the fact that the male population in the West Bank are more liabel to die than the female population in the young ages, as a result of the accident, and may be to the difference of the age structure to the male and female population in the sample.

5.3 Infant mortality rate

The infant mortality rate is defined as the number of infant (less than one years of age) deaths per 1000 live births during the year. The conventional infant mortality rate gives a sufficiently close approximation to the chance of dying between birth and attainment of the first birthday for the year to which the basic data on death relate. It has been widely used as an indicator of the health condition of a community and, hence, of its level of living (Shryock and Siegel, 1980, p 411). It is clear from the data in Table 5.2 that infant deaths form a major element in total mortality; not until age group 65-69 does the age-specific rate exceed that of the first year of life.

A variety of estimates have been made of infant mortality among the West Bank population as a whole. Hill (1982), for example, suggests a rate of 153 per thousand in 1961 and 152 in 1967, falling to 132 in 1974. Israeli authorities suggest rates of about 150 per thousand prior to 1967, 100 in the mid-1970s and 70 in the early 1980s. Reported infant mortality rates (State of Israel, Ministry of Health, 1985, p 3), however, are much lower: 33.6 in 1968, 30.7 in 1974, 28.3 in 1980 and

Figure 5.1 Age-specific death rates in the West Bank villages, 1987 by sex



Source: The 1987 sample survey

Table 5.2
Age-specific death rates in the West Bank villages, 1987
Per thousand

Age group	Male	Female	Total
< 1	84.75	80.36	82.61
1-4	32.13	28.93	30.55
5-14	2.76	1.48	2.14
15-29	1.26	1.22	1.24
30-49	2.99	2.11	2.47
50-59	11.83	6.58	9.35
60-64	26.32	61.23	40.00
65-69	76.92	150.00	101.70
70 +	245.61	333.33	275.86
Total	16.77	13.97	15.37

Source: The 1987 sample survey.

29.4 in 1983. Benvenisti (1987) estimated the recorded infant mortality rate to be less than 30 per thousand in the West Bank and below 40 per thousand in the Gaza Strip. Clearly, a high proportion of infant deaths are not reported. By comparison, Hill (1983) estimated infant mortality among the Arab population of Israel at 39.5 per thousand in 1975 and 27.4 in 1978.

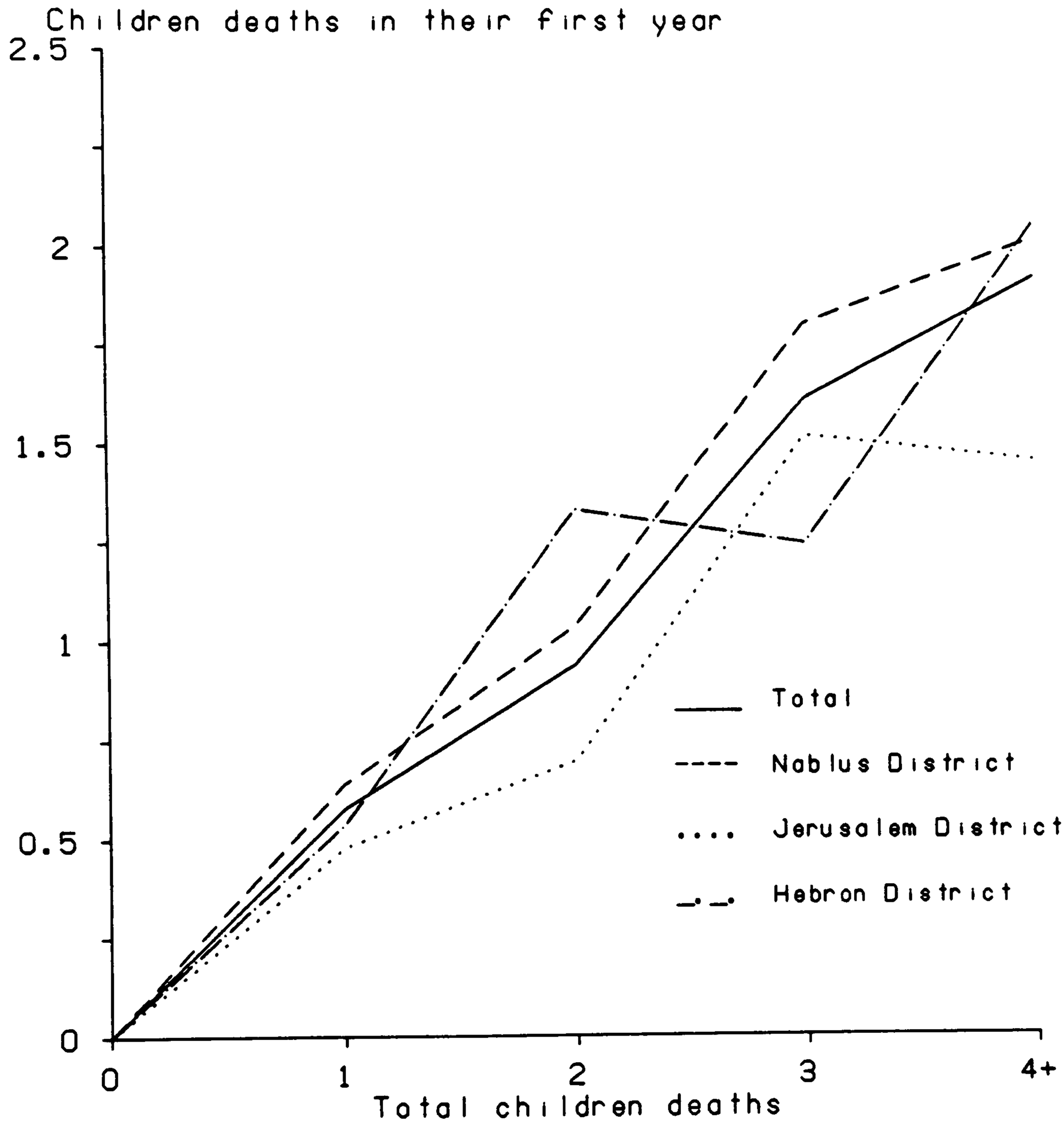
According to the 1987 sample survey, the age-specific mortality rate for the first year of life, which provides a close approximation to the true infant mortality rate, in the West Bank villages was 82.61 per thousand. The rate differs from one District to another according to the socio-economic condition of the population; it was 78.57 per thousand in the villages in the Nablus District, 71.43 in the Jerusalem District, and 117.65 per thousand in the Hebron District. All these figures are a good deal higher than those given in the Israeli estimates. Infant mortality also differs according to the sex of the infant; it was 84.75 per thousand males aged 0-1, whereas amongst girls it was 80.36 per thousand females.

There is a positive correlation (R = +0.6637) between the number of children who die in their first year and the total number of children who die to ever-married women in the West Bank villages (Table, 5.3 and Figure 5.2). For example, the average number of children who die in their first year per ever-married woman having only one dead child in the West Bank villages is 0.58 child, this number rises to 1.93 children dying in their first year if the women has four and more dead children. This shows that about half of the children who die to ever-married women in the West Bank villages die in their first year.

5.4 Some indirect estimates of infant and childhood mortality

The techniques used here for estimating infant and childhood mortality are based on the 1987 sample survey questions about the total number of children ever-born to women, and the number of children still alive, or dead, classified by the

Figure 5.2 Average number of deaths of children aged 0-1 by total number of deaths to children in the West Bank villages 1987, by District



Source: The 1987 sample survey

Table 5.3
Number of deaths to children in their first year per ever-married woman, according to the number of children dead in the West Bank villages 1987 by District

Total No. of children dead	Nablus District			Jerusalem District			Hebron District			Total		
	CDFY	Standard deviation	No. of cases	CDFY	Standard deviation	No. of cases	CDFY	Standard deviation	No. of cases	CDFY	Standard deviation	No. of cases
0	0	0	210	0	0	88	0	0	43	0	0	341
1	0.6413	0.5258	92	0.4792	0.5049	48	0.5385	0.5084	26	0.5783	0.5192	166
2	1.0400	1.0093	50	0.7000	0.8367	30	1.3333	1.6330	6	0.9419	1.0100	86
3	1.8077	1.1321	26	1.5238	1.1233	21	1.2500	1.1650	8	1.6182	1.1302	55
4 +	2.0250	1.6562	40	1.4615	1.4500	13	2.0625	1.8786	16	1.9275	1.6656	69

CDFY: Children dying in their first year.

Source: The 1987 sample survey.

age of the mother. The Brass, Sullivan, and Trussell methods for estimating the level of infant and childhood mortality were used.

Brass' technique estimated infant and childhood mortality from the proportion of dead children (D_i) among the children ever-born to women in successive five year age groups. Brass developed a set of multiplying factors being selected according to the value of (P_1/P_2) which can be used to determine the factors for the first three age group, and (m) for the later ones (Brass and Coale, 1968. Brass, 1975). Subsequent studies have indicated that the single indicator (P_2/P_3) is an adequate choice of a location parameter since (P_1) is sensitive to age reporting errors at the start of childbearing and also to fluctuations in sample size due to the relatively small number of births to women aged 15-19 years old (Brass, 1978, p 123).

Sullivan developed a model by employing regression analysis with data generated from empirically observed fertility and mortality schedules (Sullivan, 1972).

Trussell estimated a third set of multipliers by the same means, but using data generated from the model fertility schedules developed by Coale and Trussell (Trussell, 1975. United Nations, 1983).

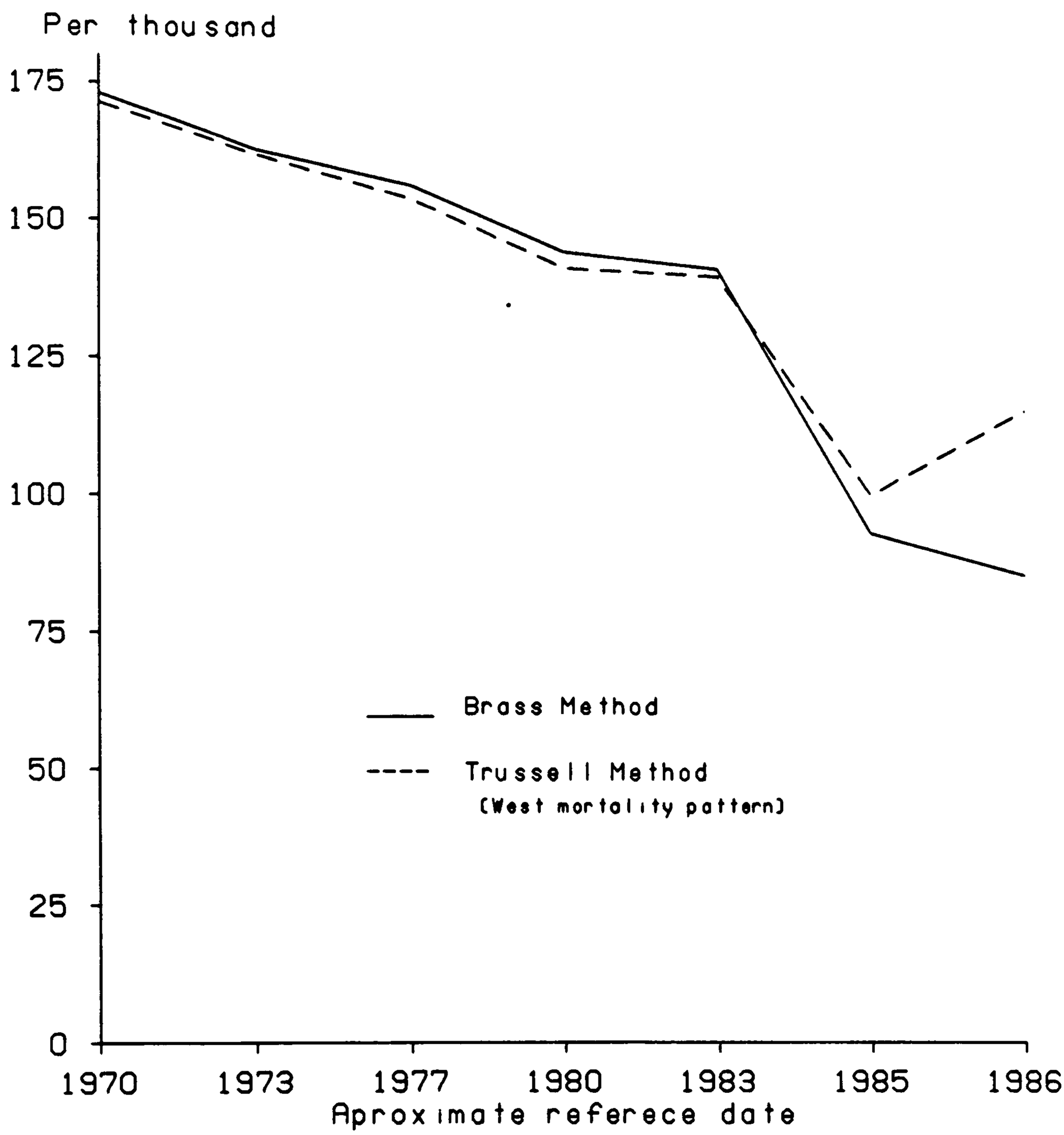
The result of Brass, Sullivan's, and Trussell's methods (Tables 5.4, 5.5, 5.6 and Figure 5.3) were nearly equal; the (q_2) in Brass method was 0.09324, 0.09580 in Sullivan's method, and 0.120025 in Trussell's method. In (q_3 & q_5) on the other hand the value of (q_x) in Brass' method was higher than in Sullivan's or Trussell's.

The figures from these methods (Tables 5.4, 5.5, 5.6 and Figure 5.3) show that high infant and childhood mortality rates in the West Bank villages are well above those given in the estimates made by the Israeli authorities.

5.5 The life table

Life tables are in essence one form of combining mortality rates of a pop-

Figure 5.3 Estimates of childhood mortality in the West Bank villages, 1987



Source: The 1987 sample survey

Table 5.4
Estimation of childhood mortality in the West Bank villages, 1987
(Brass Method)

Age group of women	Index	Average CEB per woman	Average CD per woman	Proportion of children dead per woman	Multiplying factor	Age	Proportion dead by age *(x)*	Reference period before survey	Approximate reference date
		P_i		D_i	K_i	x	$({}_xq_o)$		
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)
15-19	1	0.06918	0.00629	0.09092	0.94298	1	0.08574	0.61	1986.92
20-24	2	0.70139	0.06597	0.09406	0.99126	2	0.09324	2.01	1985.52
25-29	3	1.34562	0.19355	0.14384	0.98289	3	0.14138	4.33	1983.20
30-34	4	4.05738	0.59016	0.14545	0.99228	5	0.14433	7.20	1980.33
35-39	5	5.38614	0.84158	0.15625	1.00059	10	0.15634	10.37	1977.16
40-44	6	6.86400	1.14400	0.16667	0.97620	15	0.16270	13.57	1973.96
45-49	7	8.26984	1.46825	0.17754	0.97420	20	0.17296	16.56	1970.97

P_2/P_3=0.52124

CEB: Children ever-born. CD: Children dead.

The approximate date of the survey is 1987.53

Source: The 1987 sample survey.

Table 5.5
Estimation of childhood mortality in the West Bank villages, 1987
(Sullivan's Method)

Age group of women (1)	Average CEB per woman P_i (2)	Average CD per woman (3)	Proportion of children dead D_i (4)	A-B (P2/p3) (5)	Age (x) (6)	Proportion dead by age (x) $({}_xq_o)$ (7)
20-24	0.70139	0.06597	0.09406	1.01853	2	0.09580
25-29	1.34562	0.19355	0.14384	0.96150	3	0.13830
30-34	4.05738	0.59016	0.14545	0.95799	5	0.13934

P_2/P_3=0.52124

CEB: Children ever-born. CD: Children dead.

Source: The 1987 sample survey.

Table 5.6
Estimation of childhood mortality in the West Bank villages, 1987
(Trussell Method)

Age group of women	Index	Average CEB per woman	Average CD per woman	Proportion of children dead per woman	Multiplying factor	Age	Proportion dead by age(x)	Reference period before survey	Approximate reference date
		P_i		D_i	K_i	x.	$({}_xq_o)$		
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)
15-19	1	0.06918	0.00629	0.09092	1.27394	1	0.11583	0.61	1986.92
20-24	2	0.70139	0.06597	0.09406	1.06578	2	0.10025	2.01	1985.52
25-29	3	1.34562	0.19355	0.14384	0.97362	3	0.14005	4.33	1983.20
30-34	4	4.05738	0.59016	0.14545	0.97242	5	0.14144	7.20	1980.33
35-39	5	5.38614	0.84158	0.15625	0.98482	10	0.15388	10.37	1977.16
40-44	6	6.86400	1.14400	0.16667	0.97080	15	0.16180	13.57	1973.96
45-49	7	8.26984	1.46825	0.17754	0.96419	20	0.17118	16.56	1970.97

CEB: Children ever-born. CD: Children dead.

The multiplier have been calculated according to Trussell's variation (west mortality pattern).

The approximate date of the survey is 1987.53

Source: The 1987 sample survey.

ulation at different ages into a single statistical model. They are principally used to measure the level of mortality of the population involved. One of their main advantages over other methods of measuring mortality is that they do not reflect the effects of the age distribution of an actual population, and do not require the adoption of a standard population for acceptable comparisons of levels of mortality in different populations. Another is that a life table readily permits making mortality allowance for age cohorts, eliminating the burdensome task of compiling death statistics for age cohorts from annual death statistics by age, even when the latter are available (Shryock and Siegel, 1980, p 429).

Several methods have been designed for preparing abridged life tables by short-cut methods. Most of these methods require the same amount and type of data. The main differences relate to the way the observed death rates are converted into the death probability functions of the life table and to the way the stationary population is derived (Shryock and Siegel, 1980, p 443). I chose to use Grevill's method here.

The Israeli authorities estimated life expectancy in the West Bank and Gaza Strip at about 48 years in 1967, 55 years in the mid 1970's, and 62 years in the early 1980's (State of Israel, Ministry of Health, 1986, p10). Benvenisti (1986) estimated that life expectancy was likely to range between 60 and 65 years.

The data in Tables 5.7, 5.8 and Figures 5.4, 5.5 show that life expectancy at birth for the female population in the West Bank villages according to the 1987 sample survey is 53.27 years, and 52.84 years for the male population. Remaining life expectancy rises to 60.23 years for males and 59.64 years for females in the age group 5-14 years old; after this age group life expectancy falls. The life expectancy of the female population is only higher than that of the male population at the ages of less than one years old, and 1-4 years old. In the age group 5-14 years old and over the life expectancy of the male population is higher than that of the female population.

This is because the community cares more for the male population than it does for the female population. It is generally the case, in most countries that at an early age female life expectancy is higher than male life expectancy.

5.6 Average number of child deaths (per ever-married woman)

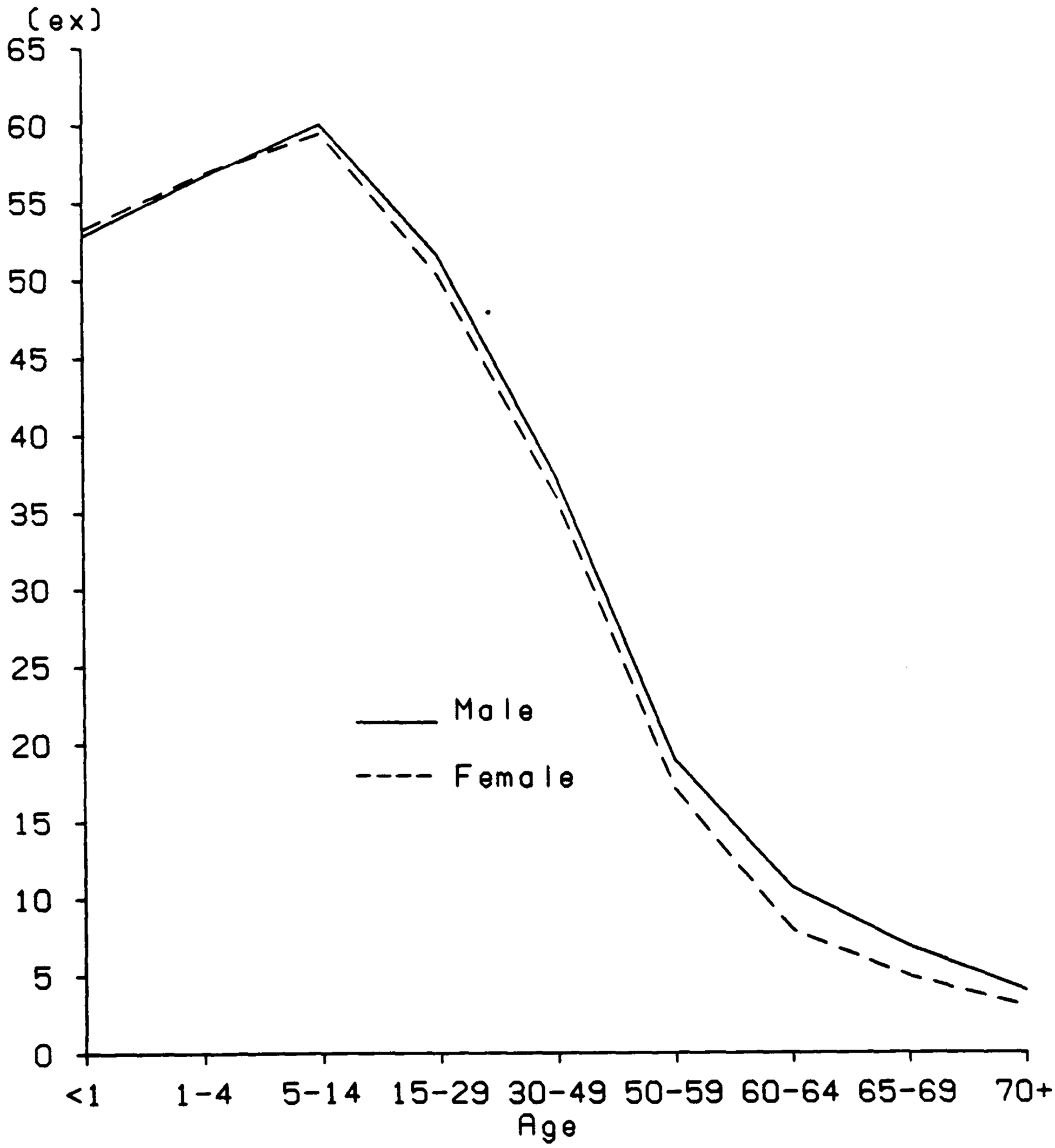
The number of children who die to women is related to the number of children they bear, and to their demographic and socio-economic characteristics.

Age: There is a positive correlation (R = +0.3334) between the age of the mother and the number of children dead to her (Table 5.9 and Figure 5.6); the older the mother, the more children she loses, since the probability of death grows with the number of children ever-born. It is also the case that older women have lost more children, due to the fact that when they were young medical facilities in the West Bank were very inadequate, and most of the older women are illiterate. The data in Table 5.9 and Figure 5.6 show that in all the villages in the West Bank Districts, the average number of children dead to ever-married woman increased as the mother grew older. For example; the average number of children dead per ever-married woman in the West Bank villages aged 15-19 years old is 0.12, this figure rises to 1.50 among women aged 45-49 years, and to 1.80 children among women aged 50 years and over.

There is also a positive correlation (R = +0.2217) between the age of the husband, and the number of children dead to him. The average number of children dead to ever-married woman in the West Bank villages with a husband aged 20-24 years is 0.23, this figure rises to 1.58 children among women whose husbands are aged 50 years old and over.

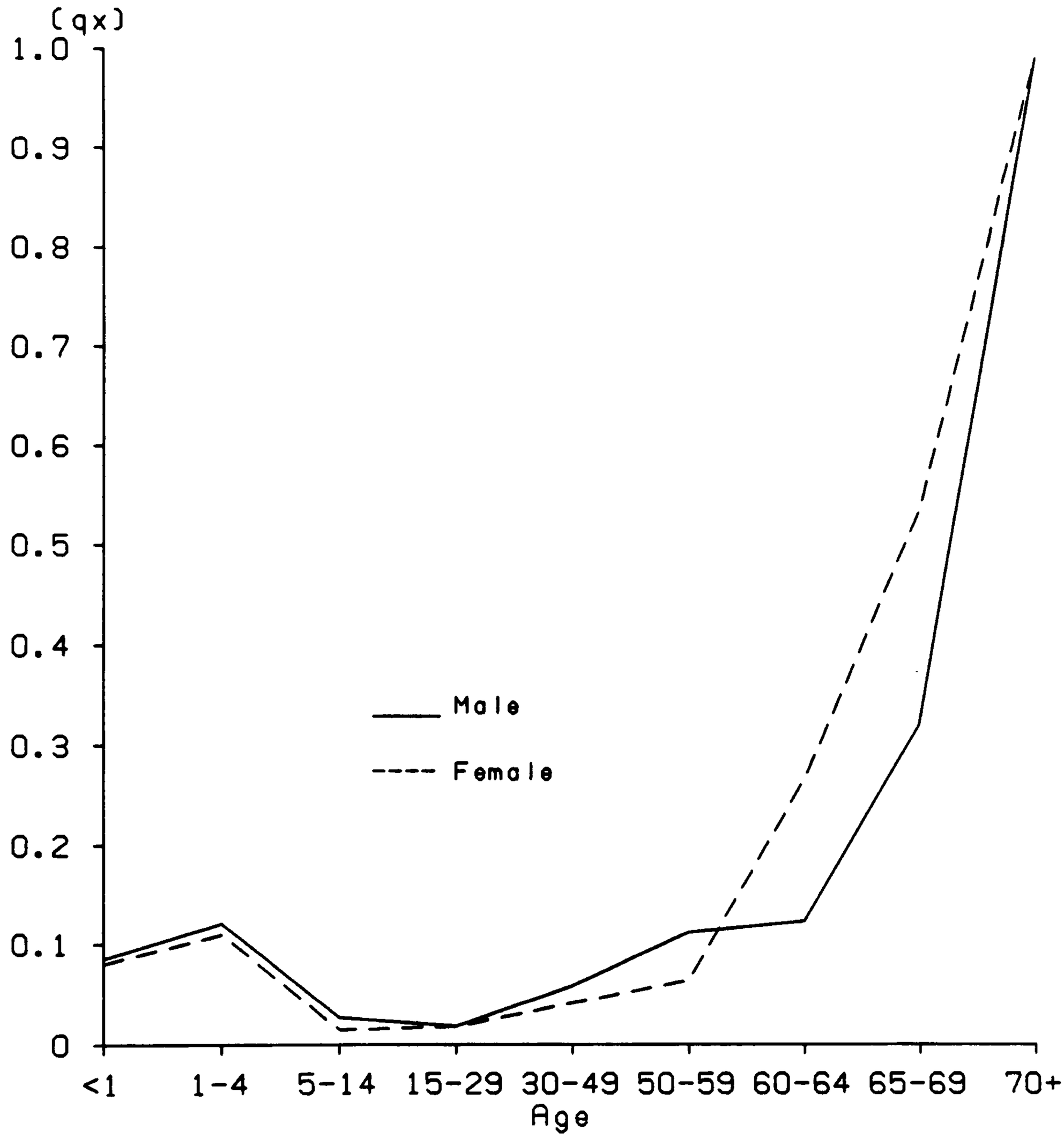
Duration of marriage: There is a significant relationship between the number of children dead to ever-married women and the duration of their marriage (R = +0.3846). The figures in Table 5.10 and Figure 5.7 show that the average number of children dead to women whose duration of marriage is less than five years is 0.20,

Figure 5:4 The value of (ex) from the life tables in the West Bank villages 1987, by sex



Source: The 1987 sample survey

Figure 5:5 The value of (qx) from the life tables in the West Bank villages 1987, by Sex



Source: The 1987 sample survey

Table 5.7
Abridged life table for male population in the West Bank villages, 1987
by Greville's Method

Age group (1)	${}_nm_x$ (2)	1/2 + n/12 ((2)-(0.09)) (3)	1/n + ((2)(3)) (4)	${}_nq_x$ (5)	${}_nd_x$ (6)	l_x (7)	L_x (8)	T_x (9)	${}^0e_x$ (10)
< 1	0.08475	(x)	(x)	0.08475	8475	100000	94322	5284015	52.84015
1-4	0.03213	0.48071	0.26545	0.12104	11078	91525	344787	5189693	56.70246
5-14	0.00276	0.42730	0.10118	0.02728	2195	80447	795290	4844906	60.22482
15-29	0.00126	0.38908	0.06716	0.01876	1468	78252	1165079	4049616	51.75096
30-49	0.00299	0.35498	0.05106	0.05856	4497	76784	1504013	2884537	37.56690
50-59	0.01183	0.43486	0.10514	0.11252	8134	72287	687574	1380524	19.09782
60-64	0.02632	0.47347	0.21246	0.12388	7947	64153	301938	692950	10.80152
65-69	0.07692	0.49455	0.23804	0.32314	18162	56206	236116	391012	6.95677
70 +	0.24561	(x)	(x)	1.00000	38044	38044	154896	154896	4.07150

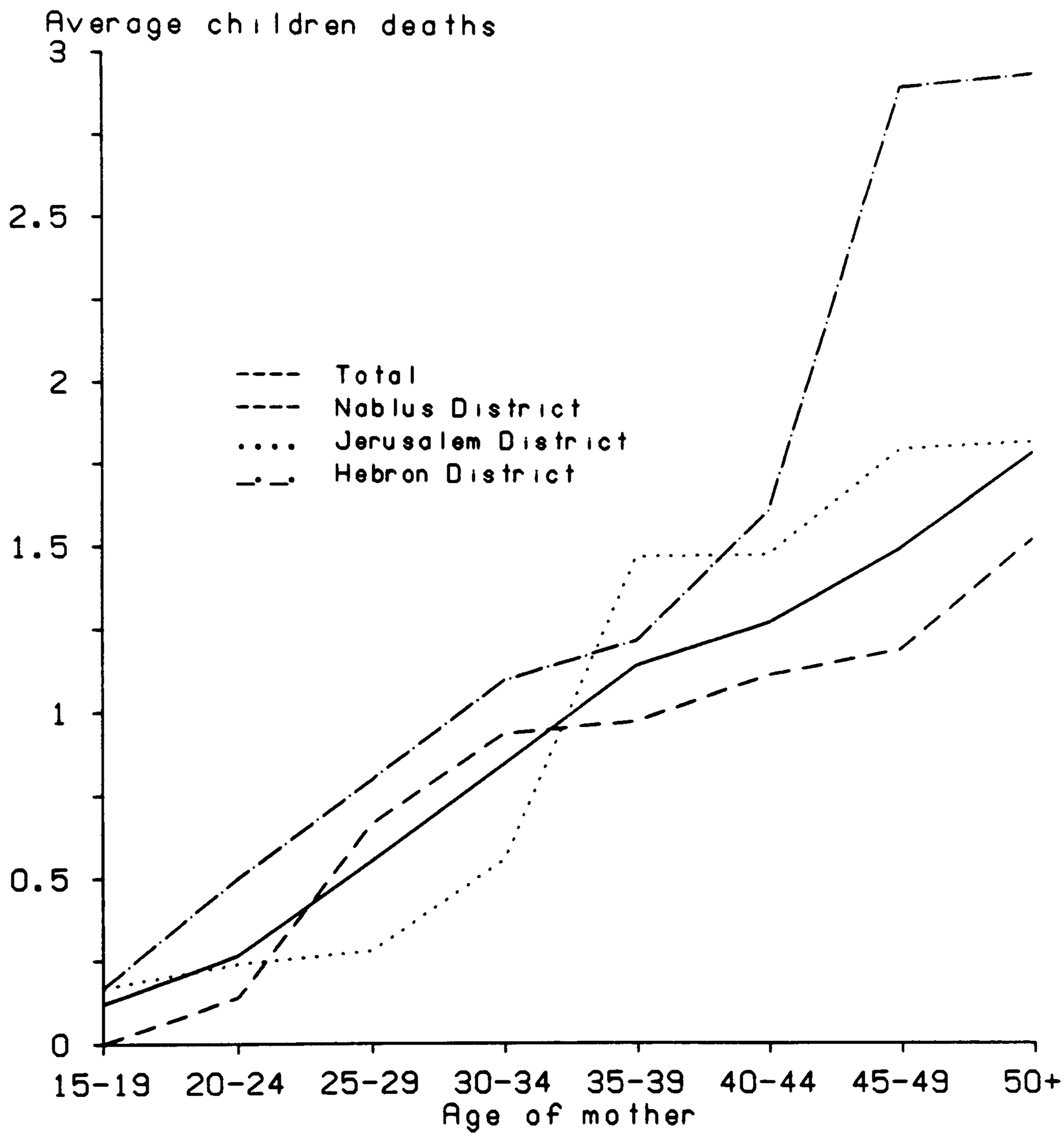
Source: The 1987 sample survey.

Table 5.8
Abridged life table for female population in the West Bank villages, 1987
by Greville's Method

Age group (1)	${}_nm_x$ (2)	1/2 + n/12 ((2)-(0.09)) (3)	1/n + ((2)(3)) (4)	${}_nq_x$ (5)	${}_nd_x$ (6)	l_x (7)	L_x (8)	T_x (9)	${}^0e_x$ (10)
< 1	0.08036	(x)	(x)	0.08036	8036	100000	94616	5326746	53.26746
1-4	0.02893	0.47964	0.26388	0.10963	10082	91964	348496	5232130	56.89324
5-14	0.00148	0.42623	0.10063	0.01471	1205	81882	814189	4883634	59.64234
15-29	0.00122	0.38903	0.06714	0.01817	1466	80677	1201639	4069445	50.44120
30-49	0.00211	0.35352	0.05075	0.04158	3294	79211	1561137	2867806	36.20464
50-59	0.00658	0.43048	0.10283	0.06399	4858	75917	738298	1306669	17.21181
60-64	0.06123	0.48801	0.22988	0.26636	18927	71059	309113	568371	7.99858
65-69	0.15000	0.52500	0.27875	0.53812	28053	52132	187020	259258	4.97311
70 +	0.33333	(x)	(x)	1.00000	24079	24079	72238	72238	3.00004

Source: The 1987 sample survey.

Figure 5.6 Average number of deaths of children by age of mother in the West Bank villages 1987, by District



Source: The 1987 sample survey

Table 5.9
Average children dead per ever-married woman in the West Bank villages 1987, by age of mother

Age of mother	Nablus District			Jerusalem District			Hebron District			Total		
	CD	Standard deviation	No. of cases	CD	Standard deviation	No. of cases	CD	Standard deviation	No. of cases	CD	Standard deviation	No. of cases
15-19	0	0	5	0.1667	0.4082	6	0.1667	0.4082	6	0.1176	0.3321	17
20-24	0.1379	0.3509	29	0.2400	0.4359	25	0.5000	0.8575	18	0.2639	0.5565	72
25-29	0.6667	0.8983	39	0.2800	0.6137	25	0.8000	1.5492	10	0.5541	0.9384	74
30-34	0.9400	1.2521	50	0.5600	0.6506	25	1.1000	0.9944	10	0.8471	1.0857	85
35-39	0.9778	1.3054	45	1.4762	1.1233	21	1.2222	1.2019	9	1.1467	1.2487	75
40-44	1.1178	1.6164	68	1.4839	1.2615	31	1.6154	2.1424	13	1.2768	1.5951	112
45-49	1.1975	1.5035	81	1.8065	1.3018	31	2.9091	3.2390	11	1.5041	1.7385	123
50 +	1.5347	1.6707	101	1.8333	1.7647	36	2.9545	2.6811	22	1.7987	1.9086	159

CD: Children dead.

Source: The 1987 sample survey.

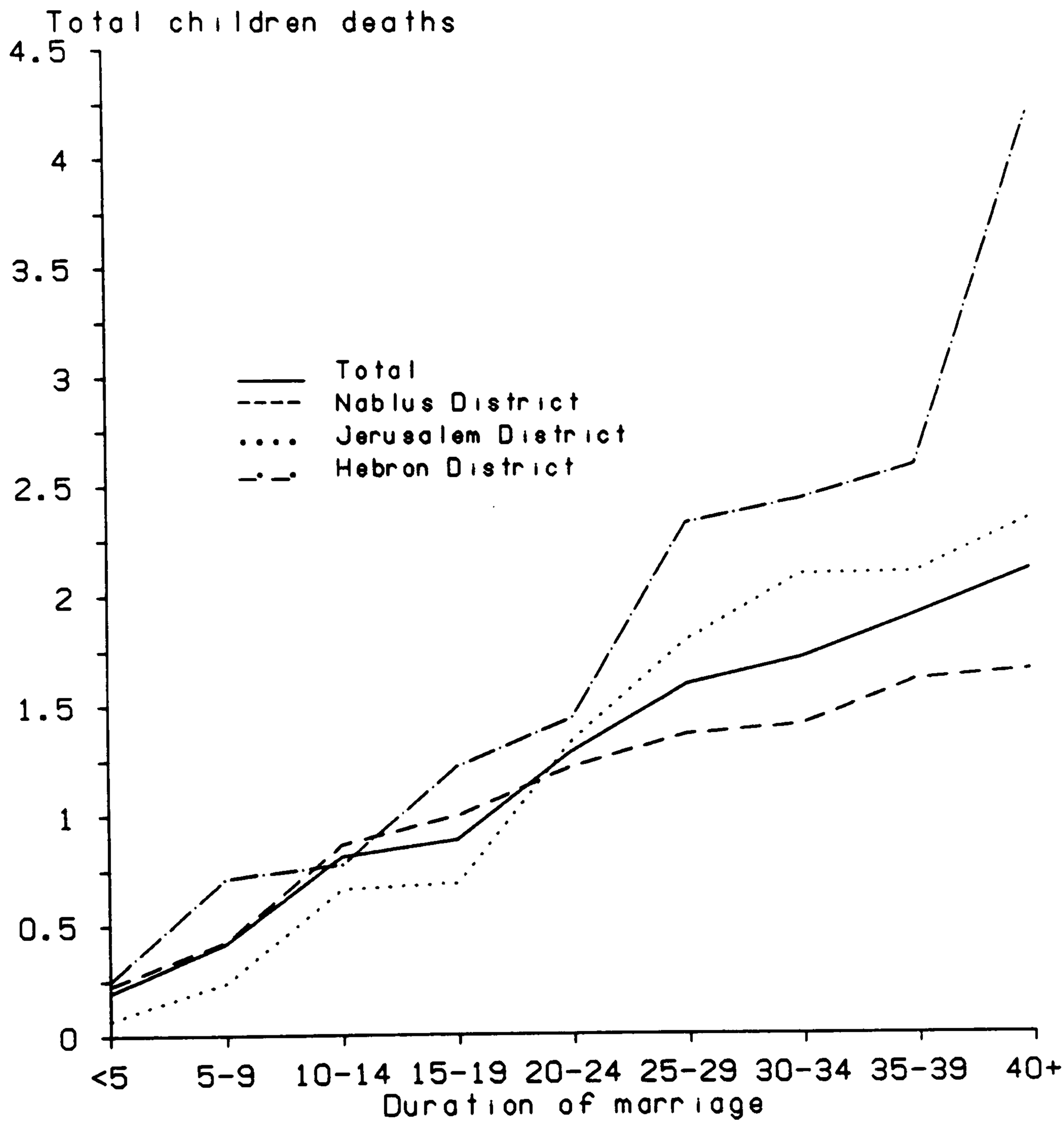
whereas the figure for women whose duration of marriage is 40 years and over is 2.20 children. This is because those women who have been married for long periods have a greater number of children ever-born, and consequently the probability of child death increases.

Previous residence: Couples who previously lived in the villages lost more children than the couples who previously lived in refugee camps or the cities. For example, the average number of children dead to the ever-married woman who previously lived in the villages is 1.23, compared with 0.86 for women who previously lived in the refugee camps, and 0.27 for those who previously lived in the cities. If the husband previously lived in the villages the figure is 1.19 children, and 0.50 if he previously lived in the refugee camps or cities. This variation is due to variations in the number of children ever-born to each women, and the fact that women who previously lived in the cities may be more educated, and therefore, have more skill in child care than women from other areas.

Level of education: There is a negative correlation (R = -0.3292) between the level of education of the mother and the number of children dead to her. The data in Tables 5.11, 5.12 and Figure 5.8 show that women who are more educated lose fewer children than women who have had no education. Women who are highly educated tend to marry late and have small families which they are often better at looking after than those women who are uneducated. For example, the average number of children dead to illiterate women in the West Bank villages (per ever-married woman) is 1.59, 0.20 to the women with secondary level of education, and 0.08 to women with university level of education.

The husband's level of education also affects the number of children dead to women (R = -0.2781). The figures in Table 5.13 and Figure 5.8 show that, while the average number of children dead to ever-married woman in the West Bank villages

Figure 5.7 Average number of deaths of children by duration of marriage in the West Bank villages 1987, by District



Source: The 1987 sample survey

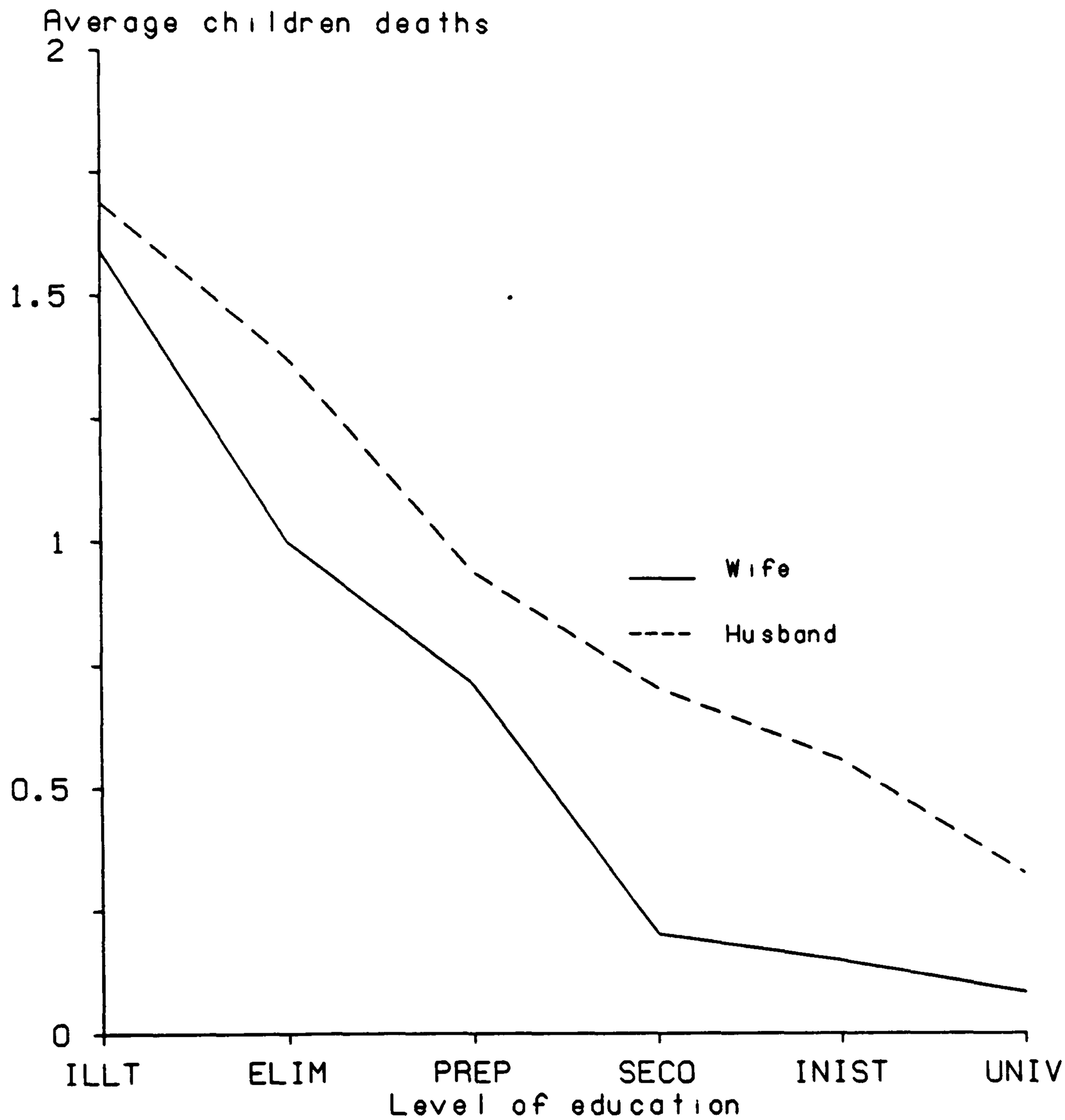
Table 5.10
Average children dead per ever-married woman in the West Bank villages 1987, by duration of marriage

Duration of marriage	Nablus District			Jerusalem District			Hebron District			Total		
	CD	Standard deviation	No. of cases	CD	Standard deviation	No. of cases	CD	Standard deviation	No. of cases	CD	Standard deviation	No. of cases
< 5	0.2286	0.4260	35	0.0714	0.2673	14	0.2500	0.4523	12	0.1967	0.4008	61
5-9	0.4286	0.6670	49	0.2400	0.4359	25	0.7143	1.0690	14	0.4205	0.7066	88
10-14	0.8684	1.3401	76	0.6667	0.8165	24	0.7778	0.8085	18	0.8136	1.1763	118
15-19	1.0000	1.2759	44	0.6923	0.9502	39	1.2222	1.9221	9	0.8913	1.2266	92
20-24	1.2222	1.6499	45	1.3429	1.2353	35	1.4444	1.8105	9	1.2921	1.5015	89
25-29	1.3696	1.7302	46	1.8000	1.2397	20	2.3333	3.1225	9	1.6000	1.8380	75
30-34	1.4130	1.5140	46	2.1000	1.3338	20	2.4444	2.9627	9	1.7200	1.7208	75
35-39	1.6207	1.3473	29	2.1111	2.0883	9	2.6000	2.2211	10	1.9167	1.7115	48
40 +	1.6667	1.8257	48	2.3571	1.6458	14	4.2222	2.8186	9	2.1268	2.0903	71

CD: Children dead.

Source: The 1987 sample survey.

Figure 5.8 Average number of deaths of children by level of education in the West Bank villages, 1987



Source: The 1987 sample survey

Table 5.11
Average Children dead per ever-married woman in the West Bank villages 1987, by educational Level, and age of mother

Age group		Illiterate	Elementary	Preparatory	Secondary	Institute	University
	CD	0	0	0.1667	0.2500	0	0
15-19	STD	0	0	0.4082	0.5000	0	0
	No. of cases	1	6	6	4	0	0
	CD	0.3000	0.5714	0.2857	0.1000	0	0
20-24	STD	0.4830	0.5816	0.5606	0.3078	0	0
	No. of cases	10	14	21	20	3	4
	CD	1.1429	0.8235	0.3846	0.2222	0.2222	0
25-29	STD	1.3506	0.9510	0.8697	0.5483	0.4410	0
	No. of cases	14	17	13	18	9	3
	CD	1.3000	1.1500	0.5333	0.1538	0	0
30-34	STD	0.14420	0.7452	0.6399	0.3755	0	0
	No. of cases	30	20	15	13	5	2
	CD	1.4688	0.9130	1.2727	0.6000	0	1.0000
35-39	STD	1.5024	1.0835	0.9045	0.5477	0	0
	No. of cases	32	23	11	5	3	1
	CD	1.5781	0.9231	1.7000	0	0.2000	0
40-44	STD	1.6016	1.0168	2.7101	0	0.4472	0
	No. of cases	64	26	10	6	5	1
	CD	1.5833	1.3333	2.0000	0.6667	0.5000	0
45-49	STD	1.8391	1.2834	2.0000	1.1547	0.7071	0
	No. of cases	96	18	3	3	2	1
	CD	1.8429	1.5556	0	0	0	0
50 +	STD	1.9127	1.9166	0	0	0	0
	No. of cases	140	18	1	0	0	0
	CD	1.5917	1.0000	0.7125	0.2029	0.1481	0.833
Total	STD	1.7495	1.730	1.2847	0.4722	0.3620	0.2887
	No. of cases	387	142	80	69	27	12

CD: Children dead. STD: Standard deviation.

Source: The 1987 sample survey.

Table 5.12
Average children dead per ever-married woman in the West Bank villages 1987, by wife's level of education

Level of education	Nablus District			Jerusalem District			Hebron District			Total		
	CD	Standard deviation	No. of cases	CD	Standard deviation	No. of cases	CD	Standard deviation	No. of cases	CD	Standard deviation	No. of cases
Illiterate	1.3846	1.5623	247	1.7342	1.4474	79	2.2459	2.5143	61	1.5917	1.7495	387
Elementary	0.8500	1.1035	80	1.5789	1.3076	38	0.5833	0.8297	24	1.0000	1.1730	142
Preparatory	0.8158	1.6580	38	0.5588	0.8236	34	0.8750	0.8345	8	0.7125	1.2847	80
Secondary	0.1667	0.4611	30	0.2571	0.5054	35	0	0	4	0.2029	0.4722	69
Institute	0.1176	0.3321	17	0.2222	0.4410	9	0	0	1	0.1481	0.3620	27
University	0.1667	0.4082	6	0	0	5	0	0	1	0.0833	0.2887	12

CD: Children dead.

Source: The 1987 sample survey.

with illiterate husbands is 1.69, this drops to 0.71 if the husband has had secondary level education, and 0.33 if he has had university level education.

At all educational levels the number of children dead to the husband is greater than to the wife. This means that the women's level of education affects number of children who die far more than the husband's level of education. This is because, in most cases the husband marries a women whose level of education is either equal to or less than his own.

Religion: The average number of children dead to ever-married Moslem woman in the West Bank villages is 1.70, whereas the figure among Christian women is 0.63. This is due to the fact that the number of children ever-born to the Moslem women is higher than that to the Christian women.

Children ever-born: Women who have a high number of children ever-born lose more children. The figures in Table 5.14 and Figure 5.9 show that ever-married women in the West Bank villages with one child ever-born have 0.16 child dead; this number rises to 2.47 to women who have ten or more children ever-born. Thus there is a highly significant positive correlation (R = +0.5751) between the number of children dead and the number of children ever-born.

Place of birth of the babies: In the last few years the health authorities in the West Bank have placed restrictions on those working as midwives especially those who are illiterate. Anyone who now wishes to work as a midwife must first go on a training course run by local hospital, and clearly those who have some education are preferred. Thus in the West Bank in 1968 only 13.50 per cent of all births took place in hospital, this percentage rose to 30.06 per cent in 1975, 40.43 per cent in 1980, and 55.22 per cent in 1985 (Central Bureau of Statistics, 1969, 1976, 1981, and 1986). Of the 699 women in the 1987 survey 366 (52.36 per cent) usually had given birth to their children at home, 158 (22.60 per cent) in hospital, and 175 women (25.04 per

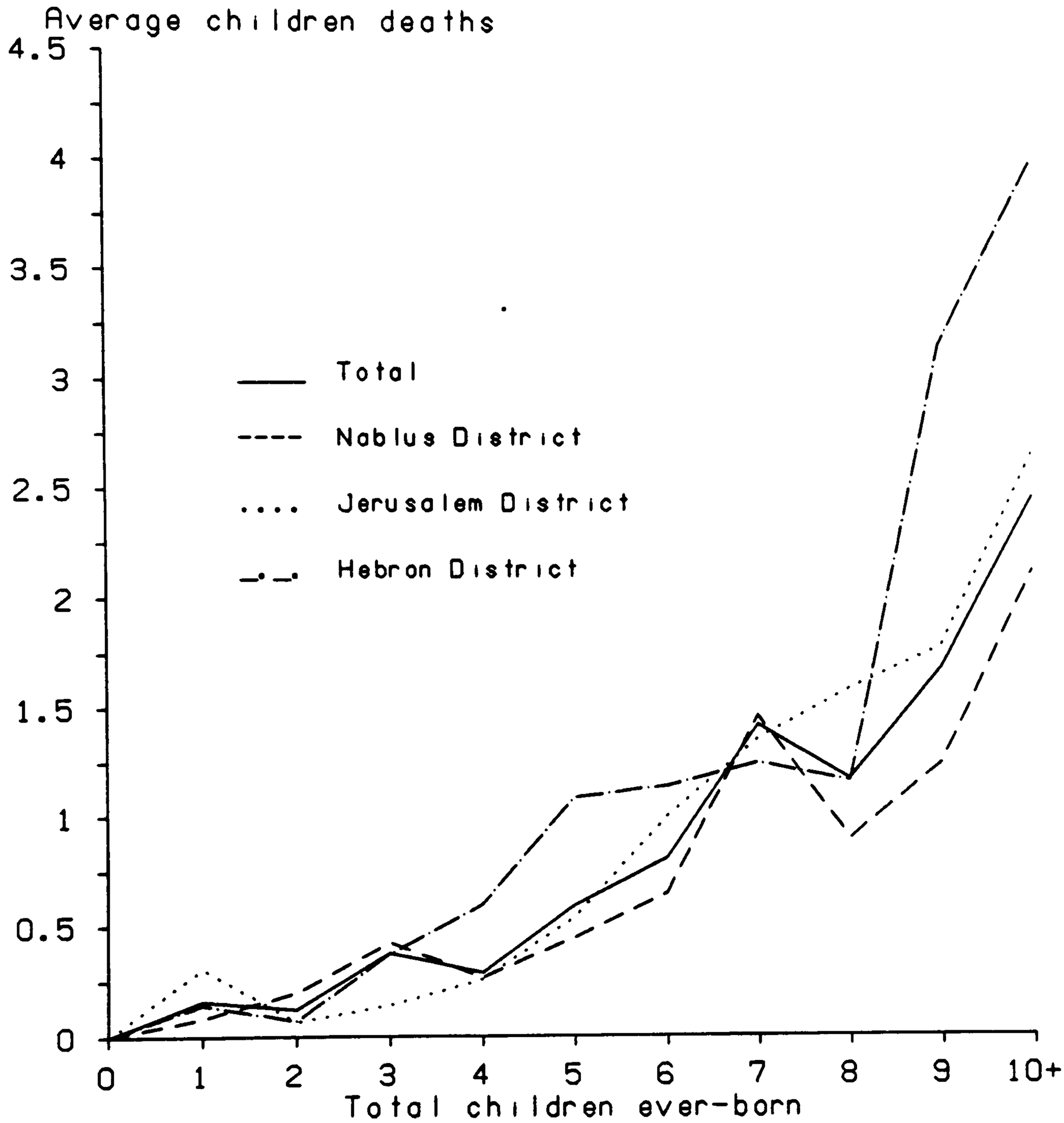
Table 5.13
Average children dead per ever-married woman in the West Bank villages 1987, by husband's level of education

Level of education	Nablus District			Jerusalem District			Hebron District			Total		
	CD	Standard deviation	No. of cases	CD	Standard deviation	No. of cases	CD	Standard deviation	No. of cases	CD	Standard deviation	No. of cases
Illiterate	1.3939	1.5767	99	2.0952	1.5461	21	2.1591	2.4866	44	1.6890	1.8849	164
Elementary	1.3000	1.5532	170	1.5306	1.4875	49	1.5152	2.2097	33	1.3730	1.6374	252
Preparatory	0.8070	1.2878	57	1.1400	1.2456	50	0.7273	0.7862	11	0.9407	1.2355	118
Secondary	0.7949	1.1738	39	0.6429	0.8503	42	0.5000	0.5774	4	0.7059	0.9979	85
Institute	0.3810	0.9207	21	1.0000	1.2472	10	0.3333	0.5774	3	0.5588	1.0207	34
University	0.1563	0.4479	32	0.5000	0.9623	28	0.5000	1.0000	4	0.3281	0.7571	64

CD: Children dead.

Source: The 1987 sample survey.

Figure 5.9 Average number of deaths of children by number of children ever-born in the West Bank villages 1987, by District



Source: The 1987 sample survey

Table 5.14
Average children dead per ever-married woman in the West Bank villages 1987, by number of children ever-born

No. of of CEB	Nablus District			Jerusalem District			Hebron District			Total		
	CD	Standard deviation	No. of cases	CD	Standard deviation	No. of cases	CD	Standard deviation	No. of cases	CD	Standard deviation	No. of cases
0	0	0	9	0	0	4	0	0	5	0	0	18
1	0.0833	0.2823	24	0.3077	0.4804	13	0.1429	0.3780	7	0.1591	0.3700	44
2	0.2000	0.4104	20	0.6057	0.2582	15	0.0714	0.2673	14	0.1224	0.3312	49
3	0.4286	0.6547	35	0.1429	0.3780	7	0.3750	0.5175	8	0.3800	0.6024	50
4	0.2667	0.6397	30	0.2593	0.5257	27	0.6000	0.5477	5	0.2903	0.5836	62
5	0.4483	0.6317	29	0.5417	0.7790	24	1.0909	1.2210	11	0.5938	0.8304	64
6	0.6500	1.1886	40	1.0000	1.2344	22	1.1429	0.6901	7	0.8116	1.1666	69
7	1.4706	1.5809	34	1.3636	1.1201	11	1.2500	1.2583	4	1.4286	1.4434	49
8	0.9024	1.1577	41	1.5926	1.2172	27	1.1667	1.1690	6	1.1757	1.2091	74
9	1.2500	1.3316	44	1.7857	1.0509	14	3.1667	2.7247	12	1.6857	1.7324	70
10 +	2.1339	1.7424	112	2.6667	1.3093	36	4.0000	2.5752	20	2.4702	1.8698	168

CD: Children dead.

Source: The 1987 sample survey.

cent) had given birth to some of their children at home and some in hospital; when it comes to their last child, 54.94 per cent (384 women) had given birth in hospital, a figure which is nearly equal to that for the West Bank as a whole.

Among women who usually gave birth at home, the number of children dead per ever-married woman was 1.51. This falls to 1.07 for women some of whose confinements were at home and some in hospital, and 0.48 for women who bore all their children in hospital. This variation is due to the fact that greater care is given to newborn babies in hospital, since it is at this time that the risk of death is highest.

Economic factors: For women who have not worked outside the home at all the average number of children dead (per ever-married woman in the West Bank villages) is 1.55; by contrast, the figure for women who have worked outside the home it is 1.07. The mother's occupation also affects the number of children dead to her; the average number of children dead to ever-married woman in the West Bank villages, who were housewives at the time of the survey is 1.22, in contrast, the figures are 1.18 to women working in agriculture, 0.50 to women working in commerce, 0.32 to women working in services, 0.25 to women working as professionals, and 0.20 to women engaged in clerical work, this is due to the fact that women working in professional and clerical work have a high level of education.

The occupation of the husband is also relevant; the average number of children dead to ever-married woman in the West Bank villages whose husband are in professional or administrative employment is 0.40, whereas for those with husbands working in agriculture the figure is 1.41. This is because most of the couples who work in agriculture are illiterate and have large numbers of children ever-born.

Child mortality also appears to be related to family income (R = -0.1467). For example, the average number of children dead per ever-married woman in the West Bank villages amongst families receiving less than 50 Jordan Dinars (<£100)

per month is 2.29, it is 0.33 amongst families receiving between 350-399 Jordan Dinars (£750-798), and 0.56 amongst families receiving over 500 Jordan Dinars (+£1000). This variation is associated with the number of children ever-born to each group, and with the fact that most of the families receiving a high monthly income are engaged in agriculture.

5.7 Socio-economic characteristics of deceased persons in the 1987 sample survey

Table 5.15 shows that a remarkably high proportion (46.84 per cent; 37 persons) of the deaths recorded by the sample survey were those of people below the age of marriage, a clear result of high rates of infant and child mortality. Married persons, most of them elderly, constituted 39.24 per cent (31 persons) 11.39 per cent (9 persons) recorded the loss of a spouse.

The figure in Table 5.16 shows that 43.04 per cent (34 persons) of the deceased recorded in the survey were below school age. 36.71 per cent (29 persons) were illiterate, reflecting the high level of illiteracy among the older part of the West Bank population.

The data in Table 5.17 show that 43.04 per cent (34 persons) were under working age, while 17.72 per cent (14 persons) were either pensioners or incapable of work, and 15.19 per cent (5 persons) were house-wives, and 17.72 per cent (14 persons) of deceased persons were employment; 85.71 per cent (12 per sons) in agriculture, and 14.29 per cent (2 persons) in commerce.

5.8 Causes of deaths

The 1987 sample survey provided somewhat inadequate data regarding cause of death (Table 5.18) among the West Bank village population. The great majority of respondents were unable to specify the medical condition which resulted

Table 5.15
Distribution of deceased persons in the 1987 sample survey, according to their marital status, by District

District	Under age of marriage		Single		Married		Widow		Total	
	No. of cases	%	No. of cases	%	No. of cases	%	No. of cases	%	No. of cases	%
Nablus	20	41.67	1	2.08	24	50.00	3	6.25	48	100.00
Jerusalem	9	47.37	1	5.26	5	26.32	4	21.05	19	100.00
Hebron	8	66.67	0	0	2	16.67	2	16.67	12	100.00
Total	37	46.84	2	2.53	31	39.24	9	11.39	79	100.00

Source: The 1987 sample survey.

Table 5.16
Distribution of deceased persons in the 1987 sample survey, according to their educational level, by District

District	Under school age		Illiterate		Elementary		Preparatory		Secondary		Total	
	No. of cases	%	No. of cases	%	No. of cases	%	No. of cases	%	No. of cases	No. of %	cases	%
Nablus	19	39.59	18	37.50	9	18.75	1	2.08	1	2.08	48	100.00
Jerusalem	8	42.10	7	36.84	2	10.53	2	10.53	0	0	10	100.00
Hebron	7	58.33	4	33.33	1	8.34	0	0	0	0	12	100.00
Total	34	43.04	29	36.71	12	15.19	3	3,80	1	1.26	79	100.00

Source: The 1987 sample survey.

Table 5.17
Distribution of deceased persons in the 1987 sample survey, according to their employment status, by District

District	Below working age		Employed		Housewife		Student		Pensioner		Incapable		Total	
	No. of cases	%	No. of cases	%	No. of cases	%	No. of cases	%	No. of cases	%	No. of cases	%	No. of cases	%
Nablus	19	39.58	9	18.75	10	20.83	2	4.17	2	4.17	6	12.50	48	100.00
Jerusalem	8	42.10	5	26.32	0	0	2	10.53	1	5.26	3	15.79	19	100.00
Hebron	7	58.33	0	0	2	16.67	1	8.33	0	0	2	16.67	12	100.00
Total	34	43.04	14	17.72	12	15.19	5	6.33	3	3.80	11	13.92	79	100.00

Source: The 1987 sample survey.

in death (pregnancy and heart attack were each mentioned only once) and 70.89 per cent (56 persons) of all deaths were simply attributed to "sickness" and a further 22.79 per cent (18 persons) to "old age". A further 3.80 per cent (3 persons) were due to accidents, mainly to young people. Nearly two-thirds (64.56 per cent; 51 persons) died at home and 31.64 per cent (25 persons) in hospital. These figures merely help to confirm an impression of the limited medical facilities available to the West Bank population.

5.9 Natural increase

The natural increase is the difference between the crude birth rate and the crude death rate. In the West Bank, the natural increase (Table 5.19 and Figure 5.10) was the most important factor influencing population growth, because during most of the years 1968-1984 net migration into the West Bank was negative. The high natural increase during this period was a result of the high birth rate, and the decline in the death rate. The natural increase grew from 22.3 per thousand in 1968 to 32.9 in 1976, and fell to 30.5 in 1984. This shows, that after the 1967 war the natural increase fell as a result of the higher crude death rate, and subsequently rose again as a result of a decreasing crude death rate; there was, however, no significant change in the crude birth rate.

According to the 1987 sample survey, the natural increase in the West Bank villages as a whole is 29.37 per thousand; 29.53 in the villages in the Nablus District, 27.70 in the villages in the Jerusalem District, and 31.89 in the villages in the Hebron District. This shows that the villages in the Hebron District have a high rate of natural increase despite the high crude death rate, owing to their very high birth rate.

5.10 The vital index

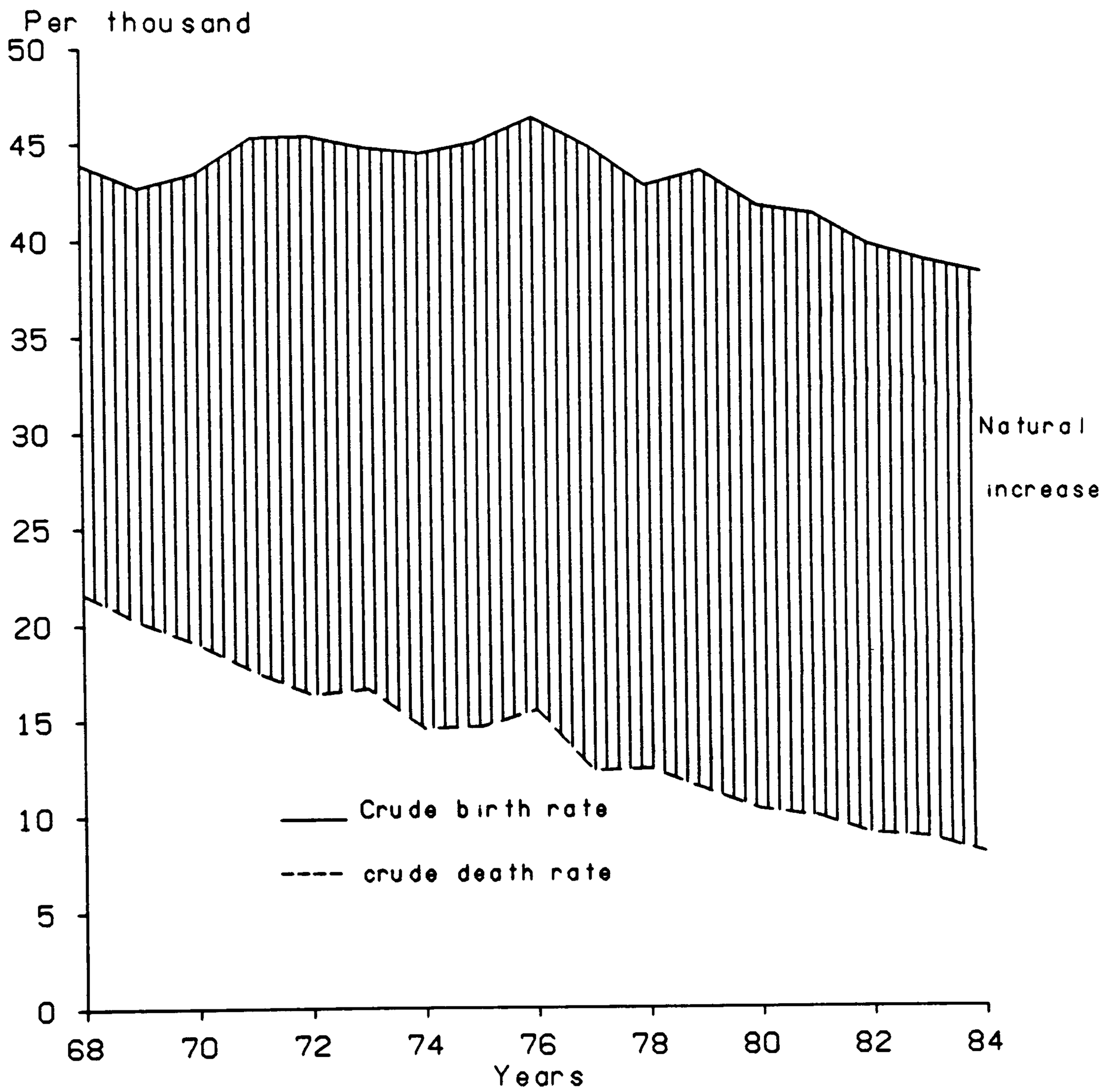
The vital index is the ratio of the number of births to the number of deaths

Table 5.18
Distribution of deceased persons in the 1987 sample survey, by cause of death, by District

District	Sickness		Old age		Pregnancy		Heart attack		Accident		Total	
	No. of cases	%	No. of cases	%	No. of cases	%	No. of cases	%	No. of cases	%	No. of cases	%
Nablus	36	75.00	9	18.76	1	2.08	1	2.08	1	2.08	48	100.00
Jerusalem	11	57.89	6	31.58	0	0	0	0	2	10.53	19	100.00
Hebron	9	75.00	3	25.00	0	0	0	0	0	0	12	100.00
Total	56	70.89	18	22.79	1	1.26	1	1.26	3	3.80	79	100.00

Source: The 1987 sample survey.

Figure 5.10 Crude birth rate & crude death rate in the West Bank, 1968-1984



Source: Calculated from: Central Bureau of Statistics, 1969-1985.

Table 5.19
Natural increase and vital index
in the West Bank 1968-1984
Per thousand

Years	Crude birth rate	Crude death rate	Natural Increase	Vital Index
1968	43.91	21.61	22.3	203.19
1969	42.74	20.14	22.6	212.22
1970	43.53	19.03	24.5	228.74
1971	45.40	17.60	27.8	257.96
1972	45.49	16.39	29.1	277.55
1973	44.89	16.69	28.2	268.96
1974	44.60	14.60	30.0	305.48
1975	45.20	14.70	30.5	307.48
1976	46.49	13.59	32.9	342.09
1977	44.99	12.39	32.6	363.12
1978	43.00	12.50	30.5	344.00
1979	43.80	11.40	32.4	384.21
1980	41.97	10.37	31.6	404.73
1981	41.61	10.01	31.6	415.68
1982	40.00	9.10	30.9	439.56
1983	39.21	8.91	30.3	440.07
1984	38.60	8.10	30.5	476.54

Source: Calculated from;

Central Bureau of Statistics, 1969-1985.

multiplied by 100. The figures in Table 5.19 and Figure 5.11 show that there was a trend in the West Bank towards an increase in the vital index between 1968-1984; this was due to an increase in the birth rate and a decrease in the death rate. We found however, that there were two years (1973 and 1978) which were an exception to this rule; during these two years, the crude death rate was higher than in previous years; we also found that the crude birth rate in 1978 was lower than in the year immediately preceding and succeeding it.

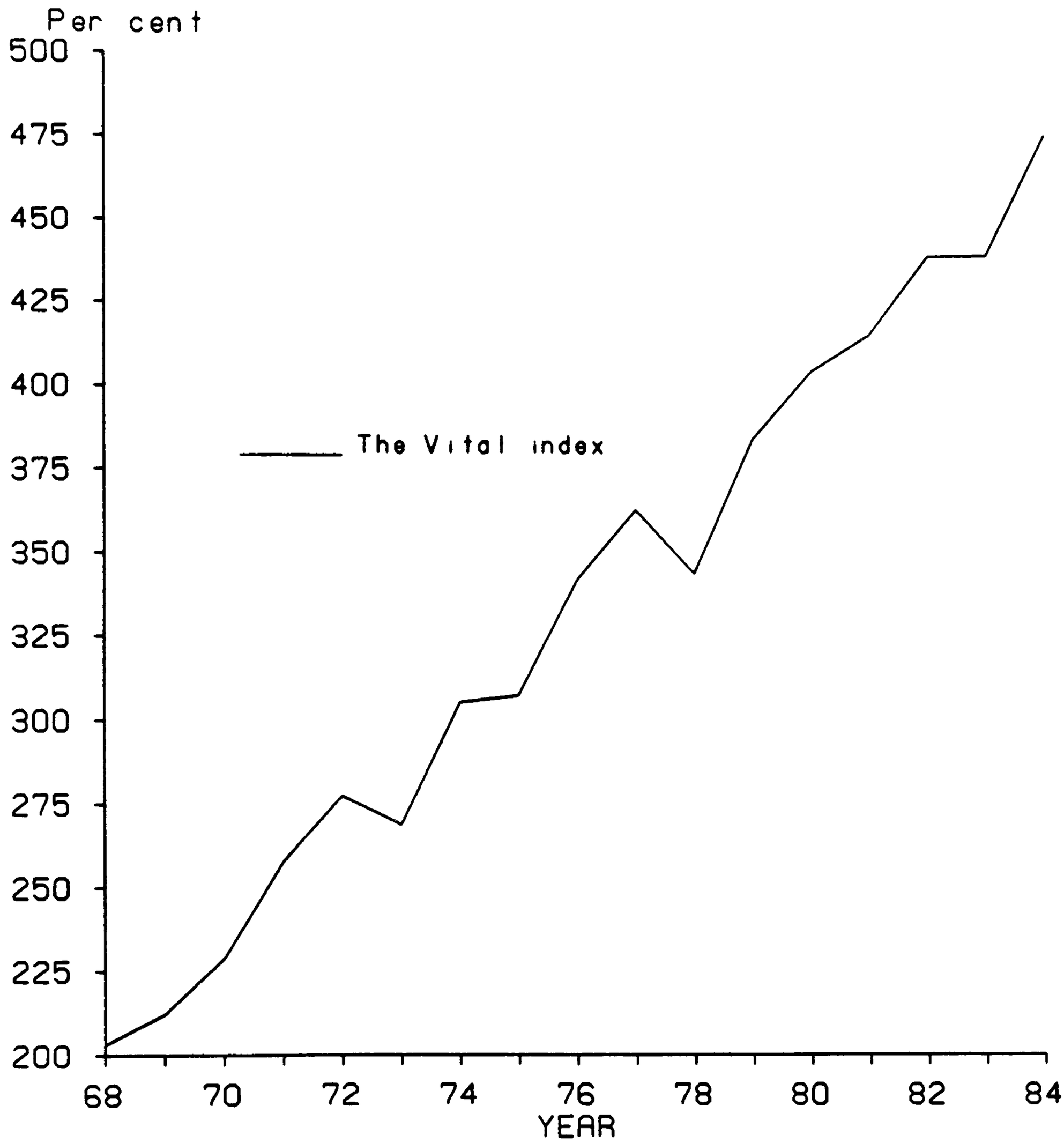
Table 5.19 records the vital index based on birth and death rates as estimated by the Israeli Central Bureau of Statistics for the West Bank population as a whole. The figure of 476.54 for 1984 indicates the extent to which the force of natality exceeds that of mortality. According to the 1987 survey, however, the vital index in the West Bank villages as a whole was 291.09 per cent; 291.63 per cent in the villages in the Nablus District, 294.80 per cent in the Jerusalem District, and 283.38 per cent in the Hebron District. The discrepancy between these two sources suggests a serious under-estimate of the crude death rate in the case of the Israeli Statistics.

5.11 Summary

The 1987 survey suggests that the crude death rate in the West Bank villages is double that estimated by the Israeli authorities for the West Bank population as a whole, and the indirect methods also show that the infant mortality rate in the West Bank villages higher than the Israeli estimation for the West Bank as a whole. This is due to the under-registration of deaths in the West Bank, especially amongst young children and the elderly. The life expectancy at birth in the West Bank villages is very low; 52.84 years to the male population, and 53.27 years to the female population, which is lower than the Israeli estimation.

The number of children dead per ever-married woman has a positive correlation with the number of children ever-born, the age of mother, father, and the

Figure 5:11 The vital index in the West Bank 1968-1984



Source: Calculated from Central Bureau of Statistics 1969-1985

duration of marriage, while there is a negative correlation with the level of education of the mother and father.

Most of the deceased persons recorded in the 1987 sample survey were young children, and old persons. Unfortunately, the survey failed to provide any significant data on cause of death.

There can be no doubt that the high rates of natural increase and the high vital index values for the West Bank population as a whole which are derived from the Israeli data are due primarily to the under-estimation of the crude death rate in these data.

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CHAPTER SIX

PATTERNS OF MIGRATION

The West Bank is an area of net migration loss, since many young people who are highly educated and economically active leave the West Bank looking for high income jobs in the Gulf States or other countries. This is due to poor employment prospects in the West Bank, and is also influenced by the fact that the Israeli authorities tend to favour emigration as a mean of limiting the growth of the Arab population. Emigration from the West Bank is influenced by economic factors, political pressures and family considerations.

As a result of the 1948 war about a quarter of a million Arabs resettled in the West Bank. On the other hand, it has been estimated (Gabriel and Sabatello, 1986. Sabatello, 1983) that one-fifth of the West Bank population left that territory as a result of the 1967 war. Throughout the whole period since 1948, the West Bank has been a source of migrants both to the East Bank (Jordan) and to other countries.

Published data concerning migration from the West Bank are limited; most sources give figures only for net migration, and there is no data about the characteristics of the emigrants, or their distribution. In the 1987 sample survey, the data on migration were collected from households resident in the West Bank by asking the following question: "Does anyone from this household live outside the village, and have a continuous economic relationship with the household?" A total of 718 emigrants were identified. According to the answers received, all of those who had left the village and were in some way related to the family were now living outside the West Bank. Thus no internal migration within the West Bank was recorded in the sample.

6.1 Population mobility

Population mobility is examined here on the basis of three variables:

(i) place of birth.

(ii) Last residence: the last place at which the individual lived before moving to the present location.

(iii) current residence: the place at which the individual lived at the time of the 1987 sample survey.

In the 1987 sample, 90.25 per cent (648 persons) of the emigrants had been born in the villages from which they had emigrated and 84.26 per cent had those villages as their last residence. Thus the majority of emigrants go direct from their villages to their country of choice, usually with a few weeks' stay in Jordan to sort out their passports and visas.

Of those resident in the villages at the time of the 1987 survey, 91.69 per cent (4,714 persons) had been born in their own villages and 92.63 per cent (4,762 persons) recorded their villages as their present place of residence. The percentage of residents in the villages who had been born in cities was 3.07 per cent (158 persons), higher than in all other places except their own villages, since most of these people were born in hospital and their place of birth was registered as the city. This is in addition to the women from the cities who were married in the villages, and those persons from the cities who are employed in the villages. 3.15 per cent (162 persons) recorded areas outside the West Bank as their last place of residence; most of these were emigrants who had returned from abroad with their children.

6.2 Distribution of emigrants

According to data published by the PLO in 1984 (Table 6.1), 59.43 per cent of all Palestinians live outside Palestine. About a quarter of these live in the East Bank (Jordan) which was the main recipient of those displaced during the 1967

Table 6.1
Estimates of the number of Palestinian Arabs by place of residence, 1982

Place of residence	Number	%
West Bank	871,600	18.39
Gaza Strip	476,300	10.05
Pre-1967 Occupied Palestine	574,800	12.13
Jordan (East Bank)	1,189,600	25.10
Syria	229,868	4.85
Lebanon	492,240	10.39
Kuwait	308,177	6.50
Iraq	21,284	0.45
Libya	23,759	0.50
Egypt	35,436	0.75
Saudi Arabia	147,549	3.11
United Arab Emirates	38,665	0.82
Qatar	25,372	0.54
Rest of Arab Countries	52,683	1.11
United States of America	108,045	2.28
Other parts of the world	143,780	3.03
Total	4,739,158	100.00

Source: Calculated from;
PLO Central Bureau of Statistics, 1984.

war; in addition, migration from the West Bank to the East Bank in search of work occurred both before and after the war.

A similar pattern was found in the 1987 sample survey (Table 6.2). About one-third (35.52 per cent, 255 persons) of the emigrants from the West Bank villages live in the Gulf States and another third (34.26 per cent, 246 persons) in the East Bank of the Jordan. This is due to good employment opportunities and high wages available in the Gulf States, as well as to the large influx of emigrants to Jordan during and after 1967. The figures differ from one District to another in the West Bank; whereas 45.17 per cent (215 persons) of the emigrants from the villages in the Nablus District live in the Gulf States, 67.62 per cent (142 persons) of those from the villages in the Jerusalem District live in non-Arab countries, especially North and South America, and 71.87 per cent (23 persons) of the emigrants from the villages in the Hebron District live in Jordan.

Table 6.2

Distribution of emigrants from the West Bank villages 1987, by place of residence

Districts	Jordan		Gulf States		Other Arab Countries		Non-Arab Countries		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Nablus	196	41.18	215	45.17	14	2.94	51	10.71	476	100.00
Jerusalem	27	12.86	36	17.14	5	2.38	142	67.62	210	100.00
Hebron	23	71.87	4	12.50	4	12.50	1	3.13	32	100.00
Total	246	34.26	255	35.52	23	3.20	194	27.02	718	100.00

Source: The 1987 sample survey.

On the other hand, Kossaifi (1985) found that 29.9 per cent of the emigrants from the West Bank lived in Jordan and 30.2 per cent in Kuwait and other Gulf States, excluding Saudia Arabia which attracted 13.8 per cent of the emigrants. In Europe the figure was 8.9 per cent, and in America it was 9.6 per cent. He also found (Kossaifi, 1985, p 81) that emigrants from Nablus settled mainly in Kuwait, those from Hebron headed for Jordan and Saudia Arabia, and of those from Jerusalem, more than one-third went to America. This shows that emigrants from the same area prefer to live with each other, and that those who emigrate first find jobs for their relatives, who then follow.

6.3 Balance of movement (Net migration)

From 1968 to 1984 inclusive the West Bank suffered a net migration loss of 143,000 persons (18.53 per cent from the total population in 1984), an average of 8,412 per year (Table 6.3). The Gaza Strip, on the other hand, lost 84,400 persons (Central Bureau of Statistics, 1969-1986a), during the same period (17.07 per cent from the total population in 1984), an average of 4,965 per year. Emigration from the West Bank is assisted by the fact that residents of that territory hold Jordanian passports, making it easier for them to gain access to other countries, whereas the population of the Gaza Strip is stateless and without passports, which makes it more difficult for them to enter other countries.

Throughout the period 1968-1984 (Table 6.3) there was a net migration loss from the West Bank in every year except 1969 and 1973. These two exceptions may be attributed to the difficulties caused to those wishing to leave the West Bank by the 1969-70 civil war in Jordan and the 1973 Arab-Israeli conflict. The net migration loss was particularly large in 1968 in the aftermath of the 1967 war and the ensuing instability in the West Bank. Thereafter, until 1974, the net loss was much smaller, mainly as a result of the increased demand for Arab labour from the Occu-

Table 6.3
Net migration in the West Bank
1968-1984

Years	No. of migrants	Per thousand
1968	-15,900	-26.75
1969	+1,300	+2.17
1970	-5,000	-8.23
1971	-2,500	-4.02
1972	-7,300	-11.52
1973	+300	+0.46
1974	-2,800	-4.18
1975	-15,100	-22.36
1976	-14,400	-21.07
1977	-10,200	-14.66
1978	-9,400	-13.28
1979	-12,600	-17.53
1980	-17,300	-23.89
1981	-15,700	-21.45
1982	-7,900	-10.56
1983	-2,700	-3.51
1984	-5,800	-7.37

Source: Calculated from;

Central Bureau of Statistics, 1969-1985.

pied Territories in the Israeli labour market. United Nations sources estimate that the average annual figure for net migration from the West Bank was 5,000 persons during the period 1970-1974 (United Nations, 1982, p 12), while according to the Israeli sources the average number of emigrants during the same period was 3,460 (Table 6.3). Large net migration losses occurred during the period 1975-1981, when about 94,000 persons left the West Bank, an average of about 13,529 per year (Table 6.3). In the other words, 66.22 per cent of the people who emigrated from the West Bank during the period 1968-1984 emigrated between 1975 and 1981. A major factor at this time was the accelerated rate of economic development in the Gulf States which followed the oil price rises of the early 1970s, which led to a greater demand for Arab workers.

In 1982 and subsequent years, there was a marked decline in the level of emigration from the West Bank, mainly as a result of Jordanian attempts to limit immigration from that area, as described by Zakai (1986). In April 1983, the Jordanian government imposed a series of measures designed to restrict entries from the West Bank. Young male immigrants were declared liable to military conscription. Visits were limited to a predetermined period. In particular, males aged 16-26 were permitted to enter only on condition that they left within six months; since Israeli exit permits for this group were conditional on a longer stay abroad, their emigration was, in effect, prevented. Children without a Jordanian birth certificate were not allowed to enter Jordan. Persons without valid passports were turned back, and students without proof of acceptance by educational institutions were denied entry. In addition, the Jordanian government required immigrants from the West Bank to make return visits to their place of origin.

There is a strong seasonal component in movements between the West Bank and other territories, as Figure 6.1 shows. The greatest volume of movement occurs between May and August, when most of the emigrants have their holiday,

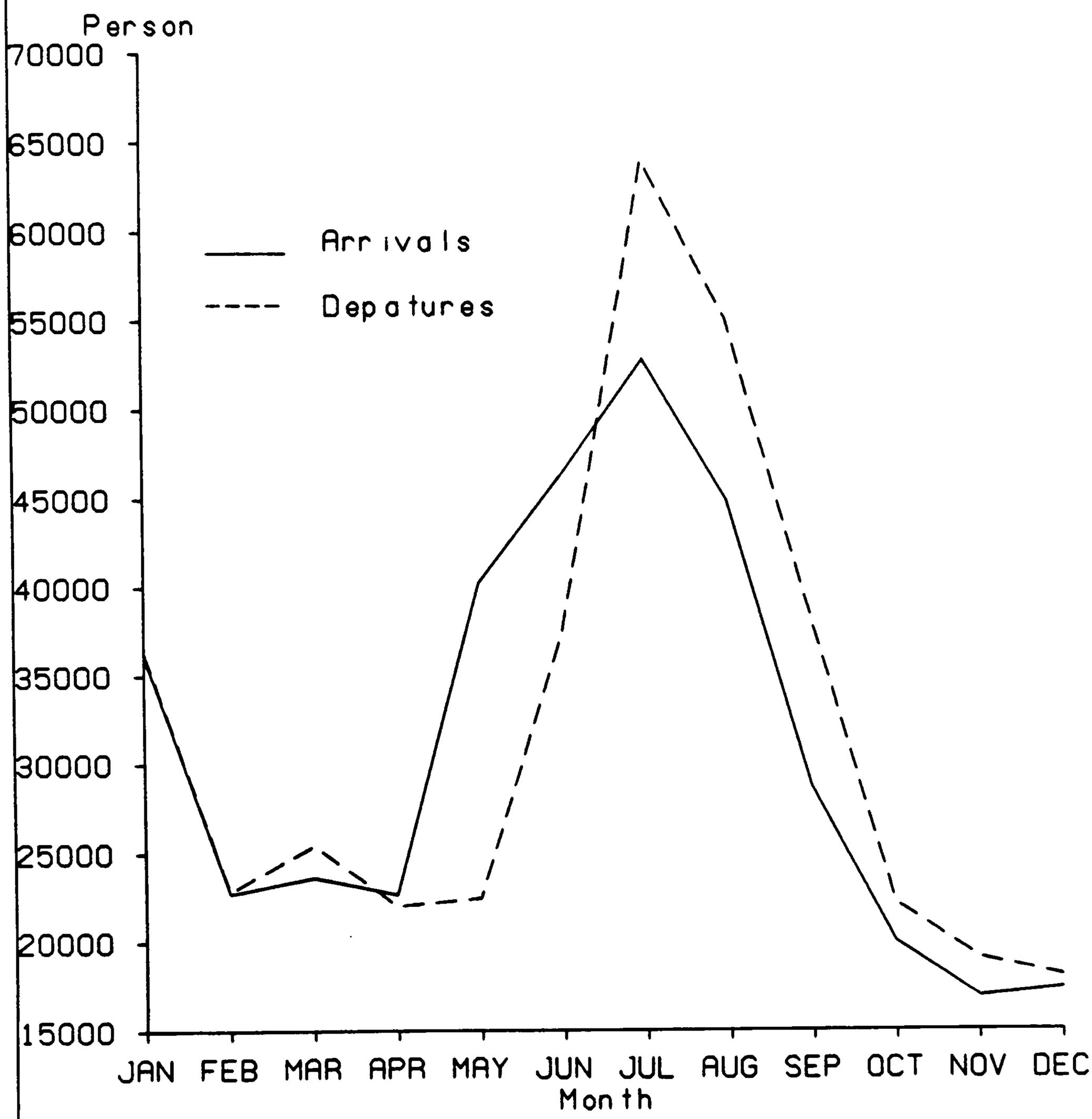
during which they visit their home villages. Thus there is a positive migration to the West Bank only in the months of April, May, and June. After two or three months the emigrants leave, and the balance of migration becomes negative.

In the 1987 sample survey, 34.81 per cent (244) of all households reported members living outside the West Bank (Table 6.4). These absent members, who numbered 718, were equivalent to 13.97 per cent of those resident in the villages at the time of the survey, 15.28 per cent (476 persons) in Nablus District, 15.72 per cent (210 persons) in Jerusalem District and 4.64 per cent (32 persons) in Hebron District. Thus the average number of emigrants per household from the West Bank villages as a whole was 1.02 (2.94 per reporting household), 1.16 persons (3.01 per reporting household) in Nablus District, 1.08 (2.88) in Jerusalem District and 0.34 (2.46) in Hebron District.

We can compare these figures with those in the 1961 census (Table 6.4), where each household was asked if any of its members was living outside Jordan. Taking the West Bank as a whole, 16.4 per cent of households replied that they had a member living outside Jordan. On the other hand, in the 1967 census 33.1 per cent of households had sons/daughters abroad (Central Bureau of Statistics, 1968c). The figures in the 1987 sample survey were higher than those in both the 1961 and 1967 censuses owing to large-scale migration from the West Bank as a result of the 1967 war, and emigration to rich countries by those seeking work.

However, the ranking of the three Districts was similar in 1961 and 1987 (Table 6.4); at both dates, the highest proportions of migrants were recorded in Nablus and Jerusalem Districts, with much lower percentages in Hebron. This variation reflects the fact that gaining employment outside the West Bank requires a minimum level of education and training, which is found more amongst those in the Nablus and Jerusalem Districts than amongst those in the Hebron District.

Figure 6:1 Monthly movement of resident population in the Occupied Territories, 1985



Source: Central Bureau of Statistics 1986

Table 6.4

Households by members of household reported abroad, by District

Districts	The 1961 census	The 1987 sample survey	
	%	No. of households	%
Nablus	22.6	158	38.33
Jerusalem	14.7	73	37.63
Hebron	3.5	13	13.6
Total	16.4	224	34.81

Source:Calculated from;
1. Department of Statistics, 1964.
2. The 1987 sample survey.

6.4 Right of reunion

The position of Palestinian migrants is profoundly affected by the rules regarding the "right of reunion" imposed by the Israeli authorities following their occupation of the West Bank in 1967. Palestinians living outside the West Bank at the time of the 1967 census had no "right of reunion" and could not return to the West Bank except as visitors for a few months only, and this required a close relative to obtain an entry permit. The military government declared the following cases eligible for return to the West Bank by "right of reunion" (Benvenisti, Abu-Zayed and Rubinstein, 1986):

(i) the return of a spouse, especially of a wife if her husband had the right and she had children born in the West Bank;

(ii) the return of unmarried children aged 16 or less if both parents had the right;

(iii) the return of an orphaned grandchild aged 16 or less if the grandfather had the

right.

Under no circumstances is the "right of reunion" allowed to a male between the ages of 16 and 60.

Of those emigrants belonging to households which, in the 1987 sample survey, reported members abroad, 61.14 per cent (439 persons) had the right of reunion. This high percentage is due to the fact that the households only answered in the affirmative if they had a continuous economic relationship with the member living abroad.

31.62 per cent (227 persons) of the emigrants in the 1987 sample had not visited their households for more than four years. Such people have lost their "right of reunion" because the Israeli authorities only permit people to leave the West Bank for three years at a time; anybody who stays outside the West Bank for more than three years forfeits his "right of reunion", and can only return to the West Bank for a few months as a visitor.

According to their households, more than half the emigrants (54.18 per cent, 389 persons) in the 1987 sample live outside the West Bank for reasons of employment. We also found that 58.08 per cent (417 persons) of these emigrants had left the West Bank after 1975, as a result of the high demand for labour in the Gulf States. A further 10.86 per cent (78 persons) live abroad for reasons of education, and 34.96 per cent (215 persons) live abroad for other reasons, such as not having a "right of reunion", for security reasons or to accompany a husband or father. On the other hand, there were 90.11 per cent (647 persons) whose head of household stated that the emigrants wished to live in the West Bank. Those who did not wish to live in the West Bank gave such reasons as the difficult situation in the area, the lack of work opportunities, low income and political pressure from the Israeli authorities.

6.5 Age-sex structure of the emigrants

More than two-thirds of the emigrants from the West Bank villages are males; the sex ratio of the emigrants in the 1987 sample was 230.9 males per 100 females. This occurred because most of the emigrants emigrated in search of work, and the economic participation rate for the male population in this society is higher than that for the female population. In addition, there is a pattern of social pressure against women wishing to emigrate in search of work far away from their families and, furthermore, working outside the West Bank requires a certain level of education and experience which is found more amongst the male population than it is amongst the female population.

The sex ratio of migrants differs from one District to another (Table 6.5), ranging from 193.8 males per 100 females in the villages in the Nablus District, to 346.8 in the villages in the Jerusalem District. These differentials between the Districts are related to differences of attitude towards women working outside the West Bank in each District, and to the destinations of the migrants and to the proportions of men accompanied by their wives and children. As Table 6.6 shows, the sex ratio of emigrants to destinations in the Arab world varied between 155.6 and 218.8, and for those going to non-Arab countries it was 397.4.

The sex ratio also varies according to the age of the emigrants (Table 6.7 and Figure 6.2). For those below the age of 20 it averaged 95.8, rising thereafter in successive age groups. The low sex ratios in the younger age groups reflects the fact that special difficulties facing males aged 16-26 (see above). The early age of first marriage for women and the tendency for young wives to accompany their husbands is another factor for lower sex ratios in the 15-24 age group than in the higher age groups. In addition, a high proportion of women working abroad are young. In the majority of cases they emigrate on completing their education, but after one or two

Table 6.5
Age composition of emigrants from the West Bank villages, 1987 by District

District	Age groups %					Total emigrants	Median age	Sex ratio
	< 15	15-24	25-34	35-49	50+			
Nablus	6.51	16.18	40.34	26.47	10.50	476	30.63	193.8
Jerusalem	0.95	18.57	36.19	30.48	13.81	210	32.74	346.8
Hebron	15.62	25.00	28.13	25.00	6.25	32	29.50	300.00
Total	5.29	17.27	38.58	27.58	11.28	718	31.17	230.9

Source: The 1987 sample survey.

Table 6.6
Age composition of emigrants from the West Bank villages 1987, by place of residence

District	Age groups %					Total emigrants	Median age	Sex ratio
	< 15	15-24	25-34	35-49	50+			
Jordan	6.10	21.14	26.83	30.08	15.85	246	32.83	176.4
Gulf States	8.24	10.59	49.41	25.49	6.27	255	30.42	218.8
Other Arab Countries	0	8.70	34.78	39.13	17.39	23	37.00	155.6
Non-Arab Countries	1.03	22.17	39.69	25.77	11.34	194	30.10	397.4
Total	5.29	17.27	38.58	27.58	11.28	718	31.17	230.9

Source: The 1987 sample survey.

years they marry and either return to the West Bank if their husband lives there or, if they live abroad with the husband, they sever economic relations with their families.

We also find that migration is highly age selective; two thirds of the emigrants are aged between 25 and 49 years (Tables 6.5, 6.6, 6.7 and Figure 6.4). This was evident in all the Districts in the West Bank from which the emigrants left, regardless of the country of destination. The percentage of emigrants between the ages 15-24 is low because, according to Israeli law, any male from the West Bank between the ages 16-26 who leave the West Bank cannot return unless he stays outside the West Bank for at least nine months. Most of the males in this age range, therefore, emigrate because they are certain of a job abroad, or because they have a place at school or university.

Some age groups have been particularly depleted by emigration during the occupation period. Benvenisti (1987) made an approximate calculation by comparing the size of an age group at the end of 1967 with the estimated size of the age group twenty years later. Almost all of the difference may be attributed to emigration, since the selected age groups were young and therefore mortality was not a significant factor. He found that 60 per cent of persons aged 10-14 years in 1967 (30-34 in 1987) remained in the West Bank, compared with 45 per cent of those aged 15-19 in 1967 (35-39 in 1987), and 57 per cent of those aged 20-24 years in 1967 (40-44 in 1987). At least one out of two people in the West Bank have left the area. This is explained by their being the optimum age (early to mid-twenties) for migrant labour in the mid-seventies, when oil production expanded rapidly and caused an economic boom in Arab oil producing countries (Benvenisti, 1987, p 3).

The median age for emigrants in the 1987 sample survey is high 31.17 years (Tables 6.5, 6.6), ranging from 29.50 years for emigrants from the villages in the Hebron District to 32.74 years for emigrants from the villages in the Jerusalem

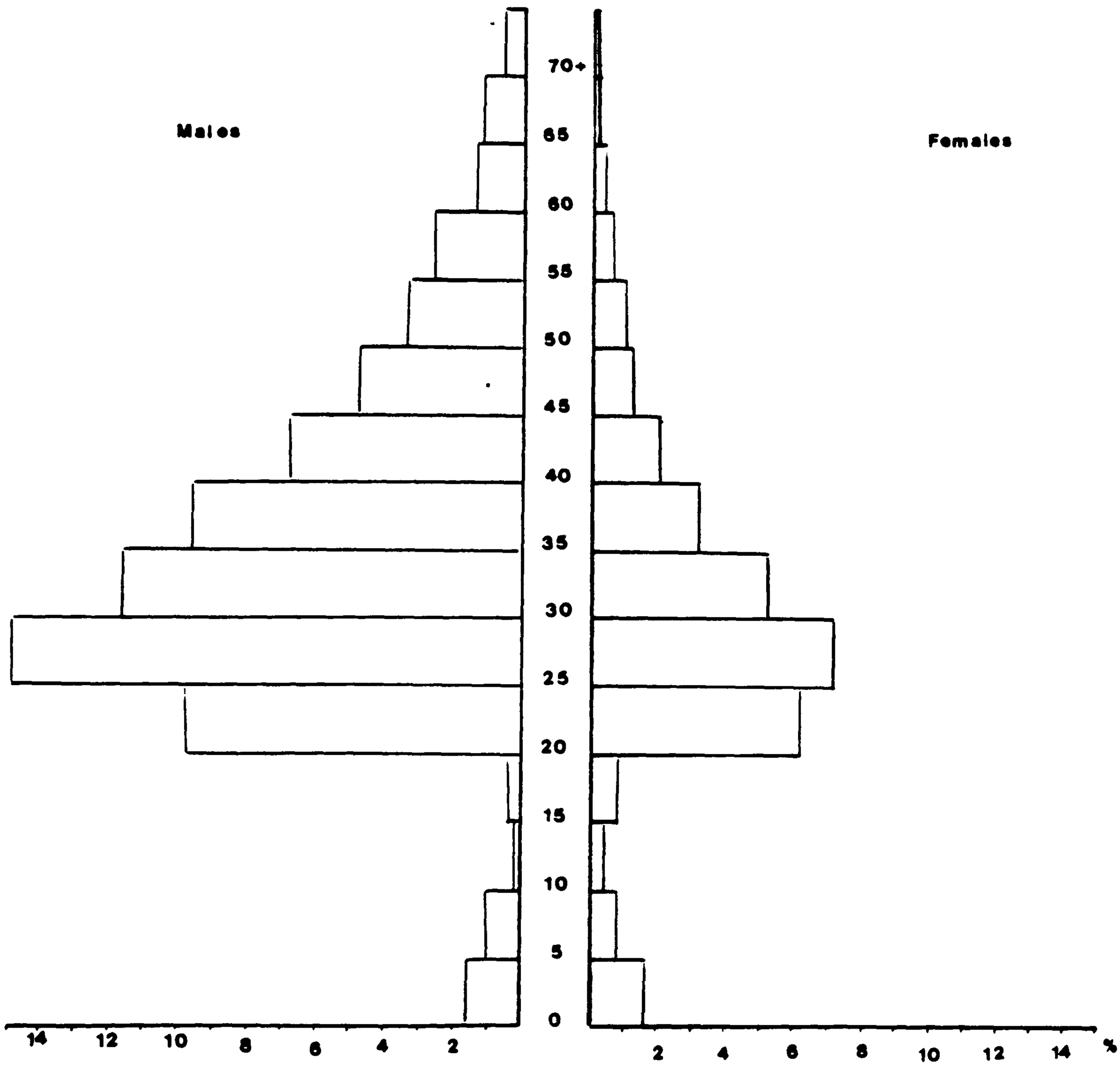


Figure 6.2 Population pyramid of the emigrants, 1987

Source: The 1987 sample survey

Table 6.7
Age-sex composition of the emigrants from the West Bank villages, 1987

Age group	No. of emigrants			%			Sex Ratio
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	per 100 females
0-4	11	10	21	1.53	1.39	2.92	110.0
5-9	7	5	12	0.97	0.70	1.67	140.0
10-14	2	3	5	0.28	0.42	0.70	66.7
15-19	3	6	9	0.42	0.84	1.26	50.0
20-24	70	45	115	9.75	6.27	16.02	155.6
25-29	106	51	157	14.76	7.10	21.86	207.8
30-34	83	37	120	11.56	5.15	16.71	224.3
35-39	69	23	92	9.61	3.20	12.81	300.0
40-44	49	14	63	6.83	1.95	8.78	350.0
45-49	35	8	43	4.88	1.11	5.99	437.5
50-54	25	7	32	3.48	0.97	4.45	357.1
55-59	19	4	23	2.65	0.56	3.21	475.0
60-64	10	2	12	1.39	0.28	1.67	500.0
65-69	8	1	9	1.11	0.14	1.25	800.00
70 +	4	1	5	0.56	0.14	0.70	400.00
Total	501	217	718	69.78	30.22	100.00	230.9
Median Age	32.60	28.37	31.17				

Source: The 1987 sample survey.

District. We also found that the median age differs according to the emigrant's place of residence at the time of the survey, being 30.19 years in non-Arab countries and 37.00 years in other Arab countries. This high median age among the emigrants is due to the fact that most of them are aged between 25-49 years.

6.6 Marital status of the emigrants

The data in Table 6.8 show that more than two-thirds of the emigrants were married; 68.38 per cent (491 persons). Single people came in second place; 25.49 per cent (183 persons). This high percentage of married persons among the emigrants is due to the fact that most of them are over 25 years old, an age by which most of the population in the villages is married (see Chapter 8). The status of the emigrants allows them greater opportunity to marry than others, since they are in a better economic position to start a family. It is also true that many of the emigrants take their wives and children with them (especially those who are newly-married), and this increases the percentage of married persons. The persons below the age of marriage (16 years), make up about 5.29 per cent (38 persons) of the emigrants. These percentages vary from one place to another depending on where the emigrants live; the percentage of married emigrants living in Jordan was 65.85 per cent (162 persons), whereas it was 86.96 per cent (20 persons) in other Arab countries.

We can compare these figures with the Palestinian population in Kuwait in 1982, where 73.05 per cent were married, 24.61 per cent had never married, 0.19 per cent had been divorced and 2.13 per cent had lost a spouse (PLO Central Bureau of Statistics, 1984).

The age at first marriage for emigrants is higher than for those living in the West Bank (see Chapter 8). The figures in Table 6.9 show that the age at first marriage for the emigrants as a whole was 23.34 years; 24.59 for male emigrants, and 20.89 years for female emigrants. This is because most of the emigrants have a higher

Table 6.8
Marital status of the emigrants from the West Bank villages 1987 by place of residence

Place of residence	Under age of marriage		Single		Married		Divorced		Widowed		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Jordan	15	6.10	64	26.02	162	65.85	1	0.41	4	1.62	246	100.00
Gulf States	21	8.23	59	23.14	175	68.63	0	0	0	0	255	100.00
Other Arab Countries	0	0	3	13.04	20	86.96	0	0	0	0	23	100.00
Non-Arab Countries	2	1.03	57	29.38	134	69.07	0	0	1	0.52	194	100.00
Total	38	5.29	183	25.49	491	68.38	1	0.14	5	0.70	718	100.00

Source: The 1987 sample survey.

level of education than others in the West Bank. There is a differential of age at first marriage according to the emigrant's place of residence; 22.35 years for those emigrants living in non-Arab countries, and 25.00 years for those emigrants living in the other Arab countries.

Like others in the West Bank villages, more than half of the ever-married emigrants married close relatives; 56.70 per cent (294 persons) of the ever-married emigrants married a cousin from father's side, mother's side or from the same family; of these 48.98 per cent (144 persons) married a cousin from father's side.

6.7 Educational level of the emigrants

Only 10.86 per cent (78 persons) of the emigrants were enrolled in either schools or universities; this group were either children living with their parents, or university students who had emigrated from the West Bank, either to study a specialization not found in the West Bank, or to continue their higher studies.

Emigrants have a high level of education (Table 6.10 and Figure 6.3); 31.20 per cent (224 persons) were university educated. In other words, 63.79 per cent (458 persons) of the emigrants have had either secondary school, institute, or university education, which means that there is a brain drain from the West Bank; most of the educated and trained people have emigrated from the West Bank.

The percentage of emigrants with university education differs from one country to another; while 33.33 per cent (85 persons) of the emigrants from the West Bank villages living in the Gulf States were university educated, the proportion in Jordan was 29.67 per cent (73 persons), in the other Arab countries 34.78 per cent (8 persons), and in non-Arab countries 29.90 per cent (58 persons).

Only a small percentage of emigrants are illiterate, 4.04 per cent (29 persons). It is interesting to note that 7.37 per cent (16 persons) of female emigrants are

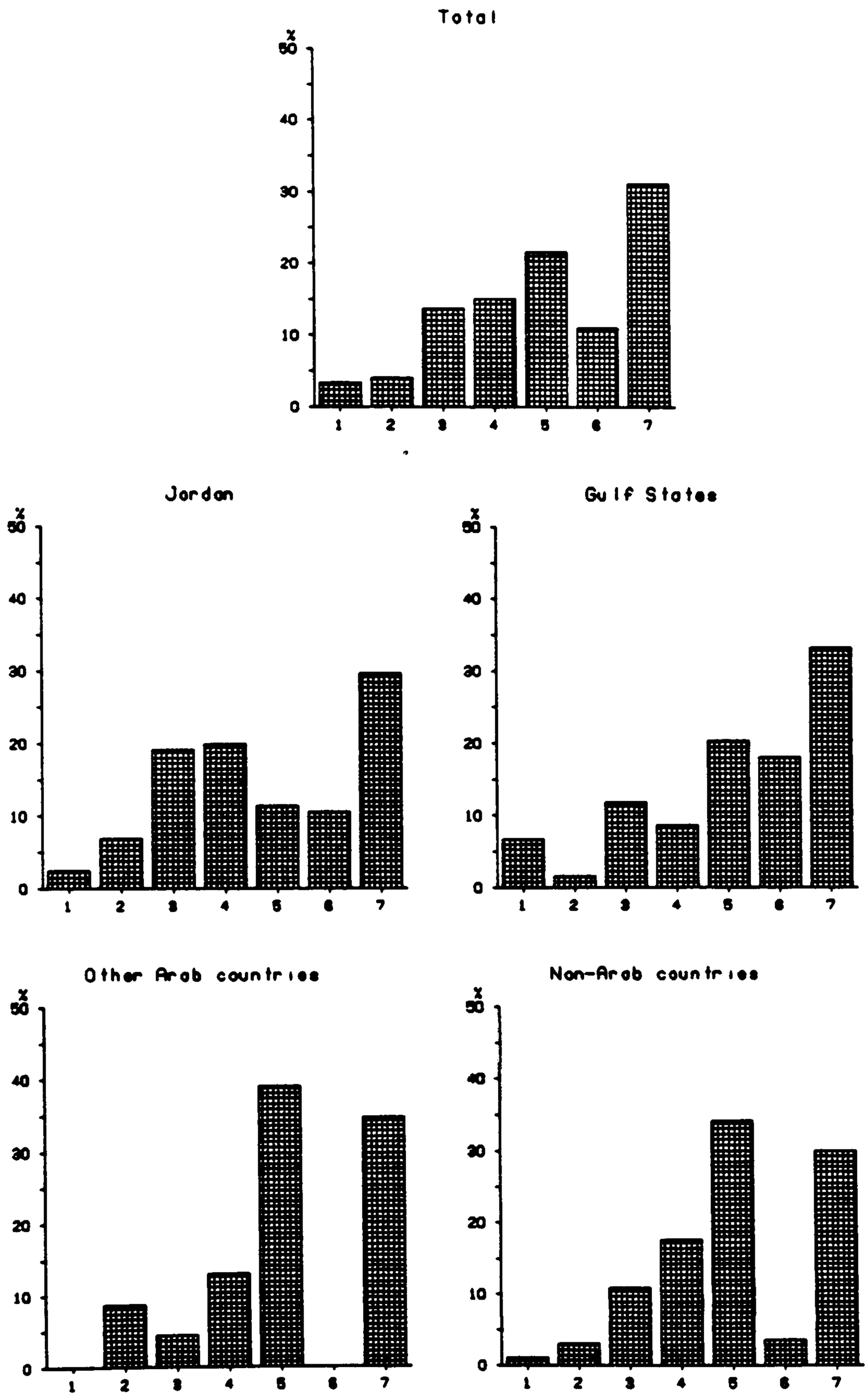
Table 6.9
Age at first marriage of the emigrants from the West Bank villages 1987 by Place of residence

Place of residence	Nablus District			Jerusalem District			Hebron District			Total		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
Jordan	25.53	20.32	23.25	23.61	21.88	23.08	22.50	17.50	21.43	24.85	20.38	23.07
Gulf States	25.60	21.89	24.18	25.00	19.17	24.24	22.50	22.50	22.50	25.44	21.76	24.16
Other Arab Countries	26.07	23.50	25.00	30.00	20.00	25.00	27.50	17.50	25.00	27.08	21.88	25.00
Non-Arab Countries	23.21	23.33	23.25	22.21	18.91	21.43	0	0	0	23.09	20.08	22.35
Total	25.41	21.32	23.77	23.56	19.88	22.68	23.44	18.50	22.26	24.59	20.89	23.34

Source: The 1987 sample survey.

Figure 6:3 Emigrants educational level by place of residence

1=Under school age 2=Illiterate 3=elementary
4=Preparatory 5=Secondary 6=Institute 7=University



Source: The 1987 sample survey

Table 6.10
Educational level of the emigrants from the West Bank villages 1987 by place of residence

Place of residence	Jordan		Gulf States		Other Arab Countries		Non-Arab Countries		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Under school age	6	2.44	16	6.27	0	0	2	1.03	24	3.34
Illiterate	17	6.91	4	1.57	2	8.70	6	3.09	29	4.04
Elementary	47	19.11	30	11.77	1	4.35	21	10.82	99	13.79
Preparatory	49	19.92	22	8.63	3	13.04	34	17.53	108	15.04
Secondary	28	11.38	52	20.39	9	39.13	66	34.02	155	21.59
Institute	26	10.57	46	18.04	0	0	7	3.61	79	11.00
University	73	29.67	86	33.33	8	34.78	58	29.90	224	31.20
Total	246	100.00	255	100.00	23	100.00	194	100.00	718	100.00

Source: The 1987 sample survey.

illiterate, compared with 2.60 per cent (13 persons) of male emigrants (see Chapter 9). These figure are similar to those in Kossaifi's study (1985), in which he found that the illiterate constituted no more than 3 per cent of all emigrants, while the proportion of secondary school and university graduates exceeded 50 per cent (Kossaifi, 1985, p 82).

The high percentage of emigrants with institute or university education graduated in humanities, 65.69 per cent (157 persons), while 20.08 per cent (48 persons) graduated in medical science or engineering and 14.23 per cent (34 persons) graduated in natural science. These figures are again similar to those in Kossaifi's study (1985), in which he found that more than one-half of the emigrants graduated in humanities, one-fifth in engineering, and the rest chose medicine (about one-tenth) and pure science (Kossaifi, 1985, p 82).

6.8 Economic characteristics of the emigrants

64.90 per cent (466 persons) of the emigrants are employed, 20.20 per cent (145 persons) are housewives, 10.86 per cent (78 persons) are students, 0.14 per cent (1 persons) are pensioners, 0.56 per cent (4 persons) are incapable of work, and 3.34 per cent (24 persons) are under working age (excluding students). This means that a high proportion of the emigrants are employed, although the percentage varies between male and female; employed men constitute 84.03 per cent (421 persons) of the male emigrants, while only 20.74 per cent (45 persons) of the female emigrants are employed. This is due to the fact that the economic participation rate of men in the West Bank villages is higher than that of women (see Chapter 10). On the other hand, female employment, especially outside the West Bank, is not considered socially acceptable. Thus most of the women, usually highly educated, who emigrated to work outside the West Bank, accompanied a father, brother or husband.

75.97 per cent (354 persons) of the employed emigrants are hired workers,

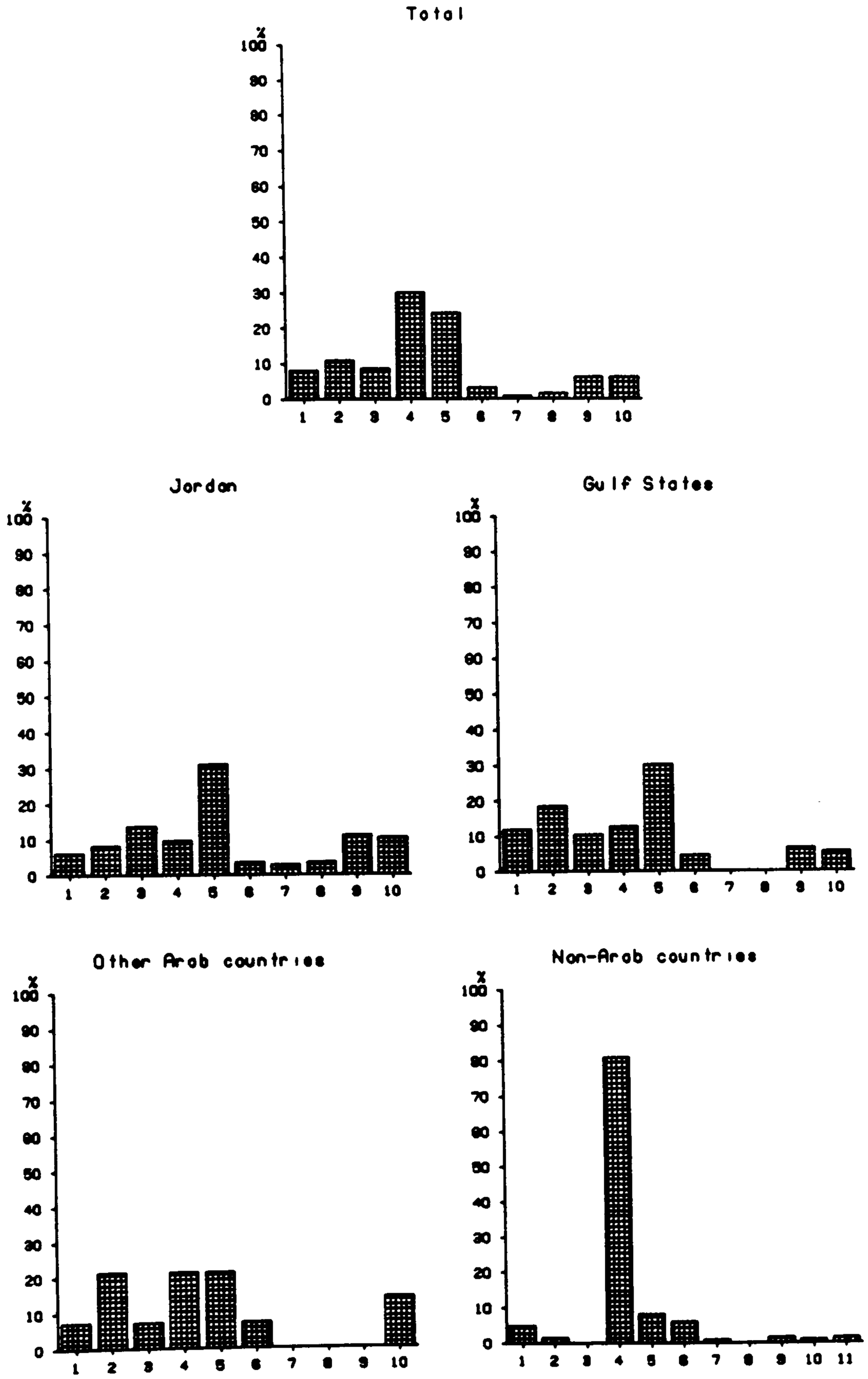
while 21.24 per cent (99 persons) are self-employed, and 2.79 per cent (13 persons) are employers. These figures differ from one country to another; in Jordan 85.52 per cent (124 persons) are hired workers, whereas in non-Arab countries 65.32 per cent (81 persons) are self employed; on the other hand, all the emigrants in the 1987 sample survey employed in the Gulf States or other Arab countries are hired workers, and none of them is self-employed or an employer. These figures are similar to those in the United Nations Economic and Social Council study (1985), which found that the great majority of the Palestinian labour force in the Gulf States consisted of those engaged in gainful employment (over 90 per cent), rather than of those who owned business concerns or who were self employed (United Nations Economic and Social Council, 1985, p 38).

The data in Table 6.11 and Figure 6.4 show that about 30 per cent (140 persons) of the employed emigrants work in commerce, and 24.25 per cent (113 persons) work in services. Again, these figures vary from one country to another; for example, 80.65 per cent (100 persons) of the employed emigrants in non-Arab countries work in commerce, and 92.00 per cent (92 persons) of these are from the villages in the Jerusalem District. This is because there is a long history of emigration from the Jerusalem District to North and South America, and most of these emigrants go to work in commerce either with relatives or independently. It is worth mentioning here that the Jerusalem District is a tourist area, and its population is in closer contact with foreigners than other Districts in the West Bank. They tend to be employed in antique and souvenir businesses, and many of those who emigrate to non-Arab countries work in similar commercial fields. On the other hand, most of those emigrating to the Gulf States, Jordan, and other Arab countries work in services.

Those employed as professionals or in administrative work constitute 19.11 per cent (89 persons) of employed emigrants and 62.92 per cent (56 persons) of these work in the Gulf States. It is interesting to note that no emigrant in the 1987

Figure 6:4 Emigrants occupation by place of working

1=Professional 2=Administrative 3=Clerical 4=Commerce 5=Service
6=Construction 7=Agriculture 8=Industry 9=Transportation 10=Others



Source: the 1987 sample survey

Table 6.11
Emigrants occupation, by place of working

Place of residence	Jordan		Gulf States		Other Arab Countries		Non-Arab Countries		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Professional	9	6.21	22	12.02	1	7.14	6	4.84	38	8.16
Administrative	12	8.28	34	18.58	3	21.43	2	1.61	51	10.95
Clerical	20	13.79	19	10.38	1	7.14	0	0	40	8.58
Commerce	14	9.66	23	12.57	3	21.43	100	80.65	140	30.04
Services	45	31.03	55	30.06	3	21.43	10	8.06	113	24.25
Construction	5	3.45	8	4.37	1	7.14	1	0.81	15	3.22
Agriculture	4	2.76	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	0.86
Industry	5	3.45	0	0	0	0	2	1.61	7	1.50
Transportation	16	11.03	12	6.56	0	0	1	0.81	29	6.22
Others	15	10.34	10	5.46	2	14.29	2	1.61	29	6.22
Total	145	100.00	183	100.00	14	100.00	124	100.00	466	100.00

Source: The 1987 sample survey.

sample survey was employed in agriculture either in the Gulf States, in other Arab countries, or in the non-Arab countries, despite the fact that all emigrants are from the villages. This is because most of those emigrants are highly educated and not trained in agriculture.

If we look at the figures for emigrants from the Gaza Strip, we find that approximately half of them are engaged in teaching, about a quarter in medical and engineering jobs, and only some 6.00 per cent as skilled and semi-skilled workers (Dahlan, 1987, p 250). The United Nations Economic and Social Council study (1985) also found that the percentage of those working in the agricultural sector was extremely low; the highest percentage was found in Saudia Arabia. In Kuwait, the highest percentage of Palestinian workers was registered in the services sector, 36.0 per cent, followed by the industrial sector, 23.0 per cent. In Saudia Arabia, the percentage of those employed in the services sector was 62.0 per cent, and in the industrial 12.0 per cent. In the United Arab Emirates around 47.0 per cent of the Palestinian labour force was engaged in the business sector and 24.0 per cent in the building sector. These discrepancies are largely attributable to the differences in the level of development between one country and another. Technicians and employees in the production sector formed the largest professional category, as they account for 63.0 per cent of the Palestinian labour force in Kuwait, 82.0 per cent in Saudia Arabia and 64.0 per cent in the United Arab Emirates (United Nations Economic and Social Council, 1985, pp 38-39).

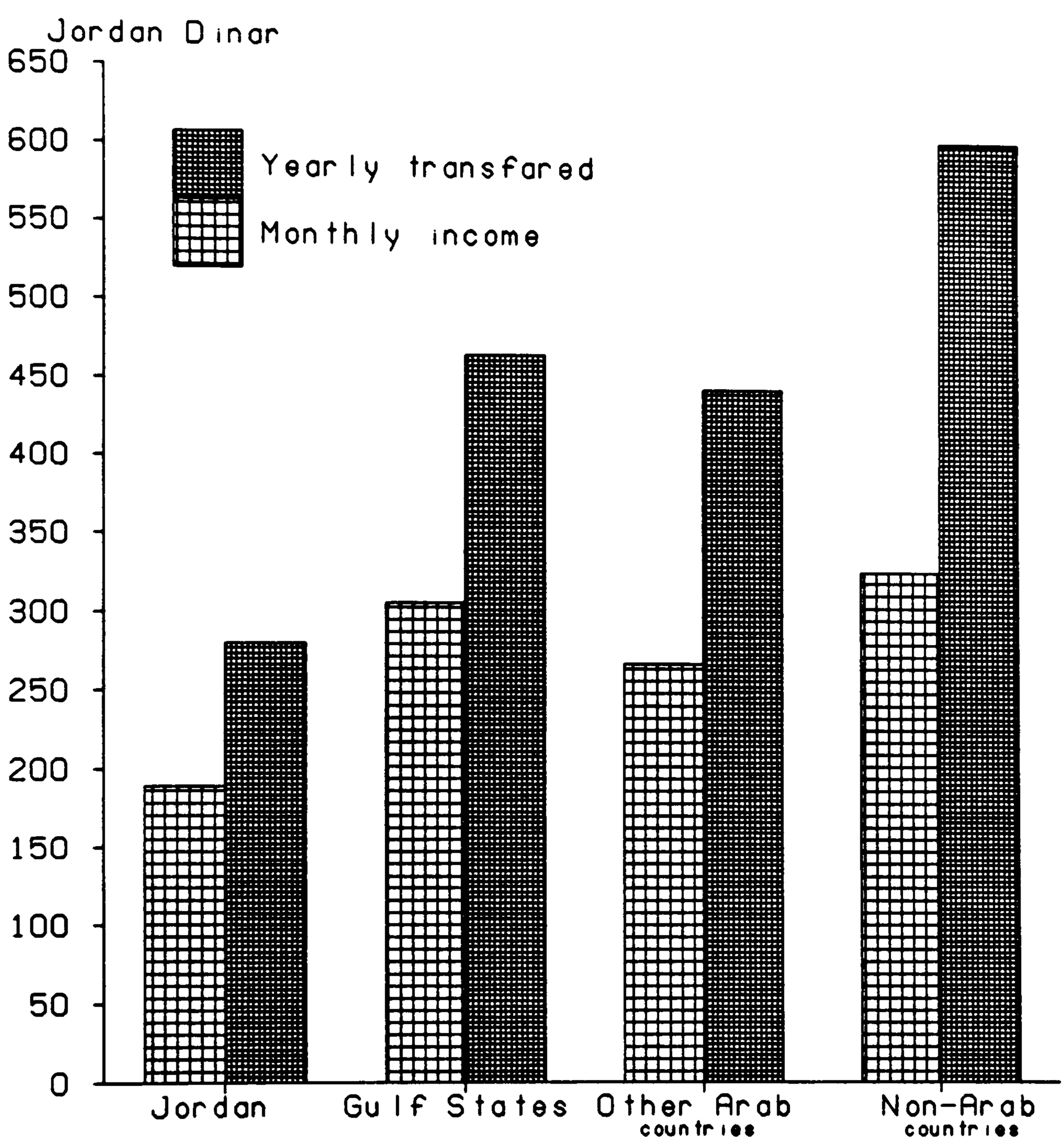
Working female emigrants constitute 10.67 per cent (45 persons) of the employed emigrants, more than half of them (55.56 per cent; 25 persons) working in services, 13.33 per cent (6 persons) in commerce, 6.67 per cent (3 persons) working in administration, 4.44 per cent (2 persons) in professional occupations, 4.44 per cent (2 persons) in clerical work, and 15.56 per cent (7 persons) in unclassified occupations. The highest percentage of working female emigrants is found in the Gulf States,

44.44 per cent (20 persons), with 37.78 per cent (17 persons) in Jordan, 15.56 per cent (7 persons) in the non-Arab countries, and 2.22 per cent (1 person) in other Arab countries.

According to the 1987 sample survey, the average monthly income of the employed emigrants (Table 6.12 and Figure 6.5) is 273.82 Jordan Dinar (£ 547.64). This average, however, varies from one country to another, and from one occupation to another; the average monthly income for emigrants employed in non-Arab countries is 325.81 Jordan Dinar (£ 651.62), while in Jordan it is 189.48 (£ 378.96). These differentials are related to the level of wages in each country, and to the proportion of emigrants in occcupations providing high salaries. By contrast, the average monthly income according to occupation (Table 6.12) is 351.32 Jordan Dinar (£ 702.64) for those employed in professional work, while it was 187.50 Jordan Dinar (£ 375.00) for those working in agriculture.

There is a positive correlation (R = +0.5431) between monthly income and the amount of money which the emigrant sends annually to his relative in the West Bank. The figures in Table 6.12 and Figure 6.7 show that the average annual amount sent by emigrants to their relatives is 443.35 Jordan Dinar (£ 886.70), or 13.49 per cent of their annual income. Again, the size of this annual amount differs from one country to another and from one occupation to another. For example, emigrants in non-Arab countries sent home 15.40 per cent of their annual income, those in the Gulf States 12.66 per cent, those in Jordan 12.33 per cent, and those in other Arab countries 13.78 per cent. The low percentage of money sent by emigrants is due to the fact that most of them save their money outside the West Bank, and only send money to their families for day-to-day living, building, marriage, education, and so on.

Figure 6:5 Average monthly income and yearly remittances by employed emigrants by place of residence (Jordan Dinars)



Source: The 1987 sample survey

Jordan Dinar=2 Pound

Table 6.12
Average monthly income and yearly remittances by employed emigrants , by place of working
(Jordan Dinar)

Place of residence	Jordan		Gulf States		Other Arab Countries		Non-Arab Countries		Total	
	Montly income	Yearly remittances	Montly income	Yearly remittances	Montly income	Yearly remittances	Montly income	Yearly remittances	Monthly income	Yearly remittances
Professional	296.44	427.78	386.36	481.82	375.00	50.00	341.67	666.67	351.32	486.84
Administrative	254.17	441.67	347.06	500.00	291.67	583.33	425.00	550.00	325.00	493.14
Clerical	222.50	270.00	325.00	528.95	325.00	350.00	0	0	273.75	395.00
Commerce	196.43	271.43	301.09	415.22	241.67	616.67	318.50	594.00	301.79	532.86
Services	152.78	267.78	263.18	493.64	275.00	250.00	375.00	670.00	229.43	412.83
Construction	155.00	150.00	275.00	362.50	175.00	35.00	275.00	150.00	228.33	276.67
Agriculture	187.50	225.00	0	0	0	0	0	0	187.50	225.00
Industry	195.00	310.00	0	0	0	0	175.00	700.00	189.29	421.43
Transportation	175.00	237.50	237.50	308.33	0	0	425.00	250.00	209.48	267.24
Others	175.00	216.67	305.00	410.00	225.00	550.00	425.00	850.00	240.52	350.00
Total	189.48	280.35	305.87	464.75	267.86	442.86	325.81	602.42	273.82	443.35

Jordan Dinar = £ 2

Source: The 1987 sample survey.

6.9 Population growth

In the period since 1948, three censuses have been conducted in the West Bank, those of 1952, 1961 and 1967 (see Chapter 1). Although censuses were carried out in Jordan in 1979 and in Israel in 1972 and 1983, none of these covered the West Bank; thus, for dates later than 1967, data on the size of the West Bank population are available only in the form of estimates from a variety of sources, both Israeli and Palestinian.

Three Israeli sources have published estimates of the total population of the West Bank, namely the Central Bureau of Statistics, the Interior Ministry and the Military Government. The estimates produced by the Central Bureau of Statistics give the "population present" at the end of each calendar year. Registered births are added and deaths are estimated by using life table mortality rates intermediate between those calculated for Israel and for neighbouring countries, since there is known to be significant under-reporting of actual deaths in the West Bank. Figures on entries and exits at border points are fed into the formula. The Interior Ministry and the Military Government figures are based on population registration (identity card) data and may thus include West Bank residents who are temporarily or permanently living abroad, together with their children who may be registered during summer visits. Under-reporting of deaths tends to inflate these estimates (Benvenisti and Khayat, 1988). The PLO Central Bureau of Statistics has based its estimates for each region on certain demographic indicators such as the intercensal growth rates or natural increase.

The average annual growth rate in the West Bank between the Jordanian censuses of 1952 and 1961 was 0.91 per cent (Table 6.13). This relatively low rate of growth was due primarily to emigration from the West Bank to neighbouring areas, particularly to the East Bank, where most of the long-term Jordanian economic

developments were to be found. As a result, the proportion of the total population of Jordan living in the West Bank declined from 55.85 per cent in 1952 to 47.21 per cent in 1961. In numerical terms, the West Bank population increased by some 63,153 from 742,289 to 805,442 inhabitants over the same period. Emigration from the West Bank continued during the 1960s and reached a peak during and immediately after the 1967 war. As a result, between the 1961 and 1967 censuses, the population declined from 805,442 to 664,494 (including East Jerusalem), an average annual decrease of 3.21 per cent (Table 6.13).

After 1967, East Jerusalem was separated from the rest of the West Bank, as a result of which conflicting estimates were published concerning the total population of the West Bank. Thus the annual growth rate for the period 1967-80 was estimated at 1.25 per cent by the Israeli Central Bureau of Statistics and 1.60 per cent by the PLO Central Bureau of Statistics (this rate including the population of East Jerusalem) and as high as 2.89 per cent by the Israeli Interior Ministry. Whichever of these is nearest the truth it may be assumed that population growth in the West Bank since 1967 has been significantly more rapid than before that date. This appears to be confirmed by figures from Benvenisti and Khayat suggesting an overall annual average of 2.89 per cent per annum for the the whole 20-year period 1967-1987. Growth has been even higher in East Jerusalem (3.63 per cent) as a result of the employment opportunities offered by construction and industry in and around the city and its role as a tourist centre. The maintenance of these high growth rates despite emigration losses reflects the continuing very high fertility of the West Bank population.

Projecting these 1980-87 growth estimates into the future suggests that the population of the West Bank as estimated for 1987 will double by 2012 according to the Israeli Central Bureau of Statistics and by 2001 according to the Interior Ministry. Benvenisti and Khayat's figures indicate a doubling by 2011, and by 2006 in East Jerusalem.

Table 6.13
The West Bank population 1952-1987

Source of data	1952 census	1961 census		1967 census		1980 estimates		1987 estimates		
	No. of pop.	No. of pop.	A.G.R. 1952-61 %	No. of pop.	A.G.R. 1961-67 %	No. of pop.	A.G.R. 1967-80 %	No. of pop.	A.G.R. 1980-87 %	A.G.R. 1967-87 %
Department of Statistics (Jordan) (including East Jerusalem)	742,289 *(1)*	805,442 *(2)*	0.91							
Central Bureau of Statistics (Israel) (including East Jerusalem)				598,637 *(3)* 664,494	-3.21	704,000 *(5)*	1.25	858,000 *(6)*	2.83	1.80
Interior Ministry (Israel)						871,000 *(6)*	2.89	1,252,000 *(6)*	5.18	3.69
Military Government (Israel)						750,000 *(6)*	1.73			
PLO Central Bureau of Statistics (including East Jerusalem)						818,300 *(7)*	1.60			
Benvenisti and Khayat								1,067,873 *(6)*		2.89
East Jerusalem				65,857 *(4)*				136,000 *(6)*		3.63

No. of pop: Number of population. A.G.R.: Annual growth rate.

Sources:

1. Department of Statistics, 1953.
2. Department of Statistics, 1964.
3. Central Bureau of Statistics, 1967.
4. Central Bureau of Statistics, 1968e.
5. Central Bureau of Statistics, 1981a.
6. Benvenisti and Khayat, 1988.
7. PLO Central Bureau of Statistics, 1984.

Projecting the population in 1986 according to the Israeli Central Bureau of Statistics figures and assuming a continuation of 1980-86 growth rates until 1995 suggests that, by the latter data, the total Arab population of the Occupied Territories (West Bank, Gaza Strip and East Jerusalem) will have reached 1,968,550 (Table 6.14). Arabs living in Israeli proper will number 1,009,348 giving a total of 2,977,898 Arabs in the territories which formerly constituted Palestine. On this basis, the proportion of Arabs in the total population of Palestine will have risen from 38.41 per cent in 1986 to 42.54 per cent in 1995, presaging the possibility of an Arab majority by the middle of next century.

6.10 Summary

There has been a net migration loss from the West Bank since 1967. The "push and pull" factors inside the West Bank, and in the countries to which people emigrated, have influenced the annual number of emigrants from the West Bank.

The emigrants from the West Bank villages in the 1987 sample survey were mostly aged 25-49 years. About one-third of them were university educated, and about two-thirds of them were married. Some of the emigrants took their wives and children with them, whilst others left them in the West Bank with relatives. A high proportion of the emigrants left the West Bank seeking highly paid work. More than half of the emigrants were employed in commerce and services, and only 13.49 per cent of the emigrants' annual income was sent to their relatives in the West Bank.

We also found that most of the emigrants from each District in the West Bank were concentrated in one or two countries; emigrants from the villages in the Nablus District for example, were concentrated in the Gulf States and Jordan, whereas emigrants from the villages in the Jerusalem District were concentrated in non-Arab countries, and emigrants from the villages in the Hebron District were concentrated in Jordan.

Table 6.14
Estimation of the Arab and Jewish population in the year 1995

Source of population	Annual growth rate 1980-1986	population 1995
West Bank	2.83 *	1,075,998
East Jerusalem	3.63 **	181,827
Gaza Strip	2.95	710,725
Arabs in Israel	3.16	1,009,348
Total Arab population		2,977,898
Jewish population	1.42	4,021,797
Total		6,999,695

* Annual growth rate 1980-1987.
** Annual growth rate 1967-1987.

Emigration from the West Bank has had serious negative effects. It has adversely affected the rate of population growth, and a vital source of production and development has been lost. In addition, it has resulted in a serious depletion of the trained labour force.

On the other hand, the annual growth rate of the population throughout the period 1967-1986 was +1.76 per cent. This rate is different from one year to another according to the differential in the natural increase and the net migration in each year, and this high rate of annual growth rate in the West Bank occurs in spite of the negative net migration because of the high level of natural increase.

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CHAPTER SEVEN

AGE AND SEX STRUCTURE

The age and sex structure of the population is a result of and also influences the demographic and socio-economic characteristics of the population, such as levels of fertility, mortality and migration. In addition, age and sex structure affects the proportions of the population which are of school age, marriageable age and economically active.

This chapter will examines the general features of age and sex structure, and analyses some measures of age composition, as well as the sex ratio of the West Bank as a whole since 1961, and the West Bank villages from the 1967 census and the 1987 sample survey.

7.1 General age structure

The population of the West Bank has been divided into three main age groups, according to their involvement in economic activities: children (0-14 years) most of whom attend school, although many are also economically active as family labour; adults (15-64 years) from whom the great bulk of the economically active population is drawn; and elderly people (65 years and over) most of whom are retired, with very few still economically active. For the population of the West Bank as a whole over the period 1967-1985, the average proportion in the three main age groups were: children (0-14) 47.11 per cent; adults (15-64) 48.38 per cent; elderly (65+) 4.51 per cent. This type of age structure is found in most developing societies, which are characterized by a high percentage of children and a small percentage of elderly people. In the West Bank the high level of fertility together with selective emigration has given a constant youthful pattern to the the age structure.

7.1.1 Children (0-14 years)

Children form a high percentage of the West Bank population (Table 7.1 and Figure 7.1). The percentage of children differs from year to year, but only over a very narrow range; while it was 45.18 per cent in the 1961 census, it increased to 48.36 per cent in the 1967 census, and reached a peak of 49.47 per cent in 1969. Thereafter it declined continuously to a low point of 44.90 per cent in 1981, but rose again to reach 46.56 per cent in 1985. These variations in the percentage of children are due to variations in the birth and death rates, and in the proportion of the population emigrating from the West Bank, as well as to the emigrants' age distribution from one year to another. Emigration from the West Bank is characterized by the movement of families as well as individuals, as a result of socio-economic and political factors (see Chapter 6).

Children form a greater percentage of the male population than they do of the female (Table 7.1); while the average percentage of male children during the period 1967 to 1985 was 49.56, the average percentage of female children was 44.76. This variation is due to the masculinity at birth, meaning that more male children are born than female children. It is also the case that, in the West Bank, the care provided for male children is better than that provided for female children. At the same time, emigration among the adult male population is higher than it is among the females. Thus, the percentage of adults in the male population decreases, and by the same token the percentage of children among the males increases.

Turning to the data for the West Bank villages (Table 7.2 and Figure 7.2) we find that, at the time of the 1967 census, the proportion of children among the village population (48.87 per cent) was virtually the same as that among the West Bank population as a whole (48.36 per cent) this similarity reflects the fact that more than two-thirds of the West Bank population live in the villages, and that there was no

significant difference in the level of fertility between the urban and rural populations in the West Bank. While the child/women ratio in the West Bank villages in the 1967 census was 883.12 children per 1000 women aged 15-49, it was 838.22 in the urban settlements (Central Bureau of Statistics, 1967).

If we compare the 1967 data with those from the 1987 sample survey (Table 7.2 and Figures 7.2, 7.3) we find that the proportion of children at the latter date was 41.27 per cent (2122 persons), a figure significantly lower than that recorded for the villages in 1967 and for the total population from 1961 onwards. This lower proportion of children in the 1987 sample is compensated for by a higher proportion of young adults aged 15-29. If we consider all those aged 0-24, the proportions remain very similar: 63.32 per cent in the 1967 census and 64.96 per cent in the 1987 sample survey.

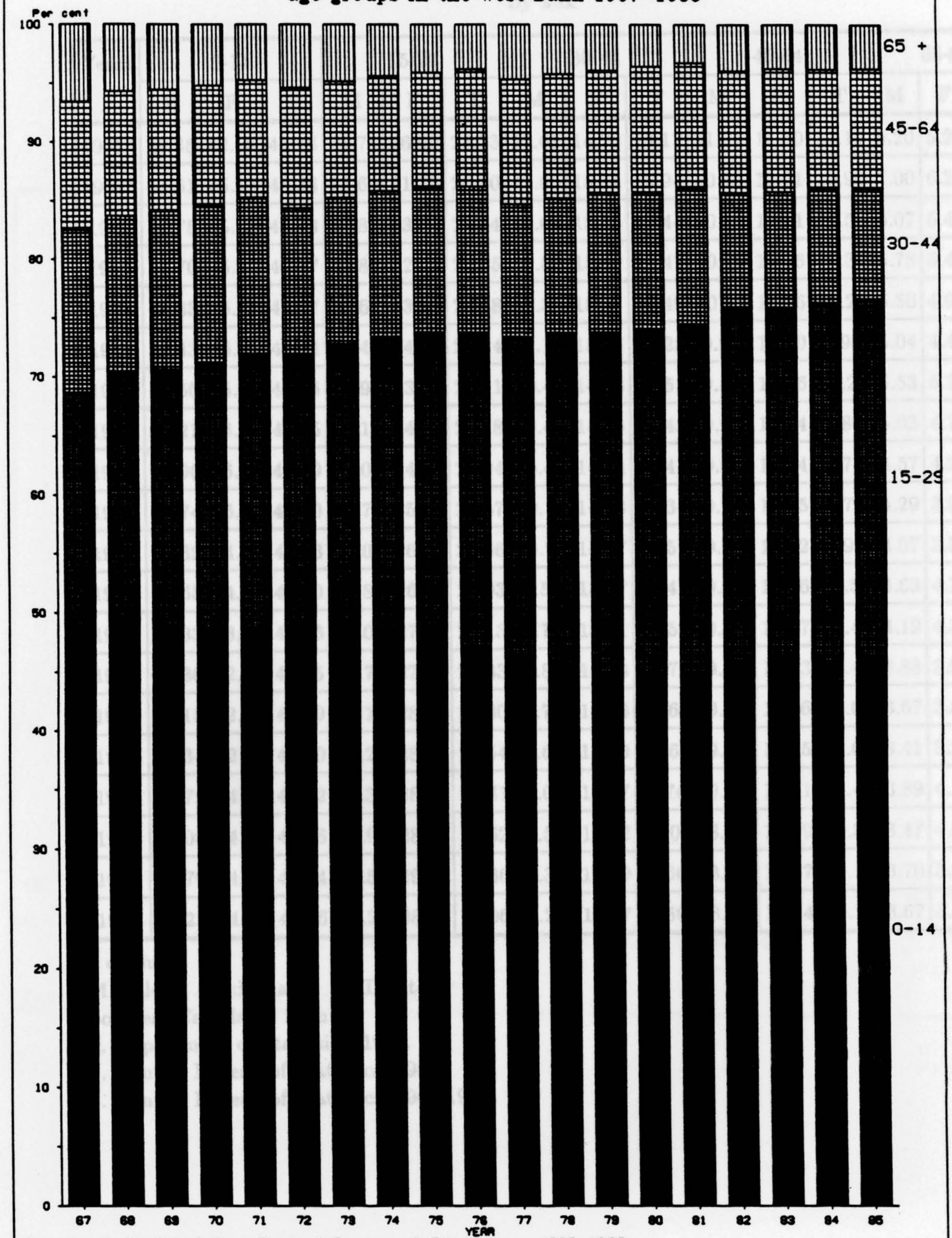
On the other hand, the proportion of children among the emigrants recorded in the 1987 survey was only 5.29 per cent, this low figure being the result of age-selective emigration and of the fact that the migrants recorded were only those who maintained a continuing economic relationship with the households from which they originated. Emigrants who had become independent of their original households were not included, and it was these who had taken their wives and children with them.

The proportion of children in the 1987 sample differed from one District to another (Table 7.2 and Figure 7.3), but over a narrow range: 40.19 per cent (1252 persons in the villages of Nablus District, 42.52 per cent (568 persons) in Jerusalem District and 43.79 per cent (302 persons) in the villages of Hebron District. These differences reflect differences between the Districts both in fertility levels and in the proportion of emigrants.

7.1.2 Adults (15-64 years)

This age group has been divided into three categories: 15-29 years, 30-44

Figure 7.1 The changing percentages of five age groups in the West Bank 1967-1985



Source: Calculated from Central Bureau of Statistics 1969-1986

Table 7.1
The changing percentages of five age groups in the West Bank 1961-1985 by sex

Years	0-14			15-29			30-44			45-64			65+		
	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T
1961*	48.38	42.06	45.18	23.74	26.69	25.23	11.61	14.70	13.17	11.07	11.30	11.19	5.20	5.25	5.23
1967*	51.61	45.17	48.36	18.60	21.78	20.20	12.00	15.84	13.94	10.79	11.01	10.90	7.00	6.20	6.60
1968	51.78	45.91	48.83	19.86	23.00	21.44	11.68	15.18	13.44	10.61	10.51	10.56	6.07	5.40	5.73
1969	51.70	45.84	48.77	20.86	22.98	21.85	11.52	15.42	13.47	10.32	10.36	10.34	5.78	5.40	5.57
1970	51.33	45.82	48.57	21.63	23.33	22.48	11.31	15.67	13.49	10.23	10.26	10.23	5.50	4.92	5.23
1971	51.43	46.03	48.74	22.45	24.03	23.24	11.13	15.45	13.28	9.95	10.00	9.98	5.04	4.49	4.76
1972	51.50	45.99	48.75	22.95	23.26	23.11	10.48	14.53	12.51	9.54	10.96	10.23	5.53	5.26	5.40
1973	51.21	46.07	48.65	24.12	24.23	24.18	10.43	14.45	12.43	9.21	10.54	9.89	5.03	4.71	4.85
1974	50.96	46.00	48.49	25.02	24.85	24.94	10.40	14.44	12.41	9.05	10.44	9.74	4.57	4.27	4.42
1975	50.74	46.03	48.40	25.71	25.04	25.37	10.13	14.58	12.34	9.13	10.45	9.79	4.29	3.90	4.10
1976	49.32	44.77	47.03	27.00	26.31	26.66	10.28	14.77	12.52	9.33	10.62	9.99	4.07	3.53	3.80
1977	48.65	44.08	46.40	27.84	26.02	26.93	9.57	13.27	11.42	9.31	11.86	10.56	4.63	4.77	4.69
1978	47.83	43.26	45.56	29.02	27.23	28.13	9.71	13.51	11.59	9.25	11.67	10.46	4.19	4.33	4.26
1979	47.36	42.77	45.05	29.76	27.87	28.83	9.80	13.68	11.72	9.20	11.73	10.48	3.88	3.95	3.92
1980	47.15	42.40	44.79	30.10	28.49	29.30	9.74	13.63	11.69	9.34	11.96	10.63	3.67	3.52	3.59
1981	47.34	42.48	44.90	30.21	28.86	29.54	9.66	13.60	11.64	9.38	11.85	10.62	3.41	3.21	3.30
1982	47.79	44.27	46.02	31.30	28.32	29.81	8.00	11.47	9.74	9.02	11.81	10.42	3.89	4.13	4.01
1983	48.00	44.33	46.16	30.98	28.28	29.62	8.59	11.52	10.06	8.96	11.79	10.38	3.47	4.08	3.78
1984	47.79	44.30	46.04	31.50	29.22	30.36	8.30	10.89	9.60	8.71	11.67	10.19	3.70	3.92	3.81
1985	48.23	44.92	46.56	31.24	28.89	30.06	8.23	10.77	9.50	8.64	11.54	10.10	3.67	3.88	3.78

* census

M:Male. F:Female. T:Total.

Sources: Calculated from;

1. Department of Statistics, 1964.
2. Central Bureau of Statistics, 1967.
3. Central Bureau of Statistics, 1969-1986.

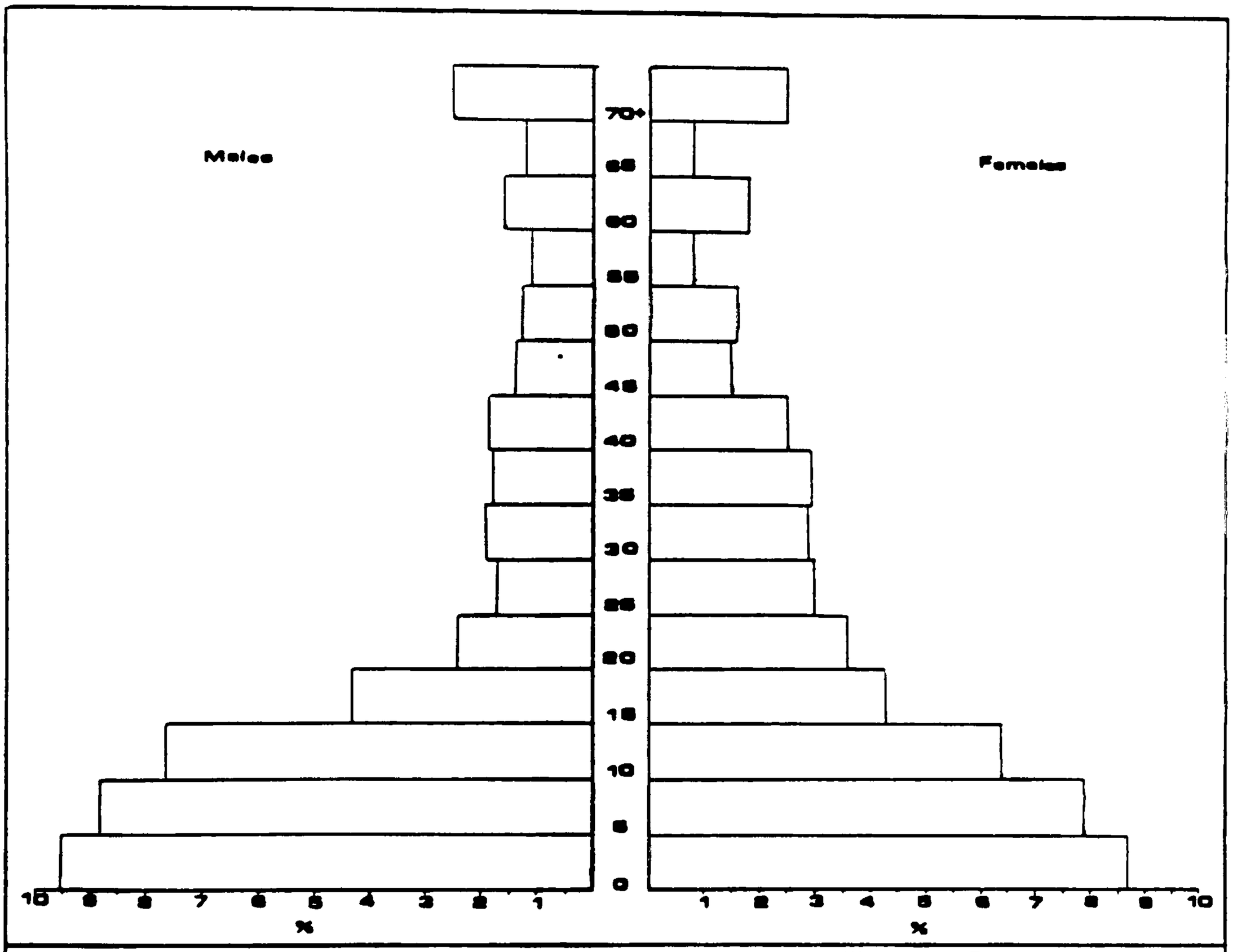


Figure 7.2 Population pyramid for the West Bank villages, 1967

Source: Calculated from Central Bureau of Statistics, 1967

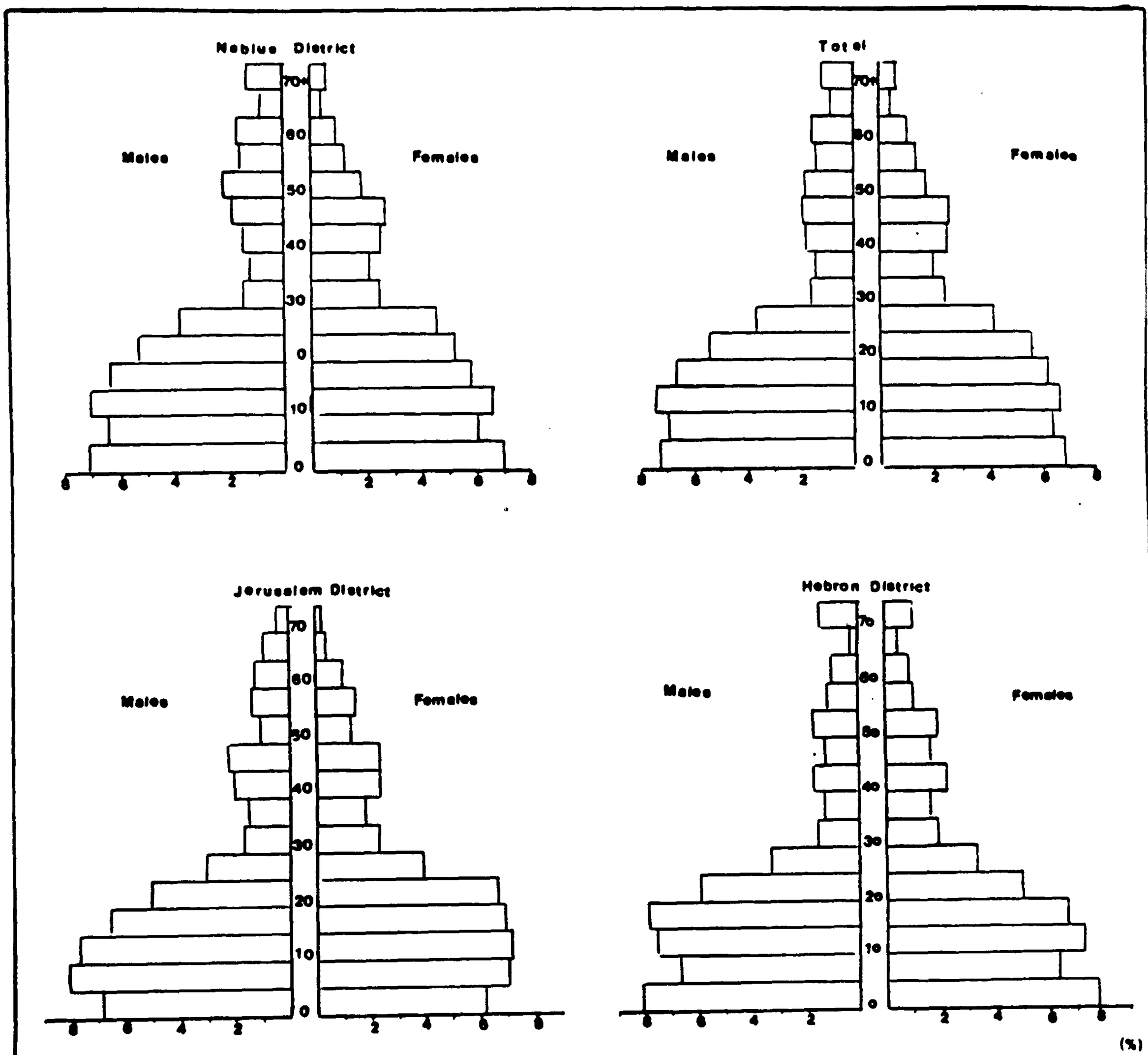


Figure 7.3 Population pyramids for the West Bank villages 1987, by District

Source: the 1987 sample survey

Table 7.2
Age composition of the population of the West Bank villages
1967 & 1987

Age groups	The 1967 census*			The 1987 sample survey											
				Nablus District			Jerusalem District			Hebron District			Total		
	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T
0-4	9.47	8.67	18.14	7.09	6.97	14.06	6.74	6.21	12.95	8.12	7.83	15.95	7.14	6.89	14.03
5-9	8.80	7.90	16.70	6.45	6.10	12.55	8.01	6.96	14.97	6.67	6.38	13.05	6.88	6.36	13.24
10-14	7.61	6.42	14.03	7.03	6.55	13.58	7.56	7.04	14.60	7.54	7.25	14.79	7.23	6.77	14.00
0-14	25.88	22.99	48.87	20.57	19.62	40.19	22.31	20.21	42.52	22.33	21.46	43.79	21.25	20.02	41.27
15-19	4.28	4.25	8.53	6.32	5.78	12.10	6.51	6.89	13.40	7.83	6.67	14.50	6.57	6.19	12.76
20-24	2.35	3.57	5.92	5.33	5.25	10.58	5.01	6.66	11.67	5.94	5.07	11.01	5.33	5.60	10.93
25-29	1.74	2.98	4.72	3.85	4.56	8.41	2.99	3.89	6.88	3.33	3.33	6.66	3.56	4.22	7.78
15-29	8.37	10.80	19.17	15.50	15.59	31.09	14.51	17.44	31.95	17.10	15.07	32.17	15.46	16.01	31.47
30-44	1.94	2.85	4.79	1.51	2.50	4.01	1.65	2.32	3.97	1.59	1.89	3.48	1.56	2.37	3.93
35-39	1.77	2.92	4.69	1.28	2.12	3.40	1.50	1.80	3.30	1.30	1.59	2.89	1.34	1.97	3.31
40-44	1.84	2.47	4.31	1.57	2.54	4.11	2.02	2.32	4.34	1.74	2.17	3.91	1.71	2.43	4.14
30-44	5.55	8.24	13.79	4.36	7.16	11.52	5.17	6.44	11.61	4.63	5.65	10.28	4.61	6.77	11.38
45-49	1.41	1.50	2.91	1.89	2.70	4.59	2.25	2.32	4.57	1.30	1.59	2.89	1.91	2.45	4.36
50-54	1.25	1.59	2.84	2.18	1.83	4.01	1.12	1.27	2.39	1.74	1.89	3.63	1.85	1.69	3.54
55-59	1.09	0.83	1.92	1.54	1.25	2.79	1.35	1.42	2.77	1.16	1.01	2.17	1.44	1.27	2.71
60-64	1.64	1.77	3.41	1.70	0.96	2.66	1.27	0.97	2.24	1.01	0.87	1.88	1.48	0.95	2.43
45-64	5.39	5.69	11.08	7.31	6.74	14.05	5.99	5.98	11.97	5.21	5.36	10.57	6.68	6.36	13.04
65-69	1.21	0.84	2.05	0.80	0.39	1.19	0.90	0.37	1.27	0.29	0.44	0.73	0.76	0.39	1.15
70+	2.52	2.52	5.04	1.32	0.64	1.96	0.45	0.23	0.68	1.45	1.01	2.46	1.11	0.58	1.69
65+	3.73	3.36	7.09	2.12	1.03	3.15	1.35	0.60	1.95	1.74	1.45	3.19	1.87	0.97	2.84
Total	48.92	51.08	100.0	49.86	50.14	100.0	49.33	50.67	100.0	51.01	48.99	100.0	49.87	50.13	100.0
No. of inhabitants	184,526	192,679	377,205	1,553	1,562	3,115	659	677	1.336	352	338	690	2,564	2,577	5,141

* There are 2,023 persons classified as age group unknown.
M:Male. F:Female. T:Total.
Sources: Calculated from;
1. Central Bureau of Statistics, 1967.
2. The 1987 sample survey.

years, and 45-65 years. The percentage in each category varies during the period 1961 to 1985, and there are differences between data for the villages in 1967 and 1987 respectively.

The percentage of the West Bank population as a whole in the age group 15-29 (Table 7.1 and Figure 7.1) declined from 25.23 per cent in the 1961 census to 20.20 per cent in the 1967 census. This was due to the fact that this age group was greatly affected by the 1967 war, and large numbers of the population in this age group left the West Bank either during the period 1961-1967, or directly after the war, because they had finished their education and entered the labour market. Most of them therefore, preferred to emigrate from the West Bank to the East Bank of the Jordan or to other countries looking for well-paid work; most of the losses from this age group happened directly after the war. The decline in the percentage of this age group between 1961 and 1967 affected both males and females, but losses of males were higher than those of females. Males formed a majority of the emigrants despite the fact that the emigration which occurred immediately after the 1967 war was characterized as a family movement.

Over the period 1967-1985 (Table 7.1 and Figure 7.1) the proportion of the total West Bank population in age group 15-29 increased continuously, from 20.20 per cent in 1967 to 30.06 per cent in 1985. The proportion of the male population in this age range rose from 18.60 per cent to 31.24 per cent, a considerably more rapid increase than that in the case of the females, which rose from 21.78 to 28.89. Similar trends can be seen in the case of the village population (Table 7.2 and Figures 7.2, 7.3), where the proportion aged 15-29 increased from 19.17 per cent in 1967 to 31.47 per cent (1618 persons) in 1987. The proportion of males in this age group rose from 8.37 to 15.46 per cent, that of females from 10.80 to 16.01.

A variety of factors underlie the relative increase in the size of this age

group. Regulations introduced by the Israeli authorities, for example, do not allow males between the ages of 16 and 26 who have left the West Bank to return before they have been away for at least nine months. Jordanian policies introduced after 1982 have been a further hindrance to emigration from the West Bank. In addition, the opening of institutes and universities in the West Bank itself has lessened the need for emigration to achieve higher education. Data from the 1987 survey show that, while 39.14 per cent of all emigrants were in the 15-29 age group, more than half (55.85 per cent) of these were in age group 25-29; most of the latter would have finished their education and would not be subject to the restrictions applied to 16-26 years-olds.

The percentage of the total West Bank population aged 30-44 (Table 7.1 and Figure 7.1) increased marginally from 13.17 per cent in the 1961 census to 13.94 per cent in the 1967 census, but since 1967 it has declined continuously, reaching 9.50 per cent in 1985. This decline was greater among the male population than it was among the female population. The decline in the percentage of the population in this age group was due to the fact that most of the emigrants, especially the males, emigrated after the age of 26; the 1987 sample survey shows that 38.30 per cent of all emigrants were in this age group. In the West Bank villages in the 1967 census (Table 7.2 and Figure 7.2) 13.79 per cent of the population were in the age group 30-44, a figure nearly equal to that for the total population in 1967 (Table 7.1). In the 1987 sample survey, however, the percentage of the population in the age group 30-44 was 11.38 per cent (585 persons) which was higher than that for the total population in 1985.

Comparable data from the Gaza Strip show that the age group 30-44 also declined during the period 1967-1984, falling from 14.2 per cent in 1967 to 11.0 per cent in 1984 (Dahlan, 1987). This decline was higher in the West Bank than in the Gaza Strip, because there was greater emigration from the West Bank than from the

Gaza Strip.

The proportion of the total West Bank population aged 45-64 (Table 7.1 and Figure 7.1) declined from 11.19 per cent in the 1961 census to 9.74 per cent in 1974, and then increased again, reaching 10.10 per cent in 1985. In the Gaza Strip, on the other hand, the percentage in this age group increased from 8.9 per cent in 1967 to 9.4 per cent in 1984 (Dahlan, 1987). The percentage of the population in this age group in the West Bank is higher than in the Gaza Strip, and whereas the percentage of the population in this age group is increasing in the Gaza Strip, it is declining in the West Bank. Once again, the difference is due to greater emigration from the West Bank than from the Gaza strip, and to the fact that emigrants from the West Bank, as holders of Jordanian passports, can remain abroad for longer periods than those from the Gaza Strip.

The emigration factor is also responsible for differences between the two sexes in age group 45-64. Whereas the proportion of males in this age group fell from 11.07 per cent in 1961 to 8.64 per cent in 1985, that of females rose slightly, from 11.03 to 11.54 per cent. The majority of emigrants are males, many of whom do not take their wives with them, while female emigrants tend to return to the West Bank after a short period outside the territory.

In the case of the villages population (Table 7.2 and Figure 7.2) 11.08 per cent were in age group 45-64 in 1967, a figure very close to that for the West Bank population as a whole. In the 1987 sample (Table 7.2 and Figure 7.3), the proportion was 13.04 per cent (640 persons), a figure higher than those for the villages in 1967 and the West Bank population as a whole in 1985. 15.32 per cent of the emigrants recorded in the 1987 survey belonged to this age group.

The percentages belonging to age groups 15-29, 30-44 and 45-64 in the 1987 sample survey are higher than those for the total population in 1985, because

the percentages of children (0-14) and elderly people (65 and over) in the 1987 sample survey are lower than those for the total population in 1985. This results in a rise in the percentage of the population found in the middle age group. It is also possible that in the last few years the movement of the population from the villages has been lower than that of the population from the cities and refugee camps in the West Bank.

7.1.3 Elderly people (65 years and over)

Throughout the period since 1961, elderly people have formed only a small percentage of the total West Bank population. The proportion rose (Table 7.1) from 5.23 per cent in 1961 to 6.60 per cent in 1967 owing to the fact that the elderly population did not emigrate in order to find work as others did before 1967, and immediately after the 1967 war. From 1967 until 1985, the percentage of elderly people (65 and over) declined continuously (Table 7.1 and Figure 7.1) reaching 3.78 per cent in 1985.

The same situation was found in the villages in the 1967 census (Table 7.2 and Figure 7.2) which had a proportion of elderly residents (7.09 per cent), well above that for the total population. In the 1987 sample survey, however, the figure had fallen to 2.84 per cent (146 persons), which was lower than the percentage for the villages in the 1967 census, as well as the percentage for the total population in 1985.

This low percentage of elderly people and high percentage of young people are characteristic not only of the West Bank but also of other developing societies, where life expectancy is low. In the West Bank villages in the 1987 sample survey, for example, life expectancy was 53.26 years for the female population and 52.84 years for the male population, meaning that a high proportion of the population die early. High fertility rates in the West Bank now and in the past increase the percentage of children, and emigration from the West Bank post 1948 has mostly involved young

people who do not return once they have left; such factors lead to a decline in the percentage of elderly people in the population.

7.2 The median age

The median age divides the population into two equal size groups; the lower the median age the younger the population, and vice versa. For example, the median age in Jordan in 1979 was 14.2 years (Yousef, 1982), while in France in 1985, it was 33.51 years (United Nations, 1987).

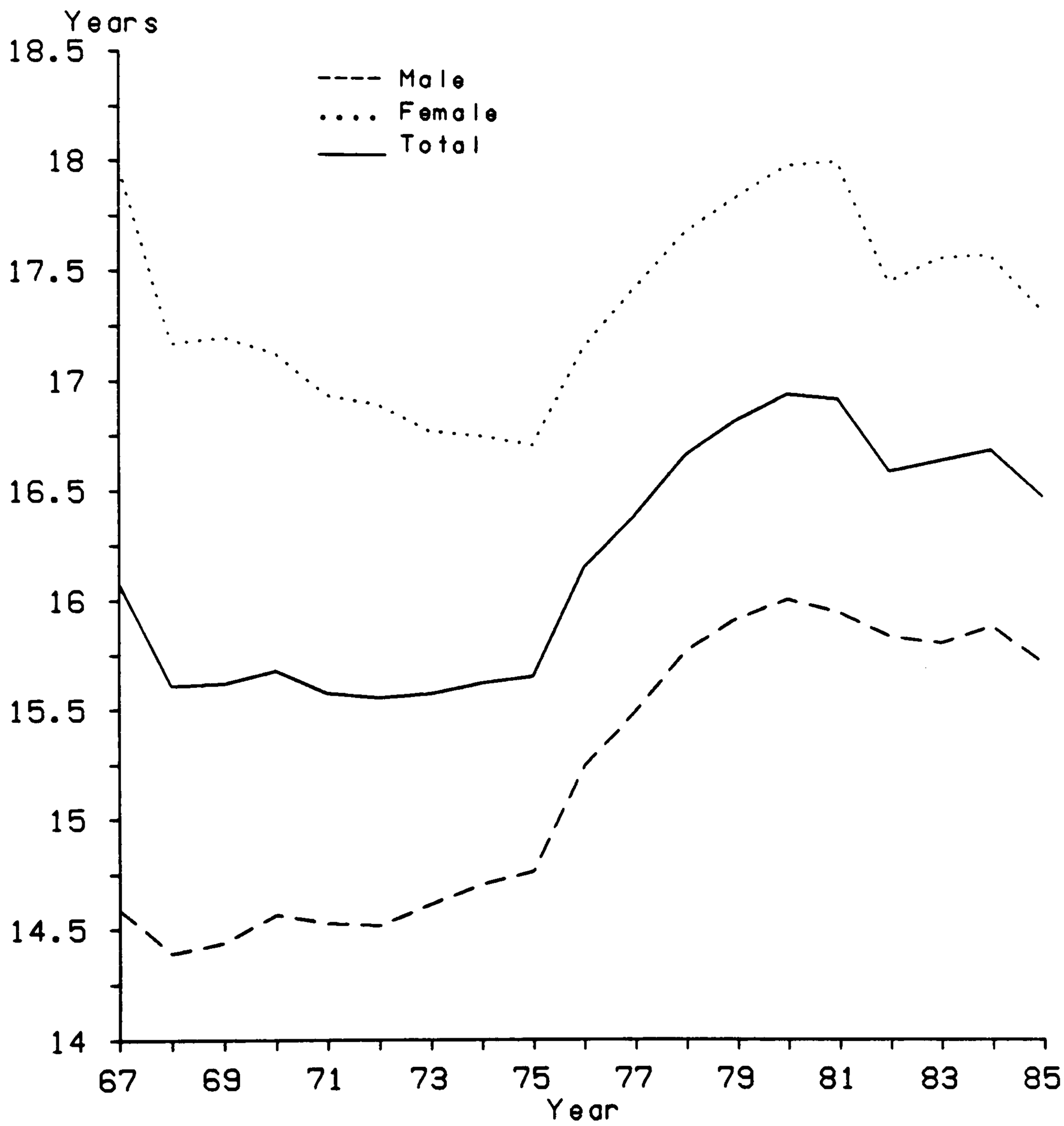
The West Bank population as a whole has a low median age (Table 7.3 and Figure 7.4), which declined from 17.17 years in 1961 to 16.08 in 1967, and continued to the decline until 1972, when it reached 15.56; it subsequently increased again to 16.50 years in 1985. On the other hand, the median age in the West Bank villages in the 1967 census was 15.82 years (Table 7.4), lower than that of the total population in 1967, but in the 1987 sample survey, the median age (Table 7.4) was 19.08 years, which was in fact higher than that of the total population in 1985. At no stage since 1961 has the median age of the West Bank population reached twenty years, whereas the median age of the emigrants in the 1987 sample survey was 31.17 years.

This low median age in the West Bank has been the result of a characteristically high proportion of children, which in turn has been the result of high fertility, and the emigration of people (particularly males) from the middle age group. Thus we find that the median age of the female population has been higher than that of the male population since 1961 (Tables 7.3, 7.4 and Figure 7.4) for the total population, and in the West Bank villages in both the 1967 census and the 1987 sample survey.

7.3 Aged/child ratio

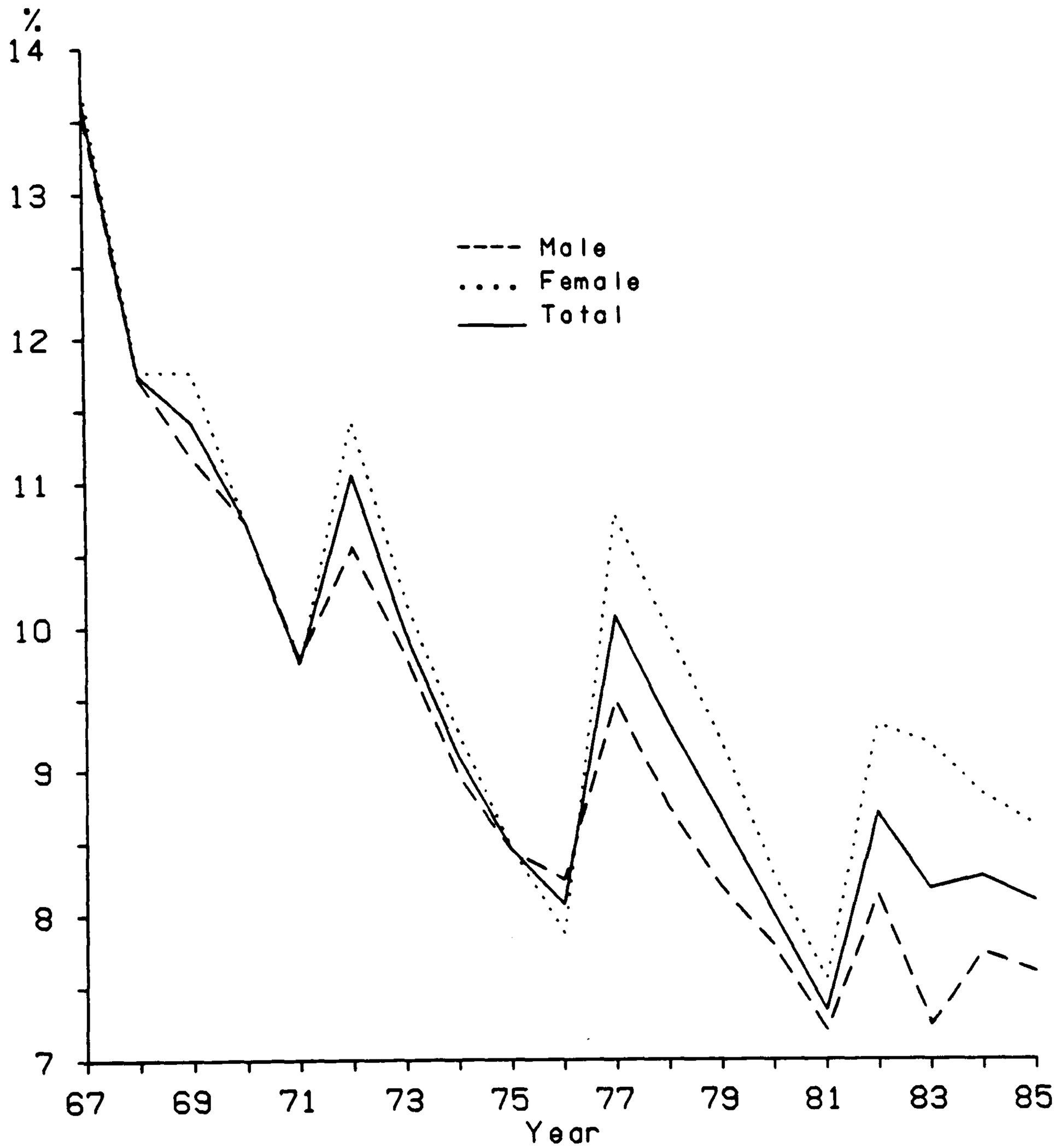
The aged/child ratio is one kind of age index, and relates the two extreme age groups (elderly people and children), by expressing the number of persons aged

Figure 7.4 Median age of the West Bank population 1967-1985



Source: Calculated from Central Bureau of Statistics 1969-1986

Figure 7.5 Aged-child ratio in the West Bank 1967-1985



Source: Calculated from Central Bureau of Statistics 1969-1986

Table 7.3
Summary of measures of age composition for the West Bank 1961-1985

Years	Median age			Age-child ratio (%)			Dependency ratio (%)		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Child	Aged	Total
1961*	15.74	18.55	17.17	10.75	12.48	11.56	91.11	10.54	101.65
1967*	14.59	17.97	16.08	13.56	13.73	13.64	107.38	14.65	122.03
1968	14.39	17.17	15.61	11.73	11.77	11.75	107.47	12.62	120.09
1969	14.44	17.20	15.62	11.18	11.77	11.42	106.79	12.20	118.99
1970	14.57	17.13	15.68	10.73	10.73	10.73	105.14	11.32	116.46
1971	14.53	16.94	15.58	9.80	9.75	9.77	104.81	10.24	115.05
1972	14.52	16.90	15.56	10.75	11.44	11.07	106.31	11.77	118.08
1973	14.62	16.78	15.58	9.82	10.21	9.98	104.65	10.44	115.09
1974	14.71	16.76	15.63	8.97	9.27	9.11	102.99	9.38	112.37
1975	14.77	16.72	15.66	8.45	8.47	8.46	101.88	8.62	110.50
1976	15.25	17.17	16.16	8.25	7.88	8.08	95.67	7.73	103.40
1977	15.50	17.44	16.40	9.51	10.81	10.10	94.87	9.58	104.45
1978	15.78	17.70	16.68	8.70	10.00	9.35	90.79	8.49	99.28
1979	15.93	17.86	16.84	8.20	9.23	8.69	88.29	7.68	95.97
1980	16.02	18.01	16.96	7.79	8.29	8.02	86.76	6.96	93.72
1981	15.96	18.03	16.94	7.20	7.56	7.34	86.68	6.36	93.04
1982	15.85	17.48	16.61	8.15	9.34	8.72	92.10	8.03	100.13
1983	15.82	17.59	16.66	7.24	9.21	8.19	92.22	7.55	99.77
1984	15.90	17.61	16.71	7.75	8.86	8.28	91.81	7.61	99.42
1985	15.73	17.36	16.50	7.61	8.64	8.11	93.76	7.61	101.37

* census

Sources: Calculated from;

1. Department of Statistics, 1964.
2. Central Bureau of Statistics, 1967.
3. Central Bureau of Statistics, 1969-1986.

65 years and over as a percentage of those aged 0-14 years (Dewdney, 1975, p 33). Thus a population with an aged/child ratio below of 15 per cent may be described as young, and a population with a ratio above 30 per cent may be described as old; a population with an aged/child ratio between 15-30 per cent may be described as being of intermediate age (Shryock and Siegel, 1980, p 234).

The aged/child ratio in the West Bank as a whole has been low since 1961 (Table 7.3 and Figure 7.5), rising from 11.56 per cent in the 1961 census to 13.64 per cent in the 1967 census, but falling thereafter to 7.34 per cent in 1981, with a slight rise to 8.11 per cent in 1985. Thus the population of the West Bank was youthful in 1961 and 1967 and became even more so by 1985. The aged/child ratio was higher for females than for males (Table 7.3 and Figure 7.5), from 1961 until 1985, although it was higher for males in the 1987 sample survey (Table 7.4). This may be a result of the fact that life for males in rural areas is better than it is for females.

In the West Bank villages, the aged/child ratio (Table 7.4) in the 1967 census was 14.54 per cent, higher than that of the total population in the same year. In the 1987 sample survey, however, the ratio was 6.88 per cent, which was lower than that for the villages in the 1967 census, and that for total population in 1985.

This low aged/child ratio in the West Bank is due to the low percentage of old people (65 years and over), a result of low life expectancy, and to the high level of fertility. Such phenomena are characteristic of the populations in most developing societies: in Jordan in 1979, for example, the aged/child ratio was 5.4 per cent (Yousef, 1982). By contrast, the aged/child ratio is very high in developed societies, which have a large proportion of old people to children; for example, in 1975 the aged/child ratio in Great Britain was 55.0 per cent, (Dewdney, 1975, p 31), while in France in 1985 it was 60.05 per cent (United Nations, 1987).

Table 7.4
Summary of measures of age composition for the West Bank villages 1967 & 1987

	Median age			Aged-child ratio (%)			Dependency ratio (%)		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Child	Aged	Total
1967 census	14.17	18.14	15.82	14.45	14.65	14.54	110.97	16.14	127.11
The 1987 sample survey									
Nablus District	18.44	19.72	19.05	10.30	5.24	7.83	70.94	5.55	76.49
Jerusalem District	16.81	18.72	17.79	6.04	2.96	4.58	76.55	3.50	80.05
Hebron District	17.04	17.28	17.15	7.79	6.76	7.29	82.51	6.01	88.52
Total	17.80	19.08	18.42	8.78	4.86	6.88	73.86	5.08	78.94

Sources: Calculated from;

1. Central Bureau of Statistics, 1967.
2. The 1987 sample survey.

7.4 Crude dependency ratio

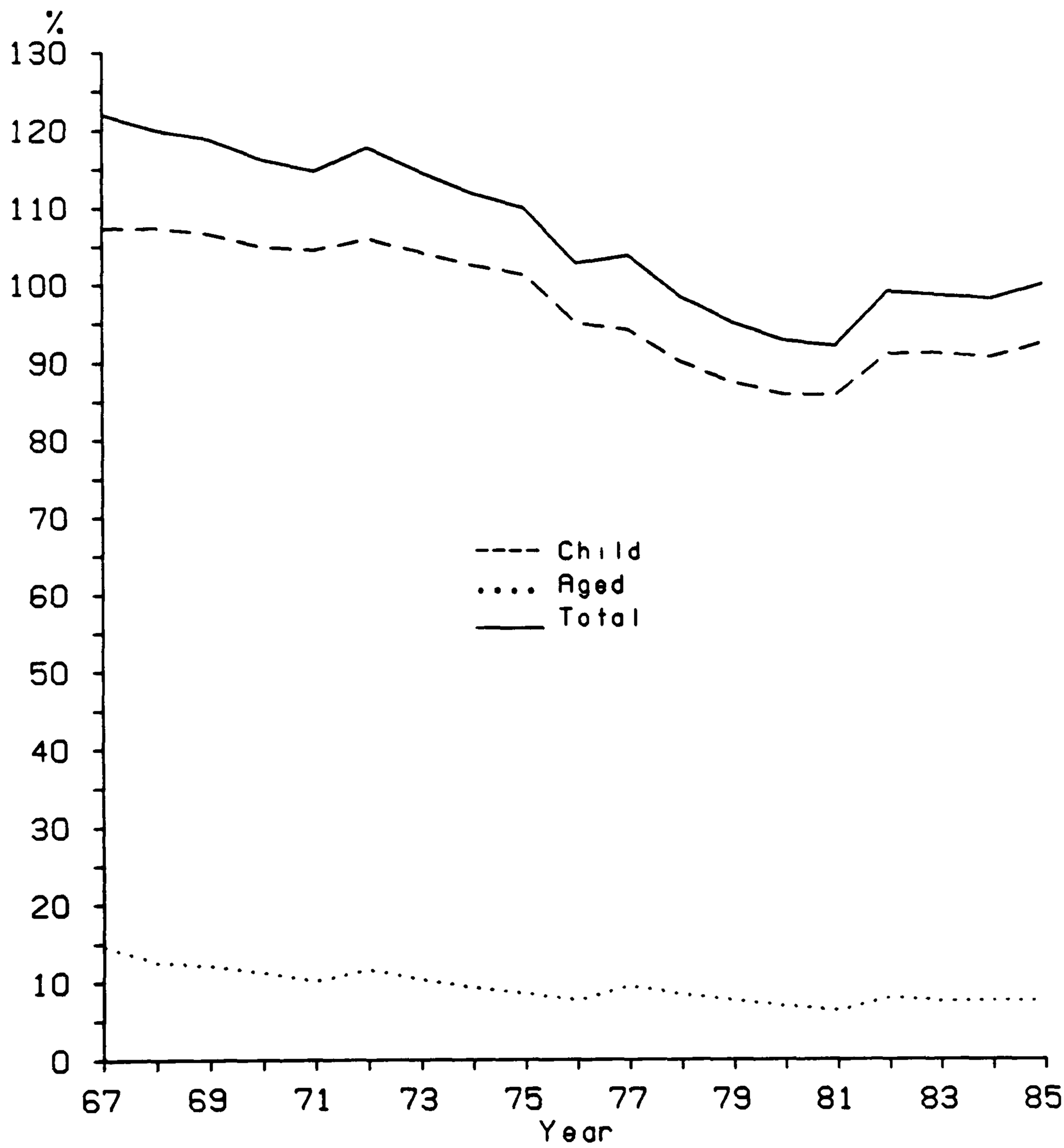
The crude dependency ratio represents the ratio of the combined child (0-14 years) and elderly (65 years and over) populations to the population in the intermediate age group (15-64 years). It is a fact, however, that some children under 15 years old work during the school holidays and during the sowing and harvesting seasons, and that some of the population of retirement age are economically active. On the other hand, not all the population aged 15-64 is economically active, especially women.

The crude dependency ratio is high in the West Bank (Table 7.3 and Figure 7.6), and increased from 101.65 dependents (91.11 under 15 years, and 10.54 aged 65 and over) for each 100 persons of productive age in the 1961 census, to 122.03 dependents (107.38 under 15 years and 14.65 aged 65 and over) in the 1967 census. This was due to the decline in the percentage of the population of productive age (15-64 years), from 49.59 per cent in 1961 to 45.04 per cent in 1967, due in turn to the high fertility rates, and the emigration of people of productive age.

After 1967, the crude dependency ratio fell to 93.04 dependents (86.68 under 15 years, and 6.36 aged 65 and over) in 1981, and then rose again to 101.37 dependents (93.76 under 15 years, and 7.61 aged 65 and over) in 1985. This variation in the dependency ratio during the period 1961-1985 was due to fluctuations in the levels of fertility and emigration in each year, although, throughout the period 1961-1985, the dependency ratio was very high, despite the fact that the adult population (15-64 years) formed over 45 per cent of the total population during that period.

In the West Bank villages (Table 7.4), the crude dependency ratio in the 1967 census was 127.11 dependents (110.97 under 15 years, and 16.14 aged 65 and over), higher than that for the total population in the 1967 census, (both for the children and the elderly population). In the 1987 sample survey, however, the crude

Figure 7.6 Crude dependency ratio in the West Bank 1967-1985



Source: Calculated from Central Bureau of Statistics 1969-1986

dependency ratio was 78.94 dependents (73.86 under 15 years, and 5.08 aged 65 and over), which was lower than that for the villages in the 1967 census, and for the total population in 1985. This variation was due to the higher percentage of adult population (15-64 years) in the 1987 sample survey, than in other censuses or estimates; 55.89 per cent of the total population in the sample were aged 15-64 years (Table 7.2). There were, however, variations between the Districts in the 1987 sample survey (Table 7.4); the villages in the Hebron District had a high dependency ratio of 88.52 dependents (82.51 under 15 years, and 6.01 aged 65 and over), whereas the villages in the Jerusalem District had a ratio of 80.05 dependents (76.55 under 15 years, and 3.50 aged 65 and over), and the villages in the Nablus District had a ratio of 76.49 dependents (70.94 under 15 years, and 5.55 aged 65 and over). This high dependency ratio in the villages in the Hebron District is due to the fertility rates in this District, which are higher than in other Districts of the West Bank.

The high dependency ratios in the West Bank are due to the youthful population structure, which suggests that the burden of dependency has to be carried by the productive population

7.5 Sex ratio

The sex ratio in the West Bank varied from year to year during the period 1961-1985 (Table 7.5 and Figure 7.7); while it was 97.8 males per 100 females in the 1961 census for example, it was 101.2 in 1974 and 1975, and 99.2 in 1985. In the West Bank villages (Table 7.6), the sex ratio was 95.9 in the 1967 census, lower than the ratio for the total population in that year (Table 7.5). This may have been the result of the high proportion of male emigrants from the villages, which was greater than that from other West Bank settlements in 1967. For example, the sex ratio was 103.0 in the urban settlements, and 103.3 in the refugee camps (Central Bureau of Statistics, 1967). In the 1987 sample survey, on the other hand, (Table 7.6), the sex ratio was

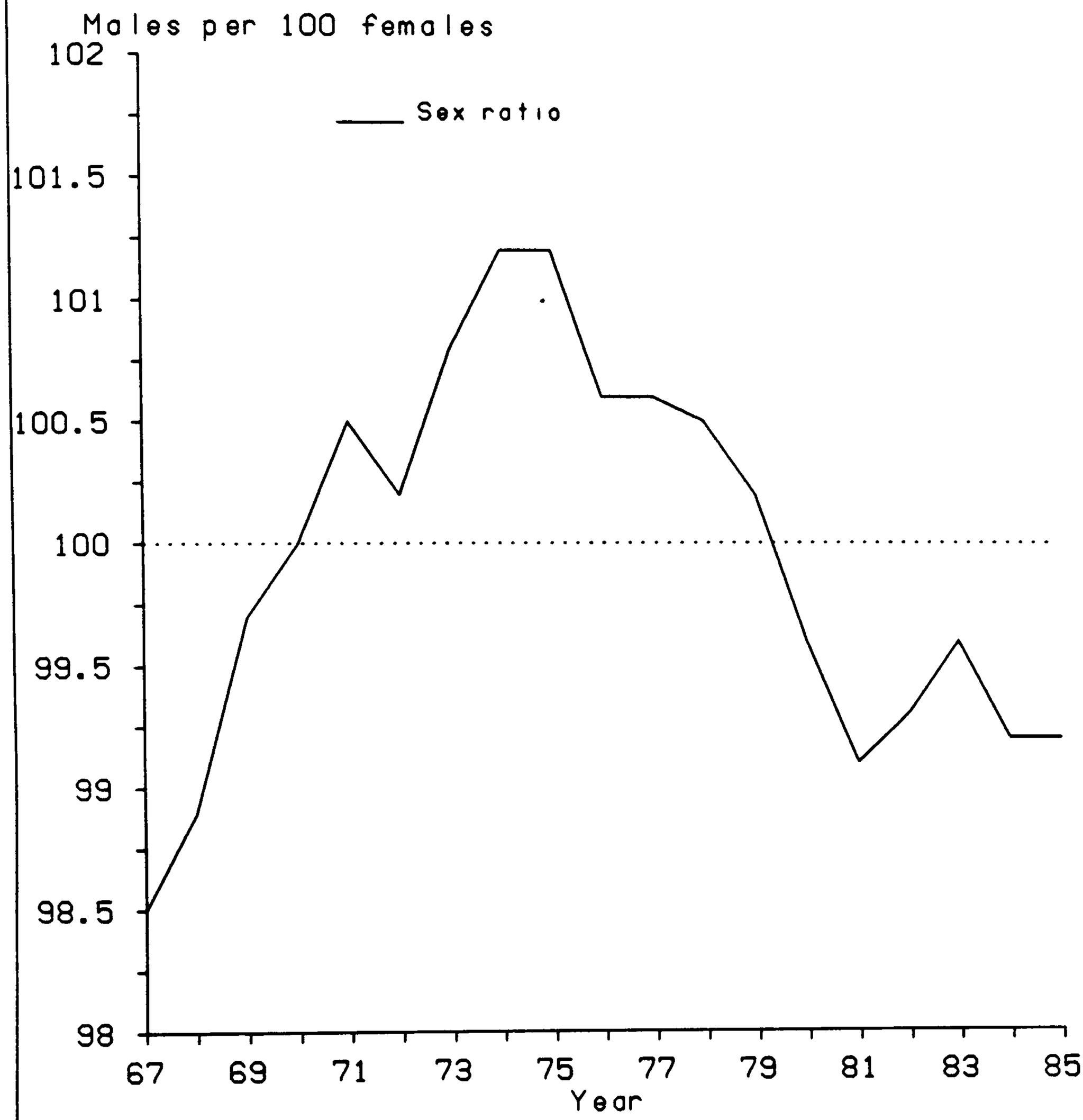
99.5, which was nearly equal to that for the total population in 1985, whereas the sex ratio for the emigrants in the 1987 sample survey was 230.9 males per 100 females. The sex ratio differs from one District to another in the 1987 sample survey; 104.3 in the villages in the Hebron District, compared with 99.4 in the villages in the Nablus District, and 97.3 in the villages in the Jerusalem District. Such variations between the Districts are due to the volume of emigrants from each District.

The age-specific sex ratio in the West Bank as a whole (Table 7.5) has formed a U-shape since 1961, which is characteristic of the high sex ratio for the children and aged population, and the low sex ratio for the population in the middle age group.

The sex ratio for the population in the age group 0-20 has been over 105 males per 100 females since 1961 (Table 7.5). This has been due to the masculinity of birth, and to the favoured position in society of male children, who are looked upon as valuable economic assets, able to provide economic support for parents in their old age, or in the event of premature disability. In the age group 20-29, the sex ratio declined to less than 100 during the period 1961 to 1976 (Table 7.5), while from 1977 onwards it has again risen to over 100. This is mainly due to the difficulties faced in recent years by people in this age group wishing to emigrate, and to the opening of many universities and institutes in the West Bank after 1976. Prior to 1976, more male students than females students emigrated from the West Bank in order to continue their education.

Lowest age-specific sex ratios (Table 7.5) were found in the age groups 30-39 and 40-49. While the sex ratio for age group 30-39 increased from 72.4 in 1967 to 81.0 in 1985, it decreased for age group 40-49 from 83.4 in 1961 to 66.2 in 1985. The sex ratio was higher for age group 40-49 than for age group 30-39 from 1961 until 1977, whereas in 1978 and subsequently the sex ratio for the age group 30-39

Figure 7.7 Sex ratio in the West Bank 1967-1985



Source: Calculated from Central Bureau of Statistics 1969-1986

Table 7.5
The Age-specific sex ratios of the West Bank
1961-1985
males per 100 females

Years	0-9	10-19	20-29	30-39	40-49	50-59	60+	Total
1961*	109.4	108.5	80.5	76.3	83.4	96.6	99.1	97.8
1967*	110.1	112.9	70.4	72.4	85.9	99.0	104.5	98.5
1968	110.1	109.8	73.7	73.1	87.1	100.9	110.3	98.9
1969	111.4	112.7	76.1	71.7	84.9	102.9	106.4	99.7
1970	111.5	112.5	78.9	69.4	84.2	102.1	110.6	100.0
1971	112.2	111.9	81.2	69.4	84.2	104.4	110.7	100.5
1972	112.2	111.8	88.2	71.6	75.8	88.8	103.9	100.2
1973	112.9	110.7	91.2	71.8	77.2	89.9	105.6	100.8
1974	112.5	111.7	93.4	72.7	76.2	89.5	106.5	101.2
1975	112.3	110.8	97.2	70.5	73.6	92.1	108.5	101.2
1976	110.7	111.8	95.6	69.7	74.1	92.2	112.3	100.6
1977	110.8	111.8	103.4	72.7	72.3	80.5	95.1	100.6
1978	111.0	111.9	102.6	73.0	71.4	81.5	95.7	100.5
1979	110.3	112.4	102.4	72.8	70.2	79.8	97.4	100.2
1980	110.3	110.9	101.3	73.2	67.2	80.0	101.1	99.6
1981	110.2	110.5	99.0	72.7	66.8	80.7	102.3	99.1
1982	106.8	110.3	108.0	71.9	70.3	70.6	93.6	99.3
1983	107.5	109.9	107.8	80.1	68.0	70.6	88.3	99.6
1984	105.5	109.9	104.0	81.0	66.2	71.4	92.3	99.2
1985	106.6	109.9	104.0	81.0	66.2	71.4	92.3	99.2

* census

Sources: Calculated from;

1. Department of Statistics, 1964.
2. Central Bureau of Statistics, 1967.
3. Central Bureau of Statistics, 1969-1986.

increased and the position was reversed. This was due to the fact that most (male) emigrants came from these two age groups.

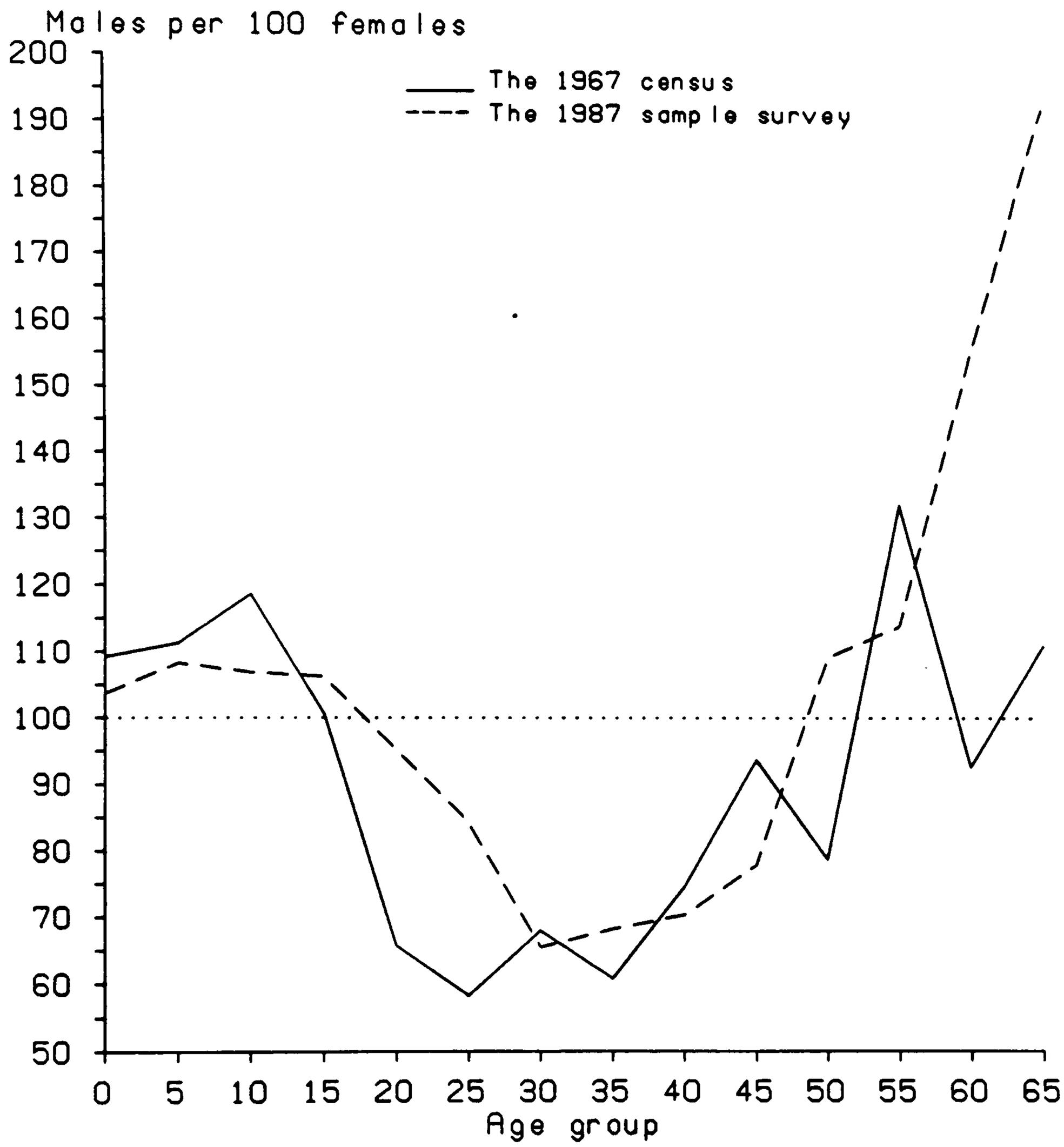
The sex ratio was higher for the age group 50-59 (Table 7.5) than for those aged 40-49, although it was under 100 in most of the years during the period 1961-1985 (except 1968, 1969, 1970, and 1971). In age group 60 years and over, however, the sex ratio was higher than that for age group 50-59, and in most years it was over 100, because in old age many of the emigrants return. Another contributory factor may be the higher age-specific mortality recorded among females in this age group (see Chapter 5).

Age-specific sex ratios in the West Bank villages (Table 7.6 and Figure 7.8) were similar to those of the West Bank population as a whole, except among those aged 50 or more where the sex ratio in the West Bank villages was higher than it was in the West Bank as a whole. On the other hand, the villages in the Nablus District (Table 7.6) had a sex ratio in age group 30-49 which was lower than in other villages in the West Bank, and lower than that in the 1967 census. The age group 25-29, on the other hand, had a low sex ratio in the 1967 census of 58.3 males per 100 females. Similarly, we found that the sex ratio for emigrants in the 1987 sample survey in the age group 30-49 was 287.8, which was higher than that for the residents of the villages in the same age group.

7.6 Summary

The population of the West Bank as a whole, and in the West Bank villages in particular is youthful, and is characterized by a high percentage of children, and small percentage of elderly people. This situation increases the dependency ratio, and decreases the median age and the aged/child ratio. After 1967, the proportion of the population in the age group 15-29 rose significantly, while other age group declined. The middle age group (30-49) has a low sex ratio as a result of the selective

Figure 7.8 Age-specific sex ratio in the West Bank villages 1967&1987



Source: Calculated from; (1) C.B.S., 1967. (2) The 1987 sample survey

Table 7.6
The Age-specific sex ratios of the West Bank villages 1967 & 1987
males per 100 females

Age groups	The 1967 census	The 1987 sample survey			
		Nablus District	Jerusalem District	Hebron District	Total
0-4	109.2	101.8	108.4	103.7	103.7
5-9	111.3	105.8	115.1	104.6	108.3
10-14	111.6	107.4	107.5	104.0	106.9
15-19	100.8	109.4	94.6	117.4	106.3
20-24	65.8	101.2	75.3	117.1	95.1
25-29	58.3	84.5	76.9	100.0	84.3
30-34	68.0	60.3	71.0	84.6	65.6
35-39	60.9	60.6	83.3	81.8	68.3
40-44	74.5	62.0	87.1	80.0	70.4
45-49	93.6	70.2	96.8	81.8	77.8
50-54	78.6	119.3	88.2	92.3	109.2
55-59	132.2	123.1	94.7	114.3	113.9
60-64	92.6	173.3	130.8	116.7	155.1
65-69	143.8	208.3	240.0	66.7	195.0
70+	100.0	205.0	200.0	142.9	190.0
Total	95.9	99.4	97.3	104.1	99.5

Sources: Calculated from;

1. Central Bureau of Statistics, 1967.
2. The 1987 sample survey.

emigration of males in this age group.

7.7 References

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CHAPTER EIGHT

MARITAL STATUS

Marriage is a contract between an adult male and an adult female; biological, social, economic, and cultural considerations influence the decision to get married. In the West Bank society, as in other parts of the Middle East, great importance is attached to marriage, especially for women, because male honour is dependent on the behaviour of women. The social considerations include having more children, especially male, to carry the family name. Islam also encourages marriages; when a man marries it is said that he "perfects half his religion". On the other hand, at the time of marriage, society gives the woman no opportunity to participate in the choice of her husband. The opinions of her father and family, however, have a great influence on the selection of a woman's marital partner; the phrase, "what pleases my father pleases me" has become an accepted saying with regard to the girl's choice of marital partner. The same thing applies to the man, who is expected to formally request the consent of his father before the marriage proceeds.

The published data relating to the marital status of the population of the West Bank available in the 1961 and 1967 censuses were tabulated by age and sex. Marital status in the two censuses has been categorized into four groups; single, married, divorced, and widowed.

8.1 Age-sex differential in marital status

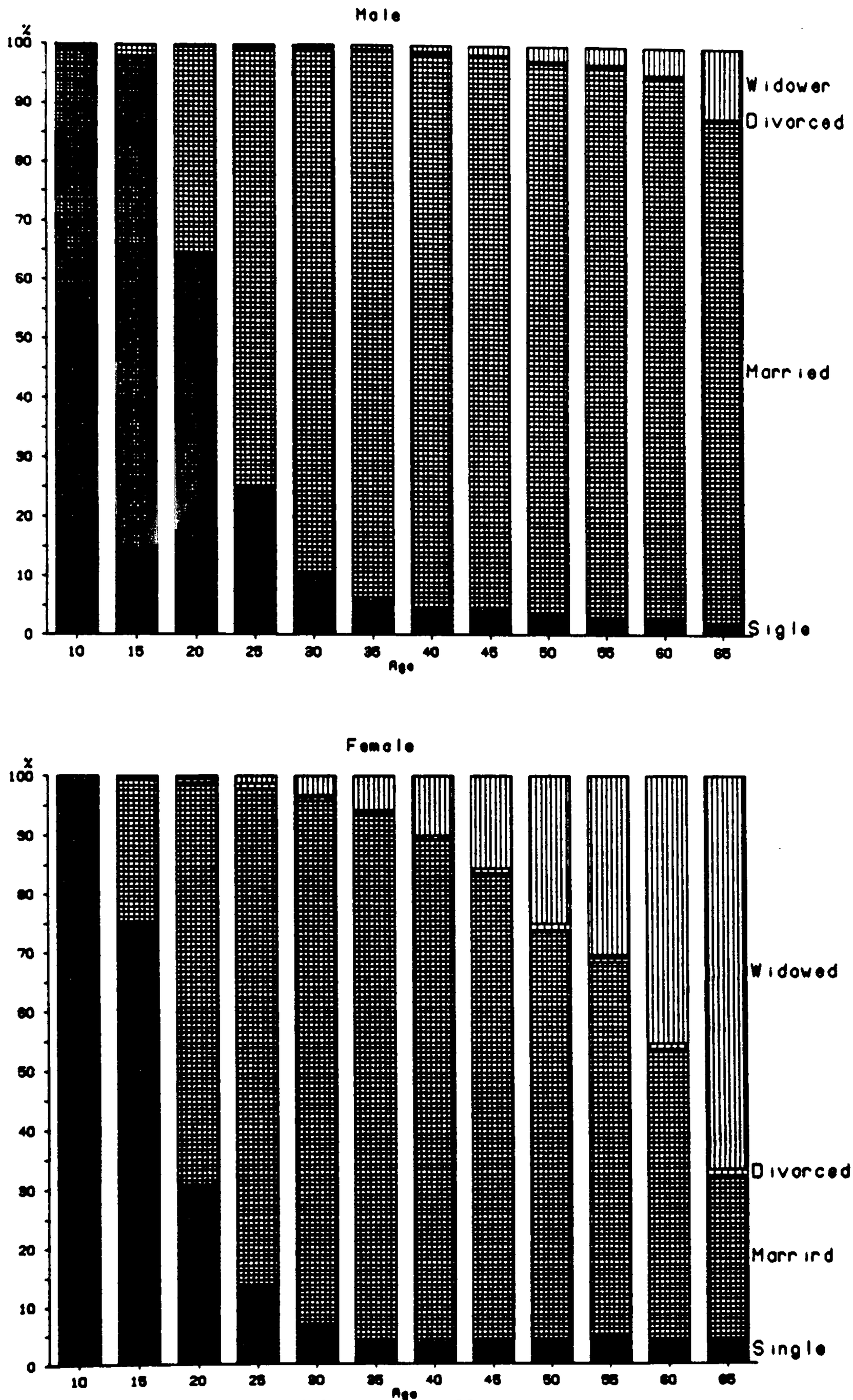
The single population represents about two-thirds of the total population of the West Bank, due to the youthful population structure (more than 40 per cent of the population is less than 15 years old). However, if we consider the marital status of the population aged 15 years and over (since the minimum age at first marriage according to Jordanian law is 16 years), we find that the proportion of single persons,

both male and female declines sharply with increasing age. This applies to the total West Bank population in the 1961 and 1967 censuses (Table 8.1 and Figures 8.1, 8.2) and to the village population covered by the 1987 survey (Table 8.2 and Figure 8.3).

In the 1961 census a greater proportion of men than of women remained single up to age group 45-49, beyond which the percentage of single women was higher than that of single men. In the 1967 census, the percentage of single men was higher until the age group 35-39 years, beyond which the percentage of single women was higher (Table 8.1 and Figures 8.1, 8.2). In the 1987 sample survey, however, the proportion of single men in the West Bank villages was higher until the age group 30-34 years, beyond which the proportion of single women was higher (Table 8.2 and Figure 8.3). These data reflect the fact that women tend to marry at a younger age than men, and that most men prefer to marry women younger than themselves. Society views single women over 30 years old with suspicion, and their only chance of marriage is to a widower or divorced man, or to a married man who already has a wife or wives. On the other hand, the proportion of single men in the total population aged 15 years old and over was higher than that of single women in the 1961 and 1967 censuses, and of the population in the villages in the 1987 sample survey. This is due to the fact that men assume all responsibility when they marry, and are more involved in continuing their education than women, which means that they tend to marry later.

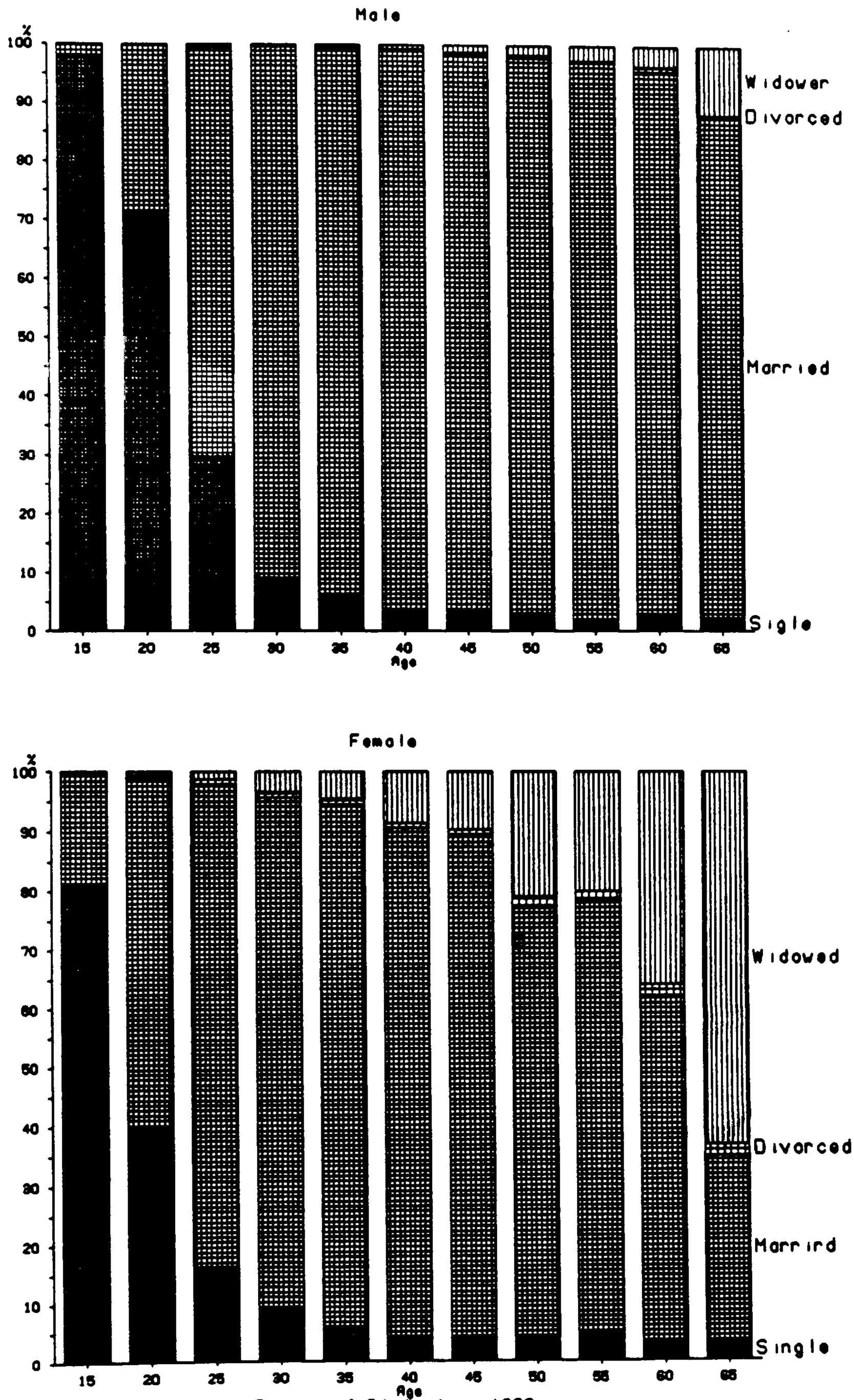
In the 1961 and 1967 censuses (Table 8.1 and Figure 8.1, 8.2) the percentage of married persons rises rapidly with age until the age group 40-44 among the male population, and 35-39 among the females. In the West Bank villages, in the 1987 sample survey (Table 8.2 and Figure 8.3), the maximum percentage of married persons was found in the age group 40-44 for both the male and female population. Beyond these age groups the percentages of married persons declined, due to increases in the percentage of widowed persons. The percentage of married females for the total

Figure 8.1 Marital status by age and sex, 1961



Source: Calculated from Department of Statistics 1964

Figure 8.2 Marital status by age and sex, 1967



Source: Calculated from Central Bureau of Statistics 1968

Table 8.1
Marital status of the West Bank population by age and sex, 1961 & 1967

Age groups	The 1961 census								The 1967 census*							
	Male				Female				Male				Female			
	S	M	D	W	S	M	D	W	S	M	D	W	S	M	D	W
13 & 14	99.98	0.02	0	0	99.37	0.62	0	0.01	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
15-19	97.63	2.32	0.04	0.01	75.40	24.29	0.24	0.07	97.75	2.13	0.03	0.09	81.00	18.76	0.09	0.15
20-24	64.35	35.30	0.27	0.08	30.94	67.84	0.77	0.45	71.04	28.77	0.12	0.07	39.92	59.08	0.48	0.52
25-29	24.93	74.47	0.35	0.25	13.66	84.22	0.86	1.26	29.79	69.59	0.34	0.28	16.28	81.66	0.77	1.29
30-34	10.28	88.82	0.44	0.46	6.81	89.05	0.86	3.28	9.06	90.55	0.05	0.34	9.03	86.68	0.90	3.39
35-39	5.77	93.14	0.45	0.64	3.91	89.58	0.72	5.79	5.98	93.47	0.14	0.41	5.46	89.02	1.04	4.48
40-44	4.35	94.11	0.55	0.99	3.66	85.40	0.82	10.12	3.24	95.79	0.28	0.69	3.59	87.01	0.76	8.64
45-49	4.02	94.05	0.42	1.51	3.70	79.87	0.82	15.61	3.73	94.70	0.37	1.20	3.70	85.82	0.78	9.70
50-54	3.57	93.51	0.53	2.39	3.79	69.70	1.34	25.17	3.08	94.86	0.52	1.54	3.70	73.27	1.95	21.08
55-59	2.86	93.79	0.46	2.89	4.57	63.69	1.30	30.44	1.89	95.38	0.25	2.48	4.77	73.59	1.48	20.16
60-64	2.70	92.28	0.50	4.52	3.99	49.27	1.26	45.48	2.58	93.20	0.79	3.43	3.02	59.08	1.88	36.02
65 +	2.19	85.55	0.51	11.76	4.24	27.67	1.25	66.84	2.28	85.67	0.39	11.66	2.99	31.76	1.90	63.35
Population aged 15 years +	41.60	56.32	0.31	1.77	29.27	57.72	0.74	12.27	30.75	66.60	0.26	2.39	21.88	63.60	0.97	13.55

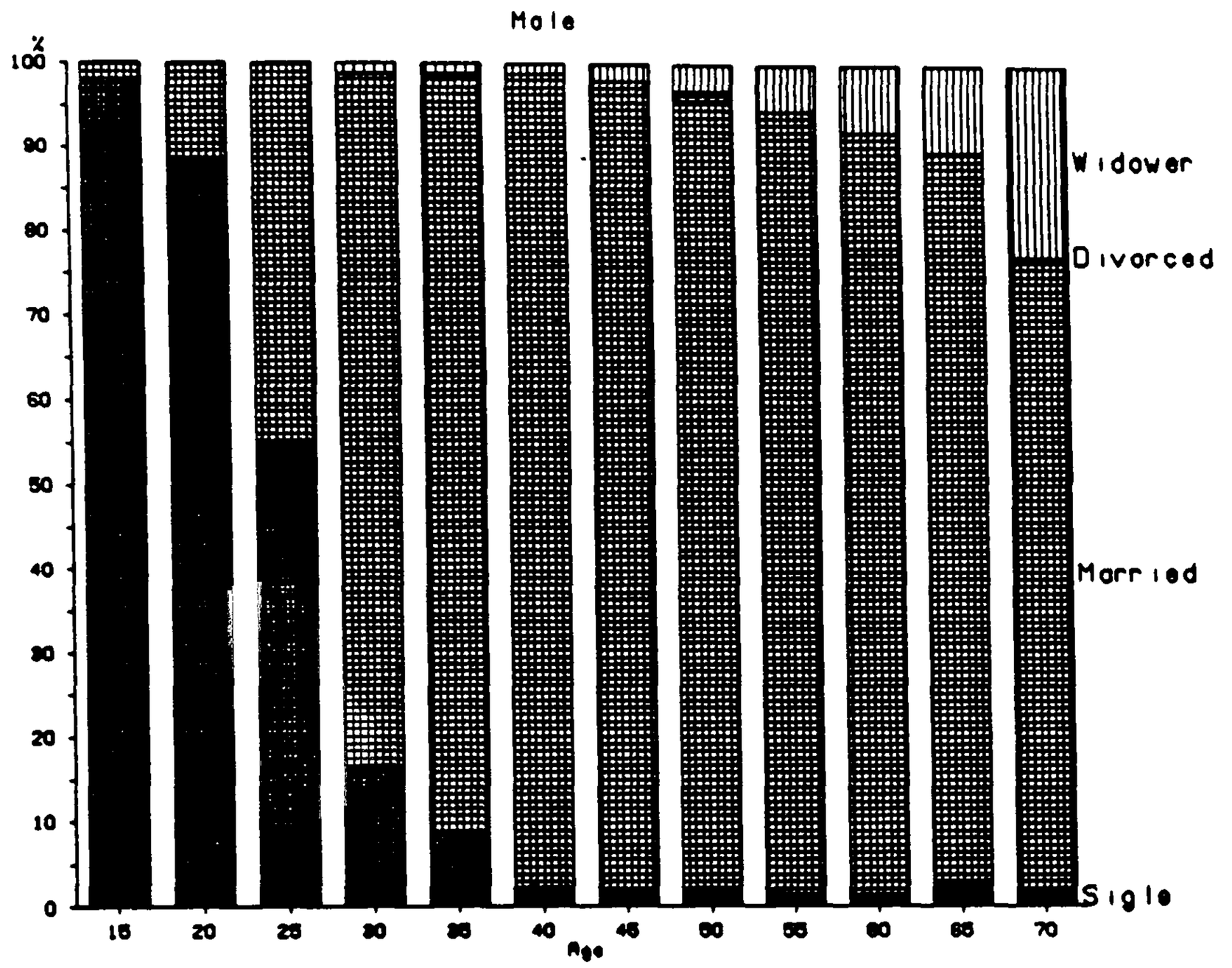
S:Single. M:Married. D:Divorced. W:Widowed.

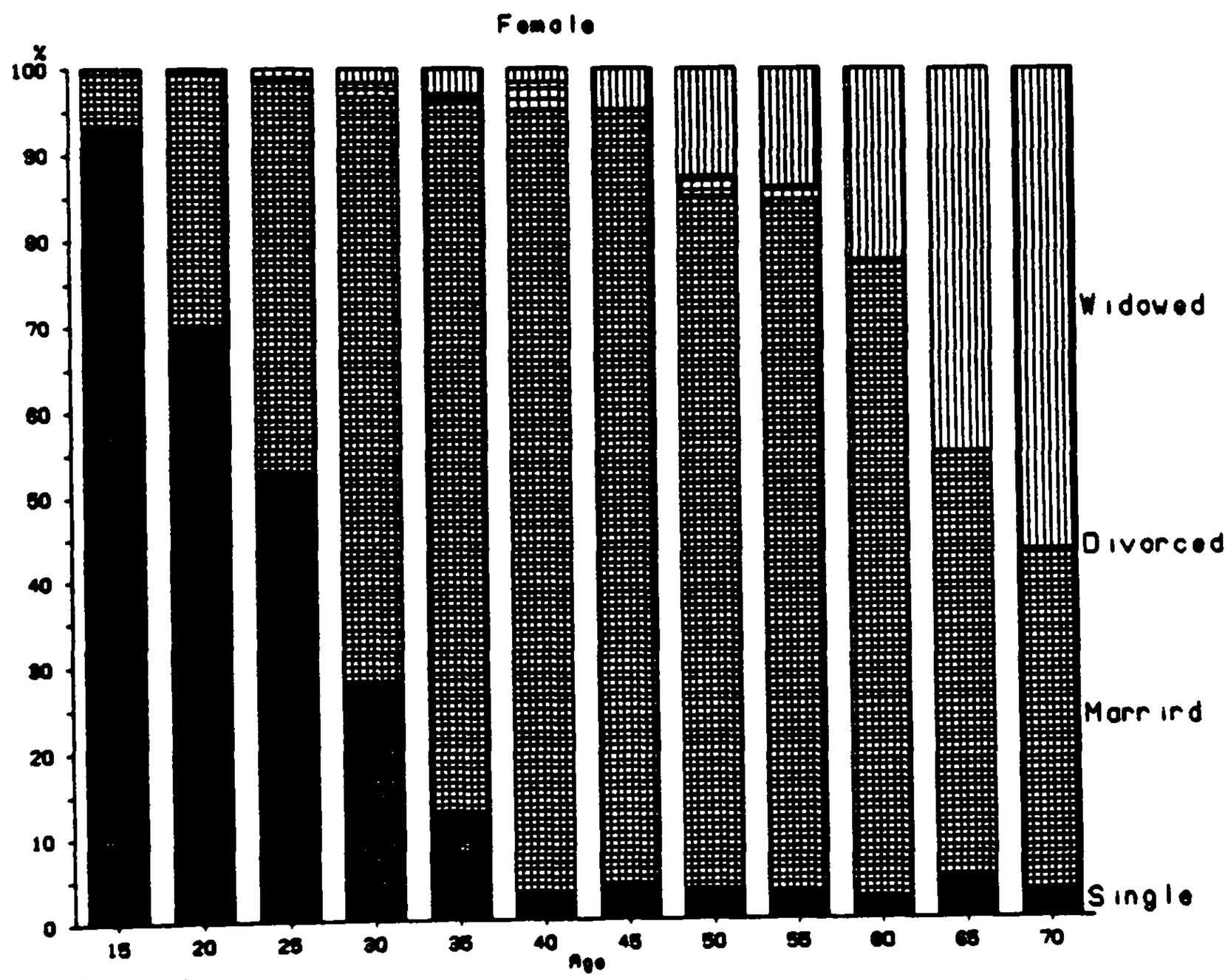
* There are 772 persons classified as marital status unknown.

Sources: Calculated from;

1. Department of Statistics, 1964.
2. Central Bureau of Statistics, 1967.

Figure 8.3 Marital status by age and sex in the West Bank villages, 1987





Source: The 1987 sample surrvey

Table 8.2
Marital status by age and sex in the West Bank villages, 1987

Age groups	Male					Female				
	S	M	D	W	No. of cases	S	M	D	W	No. of cases
0-14	100.00	0	0	0	1093	100.00	0	0	0	1029
15-19	97.63	2.37	0	0	338	93.40	6.60	0	0	318
20-24	88.32	11.68	0	0	274	69.79	29.86	0.35	0	288
25-29	55.19	44.81	0	0	183	53.00	46.08	0.92	0	217
30-34	16.25	82.50	1.25	0	80	27.87	68.85	1.64	1.64	122
35-39	8.70	89.85	1.45	0	69	12.87	83.17	0.99	2.97	101
40-44	2.27	96.59	0	1.14	88	3.20	92.00	3.20	1.60	125
45-49	2.04	95.92	0	2.04	98	3.97	91.27	0	4.76	126
50-54	2.11	93.68	1.05	3.16	95	3.45	81.61	2.30	12.64	87
55-59	1.35	93.24	0	5.41	74	3.08	81.54	1.54	13.84	65
60-64	1.32	90.79	0	7.89	76	2.04	75.51	0	22.45	49
65-69	2.56	87.18	0	10.26	39	5.00	50.00	0	45.00	20
70 +	1.75	75.44	0	22.81	57	3.33	40.00	0	56.67	30
Population aged 15 years +	47.79	49.76	0.21	2.24	1471	43.73	50.84	0.84	4.59	1548
Total Population	70.05	28.55	0.12	1.29	2564	66.20	30.58	0.50	2.72	2577

S:Single. M:Married. D:Divorced. W:Widowed.
Source : The 1987 sample survey.

population in the 1961 and 1967 censuses and for the population in the villages in the 1987 sample survey was higher than that of the males until the age group 25-29, beyond which the percentage of married males was higher. This is due to the fact that women tend to marry earlier than men, and the differential between the ages of the husband and the wife make it possible for the women to become a widow early. The possibility of the widower or divorced male re-marrying is greater than that for the woman in a similar state, especially if she has children, and in the West Bank society, the man chooses his wife and not the vice versa.

In the 1961 census for the total population, and in the 1987 sample survey for the population in the villages, the proportion of married women was higher than that of married men due to the fact that emigration is also higher among married men than married women, since many married men emigrated from the West Bank leaving their wives and children in the West Bank with their extended families, and to the existence of polygamy in the society, allowing a man up to four wives. In the 1967 census, however, the percentage of married men was higher than that of married women, due to the increase in the percentage of widows following the 1967 war.

In comparing the Districts, we find that the Hebron District had a high proportion of married women in the 1961 census i.e. 64.12 per cent of the total female population aged 13 years and over. In the 1987 sample survey 60.00 per cent (114 women) of the women in the villages aged 15 years and over were married. This is due to people marrying earlier in the Hebron District than in other Districts of the West Bank, and to the percentage of polygamous marriages in the Hebron District, which is higher than in other Districts. In the 1961 census, the highest percentage of married men was found in the Hebron District i.e. 59.43 per cent of the total male population aged 13 years and over, whilst in the 1987 sample survey the highest percentage was found in the villages in the Jerusalem District i.e. 55.96 per cent (202 men) of the male population in the villages aged 15 years and over.

The percentage of divorced women was higher than that of divorced men for the total population in the 1961 and 1967 censuses, and for the population in the West Bank villages in the 1987 sample survey (Tables 8.1, 8.2 and Figures 8.1, 8.2, 8.3). This is due to the fact that it is easier for divorced men to re-marry than it is for divorced women, especially if the divorced woman is old, and thus we find that the number of divorced women in the older age groups is higher than in the younger age groups. The percentage of divorced women rose from 0.74 per cent of the total female population aged 13 years and over in 1961, to 0.97 per cent of the total female population aged 15 years and over in 1967. This compares with Jordan in 1976, when the percentage of divorced women was 3.5 per cent of the ever-married women (Yousef, 1982, p 14).

The percentage of divorced men declined from 0.31 per cent of the total male population aged 13 years and over in 1961 to 0.26 per cent of the total male population aged 15 years and over in 1967. However, in the 1987 sample survey, this percentage in the West Bank villages was lower among the male population i.e. 0.21 per cent (3 men) of males in the villages aged 15 years and over, as well as, among the female population 0.84 per cent (13 women) of females in the villages aged 15 years and over; both these figures are lower than those in the 1967 census. This indicates a higher incidence of divorce among both the total female population in the 1967 census and the female population of the villages in the 1987 survey than those of the total female population in 1961. The percentage of divorced men on the other hand, was lower in the 1987 sample survey than in the 1967 and 1961 censuses, due to the fact that it is easier for divorced men to re-marry than it is for divorced women, because of the general belief that a man divorced his wife because he finds that she is unable to bear children or has behaved in an unacceptable way.

The Jerusalem District had a higher percentage of divorced men and women in the 1961 census and in the 1987 sample survey than other Districts in

the West Bank; the percentage of divorced men in the 1961 census was 0.34 per cent of the total male population aged 13 years and over, whilst the percentage of divorced women was 0.83 per cent of the total female population aged 13 years and over. In the 1987 sample survey, 0.28 per cent (1 man) of the total male population in the villages aged 15 years and over was divorced, whereas 1.23 per cent (5 women) of the female population aged 15 years and over was divorced in the villages in the Jerusalem District. This is due to the fact that most male emigrants from the Jerusalem District go to non-Arab countries, leaving their wives in the villages, and in most cases not returning to them.

The percentage of widowed persons increases with age; and, in both the 1961 and 1967 censuses, the percentage of widows in the total population was higher at all ages than the percentage of widowers (Table 8.1, and Figures 8.1, 8.2). This was also found to be the case in the West Bank villages in the 1987 sample survey (Table 8.2 and Figure 8.3). Reasons for this are the differences in age between the husband and the wife, due to the fact that most men like to marry young women, and the low proportion of widows who are able to re-marry. Thus we found that the percentage of widows aged 65 years and over in the total population in the 1961 and 1967 censuses, and the widows aged 70 years and over in the 1987 sample survey was higher than that of married women of similar ages. More than half the women in these age groups were widows, whereas in the 1961 and 1967 censuses less than 12 per cent of the total male population aged 65 years and over were widowers, and in the 1987 sample survey only 17.71 per cent (17 men) of similar age in the villages were widowers.

In the 1961 census and in the 1987 sample survey the highest percentage of widowers was found in the Nablus District; in the 1961 census 1.83 per cent of the total male population aged 13 years and over were widowers, whereas in the 1987 sample survey the figure was 2.63 per cent (24 men) of the male population in the

villages aged 15 years and over. In the 1961 census, the highest percentage of widows was found in the Jerusalem District i.e. 12.55 per cent of the total female population aged 13 years and over. In the 1987 sample survey, however, the highest percentage of widows was found in the villages in the Hebron District, 6.84 per cent (13 women) of the female population in the villages aged 15 years and over.

It is worth mentioning here that no cases of married, divorced, or widowed person under 15 years old were found in the 1967 census or in the 1987 sample survey. In the 1961 census, however, 0.02 percent of the total male population aged 13 and 14 years was married, while 0.62 per cent of the total female population aged 13 and 14 years was married, and 0.01 per cent of the total female population aged 13 and 14 years had been widowed. The conclusion therefore, is that the minimum legal age for marriage was not always adhered to, whereas after 1961 attitudes changed and people tended to marry later. This trend can be seen in the Tables 8.1, 8.2 and Figures 8.1, 8.2, 8.3, where the proportion of both male and female single persons in the younger age groups (15-29 years old) was higher in the 1987 sample survey than in the 1967 and 1961 censuses. This trend toward later marriage has been due to improvements in the level of education of both sexes. The high cost of marriage has made it difficult for people to marry early, as has the problem of finding employment for men at the beginning of their working lives. Indeed, it is the husband who is responsible for financing the marriage and for supporting his family afterwards; in most cases, the wife makes no financial contribution.

8.2 Mean age at first marriage

The mean age at first marriage in the West Bank villages in the 1987 sample survey was 22.82 years among the male population, and 19.04 years among the female population, a difference of 3.78 years. This is due to the fact that more men continue their education than women, and that men prepare themselves financially

before marriage so that they can fulfill their obligations. Many men work for several years after completing their education and before getting married, and often seek employment outside the West Bank. Another reason for this age difference is that most men like to marry women younger than themselves or nearly equal in age, and thus most women marry before the age of twenty years.

Emigrants of both sexes from the West Bank villages in the the 1987 sample survey (see Chapter 6) have a higher age at first marriage than those resident in the villages; 23.34 years for male emigrants, and 20.89 years for female emigrants. This is because the emigrants have a higher level of education than those resident in the villages, and most of them are in the middle age groups.

We can compare these results with a study conducted in the West Bank in 1982, which found that the mean age at first marriage was 23.6 years for the total male population, and 19.6 years for the total female population, whilst the youngest male married at the age of 14; females who indicated their age at marriage as between 12-15 years were 16.7 per cent of the total ever-married female population (Ata, 1986, p 50). The mean age at first marriage among the total population of the West Bank was higher than that in the West Bank villages, due to the fact that the residents of the urban centres have a higher age at first marriage than those living in the villages.

In the 1987 sample survey, there were no women who had married for the first time after the age of thirty, and no men who had married for the first time after the age of thirty five, or before the age of fifteen. However, 8.15 per cent (71 women) of the ever-married women married for the first time when they were less than 15 years of age. These women represented 13.28 per cent (17 women) of the ever-married women in the villages in the Hebron District, 8.49 per cent (44 women) in the villages in the Nablus District, and 4.44 per cent (10 women) in the villages in the Jerusalem District.

Nearly three-quarters of the women married before the age of 15 years were from the older age groups; i.e. 73.24 per cent (52 women) of them were 40 years old and over, implying that this type of marriage is rarely found nowadays, but was much more common in the past. Of these women, 80.28 per cent (57 women) were illiterate, and 69.01 per cent (49 women) of them had married a close relative, (a maternal or paternal cousin, or a person from their family). This is because in most cases in rural society a girl is assigned a future husband when she is born, and this man is very often a close relative. Thus they marry early in order to help him in the cultivation of the land, and to bear more children who will bring more power to the extended family.

There are also variation in the mean age at first marriage between the Districts in the West Bank (Tables 8.3 and 8.4), the villages in the Nablus District have a high mean age at first marriage for both sexes (23.12 years for men, and 19.25 years for women), the villages in the Hebron District have a low mean age at first marriage for both sexes (21.82 years for men, and 18.05 years for women), the villages in the Jerusalem District have an average mean age at first marriage (22.69 years for men, and 19.14 years for women). These variation are due to the differences in the socio-economic characteristics of each District. While 75.78 per cent (97) of the ever-married women in the villages in the Hebron District married for the first time before the age of twenty, the figure was 67.11 per cent (151 women) in the villages in the Jerusalem District, and 62.55 per cent (324 women) in the villages in the Nablus District.

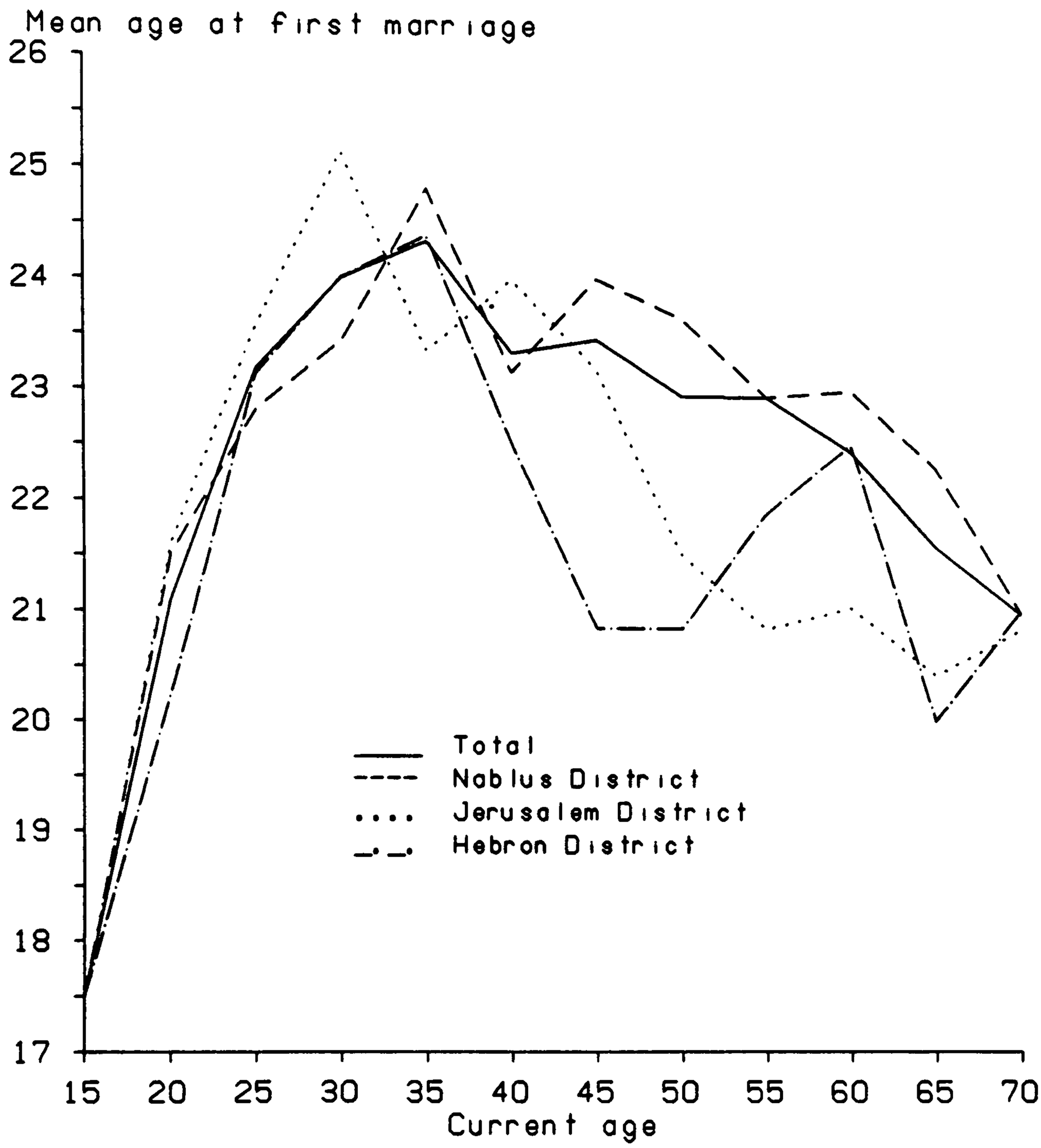
Looking at the mean age at first marriage by current age (Tables 8.3, 8.4 and Figures 8.4, 8.5), we find that there is a trend towards later marriage amongst both the male (R = -0.1082) and female population (R = -0.1115). While men in the age groups 65-69 years and 70 years and over married for the first time at the ages of 21.58 years and 20.98 years respectively, the highest mean age at first marriage

for men (24.23 years) occured in the age group 35-39 years. Among all ever-married men, no marriages had occured after the age of 34 years. Among men aged 15-34 years at the time of the survey, however, 78.40 per cent were still single; this clearly indicates that the age of marriage has increased considerably. The pattern among women is similar; whereas the average age at first marriage for women now aged 65 years and over was 18.13 years, the highest mean age at first marriage (20.39 years) occured among women now aged 25-29 years; after this age group the mean age at first marriage declined. We can compare this situation with Jordan in 1976, when the mean age at first marriage for women aged 45-49 years was 16.7 years, while for women aged 20-24 years, it was 19.4 years (Yousef, 1982, p 14).

The villages in the Jerusalem District (Tables 8.3, 8.4 and Figures 8.4, 8.5) have the highest mean age at first marriage for the early age groups, up to 30-34 years old for the male population, and 25-29 years old for the female population. Beyond these age groups, the villages in the Nablus District have the highest mean age at first marriage in most age groups for both males and females. The maximum mean age at first marriage differs from one District to another; while it was in the age group 35-39 for the men in the villages in the Nablus and Hebron Districts, it was in the age group 30-34 for men in the villages in the Jerusalem District. For women, on the other hand, it was in the age group 20-24 in the villages in the Hebron District, 25-29 in the villages in the Jerusalem District, and 30-34 in the villages in the Nablus District.

These variation in the mean age at first marriage are due to changes in society, such as higher levels of education among both sexes, changing patterns of work, and the entrance of women into the job market in areas not connected with agriculture. Increases in the cost of marriage and of living generally, and emigration from the West Bank for long periods in order to raise sufficient money to marry and start a family are also contributory factors. Educated men are now seeking to marry

Figure 8.4 Mean age at first marriage of the male population by current age in the West Bank villages 1987, by District



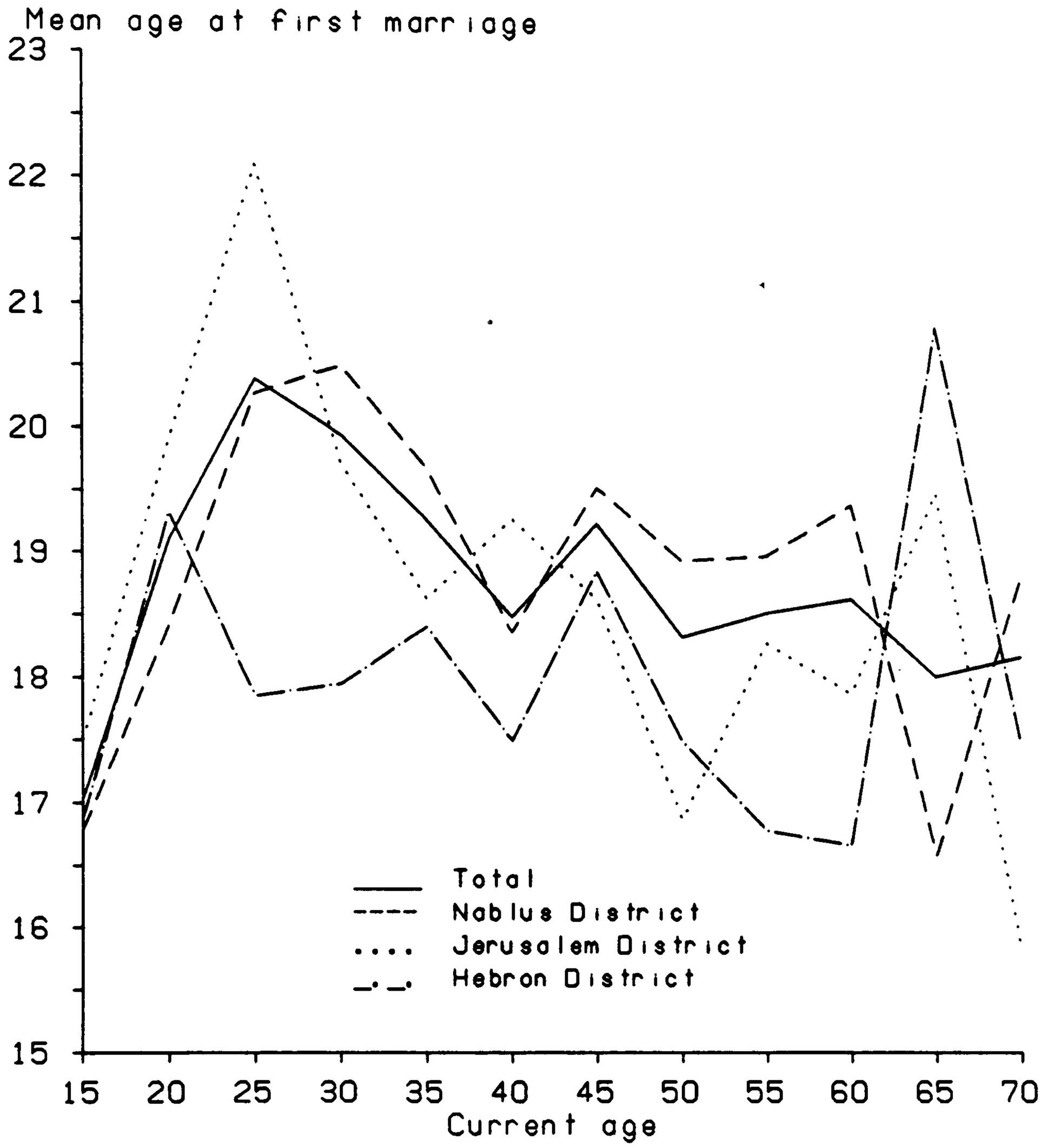
Source: The 1987 sample survey

Table 8.3
Mean age at first marriage of the male population by current age in the West Bank villages, 1987 by District

Age of man	Nablus District			Jerusalem District			Hebron District			Total		
	MAFM	Standard deviation	No. of cases	MAFM	Standard deviation	No. of cases	MAFM	Standard deviation	No. of cases	MAFM	Standard deviation	No. of cases
15-19	17.5000	0.0000	1	17.5000	0.0000	1	17.5000	0.0000	6	17.5000	0.0000	8
20-24	21.5000	3.1623	10	21.5909	2.0226	11	20.2273	2.6112	11	21.0938	2.6134	32
25-29	22.8030	3.5221	33	23.5606	2.9994	33	23.1250	2.5000	16	23.1707	3.1193	82
30-34	23.4211	3.2581	38	25.1316	4.8214	19	24.0000	4.7434	10	23.9925	3.9900	67
35-39	24,7973	3.8360	37	23.3333	3.9295	18	24.3750	2.5877	8	24.3254	3.7354	63
40-44	23.1383	3.7033	47	23.9815	2.3266	27	22.5000	4.2640	12	23.3140	3.4180	86
45-49	23.9912	4.2221	57	23.1667	2.8567	30	20.8333	2.5000	9	23.4375	3.7914	96
50-54	23.6364	4.3673	66	21.5000	3.3806	15	20.8333	2.4618	12	22.9301	4.1478	93
55-59	22.9255	3.5859	47	20.8333	2.4254	18	21.8750	4.1726	8	22.2945	3.4799	73
60-64	22.8922	3.5837	51	21.0294	3.4300	17	22.5000	4.0825	7	22.4333	3.6292	75
65-69	22.2917	4.0323	24	20.4167	2.5746	12	20.0000	3.5355	2	21.5789	3.6494	38
70 +	21.0000	4.4144	40	20.8333	4.0825	6	21.0000	2.4152	10	20.9821	4.0362	56
Total	23.1208	3.9655	451	22.6932	3.4432	207	21.8243	3.4698	111	22.8186	3.7840	769

MAFM: Mean age at first marriage.
Source: The 1987 sample survey.

Figure 8.5 Mean age at first marriage of the female population by current age in the West Bank villages 1987, by District



Source: The 1987 sample survey

Table 8.4
Mean age at first marriage of the female population by current age in the West Bank villages, 1987 by District

Age of woman	Nablus District			Jerusalem District			Hebron District			Total		
	MAFM	Standard deviation	No. of cases	MAFM	Standard deviation	No. of cases	MAFM	Standard deviation	No. of cases	MAFM	Standard deviation	No. of cases
15-19	16.7857	1.8898	7	17.5000	0.0000	6	16.8750	1.7678	8	17.0238	1.5040	21
20-24	18.4211	3.0437	38	19.9074	2.5459	27	19.3182	3.6337	22	19.1092	3.0967	87
25-29	20.2778	2.9482	63	22.1000	2.8577	25	17.8571	3.0786	14	20.3922	3.1807	102
30-34	20.5000	3.6422	50	19.7222	3.7553	27	17.9545	2.6968	11	19.9432	3.6353	88
35-39	19.6818	3.5699	55	18.6364	2.1447	22	18.4091	3.0151	11	19.2614	3.2199	88
40-44	18.3667	4.0581	75	19.2742	3.5469	31	17.5000	2.6726	15	18.4917	3.7980	121
45-49	19.5253	3.3511	79	18.6290	2.8017	31	18.8636	2.3355	11	19.2355	3.1432	121
50-54	18.9545	3.4255	55	16.8750	2.5000	16	17.5000	2.8868	13	18.3333	3.2776	84
55-59	18.9865	3.3051	37	18.2895	3.0107	19	16.7857	3.4503	7	18.5317	3.2576	63
60-64	19.3966	4.1000	29	17.8846	2.4677	13	16.6667	2.0412	6	18.6458	3.6084	48
65-69	16.5909	3.7538	11	19.5000	2.7386	5	20.8333	2.8868	3	18.0263	3.6873	19
70 +	18.1580	4.3596	19	15.8333	2.8868	3	17.5000	4.0825	7	18.1897	4.1671	29
Total	19.2471	3.5983	518	19.1444	3.1634	225	18.0469	3.0245	128	19.0442	3.4321	871

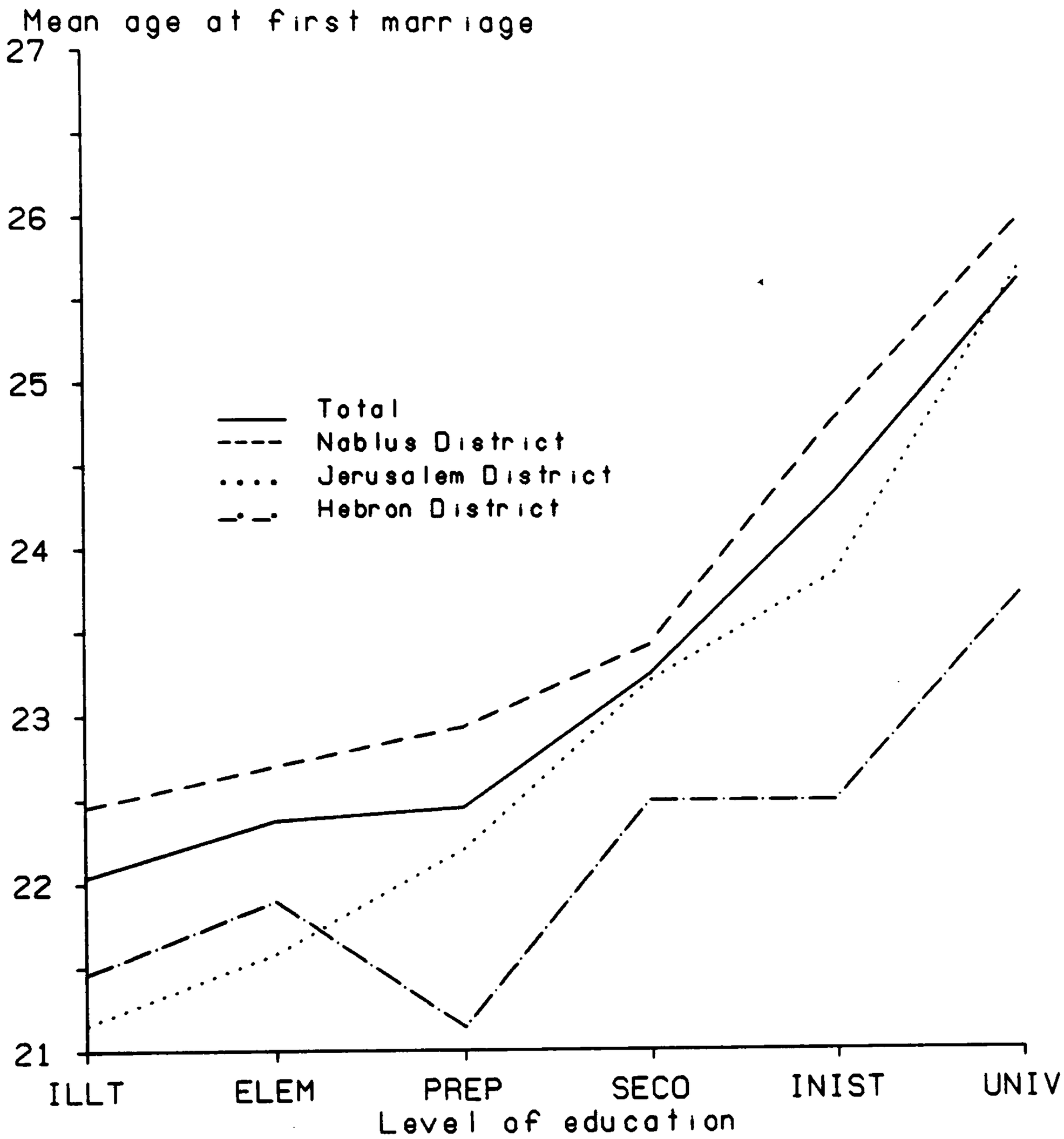
MAFM: Mean age at first marriage.
Source: The 1987 sample survey.

educated women, and this encourages women to study and achieve higher educational standards. Despite all these reasons however, we found that, if a suitable man comes to marry a girl, her family are likely to give their consent and her education at school or university will be curtailed; few women continue their education after marriage.

There is a positive correlation between the mean age at first marriage and the educational level for both sexes (R = +0.2641) for men, and (R = +0.3074) for women (Tables 8.5, 8.6 and Figures 8.6, 8.7). Whereas illiterate men marry for the first time at the age of 22.04 years, men with university education marry at the age of 25.65 years, and whereas illiterate women marry at the age of 18.39 years, women with university education marry at the age of 23.09 years. This is due to the fact that educated people spend many years of their lives in education before marriage, and in most cases they do not marry directly after finishing their studies, but work for a few years before marrying. At all educational levels the mean age at first marriage for women was lower than that for men, and this applied to all the West Bank villages.

Previous place of residence also influences the mean age at first marriage. The highest mean age at first marriage for men was 24.06 years, and this was among those who had previously lived outside the West Bank. These men were emigrants who had returned to the West Bank and, as mentioned previously, emigrants have a higher mean age at first marriage than those living in the West Bank. On the other hand, the highest mean age at first marriage for women (21.02 years) was found among those who had previously lived in the cities. This is because women in the cities are more highly educated than those in the villages. Thus we found that the lowest age at first marriage for women (18.96 years) was among those who had previously lived in the villages, while the figure for men who had previously lived in the villages was 22.78 years. The mean age at first marriage for men who had previously lived in the refugee camps was 22.50 years, and for women 19.17 years.

Figure 8.6 Mean age at first marriage of the male population by level of education in the West Bank villages 1987, by District



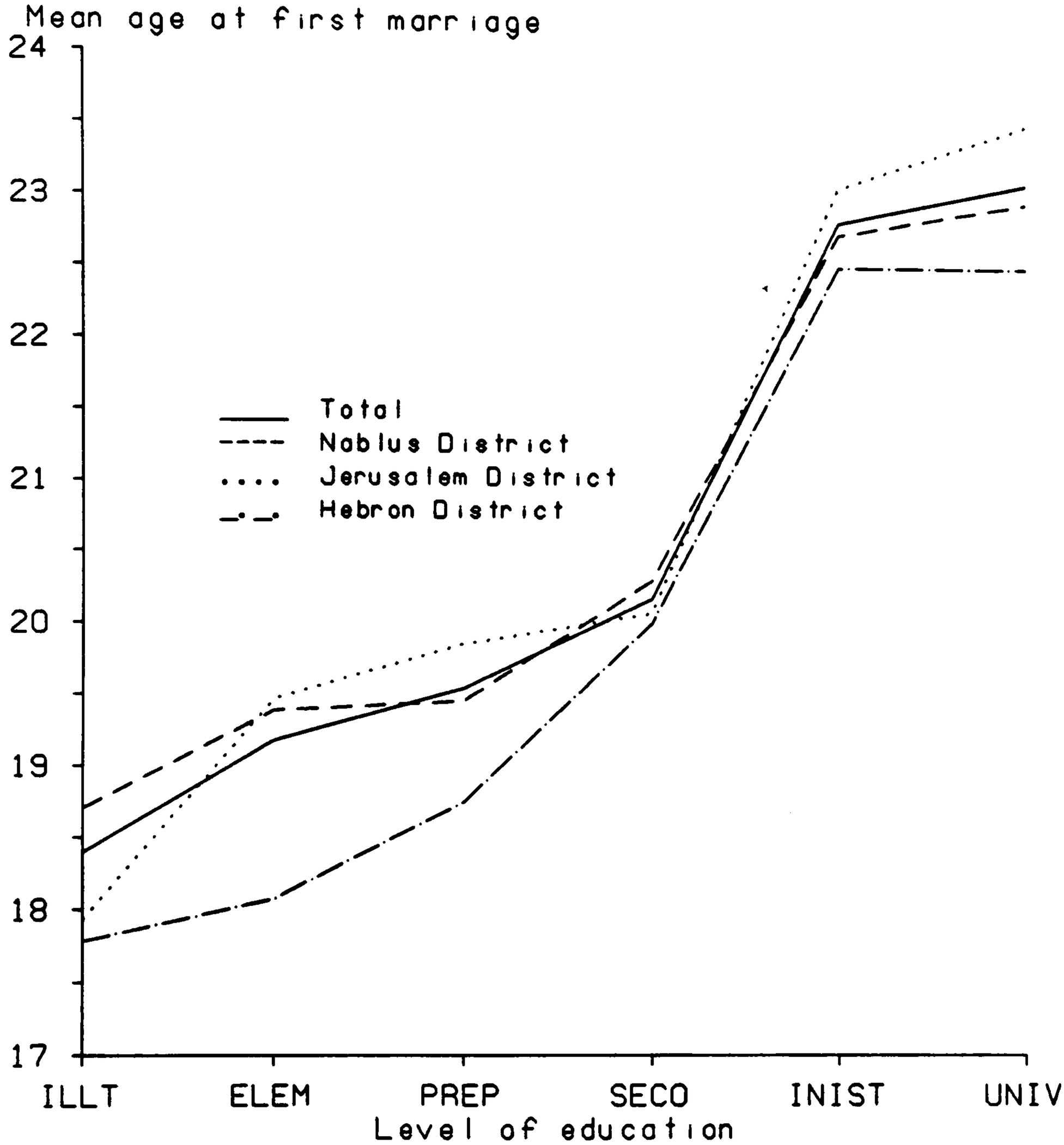
Source: The 1987 Sample Survey

Table 8.5
Mean age at first marriage of the male population by level of education in the West Bank villages, 1987 by District

Level of education	Nablus District			Jerusalem District			Hebron District			Total		
	MAFM	Standard deviation	No. of cases	MAFM	Standard deviation	No. of cases	MAFM	Standard deviation	No. of cases	MAFM	Standard deviation	No. of cases
Illiterate	22.4583	4.0218	120	21.1538	2.6675	26	21.4583	2.9097	48	22.0361	3.6408	194
Elementary	22.7059	4.1194	170	21.5816	3.7740	49	21.8939	3.9046	33	22.3810	4.0399	252
Preparatory	22.9386	3.8127	57	22.2059	3.2267	51	21.1364	3.2333	11	22.4580	3.5353	119
Secondary	23.4302	2.9390	43	23.2143	2.8309	42	22.5000	3.7796	8	23.2527	2.9439	93
Institute	24.7917	3.8951	24	23.8636	2.3355	11	22.5000	5.0000	3	24.3421	3.5681	38
University	26.0135	2.2854	37	25.7143	3.1074	28	23.7500	4.4320	8	25.6507	3.1740	73

MAFM: Mean age at first marriage.
Source: The 1987 sample survey.

Figure 8.7 Mean age at first marriage of the female population by level of education in the West Bank villages 1987, by District



Source: The 1987 sample survey

Table 8.6
Mean age at first marriage of the female population by level of education in the West Bank villages, 1987 by District

Level of education	Nablus District			Jerusalem District			Hebron District			Total		
	MAFM	Standard deviation	No. of cases	MAFM	Standard deviation	No. of cases	MAFM	Standard deviation	No. of cases	MAFM	Standard deviation	No. of cases
Illiterate	18.7074	3.6434	323	17.9327	2.5228	104	17.7841	2.8726	88	18.3932	3.3415	515
Elementary	19.3902	3.2999	82	19.4737	3.3970	38	18.0769	3.2640	26	19.1781	3.3362	146
Preparatory	19.4565	2.6829	46	19.8529	2.8164	34	18.7500	3.5355	8	19.5455	2.7995	88
Secondary	20.2941	3.3009	34	20.0714	3.0610	35	20.0000	2.8868	4	20.1712	3.1272	73
Institute	22.7273	2.4286	22	23.0556	3.9087	9	22.5000	0.0000	1	22.8125	2.8220	32
University	22.9545	4.1560	11	23.5000	2.2361	5	22.5000	0.0000	1	23.0882	3.4832	17

MAFM: Mean age at first marriage.
Source: The 1987 sample survey.

The Christian population in the West Bank villages has a higher mean age at first marriage than the Moslem population, 25.00 years for Christian males, and 23.75 years for Christian females, compared with 22.80 years for Moslem males and 19.00 years for Moslem females. This is due to the fact that Christians in the West Bank are on average more educated than Moslems, and are also more influenced by western culture.

8.3 Forms of Marriage

There are two forms of marriage in the West Bank: monogamy, which is the marriage of one man to one woman, and polygamy, which is the marriage of one man to two or more women. Monogamy is the most common form of marriage in the West Bank. According to Moslem law, a Moslem man may take up to four wives, subject to two conditions: firstly, the treatment and attention given to each wife must be equal and, secondly, the man must be financially capable of supporting his wives and family. Ultimately, however, it is left to the man's discretion as to how many wives he should marry.

Polygamy would appear to be a good deal less common in the villages of the West Bank than in several other Arab countries. Of the 727 married Moslem men in the 1987 sample, only 16 or 2.20 per cent had more than one wife (15 had two and only one had three) compared with 3.8 per cent in the East Bank in 1979, 5.4 in Bahrain in 1981 and 11.7 per cent in Kuwait in 1975 (Chamie, 1986, p57).

Polygamy was found mainly among the older generation. Of the 16 cases recorded, four involved men aged 70 or above (9.3 per cent of all married Moslem men in this age group), 9 were between the ages of 50 and 69 and the remaining three were between 35 and 49. This contrasts with Kuwait in 1976, where 2 per cent of married males aged 20-24 and close on 15 per cent of those aged 50-64 were polygamous (Chamie, 1976, p60). The figures show that polygamous marriage was

not found among young men in the West Bank villages, possibly due to their increased levels of education, and trends towards later marriage. In most cases the man marries another women if his first wife either does not bear any children at all, or does not bear any male children, or if problems are encountered between the husband and wife or their families.

Re-marriage is more common among men than among women. Of the 769 ever-married men in the sample, 54 or 7.02 per cent had married more than once, 50 of them on two occasions, 3 of them three times and one four times. Of the 871 ever-married women, however, only 15 or 1.72 per cent had re-married. This contrast is due to the fact that married, divorced or widowed men in the West Bank villages can re-marry more easily than women in similar circumstances. It is also the case that men can be married to more than one woman at a time, whereas women can only marry one man at a time. In most cases, divorced or widowed women are only able to marry divorced or widowed men, whereas married, divorced or widowed men can easily marry single women.

The villages in the Hebron District have the highest percentage of those who re-married for both sexes, 9.01 per cent (10) of the ever-married men, and 2.34 per cent (3) of the ever-married women. By contrast, the villages in the Nablus District have the lowest percentage of females who have re-married, 1.54 per cent (8) of the ever-married women, and 7.98 per cent (36) of the ever-married men. The villages in the Jerusalem District have the lowest percentage of males who have re-married, 3.87 per cent (8) of the ever-married men, and 1.78 per cent (4) of the ever-married women.

8.4 Kinship and marriage

The practice of marrying relatives has always been common in Palestinian society. The father and mother of the bridegroom prefer their son to marry one of

his relations, especially a cousin on the the father's or mother's side or a member of the same extended family *(hamula)*. They believe that this kind of marriage will bring fewer problem into the husband's household. In comparison to other kinds of marriage, marriages to relatives are also less costly, because the female relative understands the situation of the family, and will endure financial hardship without complaint, whereas a woman from outside the family might be more demanding, believing she should be looked after. Marriage to relatives also ensures that the family's property will remain within the family, and will give it greater power where more children are born. This is especially true if the family owns large areas of agricultural land. If a man wishes to marry a girl, her father and mother will first ask their brothers and sisters if any of their sons wish to marry her; as the proverb says "the male cousin comes first". According to the 1987 sample survey (Table 8.7), 61.42 per cent (535) of ever-married women had married one of their close relatives; a cousin from the father's or mother's side, or from their family. That this pattern is common among Palestinians is shown by Cohen's (1965) study of the Arab population of Bent el-Hudud, a village in Israel where, between 1953 and 1959, 56.9 per cent of all married males had married within their own *hamula*.

The villages in the Hebron District have a higher proportion of marriages between relatives (Table 8.7) than do other villages in the West Bank, i.e. 69.53 per cent (89) of the ever-married women, compared with 63.11 per cent (142) in the villages in the Jerusalem District, and 58.69 per cent (304) of the ever-married women in the villages in the Nablus District. The percentage in the villages in the Hebron District was higher than in others, because the inhabitants of the Hebron villages are largely of bedouin origin, and hold fast to the customary laws of the bedouins, and to the practice of blood marriage. Thus the 1987 sample survey found no men from the villages in the Hebron District who had married women from outside the West Bank, and only two cases (1.56 per cent) of marriages to women from the West Bank

Table 8.7
The relationship of wives and husbands in the West Bank villages, 1987 by District

Relationship	Nablus District		Jerusalem District		Hebron District		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Cousin on father's side	132	25.48	56	24.89	43	33.59	231	26.52
Cousin on mother's side	54	10.42	26	11.56	17	13.28	97	11.14
Same family	118	22.78	60	26.67	29	22.66	207	23.76
Same village	137	26.45	56	24.89	31	24.22	224	25.72
Other village	55	10.62	15	6.67	6	4.69	76	8.73
city	17	3.28	8	3.55	2	1.56	27	3.10
Refugee camp	2	0.39	3	1.33	0	0	5	0.57
Arab	1	0.19	1	0.44	0	0	2	0.23
Non-Arab	2	0.39	0	0	0	0	2	0.23
Total	518	100.00	225	100.00	128	100.00	871	100.00

Source: The 1987 sample survey.

cities. On the other hand, those who had married women from their own villages represented 25.72 per cent (224) of the ever-married women, which means that the villagers in the West Bank do not like to marry women whom they do not know.

Marriage to relatives also seem to affect the mean age at first marriage; 18.83 years for women and 22.58 years for men if they marry close relatives. These mean ages at first marriage were lower than those for the total number of men and women in the 1987 sample survey. It is also the case that the mean age at first marriage for women falls to 18.41 years if they marry a cousin from the father's side, whereas this age increases to 19.13 years if the women were from the same village as their husbands, to 19.87 years if the women were from from different villages than their husbands, and to 27.50 years if the women were non-Arabs. This low age at first marriage in such cases is due to the fact that when a girl is born she is assigned a husband from among her relatives, to whom she is married at an early age.

8.5 Summary

The majority of the total population in the West Bank is single, due to the youthful population structure, whereas the majority of the population aged 15 years and over is married, due to the practice of early marriage. There is however, a trend in the West Bank villages towards later marriages among both sexes. A person's level of education greatly influences their age at first marriage; the higher the level of education, the higher the age at first marriage. Most marriages in the West Bank are monogamous, with polygamous marriages forming only a small percentage. Over half the married individuals in the West Bank villages are married to relatives.

8.6 References

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CHAPTER NINE

LITERACY AND LEVEL OF EDUCATION

The Palestinians set great store by education, because they feel that it is the only way that they can enter the labour market in the rich Arab countries and in the other areas where they live. They also see it as a means of safeguarding their identity and ensuring their survival.

The development of education, therefore, among the Palestinians has been quite unusual. Ibrahim Abu Lughod attributes this phenomenon to four major factors. The first is obvious: the Arab world itself, in the midst of which the Palestinians lived, made its educational facilities available to the Palestinians and, since the Arab world was expanding its own facilities, the Palestinians benefited by this forward thrust. Second, the Palestinians, as refugees from a rural setting to an urban one, were suddenly within reach of the more available and more attractive urban educational facilities and opportunities. Third, deprived of their normal institutions and options in life, the Palestinians began to view education as perhaps providing the best opportunity for improvements in their status and living standards and, ultimately, for social and economic mobility. Fourth, the shortage of work opportunities discouraged children from leaving school early, and thus the majority of Palestinians stayed at school for longer periods and achieved higher levels of education (Abu Lughod, 1973, p 104).

There are three administrative bodies involved in the educational system in the West Bank. Government bodies were responsible for 72.33 per cent of the educational institutions, and 74.56 per cent of the classes in 1986/87; these schools were operated by the Jordanian government until 1967, when they were taken over by the military occupation government. The United Nations Relief and Works Agency

(UNRWA) controlled 8.76 per cent of the institutions, and 12.92 per cent of the classes, most these being in the refugee camps, UNRWAs schools are limited to the elementary and preparatory levels, although it does have three vocational and teacher training institutes in the Jerusalem District; two for men and one for women. Private bodies controlled 18.91 per cent of the institutions, and 12.52 per cent of the classes in 1986/87 (Central Bureau of Statistics, 1987). Some private schools consist only of kindergartens, while others continue to the end of the secondary level; all the universities in the West Bank are dependent on the private sector.

9.1 Illiteracy

Data on illiteracy are available from the 1961 and 1967 censuses and the topic is sometimes mentioned in the Statistical Abstract of Israel. However, while the 1961 census defined the illiterate person as one who could not read and write, the definition used in Israeli sources is the person who has had no schooling. Table 9.1 gives data from the three main sources used in this study, namely the censuses of 1961 and 1967 and the 1987 sample survey, and these show a progressive decline in the proportions recorded as illiterate. In 1961, two-thirds of the population of the West Bank as a whole aged 15 and over was illiterate, including 47.03 per cent of the males and no less than 84.24 per cent of the females. By 1967 the overall illiteracy rate had fallen to 56.99 per cent, 36.76 per cent for males and 74.32 per cent for females. By 1986, these rates had fallen still further to 12.20 per cent of males aged 14 or over and 34.20 per cent for females (Central Bureau of Statistics, 1987).

The decline in illiteracy over the past twenty years has been due to the growing conviction among the population of the West Bank that education is the only means of improving their standard of living and of securing well-paid work, either in the West Bank or in neighbouring countries. There has also been a growth in the number of centres set up to combat illiteracy. For example, The Adult Education and

Table 9.1
Illiteracy among the population aged 15 years and over, in the West Bank by sex

District	The 1961 census			The 1967 census									The 1987 sample survey					
	Total population			Total population			Urban centres			Rural settlements			Villages					
	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M		F		T	
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Nablus	44.48	86.66	67.86	34.16	75.56	21.06	46.68	34.35	56.63	38.69	84.89	64.33	143	15.68	400	42.06	543	29.15
Jerusalem	45.07	79.62	63.02	33.70	69.25	52.92	18.84	40.56	30.23	42.07	82.84	64.74	35	9.70	123	30.22	158	20.57
Hebron	60.48	90.88	76.54	48.42	79.28	64.60	26.76	57.83	42.94	59.64	90.19	75.67	56	28.28	104	54.74	160	41.24
Total	47.03	84.24	66.95	36.76	74.32	56.99	21.55	47.01	34.82	43.66	85.24	66.52	234	15.91	627	40.50	861	28.52

M:Male. F:Female. T:Total.

Sources:Calculated from;

1. Department of Statistics, 1964.
2. Central Bureau of Statistics, 1968.
3. The 1987 sample survey.

Literacy Programme at Bir Zeit University, which was established in 1976, not only offers literacy classes, but also trains teachers in the field of illiteracy, and carries out field studies. West Bank efforts in this area are co-ordinated by the Literacy and Adult Education Steering Committee, which was established in 1978, and which brought together all the groups concerned. More than 2,000 students, mostly female are enrolled in literacy classes run by the constituent groups of the Steering Committee, all of which belong to the private sector (Mahshi and Rihan, 1980, p 52). It is also true that school attendance has increased significantly since elementary and preparatory level education was made compulsory for both sexes in 1964.

In the 1967 census, the percentage of illiterate persons in the villages was higher than in other settlements in the West Bank (Table 9.1). However, while the figure for the male population aged 15 years and over was 43.66 per cent in the 1967 census, this dropped to 15.91 per cent (234 men) in the 1987 sample survey. By comparison, the figure for the female population aged 15 years and over in the 1967 census was 84.24 per cent, which dropped to 40.50 per cent (627 women) in the 1987 sample survey. We can compare these figures with those for the urban centres in the 1967 census; for the male population aged 15 years and over, the figure was 21.55 per cent, and for the female population aged 15 years and over, it was 47.01 per cent. However, in the refugee camps in the 1967 census, the figure for the male population aged 15 years and over was 37.74 per cent, and for the female population aged 15 years and over, it was 77.00 per cent (Central Bureau of Statistics, 1968).

These differences between rural and urban areas are due to the fact that in the rural areas children begin working in agriculture at an early age, which makes the possibility of their not attending school higher than in the urban areas. Other factors include the greater number of educational institutions in the urban areas and the abundance of UNRWA institutions in the refugee camps. It is also the case that the percentage of illiterate persons in the villages in the 1987 sample survey was higher

than that given in the Israeli estimate of illiterate persons among the total population of the West Bank in 1986.

The Hebron District has higher rate of illiteracy than other Districts in the West Bank for both the male and the female population. This is because the inhabitants of the Hebron District are more traditional than others in the West Bank, and begin work at an early age, especially grazing animals. Families in the Hebron District also tend to be large and, while the boys help their father at work, the girls stay and look after the home. There is a preference in such families for early marriage of both sons and daughters, (see Chapter 8) and this limits their opportunities to attend school.

By comparison, in the Gaza Strip in 1986, it was found that the percentage of illiterate persons among the population aged 14 years and over was 13.3 per cent for men, and 32.3 per cent for women (Central Bureau of Statistics, 1987). This means that the percentage of illiterate persons among the male population is higher in the Gaza Strip than in the West Bank, and conversely that the percentage of illiterate persons among the female population is higher in the West Bank than in the Gaza Strip. This is because, in the small villages of the West Bank, there are no schools and, whilst families are prepared to send their sons to nearby villages or cities to study, they are not sufficiently liberal to allow their daughters to do likewise. Thus, many of the girls in these villages remain illiterate. In the Gaza Strip, on the other hand, where there is a high population concentration, girls can go to school in the places where they live; most of the inhabitants of the Gaza Strip are refugees and use the UNRWA educational facilities.

In contrast, the percentage of illiterate persons among the Jewish population aged 15 years and over in Israel in 1986 was 2.8 per cent for men, and 6.8 per cent for women, among non-Jews the figure was 8.1 per cent for men, and 23.7 per

cent for women (Central Bureau of Statistics, 1987). We can compare these figure for illiteracy among the population aged 15 years and over with Arab countries: in Egypt in 1976 the figure was 45.75 per cent among the male population, and 76.06 per cent among the female, in Kuwait in 1980, the figure was 27.21 per cent for males, and 40.89 per cent for females, in Bahrain in 1982, the figure was 23.48 per cent among the male population, and 41.39 per cent among the female population (United Nations, 1985, pp 950-951). These figures mean that the percentage of illiterate persons in the West Bank and Gaza Strip and among the Arab population in Israel is one of the lowest in the Arab world.

The percentage of illiterate persons in the West Bank villages in the 1987 sample survey increased with age (Table 9.2 and Figure 9.1) among both the male and female population. This is due to the attitude towards education among the younger cohorts. In all age groups the percentage of illiterate females is higher than that of illiterate males. While this variation is very small amongst the very young, it increases with age. For example, the percentage of illiterate boys in the age group 10-14 years was 1.07 per cent (4 boys), compared with 1.72 per cent (6 girls) among the female population of the same age group. This percentage increases among the population aged 50 years and over to 38.42 per cent (131 men) for the male population, and 91.63 per cent (230 women) for the female population. This is due to the fact that families pay more attention to the education of their sons than their daughters; as well as to the lack of school for girls in the villages in the past.

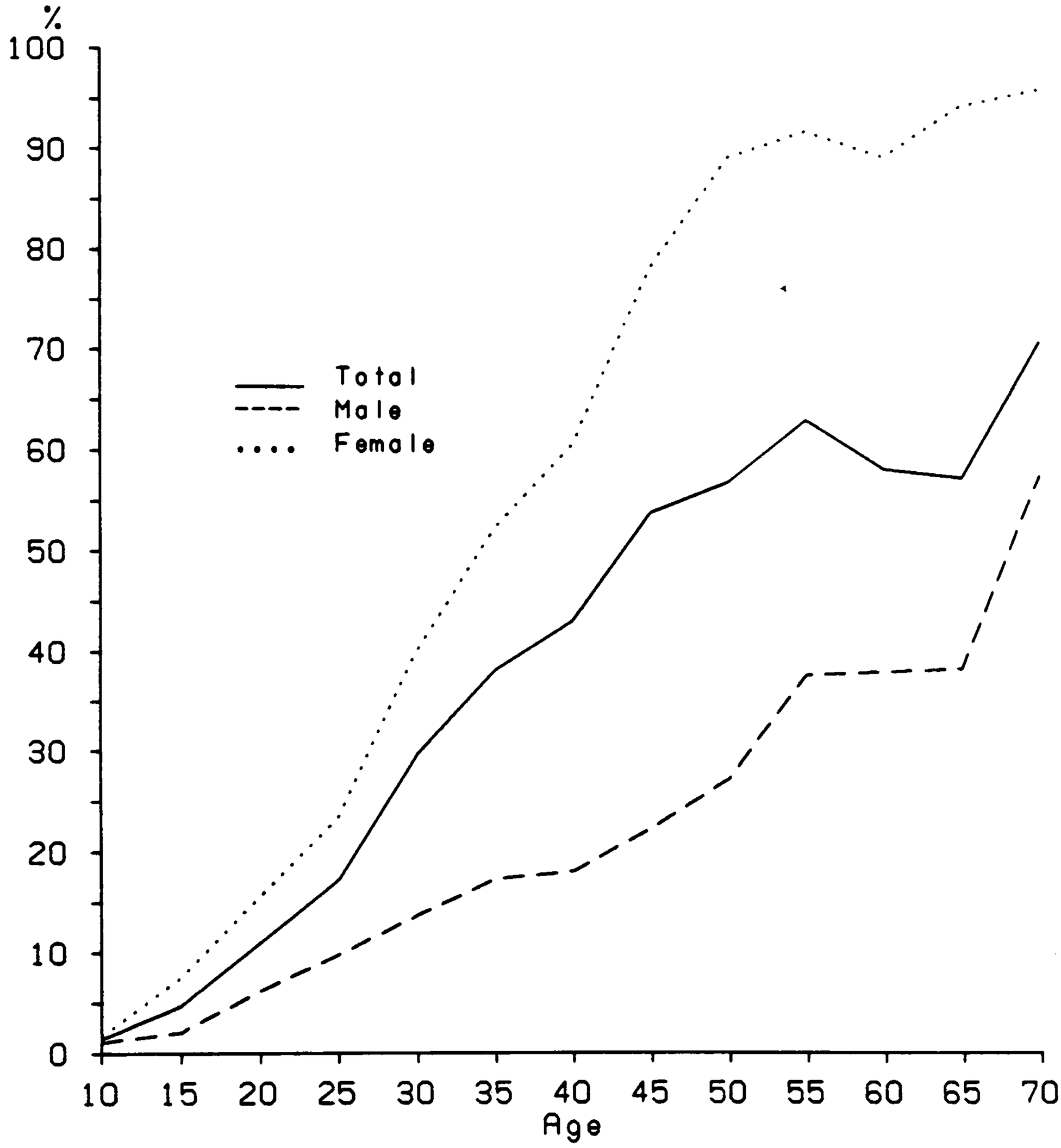
9.2 Level of education

The educational system in the West Bank is structured according to the Jordanian system, which is divided into the following levels:

(i) Kindergarten, for children under 6 years old.

(ii) Elementary level, grades one to six, nominal age group 6-12 years old.

Figure 9.1 Illiteracy among the population aged 10 years and over in the West Bank villages, 1987



Source: The 1987 sample survey

Table 9.2
Illiteracy among the population aged 10 years and over, in the West Bank villages, 1987 by age and sex

Age groups	Male		Female		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
10-14	4	1.07	6	1.72	10	1.39
15-19	7	2.07	24	7.55	31	4.73
20-24	17	6.20	45	15.63	62	11.03
25-29	18	9.84	51	23.50	69	17.25
30-34	11	13.75	49	40.16	60	29.70
35-39	12	17.39	53	52.48	65	38.24
40-44	16	18.18	76	60.80	92	43.19
45-49	22	22.45	99	78.57	121	54.02
50-54	26	27.37	78	89.66	104	57.14
55-59	28	37.84	60	92.31	88	63.31
60-64	29	38.16	44	89.80	73	58.40
65-69	15	38.46	19	95.00	34	57.63
70 +	33	57.89	29	96.67	62	71.26
Total	238	12.91	633	33.39	871	23.30

Source: The 1987 sample survey.

(iii) Preparatory level, grades seven to nine, age group 13-15 years old, at the end of which the student sits a general examination for admission into the secondary level. Education is compulsory throughout the elementary and preparatory levels.

(iv) Secondary level, grades ten to twelve, age group 16-18 years old, at the end of which the students sits a general examination for admission into the institutions of higher education.

(v) Higher education, which includes post-secondary vocational training, teacher training and university education.

There has been an improvement in the educational level of both the male and female population in the West Bank as a whole, and in the West Bank villages in particular (Tables 9.2, 9.3 and Figure 9.2). While the highest percentage of literate males aged 14 years and over in the West Bank as a whole (Table 9.3 and Figure 9.2) until 1975 had 1-6 years of education, in 1980 and after, this percentage changed to 9-12 years of education. Similarly, whereas the highest percentage of literate females aged 14 years and over in the West Bank as a whole had 1-6 years of education until 1986, the percentage of the female population who had 9-12 years of education grew continuously and in 1986 was almost equal to the percentage of those who had 1-6 years of education. On the other hand, a high percentage of literate persons aged 10 years and over among the male and female population in the West Bank villages in the 1987 sample survey (Table 9.4), had elementary level of education, although if we look at the young population (15-29 years old) of both sexes we find that a high percentage of them had secondary level of education. This is due to compulsory education and to the increasing number of children of both sexes staying at school for longer periods, in order to achieve a high level of education, with the ultimate aim of securing jobs for themselves either in the West Bank or abroad.

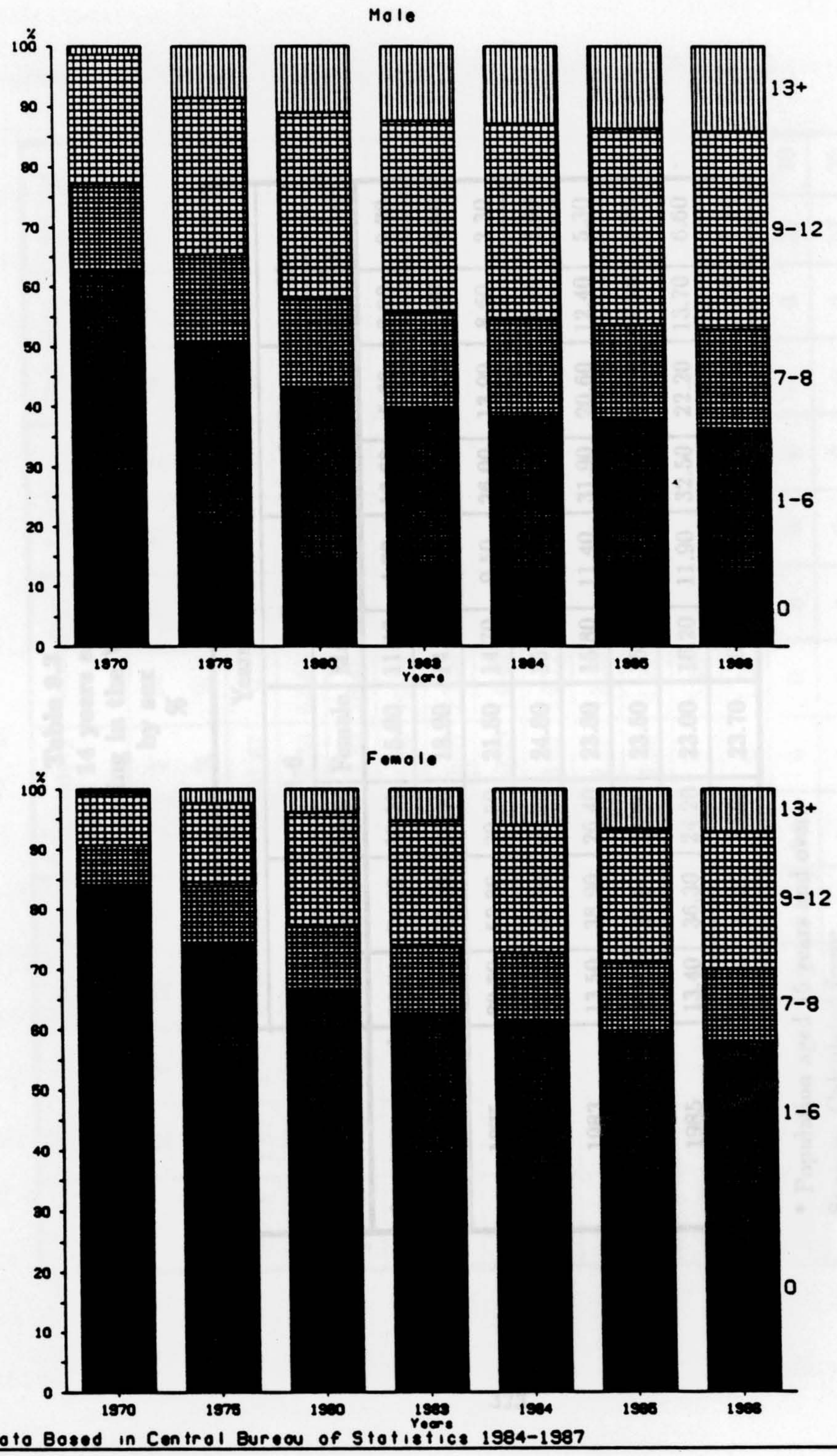
The data in Table 9.4 shows that, whenever age increases, the educational level of both sexes declines in the West Bank villages. For example, while there was

nobody among the male population in the 1987 sample survey at the age of 55 years and over who had had a university level of education, this age fell to 50 years and over for the female population. Similarly, while there was nobody among the male population at the age of 65 years and over who had had a secondary level of education, this age fell to 50 years and over for the female population. This is due to the lack of education among the older cohort; most of whom work in traditional agriculture, which does not require much education. It is also the case that the limited scope of village schools in the past restricted the number of those who could continue their education, since having to travel to a nearby village or city cost families more money. In many cases, therefore, families preferred their sons to leave school and work with their father's in agriculture. The same applies to the women in the older cohort, who did not go to school at all or who left school early in order to help in the home, to work in agriculture or to marry.

At all educational levels, the percentage of males is higher than that of females (Tables 9.3, 9.4 and Figure 9.2), in the West Bank as a whole, and in the West Bank villages in particular. This is due to the fact that families prefer their sons to continue their education rather than their daughters; since they believe that male children will, after they have finished their education, contribute to the family income, by working in or outside the West Bank. The sons will give the head of the household a part of their salaries, and in most cases in the villages, when the son marries, he stays at his father's home together with the extended family. Education for daughters, on the other hand, is not considered as important since, when she marries, she will live at her husband's house and even if she works her salary will go to her husband's family, and not her own.

Thus, in most cases, families with limited income, who can not afford to educate more than one of their children at a time, allow the son who is most successful at school to continue his education, whereas his brothers and sisters have

Figure 9.2 Population aged 14 years and over by years of schooling in the West Bank



Source: Data Based in Central Bureau of Statistics 1984-1987

Table 9.3
Population aged 14 years and over, by years of schooling in the West Bank by sex
%

Years	Years of schooling									
	0		1-6		7-8		9-12		13+	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
the 1967 census*	36.76	74.32	32.21	15.00	11.40	4.22	16.62	5.68	3.00	0.78
1970	27.80	65.10	34.80	18.90	14.70	6.70	21.30	8.80	1.40	0.50
1975	20.20	52.80	30.50	21.50	14.70	9.50	26.00	13.90	8.60	2.30
1980	14.20	41.80	28.80	24.80	15.10	10.50	30.90	19.00	11.00	3.90
1983	13.50	38.90	26.40	23.80	15.80	11.40	31.90	20.60	12.40	5.30
1984	12.80	37.90	25.50	23.50	16.10	11.50	32.70	21.10	12.90	6.00
1985	13.40	36.30	24.20	23.00	16.20	11.90	32.50	22.20	13.70	6.60
1986	12.20	34.20	23.90	23.70	16.80	12.20	32.90	22.80	14.20	7.10

* Population aged 15 years and over.

Sources: Calculated from;

1. Central Bureau of Statistics, 1968.
2. Central Bureau of Statistics, 1984-1987.

Table 9.4
Educational level of the population aged 10 years and over, in the West Bank villages, 1987 by age and sex

Age groups	Illiterate		Elementary		Preparatory		Secondary		Institute		University		No. of persons	
	M %	F %	M %	F %	M %	F %	M %	F %	M %	F %	M %	F %	M	F
10-14	1.07	1.72	59.68	56.61	39.25	41.67	0	0	0	0	0	0	372	348
15-19	2.07	7.55	5.03	13.21	27.81	28.30	62.43	48.43	0.89	0.94	1.77	1.57	338	318
20-24	6.20	15.63	10.95	15.63	16.43	23.95	28.47	25.00	10.58	8.33	27.37	11.46	274	288
25-29	9.84	23.50	11.47	19.81	14.21	19.36	25.14	19.36	10.93	11.06	28.41	6.91	183	217
30-34	13.75	40.16	17.50	23.77	16.25	15.57	22.50	13.12	8.75	5.74	21.25	1.64	80	122
35-39	17.39	52.48	24.64	27.72	17.39	10.89	14.49	4.95	10.15	2.97	15.94	0.99	69	101
40-44	18.18	60.80	25.00	21.60	18.18	8.00	14.77	4.80	6.82	4.00	17.05	0.80	88	125
45-49	22.45	78.57	28.57	14.29	24.49	2.38	12.25	2.38	4.08	1.59	8.16	0.79	98	126
50-54	27.37	89.66	42.11	8.04	16.84	2.30	4.21	0	5.26	0	4.21	0	95	87
55-59	37.84	92.31	37.84	7.69	17.57	0	5.40	0	1.35	0	0	0	74	65
60-64	38.16	89.80	52.64	10.20	6.58	0	1.31	0	1.31	0	0	0	76	49
65-69	38.46	95.00	58.98	5.00	2.56	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	39	20
70 +	57.89	96.67	42.11	3.33	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	57	30
Total	12.91	33.39	28.54	23.63	22.30	20.62	21.54	15.72	4.51	3.58	10.20	3.06	1843	1896

M:Male. F:Female.
Source: The 1987 sample survey.

to leave school early in order to work and contribute to their brother's education. It is also true that, because of the higher educational level of the male population, age at first marriage for women is lower than for men. In most cases, when a suitable bridegroom arrives, the family is happy for him to marry their daughter immediately, and for her to leave school. By contrast, it rare for a man to get married before he has finished his education or before he has found a job. The opening of the male single-sex schools, particularly in the villages has also led to a greater disparity between the number of educated men and the number of educated women.

The percentage of people who have had 13 or more years of education, or who have attended an institute or university has increased rapidly in the West Bank as a whole, and in the West Bank villages in particular. The percentage of the population aged 15 years and over in the 1967 census in the West Bank as a whole (Table 9.3 and Figure 9.2) who had had 13 or more years of education was 3.00 per cent for the male population, and 0.78 per cent for the female population; this percentage increased for the population aged 14 years and over in 1986 to 14.20 per cent for the male population, and 7.10 per cent for the female population. A similar pattern was found in the West Bank villages in the 1987 sample survey (Table 9.4); the proportion of the male population aged 50-54 years who had had a university level of education was 4.21 per cent (4 men), whereas among the female population aged 45-49 years old the figure was 0.79 per cent (1 women). This percentage increased however, to 28.41 per cent (52 men) among the male population aged 25-29 years, and to 11.46 per cent (33 women) among the female population aged 20-24 years. This is due to the opening of many of institutes and universities in the West Bank, such as Bir Zeit University in 1972, Bethlehem University in 1973, and An-Najah National University in 1977. In addition, many West Bank students are now leaving the West Bank in order to continue their higher studies.

If we look at the figures for emigrants form the West Bank villages in

the 1987 sample survey, we find that those with institute and university education represented 42.20 per cent (303 persons) of the total number of emigrants. This mean that a large percentage of the population who have had further education have emigrated from the West Bank, seeking either work or better paid work.

The percentage of the male population who have higher education is twice that of the female population, due to the greater importance attached to male education, and to the difficulties faced by girls going to study in the cities or outside the West Bank. Thus most of the female population in the villages complete the schooling available to them in their locality, (which may be elementary, preparatory or secondary), and then work in the home and on the land until they marry.

According to the 1987 sample survey, a high percentage of the people from the villages who graduated from institutes or universities specialised in human science (humanities, and social sciences), i.e. 55.22 per cent (164 persons); 14.82 per cent (44 persons) graduated in natural science, 17.17 per cent (51 persons) in economics and administration, 5.72 per cent (17 persons) in agriculture, 4.38 per cent (13 persons) in engineering, and 2.69 per cent (8 persons) in medical science. This high percentage of human science graduates is due to the fact that 49.83 per cent (148 persons) of all graduates graduated from West Bank institutes and universities, most of which concentrate on the teaching of human as opposed to natural sciences. On the other hand, 55.55 per cent (162 persons) of those graduates graduated after 1980.

We can compare these figures with a study conducted in 1972, which found that 60.93 per cent of Palestinians graduated in human sciences (Shaath, 1972, p 82), while another study conducted in 1979, found that 42.7 per cent of Palestinians-Jordanian students who were educated abroad in 1977/78 were studying science subjects (Yusuf, 1979, p 84). On the other hand, in Israel in 1978, 54.44 per cent of students specialised in human sciences (UNESCO, 1981). This concentration on the

human sciences in the West Bank is due to poor planning in higher education, and to the limited finance available to the West Bank universities; the facilities necessary for the study of natural science subjects are more costly than those for the human sciences. It is also the case that the West Bank student is forced to choose his field of study according to the nature of the job market at home and in neighbouring countries, where the greatest need is for people to work in the service sector.

9.3 School enrolment

During the period 1967/68-1986/87 the number of students in the West Bank increased by about 111.61 per cent, while the increase in the Gaza Strip during the same period was about 117.87 per cent (Central Bureau of Statistics, 1987). This high increase was due to high fertility rates in the West Bank and Gaza Strip, (which led to a rise in the school population), to the introduction of compulsory education throughout the elementary and preparatory cycles, and to the growing perception of education as a means of achieving social and economic advancement.

The percentage of students among the total population of the West Bank as a whole in 1985 was 35.64 per cent (Central Bureau of Statistics, 1987), while the percentage in the West Bank villages in the 1987 sample survey was 34.56 per cent (1,777 persons). This means that about one-third of the population of the West Bank as a whole and of the West Bank villages are students; this increases the dependency ratio, and will create many difficulties in the future when these students come to look for employment opportunities either inside or outside the West Bank.

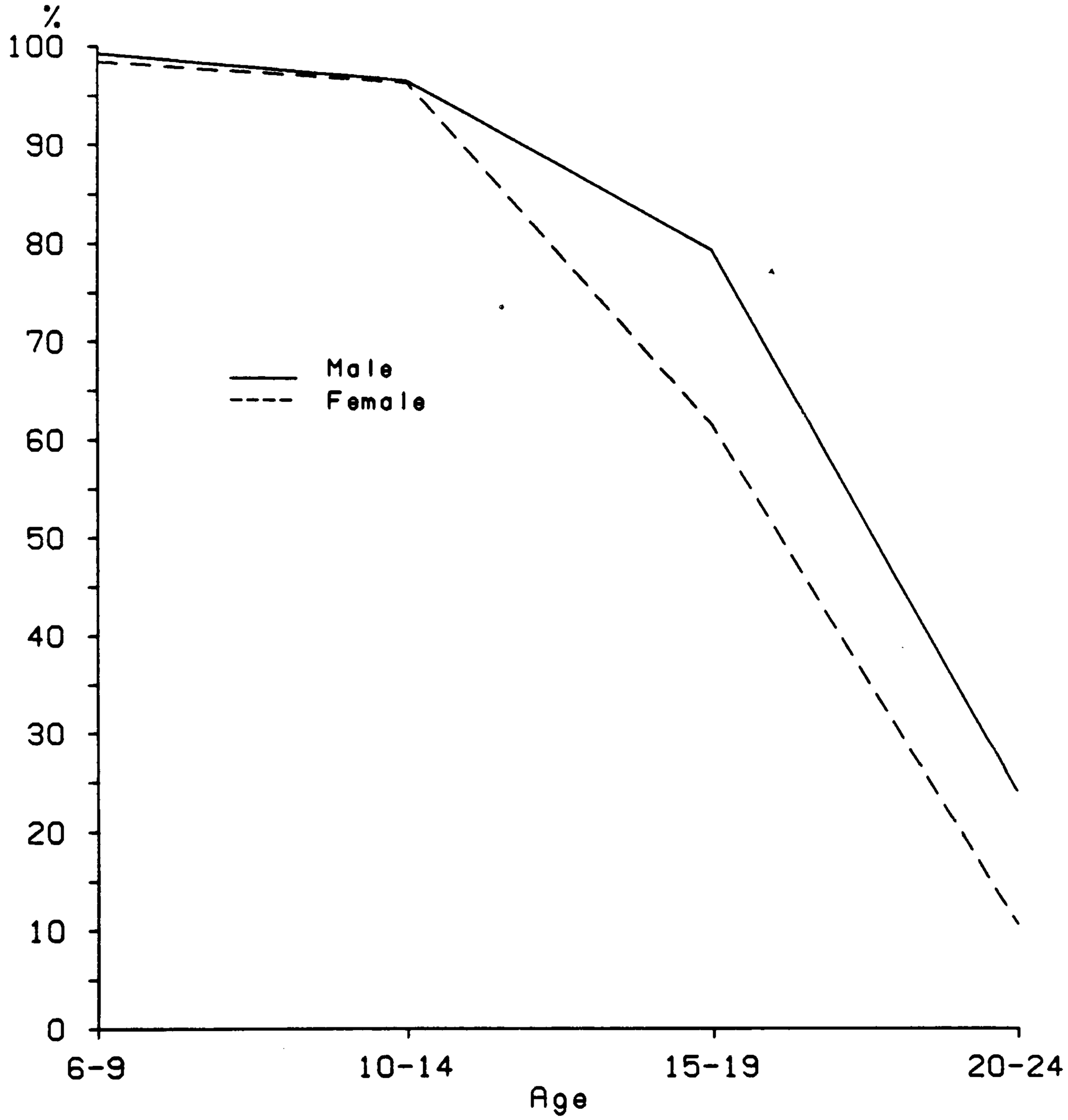
The percentage of the male population attending school in all the West Bank villages in the 1987 sample survey (Table 9.5 and Figure 9.3) was higher than that of the female population. Although the difference in the early years (6-14 years old) was small, it increased proportionally with age. For example, the percentage of male school attendance decreased from 96.77 per cent (360 boys) at age group

10-14 to 79.88 per cent (270 boys) at age group 15-19; in other words, 17.89 per cent of the male population left school after the age of 14. Female school attendance however, decreased from 96.56 per cent (336 girls) in the age group 10-14 to 61.95 per cent (197 girls) in the age group 15-19; in other words, 34.61 per cent of the female population left school after their fifteenth birthday. This gap between the male and female population becomes even wider in age group 20-24 (Table 9.5 and Figure 9.3); while 24.45 per cent (67 men) of the male population are still in education, the figure for the female population is only 10.76 per cent (31 women).

The traditional practice therefore, of educating sons in preference to daughters still persists in the West Bank villages, although it no longer as prevalent as it was in the past. There are many reasons for students leaving school in the West Bank villages, but most male students leave in order to help their families in agricultural work, or to find employment in Israel. Graham-Brown in 1984 found that economic reasons were primarily responsible for the high drop out rate in the West Bank, especially among boys. With hyperinflation (over 100 per cent a year since 1979) eating into the value of the wages earned by more than 30 per cent of the work force who are migrant labourers in Israel, there is often pressure on youngsters from large, poor families to go out to work rather than stay at school (Graham-Brown, 1984, p 68). Among the female population, dropping out of school (as we have previously mentioned) is usually a result of early marriage, or the need for them to help either on the land or in the home with young children, and many families are opposed to their daughters travelling outside the village in order to continue their studies, and equally, many do not have the financial resources to allow any of their children to study away from home.

The villages in the Hebron District have the lowest level of school enrolment (Table 9.5) of all the villages in the West Bank for both sexes. This is due to strong social opposition to female education, and to the early age at first marriage which is

Figure 9.3 School attendance of the population aged 6-24 years in the West Bank villages, 1987



Source: The 1987 Sample Survey

Table 9.5
School attendance of the population aged 6-24 years, in the West Bank villages by sex

Age groups	Nablus District				Jerusalem District				Hebron District				Total			
	Male		Female		Male		Female		Male		Female		Male		Female	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
6-9	152	98.70	148	98.01	84	100.00	72	100.00	31	100.00	29	96.67	267	99.26	249	98.42
10-14	213	97.26	197	96.57	100	99.01	94	100.00	47	90.39	45	90.00	360	96.77	336	96.56
15-19	165	83.76	122	67.78	82	94.25	62	67.39	23	42.59	13	28.26	270	79.88	197	61.95
20-24	40	24.10	21	12.81	17	25.37	9	10.11	10	24.39	1	2.86	67	24.45	31	10.76
Population aged 6-19	530	92.98	467	87.29	266	97.79	228	88.37	101	73.72	87	69.05	897	91.62	782	85.09
Population aged 6-24	570	77.45	488	69.81	283	83.48	237	68.30	111	62.36	88	54.66	964	76.94	813	67.36

Sources: The 1987 sample survey.

lower in this District than elsewhere in the West Bank. Thus, we find in (Table 9.5) that the percentage of female enrolment in the school in the villages in the Hebron District in the 1987 sample survey at age group 10-14 was 90.00 per cent (47 women), this decreased to 28.26 per cent (13 women) among girls aged 15-19 years, which is about one-third of the figure for other Districts. However, the percentage of school enrolment at age group 6-9 in the villages in the Hebron District is nearly equal to that in the villages in the Nablus and Jerusalem Districts.

9.4 Summary

Illiteracy in the West Bank as a whole, and in the West Bank villages in particular has decreased rapidly, reaching one of the lowest percentages in the Middle East, with the population in the West Bank enjoying an excellent level of education. Until now, however, there has been a gap between the educational levels of the male and female populations, a gap which widens among the older cohorts.

This high level of education among the young cohorts in the West Bank may influence the mean age at first marriage in future, raising it to a higher level than at present; such an increase could subsequently lead to a decline in the present levels of fertility. The large percentage of educated females may also lead to a rise in their rate of economic participation in areas other than agriculture; this could also have a significant effect on the levels of fertility.

In the absence of national planning in the West Bank, the educated population is faced with many problems. Unemployment is on the increase and those who do have work are often over-qualified for their positions and consequently do not make full use of their education.

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CHAPTER TEN

ECONOMIC COMPOSITION OF THE POPULATION

The aim of this chapter is to investigate: (i) differentials in activity rates between males and females, (ii) employment rates, (iii) the distribution of employed persons according to their occupations and the sectors of the economy to which they are attached, (iv) employment of the West Bank population in Israel, and (v) wages differentials among the employed population.

Throughout the discussion which follows, the term "labour force" refers to the economically active part of the population, who produce the goods and provide the services if there is a demand for their labour. The labour force includes both employed and unemployed persons. Employed comprise all persons, who worked during the week before the survey even for a single hour. Unemployed consist of all persons, who during the week before the survey were not working but who were seeking work for pay or profit, including those who never worked before. Those "not in labour force" includes the youngest and oldest among the population, handicapped persons, housewives, students, and income recipients (including pensioners and persons whom receive money from their sons or other relatives).

10.1 Activity rates

Since 1961, the labour force in the West Bank has constituted about one-fifth of the total population. Although the crude activity rate in the 1961 census was 21.37 per cent (Department of Statistics, 1964), it declined to 15.92 per cent in 1968, as a result of large-scale emigration from the West Bank following the 1967 war. However, when, from 1968 onwards, Arabs from the West Bank were allowed to work in Israel, this percentage increased, reaching a peak of 20.61 per cent in 1974. After

1974, the percentage declined continuously, reaching 18.94 per cent in 1977, due to large-scale emigration of people, particularly males, of working age from the West Bank to the Gulf States. However, it rose again to 20.04 per cent in 1985 (Central Bureau of Statistics, 1969-1986a), due to the difficulties facing young people wishing to emigrate from the West Bank after 1982.

This low labour force activity rate in the West Bank is due to the youthful population structure (more than 40 per cent of the population are less than 15 years of age), to the low level of female participation in the labour force, to the small proportion of the male population of working age (due to age-selective emigration), and to the high level of school attendance. On the other hand, the crude labour force activity rate in the West Bank villages according to the 1987 sample survey was 22.62 per cent (1163 persons). This percentage is higher than that for the total population in the West Bank as a whole, due to the fact that most villagers begin working at an early age, and continue working when they are old, since agricultural employment does not require extensive training or experience.

If we consider only the population aged 14 years and over we find that the general activity rate was 55.97 per cent among the male population, and 8.26 per cent among the female population in 1968 (Central Bureau of Statistics, 1969a). Van Arkadie (1977) ascribes this low percentage in the first year of the Israeli occupation to the fact that Palestinian labourers were not allowed to seek work in Israel, because the authorities feared that such employment would aggravate the unemployment problem in Israel. By July 1968, however, a labour shortage had emerged in Israel, and West Bank and Gaza Strip residents were permitted to seek work in Israel, and met an Israeli need for unskilled day labourers (Van Arkadie, 1977, pp 59-60).

Age and sex-specific activity rates for the total population of the West Bank aged 14 and over, 1969-1986, are displayed in Table 10.1. Activity rates peaked in

the early 1970s with maximum values of 66.6 per cent for males in 1973 and 14.3 per cent for females in 1974. Thereafter, the proportion of the male population aged 14 and over who were economically active declined to 56.8 per cent in 1978 but had risen again to 66.8 per cent by 1986. By contrast, the proportion of economically active females aged 14 and over declined continuously to a low point of 9.5 per cent in 1985, followed by a slight rise to 10.5 per cent in 1986. These annual fluctuations in activity rates obviously reflect variations in the demand for labour, both in the West Bank itself and in neighbouring countries, particularly Israel.

In the 1987 survey, equivalent data were collected from the sample population in the villages. These show that 69.61 per cent (1024) of males aged 15 and over were economically active, a significantly higher figure than that recorded for males aged 14 and over among the total West Bank population in 1986. On the other hand, the proportion of females aged 15 and over, at 8.59 per cent (133 women), was lower than that for the total female population aged 14 and over in 1986.

Activity rates for both males and females differ from one age group to another both in the West Bank population as a whole and in the village sample (Tables 10.1, 10.2 and figure 10.1). The lowest age-specific activity rate among the male population of the West Bank as a whole was found in age group 14-17 throughout the period 1969-1986. The highest age-specific activity rate differed from one year to another during the same period; it was found in age group 25-34 in 1971, 1972, and 1973, whereas in the other years throughout the period 1969-1986, it was found in age group 35-44.

By contrast, the lowest age-specific activity rate among the total female population was found in the age group 65 years and over throughout the period 1977-1984, but it changed to the age group 14-17 in 1985. The highest age-specific activity rates among the female population alternated between age groups 35-44 and 45-54 through-

Table 10.1
Age and sex-specific activity rates for the population of the West Bank, aged 14 years and over 1969-1986
%

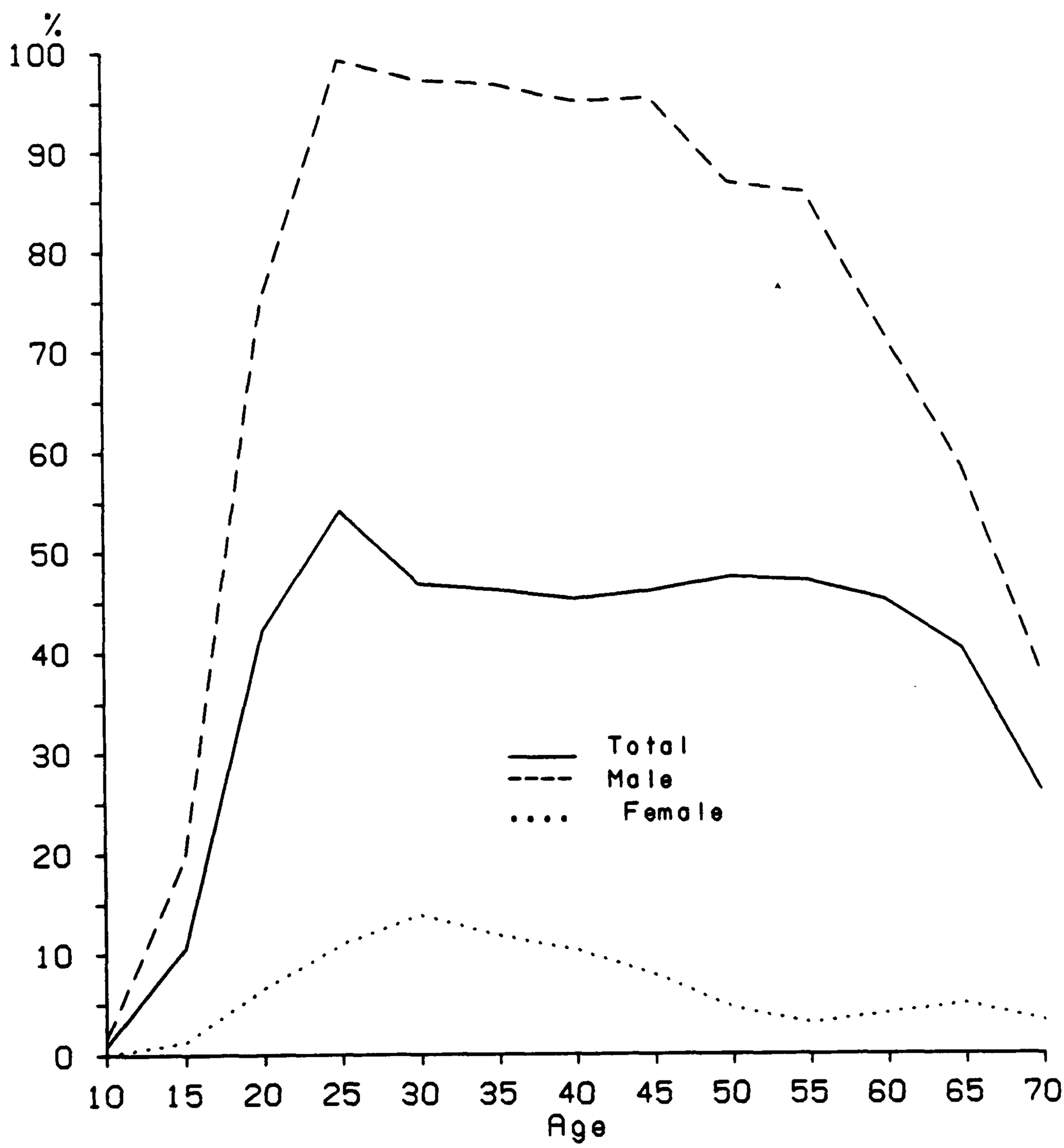
Years	14-17		18-24		25-34		35-44		45-54		55-65		65 +		Total	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
1969	21.9		60.1		91.5		90.1		79.3		68.0		35.1		62.2	13.5
1970	22.4		61.4		89.0		89.3		79.1		66.8		35.2		61.4	14.2
1971	18.8		61.6		93.2		89.8		83.5		66.4		34.1		62.0	12.7
1972	24.5		70.0		95.7		93.5		89.2		71.0		37.4		66.5	11.0
1973	25.6		70.4		95.4		94.5		88.3		70.4		40.1		66.6	10.8
1974	28.3		65.2		92.1		93.5		88.0		73.0		41.3		66.1	14.3
1975	26.8		58.3		82.7		90.0		85.6		72.7		39.0		61.9	12.8
1976	26.7		52.9		80.6		89.4		85.9		71.6		39.3		59.7	12.8
1977	24.4	5.4	51.3	10.4	78.2	15.7	87.6	17.1	84.8	17.3	72.3	10.8	37.0	4.3	57.4	12.0
1978	24.5	6.8	51.2	11.8	76.9	16.0	86.3	17.6	84.4	17.7	76.0	12.6	37.8	4.2	56.8	12.8
1979	25.6	4.6	50.6	10.3	76.1	15.3	84.9	17.3	86.1	17.7	74.4	12.1	39.3	3.1	56.9	11.8
1980	24.9	5.0	49.7	10.2	76.9	15.5	87.9	18.8	86.5	17.4	75.8	13.4	42.1	4.3	57.7	12.4
1981	23.4	4.3	50.4	9.9	76.1	13.9	88.4	16.1	85.0	16.2	74.2	11.9	38.5	3.8	57.8	11.2
1982	24.9	5.0	53.9	10.3	78.7	14.5	88.4	18.1	85.9	17.9	73.9	13.3	38.2	4.1	60.0	12.4
1983	25.4	3.9	59.5	10.2	82.0	14.3	88.8	15.9	84.7	15.9	72.8	11.2	36.6	3.4	62.1	11.0
1984	23.4	4.6	63.7	10.9	83.6	14.1	89.0	16.7	83.4	14.8	69.3	9.4	33.3	3.6	63.7	11.1
1985	23.8	3.2	65.4	8.9	83.0	12.0	88.7	13.8	84.1	13.5	69.7	9.3	33.1	3.4	63.9	9.5
1986	26.0		67.8		86.0		90.1		85.9		72.6		34.8		66.8	10.5

M:Male. F:Female.

Sources:

1. Central Bureau of Statistics, 1970-1987a.
2. Central Bureau of Statistics, 1985-1986b.

Figure 10.1 Age and sex specific activity rates for the population of the West Bank villages aged 10 years and over, 1987



Source: The 1987 sample survey

Table 10.2
Age and sex-specific activity rates for the population of the West Bank villages aged 10 years and over, 1987

Age groups	Male		Female		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
10-14	6	1.61	0	0	6	0.83
15-19	66	19.53	4	1.26	70	10.67
20-24	206	75.18	32	6.60	238	42.35
25-29	182	99.45	35	11.06	217	54.25
30-34	78	97.50	17	13.93	95	47.03
35-39	67	97.10	12	11.88	79	46.47
40-44	84	95.46	13	10.40	97	45.54
45-49	94	95.92	10	7.94	104	46.43
50-54	83	87.37	4	4.60	87	47.80
55-59	64	86.49	2	3.08	66	47.48
60-64	55	72.37	2	4.08	57	45.60
65-69	23	58.97	1	5.00	24	40.68
70 +	22	38.60	1	3.33	23	26.44
Population 10 Years +	1,030	55.89	133	7.02	1,163	31.10
Population 15 Years +	1,024	69.61	133	8.59	1,157	38.32

Sources: The 1987 sample survey.

out the period 1977-1985 (Table 10.1). Activity rates in the lower female age groups, 14-17 and 18-24 were higher than in the older age groups, reflecting the fact that the school attendance rate among females is lower than that among males at all school ages. Thus, in most cases, girls drop out of school to help their families in agricultural work or in the home. In the older age groups (65 years and over), however, the age-specific activity rate for the male and female population was found to be lower than in the young age group (14-24 years old). In most cases, when a girl marries she does not work outside the home, since she becomes the responsibility of her husband, and when she grows old her sons do not allow their mother to work outside the home. The same applies to elderly father's, because children in this type of society are considered a form of social security for their parents.

The activity rate among the total male population in the age group 14-17 years (Table 10.1) rose from 21.9 per cent in 1969 to 28.3 per cent in 1974, as a result of the boom in the Israeli economy, and the fact that Arab labour was permitted to work in Israel. Many students, therefore, dropped out of school in order to enter the labour market, attracted by the prospect of earning good wages. When the Israeli economy slowed down, however, the activity rate among the male population in the age group 14-17 declined to 23.8 per cent in 1985, with a recovery to 26.0 per cent in 1986.

Among the age groups 18-65 the activity rate for males increased until 1973 or 1974, decreased to its lowest point between 1976-1980, and increased again up until 1986 (Table 10.1). These fluctuations reflect changes in the demand for labour from the West Bank resulting from changing economic circumstances in the West Bank itself, in Israel and in other Arab countries. On the other hand, the age specific activity rate of the total female population declined in all age groups (Table 10.1), during the period 1977-1985. This was because, during this period, the activity rate of the male population increased as a result of their returning home from neighbouring

countries, and then facing many difficulties in emigration from the West Bank. Thus, many jobs which the women had filled were taken over by the men.

A similar pattern for the age specific activity rate was found in the West Bank villages. According to the 1987 sample survey (Table 10.2 and Figure 10.1), the activity rate of the male population in all age groups was higher than that of the female population, and the activity rate rose with age, reaching its peak in age group 25-29 among the male population, and in age group 30-34 among the females. However, when we compared the age-specific activity rate of the male population in the West Bank villages, in the 1987 sample survey, with that of the male population in the West Bank as a whole in 1986 (Tables 10.1, 10.2), we found that it was higher in the West Bank villages in all age groups, due to the different types of work found in the urban and rural areas, and to the fact that the period for which men from rural areas remain in the labour force is longer than that of men from urban areas.

By contrast, the age-specific activity rate for the female population in the West Bank as a whole in 1985 was higher in all groups than that for the female population in the West Bank villages in the 1987 sample survey. This is because women in the urban areas are more highly educated than those in the rural areas, and thus their opportunities to enter work are greater. In the rural areas, however, women work in agriculture in most cases, and are not considered to be economically active, and not considered to be in "proper" employment, since they are often working on land owned by their family, and do not receive wages. Indeed, when the woman or male members of the family are asked if women so employed are working, they usually reply that they are not, since it is considered part of their household duties, and is in any case mostly seasonal work.

The West Bank has a low female activity rate (Tables 10.1, 10.2), compared with that in the developed countries, for example; in Sweden in 1980, the activity

rate for the female population aged 16 years and over was 53.64 per cent, and in France in 1982, it was 42.96 per cent of the female population aged 16 years and over (United Nations, 1986). However, the total female activity rate in the West Bank of 10.48 per cent for females aged 14 years and over in 1986, was higher than that in the Gaza Strip in 1986, where it was only 2.98 per cent (Central Bureau of Statistics, 1987a). The female activity rate in the West Bank is higher than that in the Gaza Strip due to the fact that the number of male emigrants from the West Bank is higher than that from the Gaza Strip, and thus many job opportunities are left for women in the West Bank. It is also the case that more than two-thirds of the West Bank population live in rural areas, and therefore many of the women work in agriculture; a field of employment in which women in this conservative society are permitted to work.

It is interesting to compare such figures with the activity rates recorded for Palestinian women outside Palestine; Sirhan (1975) estimated the activity rate for the female population in the Palestinian refugee camps in Lebanon, (from unpublished 1971 Lebanon survey) at about 3.22 per cent (Sirhan, 1975, p 100). On the other hand, Omran (1980) found that female participation in the labour force was extremely low in other Arab countries, averaging around 8 per cent. Saudi Arabia, the Gulf States, Jordan, and Mauritania had the lowest activity rates for women in the Arab world. The percentage of women in the total labour force was higher in Egypt, Lebanon, Morocco, Sudan, the Yemens, and Syria, with Algeria and Somalia having the highest figures, 30 and 35 per cent respectively (Omran, 1980, p 74). This means that the female activity rate in the West Bank is higher than the average found in Arab countries, and among Palestinian women elsewhere; a fact which may be due to the higher level of education among the female population in the West Bank than among those in other Arab countries (see Chapter 9).

These low levels of female labour force participation throughout the Arab

world including the West Bank are explained by cultural as well as demographic factors. Culturally, many social stigmas exist against female employment, particularly in non-agricultural activities (Roy, 1986, p 27). The low level of education among the female population in comparison with the male population, as well as the early age at first marriage (since married women are considered the responsibility of their husbands) are important contributory factors. The high number of children ever-born to women is also considered one of the difficulties affecting their activity rates. Garaibeh (1985) attributed the low activity rate in the labour force of the female population in the Gaza Strip to the fact that most of the men who lose their jobs in Israel try to find alternative employment in the Strip rather than resorting to emigration, reducing the number of opportunities open to women or the need for their labour. This factor observed in the Gaza Strip has also been apparent in the West Bank, especially in the last few years, when men wishing to emigrate from the West Bank have faced many difficulties. Rockwell (1985) comments that many families tend to hide or deny the fact that female members work, since a house in which women work is considered to be poor, and this places a social stigma on the family, particularly if they work in Israel. Resistance to women working outside the home stems from the patriarchal family structure, where men have traditionally been responsible for all their female dependants, and where male prestige rests on the ability to protect family honour through the isolation of women. In addition to these factors, we found great difficulty in arriving at a satisfactory definition of working women, especially in the rural areas.

The low activity rates in the West Bank as a whole, including the villages, lead to high economic dependency ratios (The population not in the labour force as a percentage of the population in the labour force). In the West Bank as a whole in 1985, this ratio stood at 399.00 dependents for every 100 active persons. This contrasts with the West Bank villages in the 1987 sample survey, where it was found

to be 342.05 dependents. The ratio differs somewhat from one District to another: 331.44 in the villages in the Nablus District, 355.97 in the villages in the Jerusalem District, and 366.22 in the villages in the Hebron District. The economic dependency ratio in the West Bank villages is lower than that in the West Bank as a whole, due to the fact that the labour force activity rate in the West Bank villages is higher than that in the West Bank as a whole.

The high economic dependency ratios recorded in the West Bank as a whole, including the villages, are characteristic of populations with high fertility and youthful age structure. In the 1987 survey, 17.39 per cent (894 persons) of the sample were recorded as children of pre-school age and 34.56 (1,777 persons) as students, the latter figure reflecting the high level of school attendance (see Chapter 9). Of the females in the sample, 45.79 per cent (1,180 women or 22.95 per cent of the total population) were classed as housewives. Low female activity rates are a product mainly of social attitudes. The great majority of women do not work after marriage and many of those with high educational qualifications remain outside the labour force. Pensioners represented only 0.86 per cent (44 persons) of the sample. While a few of these receive pensions as a result of having worked for the Jordanian or Israeli administration in the West Bank, most are supported by their working sons or other relatives. The 83 persons recorded as being incapable of work, most of them elderly, represented 1.61 per cent of the sample.

10.2 Employment

The labour force includes both employed and unemployed persons. The employed are defined here as all persons who worked during the week before the survey (even for a single hour), including unpaid family workers.

In the 1961 census, the total number of employed persons in the West Bank was 160,319 (Department of Statistics, 1964), which represented 93.13 per cent of the

labour force in that year. This number decreased to 82,900 in 1968, as a result of the 1967 war, since many of the working-age population emigrated from the West Bank, and many people working with the Jordanian administration left the West Bank for the East Bank of the Jordan after the war. The high number of employed persons in the West Bank recorded in the 1961 census was not reached again until 1986, when it was estimated at about 167,000 (Central Bureau of Statistics, 1987a). Thus the number of employed persons doubled between 1968 and 1986, while the labour force increased by about 87 per cent over the same period. This higher increase in the number of employed persons than in the size of the labour force was a result of a fall in the level of unemployment, due to the increase in the number of workers from the West Bank in the Israeli labour market, and the emigration of people of working age from the West Bank.

The proportion of the male labour force of the West Bank as a whole who were actually employed (Table 10.3) rose from 88.26 per cent in 1968 to a peak of 99.00 per cent in 1979, since when it has steadily declined to 95.20 per cent in 1985 and 96.64 per cent in 1986. In the case of females, it rose from 94.20 per cent in 1968 to 99.61 per cent in 1978 and subsequently declined to 93.55 per cent in both 1985 and 1986. These variations are due mainly to variations in the demand for West Bank workers in the labour markets of Israel and the Arab countries.

In the 1987 survey in the West Bank villages, the 1,087 of employed persons represented 93.47 per cent of the labour force in the sample. This percentage varied between the Districts; 92.11 per cent (665 persons) in the villages in the Nablus District, 95.56 per cent (280 persons) in the villages in the Jerusalem District, and 95.95 per cent (142 persons) in the villages in the Hebron District. These figures show that the percentage of employed persons in the West Bank villages is lower than that in the West Bank as a whole, despite the higher labour force activity rate in the West Bank villages. This may be due to a difference in the definition of unemployed

Table 10.3
Population of the West Bank aged 14 years and over by labour force characteristics and sex 1968-1986
%

Years	Not in labour force			Labour force								
				Total			Employed			Unemployed		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
1968	44.03	91.74	69.86	55.97	8.26	30.14	88.26	94.20	89.14	11.74	5.80	10.86
1969	37.82	86.55	63.45	62.18	13.45	36.53	95.45	97.75	95.90	4.55	2.25	4.10
1970	38.58	85.82	63.33	61.42	14.18	36.67	96.40	98.33	96.79	3.60	1.67	3.21
1971	37.98	87.29	63.73	62.02	12.71	36.27	97.44	98.17	97.58	2.56	1.83	2.42
1972	33.52	88.98	62.39	66.48	11.02	37.61	98.79	99.48	98.89	1.21	0.52	1.11
1973	33.42	89.21	62.62	66.58	10.79	37.38	98.89	99.48	98.98	1.11	0.52	1.02
1974	33.90	85.68	60.87	66.10	14.32	39.13	99.11	98.11	98.92	0.88	1.89	1.08
1975	38.15	87.19	63.51	61.85	12.81	36.49	98.91	98.35	98.81	1.09	1.65	1.19
1976	40.30	87.25	64.41	59.70	12.75	35.39	98.78	98.78	98.78	1.22	1.22	1.22
1977	42.61	87.97	66.05	57.39	12.03	33.95	98.86	98.73	98.84	1.14	1.27	1.16
1978	43.18	87.23	65.92	56.82	12.77	34.08	98.88	99.61	99.02	1.12	0.39	0.98
1979	43.09	88.22	66.36	56.91	11.78	33.64	99.00	99.17	99.03	1.00	0.83	0.97
1980	42.32	87.63	65.79	57.68	12.37	34.21	98.39	97.67	98.25	1.61	2.33	1.75
1981	42.22	88.78	66.42	57.78	11.22	33.58	98.75	97.87	98.60	1.25	2.13	1.40
1982	39.94	87.62	64.82	60.04	12.38	35.18	98.71	98.47	98.67	1.29	1.53	1.33
1983	37.89	89.04	64.30	62.11	10.96	35.70	98.10	97.48	98.00	1.90	2.52	2.00
1984	36.32	88.85	63.33	63.68	11.15	36.67	96.22	96.80	96.31	3.78	3.20	3.69
1985	36.08	90.51	64.13	63.92	9.49	35.87	95.20	93.55	94.97	4.80	6.45	5.03
1986	33.24	89.52	62.23	66.76	10.48	37.77	96.64	93.55	96.20	3.36	6.45	3.80

Sources: Calculated from;
Central Bureau of Statistics, 1970-1987a.

persons between the 1987 sample survey and the Israeli sources.

Two-thirds of the employed persons in the West Bank villages in the 1987 sample were classified as employees (Table 10.4). This percentage was higher than that for the total population in the 1961 census, which recorded 58.31 per cent in this category (Department of Statistics, 1964). This contrast is due to the fact that many villagers left their land, on which they had been self-employed, after the Israeli occupation in 1967, and went to work inside Israel, in the belief that such employment would bring them greater financial rewards than working in agriculture (particularly since most village land owners hold only small areas of land, which, by and large, are not irrigated). The percentage of employers in the 1987 sample survey was lower than that in the 1961 census (Table 10.4), since the data in the 1961 census included the total population, and many of the employers are concentrated in the urban areas, working in industry and commerce. Many of them own land in the rural areas but do not live there, and only visit the villages a few times each year.

The percentage of unpaid family workers(excluding the women classified as housewives) decreased from 7.17 per cent in the 1961 census in the West Bank as a whole to 2.48 per cent (27 persons) in the 1987 survey in the West Bank villages (Table 10.4), as a result of people leaving agriculture, most such persons being employed on the land. The Hebron District had the highest percentage of unpaid family workers both in the 1961 census (about 18.92 per cent of the total number of employed persons in the District as a whole), and in the 1987 sample survey (3.52 per cent (5 persons) of the total number of employed persons in the villages in the District). This relatively high percentage in the Hebron District is due to the large size of families, most of which are dependent on agriculture and grazing, and to the social pressures in this District for persons to remain within the framework of the extended family. On the other hand, most of women in the West Bank villages work in agriculture as unpaid family workers, but count themselves as housewives rather than workers. The

Table 10.4
Employed persons in the West Bank, 1961
and in the West Bank villages, 1987
by working status, and District

Working status	Nablus District			Jerusalem District			Hebron District			Total		
	Total	Villages 1987		Total	Villages 1987		Total	Villages 1987		Total	Villages 1987	
	1961	No.	%	1961	No.	%	1961	No.	%	1961	No.	%
Employer	6.05	11	1.65	2.58	2	0.71	1.79	1	0.70	3.79	14	1.29
Own-account workers	37.21	202	30.38	23.50	85	30.36	35.88	32	22.54	30.73	319	29.35
Employees	50.44	435	65.41	70.12	188	67.14	43.41	104	73.24	58.31	727	66.88
Unpaid family workers	6.30	17	2.56	3.80	5	1.79	18.92	5	3.52	7.17	27	2.48
Total	100.00	665	100.00	100.00	280	100.00	100.00	142	100.00	100.00	1087	100.00

Sources:
1. Department of Statistics, 1964.
2. The 1987 sample survey.

percentage of employed persons recorded as own-account workers was nearly equal in the 1961 census and the 1987 sample survey.

10.3 Unemployment

The Israeli Central Bureau of Statistics defines unemployed persons as: "all those who have not worked at all during the determinant week (even for a single hour), and who have actively sought work during that week (the time of conducting the survey), by registration at the Labour Exchange Employment Service, or at any other labour exchange by a personal or written application" (Central Bureau of Statistics, 1985b, p 142). Since August 1968, the Central Bureau of Statistics has conducted a regular survey concerning employment in the West Bank and Gaza Strip. Until July-September 1973, the sample include about 4,500 families which were surveyed every three months. From October-December 1973, the sample was enlarged and by July-September 1974 it covered about 6,500 families in both the West Bank and Gaza Strip. This population does not includes persons in institutions or nomads, or those living outside localities at the time of the survey. The sample was drawn according to the principles and definitions which are similar to those applied in the Labour Force Survey in Israel (Central Bureau of Statistics, 1984a, p 122).

This definition of unemployed persons is not suitable for application to the population of the West Bank, since many job seekers do not register their names in the Israeli labour offices because, unlike Israeli workers, they do not receive any unemployment allowance. Thus, the Israeli data show that the unemployment rate in Israel was 7 per cent (State of Israel, Ministry of Labour and and Social Affairs, 1987, p 1), higher than that in the West Bank. In addition, many people from the West Bank working in the Israeli labour market do so as illegal workers, since those registered in the labour offices are liable to pay higher rates of tax than those who are not.

In the 1961 census, the number of unemployed persons in the West Bank as a whole was 11,765 (Department of Statistics, 1964), some 6.84 per cent of the labour force. According Israeli estimates figures, the number was 10,100 in 1968 or 10.86 per cent of the labour force (Table 10.3). This increase in the unemployment rate was a result of the 1967 war, which resulted in the closure of many companies and the loss of many jobs in the West Bank, and the suspension of economic activity after the Israeli occupation. However, when the population of the West Bank was permitted in 1968 to work in Israel, the percentage unemployed declined sharply. Garaibeh (1985) adds that labour emigration to the booming economies of Jordan and the Gulf States reduced excess labour supply and maintained the West Bank economy at full employment. In the eighties, when young people wanting to emigrate began to encounter many difficulties, and with the decline in employment opportunities in the Israeli labour market and in the West Bank itself, unemployment rose above the level of the 1970s (Table 10.3), reaching 5.03 per cent of the total labour force in the West Bank as a whole in 1985, and 3.80 per cent in 1986.

On the other hand, the International Labour Office in its report on the situation of workers in the Occupied Arab Territories in 1985, (according to some Arab and Palestinian sources) maintained that the unemployment rate was between 34 and 40 per cent amongst the active population in the West Bank and Gaza Strip, representing between 83,000 and 98,000 persons. These included residents who had lost their jobs in Israel (50,000 to 60,000); unemployed workers in the West Bank and Gaza Strip themselves (5,000 to 10,000 especially in industry and agriculture); unemployed graduates of higher education establishments (13,000), and workers who had returned from Arab countries (15,000). A number of other sources, and especially various Palestinian representatives, with whom the International Labour Office Mission spoke, estimated that the unemployment rate in the West Bank and Gaza Strip was at least 10 per cent of the active population, that is about 25,000 persons

(International Labour Office, 1985, p 29).

In the 1987 sample survey in the West Bank villages, the percentage unemployed among the active population was 6.53 per cent (76 persons). This percentage varies from one District to another; 7.89 per cent (57 persons) in the villages in the Nablus District, 4.44 per cent (13 persons) in the villages in the Jerusalem District, and 4.05 per cent (6 persons) in the villages in the Hebron District. These figures show that the unemployment rate in the 1987 sample survey was higher than that estimated by the Israeli Central Bureau of Statistics for the West Bank as a whole. This is despite the fact that many of young people in the villages work on their land when they are unable to find suitable employment, an option which is not usually open to those young people living in the urban areas. This reduced the percentage of unemployed men in the villages in the 1987 sample survey; most people, when asked if they had worked during the last week, replied that they had, and in many cases this consisted of one or two days working on the family land, or a couple of days of temporary work in Israel.

Until 1973, the percentage of unemployed men was greater than the percentage of unemployed women, whereas from 1974 to 1986 the situation was reversed (with the exception of 1984), (Table 10.3). In the 1987 sample survey in the West Bank villages, however, the percentage of unemployed women was 18.05 per cent (24 women) of the active female population, whereas for the male population the figure was 5.05 per cent (52 men). The high level of female unemployment may be accounted for by the increased number of educated women who are unable to find employment in the West Bank but are prevented by social constraints from seeking it outside the territory. In contrast, many educated men who cannot find jobs appropriate to their level of education in the West Bank emigrate to the neighbouring countries, or go to work in the Israeli labour market; a phenomenon which rarely occurs among the female population. In addition, in the 1987 sample survey, we found that 2.12 per cent

(25 women) of the women in the sample classified as housewives had an institute or university level of education, but were not registered as unemployed, because many of them were married and had left their jobs, or because they preferred not to be counted as unemployed for social reasons.

Unemployed persons in the West Bank are predominantly young and highly educated. When Bergman (1975) made an analysis of unemployment rates in relation to levels of education he found that, unlike the situation among the Jewish population of Israel, the unemployment rate in the West Bank and Gaza Strip goes up as the level of education (measured in years of schooling) rises. This may be attributed to the paucity of suitable jobs for educated workers. A similar problem exists among educated non-Jews in Israel, who have a relatively high unemployment rate. Meron (1982) found that the correlation between education and labour force activity rate is positive only up to a certain level, at which point it becomes negative, because of limited employment possibilities open to those with higher education.

Similarly, Zakai (1986) found that most of the unemployed in the West Bank in 1984 were young; 60 per cent were under 24 years old, and another 30 per cent were aged 25-34 years. Put another way, the 1984 unemployment rates rose from below 1.0 per cent at age 35 and over, to 3.5 per cent at 25-34 years and 6.6 per cent at 18-24 years. About half the unemployed had been employed at some time during the previous year. The figure for unemployment at age 18-24 years suggest that it is positively correlated with the level of education; some two-thirds of the unemployed had over 9 years of schooling, and this schooling group had a considerably higher unemployment rate than the less educated.

The International Labour Office report in 1986 pointed out that the stream of graduates from higher educational establishments who were applying for any job, even those far below their level of qualification, demonstrated the present extent of

the problem. In this respect the International Labour Office Mission was informed of the findings of an inquiry published in 1985 by the Association of Engineers on the West Bank, which showed that 31 per cent of the engineers and architects in the West Bank i.e. 199 persons, were unemployed, and that 166 had left the region during the past five years. The number of unemployed doctors is apparently similar (International Labour Office, 1986, p 23).

On the other hand, the unemployed persons in the 1987 sample survey were characterized by the fact that 90.79 per cent (69 persons) of them were in the age group 20-29 years; at this age most people have finished their education, and face difficulties if they wish to emigrate from the West Bank. Thus, we found that 75.00 per cent (57 persons) of the unemployed persons in the West Bank villages in the 1987 sample survey had an institute or university level of education.

10.4 Employment in Israel

Between 1970 and 1986, the number of persons from the West Bank employed in the Israeli labour market rose from 14,700 to 51,300, an increase of nearly 250 per cent. During the same period the number of employed persons from the West Bank working in the West Bank and Gaza Strip rose from 99,800 to 115,700, a growth of about 16 per cent. The data in Table 10.5 shows that the number of employed persons working in the West Bank decreased between 1970 and 1973, while after that it fluctuated, and did not reach the number registered in 1970 until 1984. This low level of employment inside the West Bank has been a result of the lack of government initiatives in encouraging development inside the West Bank or in creating any job opportunities.

By contrast, the number of West Bankers employed in Israel increased continuously except during the period of the mid to late seventies during the Israeli economic recession, when many people from the West Bank left their jobs in the

West Bank and in Israel, and emigrated to the neighbouring countries seeking high salaries, and greater job opportunities. Thus, the proportion of the West Bank labour force employed on the Israeli Labour market rose from 12.84 per cent in 1970 to 32.68 per cent in 1983, and 30.72 per cent in 1986 (Table 10.5 and Figure 10.2).

In addition to the official figures concerning the number of legal workers from the West Bank in the Israeli labour market, there is also a large number of illegal workers. Since 1968, the Israeli Labour Exchange Office has issued labour cards to workers from the West Bank which allow them to work in Israel. Work permits are still granted for short periods only; six months for workers who have been employed for two years at least in the industrial sector and, in principle, four months for other workers (International Labour Office, 1985, p 49). Thus, many employees and employers prefer to bypass official placement centres in order to evade taxes and other wage deductions (Garaibeh, 1985, p 50). The International Labour Office reports (1985 & 1986) estimated that, according to the Israeli authorities, people from the West Bank and Gaza Strip working in Israel illegally represented about 30 per cent of all workers from those areas employed in Israel, i.e. approximately 27,000 persons (International Labour Office, 1986, p 21). According to other estimates from Arab and Palestinian sources, the overall proportion is in fact some 8 per cent higher, which brings the total number of clandestine workers to some 34,000 persons (International Labour Office, 1985, p 47). Amongst the irregular workers are children between the ages of 8-15 years (Roy, 1986, p 32).

Benvenisti (1986) has made a careful study of the situation of Arab workers in Israel. Of the estimated 50,000 non-organized workers (not registered in the Israeli Labour Office) from the West Bank and Gaza Strip working in Israel, many are forced to spend the night within Israel illegally, mostly in the Tel-Aviv area, in subhuman conditions; for example, sleeping on tables in restaurants where they work, or crowded into insanitary cellars and attics. Many report feeling dehumanized by long hours,

Figure 10.2 Percentage of workers from the West Bank employed in the Israeli labour market

Source: The 1987 sample survey

Table 10.5
Employed persons among the West Bank population by selected economic sectors and place of work 1970-1986

Years	In the West Bank & Gaza Strip					In Israel					Per cent of workers in Israel
	No. of workers	Agriculture	Industry	Construction	Other branches	No. of workers	Agriculture	Industry	Construction	Other branches	
		%	%	%	%		%	%	%	%	%
1970	99,800	42.5	14.6	8.4	34.5	14,700	17.7	12.9	57.2	12.2	12.84
1971	91,200	40.2	14.7	6.1	39.0	25,600	12.9	16.8	57.0	13.3	21.92
1972	90,300	38.0	14.6	7.2	40.2	34,900	12.3	18.6	56.8	12.3	27.88
1973	87,800	34.2	16.4	7.6	41.8	38,600	8.8	20.7	56.8	13.7	30.54
1974	95,000	37.9	15.1	7.0	40.0	42,400	10.6	19.3	56.1	14.0	30.86
1975	91,900	34.6	15.8	8.4	41.2	40,400	10.9	18.6	55.0	15.5	30.54
1976	92,600	33.9	14.9	10.0	41.2	37,100	12.2	20.9	49.6	17.3	28.60
1977	91,900	33.4	15.1	10.4	41.1	35,500	12.7	22.5	44.2	20.6	27.87
1978	94,000	34.4	15.2	10.9	39.5	36,800	11.4	23.6	46.0	19.0	28.14
1979	92,500	31.5	15.9	11.8	40.8	39,800	10.3	23.9	47.7	18.1	30.08
1980	94,300	33.2	15.2	10.7	40.9	40,600	9.9	21.0	50.1	19.0	30.10
1981	93,500	30.5	15.7	11.9	41.9	39,900	9.3	18.1	52.7	19.9	29.91
1982	97,500	32.1	15.9	10.6	41.4	43,000	9.4	17.9	54.1	18.6	30.61
1983	99,100	29.5	16.1	11.0	43.4	48,100	8.4	18.2	53.4	20.0	32.68
1984	104,000	28.5	15.9	11.3	44.3	50,100	9.8	17.9	51.0	21.3	32.51
1985	103,800	27.3	16.2	12.4	44.1	47,500	10.7	16.6	52.3	20.4	31.40
1986	115,700	28.6	15.7	12.7	43.0	51,300	10.7	18.0	50.6	20.7	30.72

Source: Calculated from;
Central Bureau of Statistics, 1971-1987a.

low pay (approximately half that of Israeli workers), poor attitudes and treatment by employers and others in work place and in the street. They are reported as being searched, arrested or harassed in other ways on average twice a week. On the other hand, the Palestinians employed legally through the Employment Service fare worse than their Israeli counterparts, so that in effects they are not getting equal pay. They have less rights than Israelis with regard to premiums, pensions, sick leave, recuperation, clothing and vacations. A sum equal to 20 per cent of their wages is deducted from Israeli employees, but in this case it is transferred to the National Insurance Institute, whereas in the case of the legal Palestinian workers, it is transferred directly to the Treasury (Benvenisti, 1986, p 11-13).Other sources estimate the deductions for tax and social security purposes from the Arab workers at about 30 per cent of their wages (Garaibeh, 1985. Roy, 1986).

In the 1987 sample survey in the West Bank villages, 32.94 per cent (358 persons) of employed persons were found to be working in the Israeli labour market (Table 10.6). This percentage varied between the Districts; 40.85 per cent (58 persons) in the villages in the Hebron District, 27.14 per cent (76 persons) in the villages in the Jerusalem District, and 33.69 per cent (224 persons) in the villages in the Nablus District. This variation is due to differences in the nature of work between the Districts. After the occupation in 1967, many villagers in the West Bank left agricultural work because it only provided them with a low income, and most of them went to work in Israel for higher wages; this phenomenon has had a significant effect on the occupational structure of the West Bank population.

The percentage of the employed male population working in Israel was 35.69 per cent (349 men), whereas the figure for the employed female population was 8.26 per cent(9 women); this is due to negative social views with regard to women who go to work in Israel.

Table 10.6
Employed persons in the West Bank villages
by place of work, District, and sex
1987

Place of work	Nablus District			Jerusalem District			Hebron District			Total		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
Same village	38.72	70.69	41.50	35.29	69.05	40.36	45.11	77.78	47.18	38.75	70.64	41.95
Other village	8.73	5.17	8.42	4.62	2.38	4.29	5.26	0	4.93	7.26	3.67	6.90
City	16.80	12.07	16.39	28.15	26.19	27.85	6.77	11.11	7.04	18.20	17.43	18.12
Refugee camp	0	0	0	0.42	0	0.36	0	0	0	0.10	0	0.09
Israel	35.75	12.07	33.69	31.52	2.38	27.14	42.86	11.11	40.85	35.69	8.26	32.94
Total	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00
No. of employed persons	607	58	665	238	42	280	133	9	142	978	109	1087

Sources: The 1987 sample survey.

On the other hand, some 41.95 per cent (456 persons) of the employed persons in the West Bank villages in the 1987 sample survey (Table 10.6) worked in their own villages. This is because this category includes most of the old people who work in agriculture, as well as those involved in commercial activities in the villages. In addition, we found that more than two-thirds of the employed female population worked in their villages. The percentage of those working in the cities come in third place (Table 10.6) at 18.12 per cent (197 persons), with most of these people in commerce, services, and industries. This percentage was higher in the villages in the Jerusalem District than in other villages, due to the fact that they have more communication links with the urban centres.

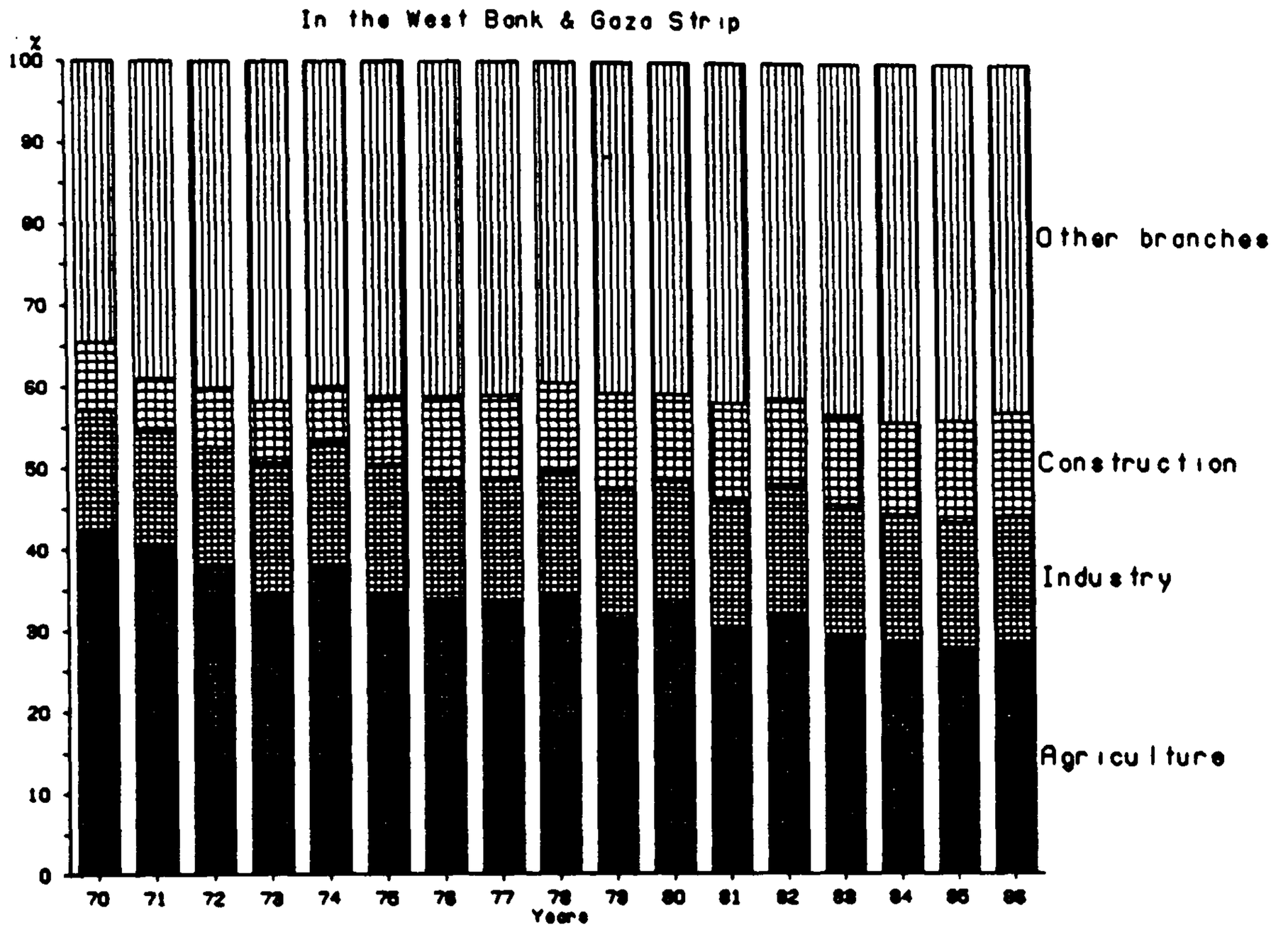
Those from the West Bank and Gaza Strip who work in the Israeli labour market tend to be concentrated in the unskilled and semi-skilled jobs, which Jewish workers refuse to do, since this type of work is poorly paid. Similarly, such work has no attractions for the Israeli unemployed, whose insurance benefits provide them with an income which compares favourably with the starting wages offered in these jobs; for example, in December 1984, over 3,800 Israelis refused jobs offered by the Employment Service, while a large number of workers from the West Bank and Gaza Strip were called upon (International Labour Office, 1985, p 46). On the other hand, the 1987 sample survey revealed that, of the West Bank villagers employed in Israel, 7.82 per cent (28 persons) had an institute or university level of education and 21.51 per cent (77 persons) had a secondary level of education. Most of these persons, however, could not find jobs in the West Bank appropriate to their qualifications or were unable to emigrate to neighbouring countries, and consequently went to work in the Israeli labour market, rather than remain unemployed without any income. Most of these persons work in unskilled jobs in construction and agriculture.

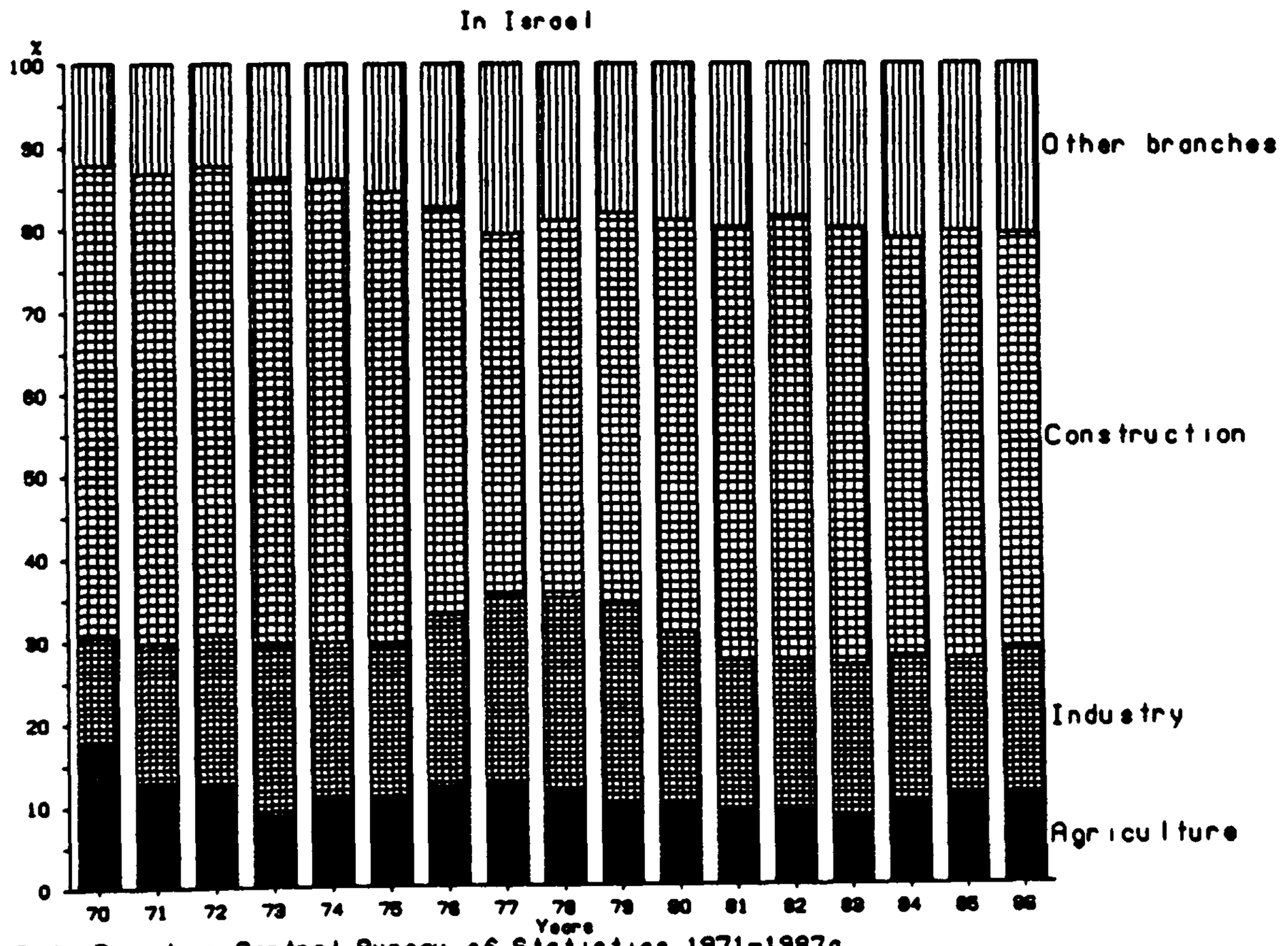
Since 1970, about half the workers from the West Bank who work in the Israeli labour market have been concentrated in the construction sector (Table 10.5

and Figure 10.3). Thus, since 1981-1982, more than one-third of the building workers in Israel have been residents of the West Bank and Gaza Strip, although taken as a whole these residents represent only some 6 per cent of the total employment in Israel (International Labour Office, 1985, p 46). The employment of West Bank workers in the Israeli agricultural sector declined from 17.7 per cent in 1970 to 8.8 per cent in 1973, and then rose again to 10.7 per cent in 1985 and 1986, a figure still lower than that in 1970 (Table 10.5 and Figure 10.3). This is due to the fact that many workers moved into other areas of employment which offered better wages, and to the improvements and mechanization which have taken place in the agricultural sector in Israel. The share of workers from the West Bank and Gaza Strip in the total agricultural labour force in Israel went up from under 13 per cent in 1983 to some 15 per cent in 1984 (International Labour Office, 1985, p 46). The percentage of workers in industry increased from 12.9 per cent in 1970 to 23.9 per cent in 1979, and decreased again to 16.6 per cent in 1985 and 18.0 per cent in 1986 (Table 10.5 and Figure 10.3). The percentage of workers in other sectors increased from 12.2 per cent in 1970 to 20.7 per cent in 1986 (Table 10.5 and Figure 10.3). This is because many workers lost their jobs in the agricultural and construction sectors with increased mechanization and the onset of the Israeli economic recession since 1975, and were therefore, forced to find employment in alternative sectors such as commerce and hotels, where the wages are in most cases fairly good.

Workers from the West Bank employed in the West Bank and Gaza Strip labour market tend to be concentrated in other sectors (Table 10.5 and Figure 10.3); mainly in services many of them in teaching and religious affairs. The percentage of those working in agriculture in the West Bank decline from 42.5 per cent in 1970 to 27.3 per cent in 1985 and 28.6 per cent in 1986. Whereas in the early 1970s the majority of workers in the West Bank were found in the agricultural sector, there was a significant shift to other sectors in subsequent years. This is due to the fact

Figure 10.3 Employed persons of the West Bank population by selected economic sectors and place of work 1970–1986





Source: Data Based in Central Bureau of Statistics 1971–1987a

that many villagers in the West Bank left their work in agriculture in the villages, prefering to go to work in Israel or emigrate from the West Bank in search of better wages.

The percentage of those working in the industrial sector in the West Bank has remained at around 15 per cent since 1970, since no significant industrial development has occurred inside the West Bank during this period. The percentage of workers employed in the construction sector in the West Bank was found to be very small in comparison with the percentage employed in similar work in the Israeli labour market (Table 10.5 and Figure 10.3). This is due to the small size of this sector in the West Bank. On the other hand, there are many workers from the West Bank employed in the Israeli labour market in the West Bank itself, especially in the construction of Israeli settlements.

10.5 Employment by economic sector

The agricultural sector remains the most important single source of employment both for the West Bank population as a whole and for the population of the West Bank villages (Tables 10.7 and 10.8), although this percentage has declined since 1969, when the Israeli authorities permitted workers from the West Bank to work in Israel. As a result, many people left their work in the West Bank especially in agriculture and found jobs in the Israeli labour market, particularly in the construction sector. The data in Table 10.7 shows that the percentage working in construction increased much faster than in other economic sectors; for example, it rose from 11.9 per cent of the total number of workers in the West Bank as a whole in 1969 to 24.4 per cent in 1986, and from 12.7 per cent of the total number of workers from the villages in 1969 to 27.9 per cent in 1983. This means that the greatest changes in the economic sectors were found among the villagers.

The percentage of workers employed in the public and community service

Table 10.7
Employed persons, by economic sector and place of residence in the West Bank
1969-1986
%

Years	Agriculture, forestry and fishing		Industry (mining and manufacturing)		Construction (building and Public works)		Commerce, restaurant and hotel		Transport, storage and communication		Public and community services		Others*	
	T.	V.	T.	V.	T.	V.	T.	V.	T.	V.	T.	V.	T.	V.
1969	44.8	61.6	13.3	8.2	11.9	12.7	11.7	6.6	3.7	1.9	10.3	6.4	4.3	2.5
1970	39.3	56.8	14.2	9.2	14.7	16.3	11.2	6.3	4.1	1.9	12.7	8.2	3.8	1.3
1971	34.2	49.5	15.1	9.7	17.3	19.3	11.9	7.8	3.9	2.4	13.6	9.6	4.1	1.7
1972	30.8	43.4	15.7	9.6	21.0	25.1	11.3	7.8	4.3	3.3	12.7	8.9	4.2	1.9
1973	26.5	37.6	17.7	12.9	22.3	27.3	11.5	8.0	4.2	3.0	12.5	8.5	4.9	2.7
1974	29.6	41.6	16.3	11.9	22.4	25.6	11.2	7.5	4.1	2.8	12.2	8.5	4.2	2.2
1975	27.4	38.9	16.6	12.3	22.6	26.3	11.8	8.2	4.5	3.4	13.3	9.1	3.7	1.8
1976	27.7	39.6	16.6	12.6	21.3	24.9	12.9	9.3	4.8	3.5	13.3	8.8	3.4	1.3
1977	27.8	39.7	17.3	12.7	19.7	23.2	13.6	9.6	4.6	3.5	13.1	9.6	3.9	1.7
1978	27.8	39.9	17.6	12.9	20.7	24.0	12.5	8.8	4.2	3.1	13.0	9.4	4.2	1.9
1979	25.3	36.3	18.3	14.3	22.6	26.2	12.7	8.8	4.4	3.1	12.8	9.4	3.9	1.9
1980	26.2	37.6	16.9	12.8	22.6	22.5	12.7	9.0	4.5	3.4	13.3	9.7	3.8	2.0
1981	24.1	34.0	16.4	11.9	24.0	28.2	12.5	9.1	4.9	4.0	14.2	10.6	3.9	2.2
1982	25.2	35.9	16.5	11.9	24.0	27.9	11.9	8.4	4.5	3.9	13.9	10.2	4.0	1.8
1983	22.6		16.8		24.7		12.8		5.0		13.4		4.7	
1984	22.4		16.5		24.2		13.3		5.1		13.8		4.7	
1985	22.0		16.3		24.8		13.8		4.9		13.4		4.8	
1986	23.1		16.3		24.4		13.8		4.9		12.6		4.9	

* Electricity and water, finance and business services, personal and other services.
T.: Total V.: Village
Source: Central Bureau of Statistics, 1970-1987a.

Table 10.8
Employed persons, by economic sector and sex in the West Bank villages 1987

Economic sector	Male		Female		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Agriculture	355	36.30	48	44.04	403	37.07
Mining	10	1.02	0	0	10	0.92
Industry	66	6.75	2	1.83	68	6.26
construction	211	21.57	0	0	211	19.41
Electricity, water and Gas	2	0.20	1	0.92	3	0.28
Commerce	146	14.93	7	6.42	153	14.07
Transportation and storage	56	5.73	0	0	56	5.15
Services	120	12.27	50	45.87	170	15.64
Others	12	1.23	1	0.92	13	1.20
Total	978	100.00	109	100.00	1,087	100.00

Source: The 1987 sample survey.

sectors has remained around 13 per cent of the total number of employed persons in the West Bank as a whole since 1970. The same applies to the transport, storage and communication sectors, where the figure rose from 3.7 per cent of the total number of employed persons in the West Bank as a whole in 1969 to 4.9 per cent in 1986 (Table 10.7). Those sectors whose workers are employed in the West Bank, have not grown to the same extent as similar sectors whose workers are employed in the Israeli labour market, for example, the commercial sector, restaurants and hotels increased from 11.7 per cent of the total number of employed persons in the West Bank as a whole in 1969 to 13.8 per cent in 1986, and the industrial sector (mining and manufacturing) increased from 13.3 per cent in 1969 to 16.3 per cent in 1986 (Table 10.7).

In the West Bank villages in the 1987 sample survey (Table 10.8), the highest percentage of employed persons was found in the agricultural sector, i.e. 37.07 per cent (403 persons). The construction sector came in second place with 19.41 per cent (211 persons). On the other hand, while the highest percentage of employed men was found in the agricultural sector i.e. 36.30 per cent (355 men), the highest percentage of employed women was found in the service sector i.e. 45.87 per cent (50 women), and in the agricultural sector 44.04 per cent (48 women). This is because in most cases uneducated women go to work in agriculture, whereas educated women prefer to work in the services.

10.6 Occupational Structure

The occupations which need highly educated personnel, such as, academics, professionals, technicians, administrators, managers, and clerical workers, comprised only a small percentage of the total number of employed persons in the West Bank during the period 1972-1986, and in the West Bank villages in the 1987 sample survey (Tables 10.9 and 10.10). Garaibeh (1985) estimates that more than three-quarters of the West Bankers who graduate from universities outside the West Bank do not

go back home (Garaibeh, 1985, p 46). Thus we find, in Tables 10.9 and 10.10, that the proportion of those employed in these occupations in 1972 was 11.3 per cent, increasing only to 12.4 per cent in the West Bank as a whole in 1986, while it was 9.29 per cent (101 persons) in the West Bank villages in 1987 sample survey. This is due to the high level of emigration from the West Bank among people with higher education as a result of the poor employment opportunities for these people. Thus, they prefer to emigrate to neighbouring countries in order to gain high wages and better job opportunities appropriate to their qualifications than to stay unemployed in the West Bank without any income. Low levels of technology, the lack of industrial development and the small scale of the commercial and service sectors all play a part in limiting the opportunities available to highly educated people in the West Bank.

The percentage of workers employed in agriculture declined from 30.4 per cent in 1972 to 23.2 per cent in 1986 in the West Bank as a whole, while the figure was 35.23 per cent (383 persons) in the West Bank villages in the 1987 sample survey. On the other hand, the percentage of sales workers and service workers increased only slightly, from 9.3 and 6.1 per cent respectively in 1972 to 10.0 and 6.9 per cent in 1986 (Table 10.9). The percentage of those working in commerce in the West Bank villages in the 1987 sample survey was 14.08 per cent (153 persons), and in services 9.57 per cent (104 persons) (Table 10.10). This relatively high percentage of people working in commerce in the villages results from the large number of people who open small shops or who work as salesmen promoting agricultural products in the villages, or who work in commerce in the nearby cities, or in Israel.

Skilled and unskilled manual workers comprised 47.4 per cent of all workers in the West Bank as a whole in 1986, while in 1972 the figure was 42.9 per cent (Table 10.9). This is because many workers moved from agriculture to the construction or industrial sectors. Thus the 1987 sample survey in the West Bank villages recorded 19.32 per cent (210 persons) employed in construction, most of them working in the

Table 10.9
Employed Persons in the West Bank
by occupation
1972-1986
%

Years	Scientific and academic workers	Other Professional, technical and related workers	Administrators and managers	Clerical and related workers	Sales workers	Service workers	Agricultural workers	Skilled workers in industry, mining, building and transport other skilled manual workers	Other workers in industry, transports and unskilled manual workers
1972	2.9	4.9	0.9	2.6	9.3	6.1	30.4	23.2	19.7
1973	1.6	6.4	0.8	2.7	9.1	6.2	26.5	26.4	20.3
1974	1.7	6.2	0.7	2.4	8.5	6.1	29.7	23.7	21.1
1975	1.7	6.3	0.8	2.8	9.4	6.4	27.3	24.8	20.6
1976	1.8	6.3	0.6	2.9	10.2	6.6	27.8	24.2	19.6
1977	1.7	6.4	0.7	2.6	10.6	7.0	27.6	23.9	19.5
1978	1.8	6.2	0.5	2.5	9.5	6.9	27.7	25.7	19.2
1979	1.8	6.0	0.5	2.6	9.7	7.0	25.4	26.6	20.4
1980	2.1	5.6	0.8	2.7	10.1	6.7	26.3	25.1	20.6
1981	2.3	6.5	0.8	2.9	9.5	6.8	24.6	26.3	20.3
1982	2.6	6.0	0.9	2.6	9.0	6.9	25.3	26.2	20.5
1983	2.4	5.8	1.3	2.6	9.8	6.6	22.9	26.4	22.2
1984	2.5	6.2	1.0	2.7	10.0	6.9	22.7	25.6	22.4
1985	2.7	6.0	1.2	2.6	10.1	6.9	22.4	25.5	22.6
1986	2.7	5.9	1.1	2.7	10.0	6.9	23.2	25.4	22.0

Source: Central Bureau of Statistics, 1973-1987a.

Table 10.10
Employed persons in the West Bank villages by occupation and sex 1987

Occupation	Male		Female		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Professional	28	2.86	4	3.67	32	2.94
Administration	27	2.76	8	7.34	35	3.22
Clerical	24	2.45	10	9.17	34	3.13
Commerce	146	14.93	7	6.42	153	14.08
Service	73	7.46	31	28.44	104	9.57
construction	210	21.47	0	0	210	19.32
Agriculture	336	34.36	47	43.12	383	35.23
Industry	66	6.75	2	1.84	68	6.26
Transportation	56	5.73	0	0	56	5.15
Others	12	1.23	0	0	12	1.10
Total	978	100.00	109	100.00	1,087	100.00

Source: The 1987 sample survey.

Israeli labour market. On the other hand, skilled manual workers in the West Bank comprised about one-fourth of the total number of the West Bank workers.

10.7 Wages

The 1987 sample survey of employed persons in the West Bank villages (Table 10.11) revealed an average monthly wage of 113.52 Jordan Dinars (£227.04); if we exclude the persons employed as unpaid family workers (most of them working in agriculture), this figure increases to 116.42 Jordan Dinars (£232.84).

The wages paid to registered workers from the West Bank and Gaza Strip are considerably lower than those paid to their Israeli counterparts despite claims to the contrary made in 1984 annual report of the Civil Administration (Roy, 1986, p 33). For example, Van Arkadie (1977) estimated in 1972 that the average wage for labourers from the West Bank and Gaza Strip was 50 per cent lower than that received by an Israeli. Zakai (1986) found that employment in Israel was able to rise despite the slackness of the Israeli economy, because of the fall in real wages; in particular relative to the wages of Israelis. In 1984 the relative wages of the West Bank and Gaza residents fell by 20-26 per cent below the average of 1981 and 1982. The relative wages of residents employed in Israel also fell by comparison with wages at home by 20 per cent in the West Bank, and by 25 per cent in Gaza Strip. The International Labour Office reports (1985 & 1986) found that there had been a reduction in the gap between the average wages paid to workers from the West Bank and Gaza Strip on the spot, and in Israel. During the first nine months of 1985, wages were 3 per cent higher on the West Bank than that in Israel, and in the Gaza Strip they were 20 per cent higher. It therefore appears from the reports that the gap has remained at around 10 per cent since 1981.

The wages paid to workers from the West Bank differ according to the place of work and according to occupation. The data in Table 10.11 show that the average

Table 10.11
Average monthly wages of employed persons*
in the West Bank villages by occupation
and place of work, 1987
Jordan Dinar

Occupation	Same village		Other village		City		Refugee camp		Israel		Total	
	Average wages	No. of workers	Average wages	No. of workers	Average wages	No. of workers	Average wages	No. of workers	Average wages	No. of workers	Average wages	No. of workers
Professional	117.86	7	100.00	2	148.91	23	0	0	0	0	139.06	32
Administration	150.00	10	175.00	3	191.67	21	125.00	1	0	0	176.43	35
Clerical	125.00	6	100.00	2	109.62	26	0	0	0	0	111.77	34
Commerce	117.07	82	125.00	9	181.78	48	0	0	103.57	14	136.60	153
Service	116.49	47	111.36	22	125.00	35	0	0	0	0	118.27	104
Construction	100.93	27	95.00	5	100.00	6	0	0	104.94	172	104.05	210
Agriculture	102.17	242	100.89	28	0	0	0	0	94.03	113	99.67	383
Industry	0	0	0	0	138.33	15	0	0	103.30	53	111.03	68
Transportation	126.67	30	100.00	4	127.63	19	0	0	91.67	3	123.21	56
Others	95.00	5	0	0	137.50	4	0	0	91.67	3	108.33	12
Total	109.38	456	109.33	75	147.46	197	125.00	1	100.98	358	113.52	1087

* Includes 27 unpaid family workers; 5 of them working in commerce, and 22 in agriculture.
Jordan Dinar = £ 2
Source: The 1987 sample survey.

monthly wages per employed person from the West Bank villages working in the Israeli labour market was 100.98 Jordan Dinars (£201.96), which is lower than that for workers employed inside the West Bank, 119.69 Jordan Dinars (£239.38). However, if we exclude those people employed as unpaid family workers, the latter figure rises to 124.24 Jordan Dinars (£248.58). This is because, in the 1987 sample survey, the professionals, administrators, and merchants were found to be working in the West Bank labour market only, primarily in the cities, and these people earn higher salaries than others. Thus, we found that workers from the West Bank villages working in the cities in the 1987 sample survey earned more wages than others (Table 10.11). It is also the case that most of those working in the Israeli labour market could not find jobs inside the West Bank, and were, therefore, forced to go to work in Israel. This is in addition to the fact that the wages earned by workers in Israel, especially registered workers, are subject to deductions for tax and social security. The same applies to those working in the West Bank, although on a smaller scale, especially among those working in private sector.

Workers in agriculture earn lower wages than others i.e. 99.67 Jordan Dinars (£199.34), although, if we exclude those working as unpaid family workers this figure rises to 105.75 Jordan Dinars (£211.50), which is higher than the wages earned by those working in construction i.e 104.05 Jordan Dinars (£208.10). In all occupations, workers inside the West Bank earn more than those working in the Israeli labour market, except those working in construction (Table 10.11). This is another reason why the majority of workers from the West Bank employed in Israel tend to be concentrated in construction.

10.8 Summary

There is a low labour force activity rate in the West Bank as a whole, including the villages, due to the young population structure, the high level of school

attendance, selective migration among persons of working age, and the low activity rate of the female population. The latter is a result of social pressures exerted on female workers, and variations in the definition of working women, especially in the rural areas, which also contribute to the high level of the economic dependency ratio.

The unemployment rate has been on the increase since 1980, and most of the unemployed persons are young and highly educated. This is due to the difficulties facing those people wishing to emigrate from the West Bank, and to the scarcity of jobs appropriate to those people with high levels of education in the West Bank. Thus, many of these people are forced to work in the Israeli labour market as unskilled or semi-skilled workers.

More than one-fifth of employed persons in the West Bank as a whole, and more than one-third of employed persons in the West Bank villages work in agriculture, despite the fact that many people have left this sector in search of better paid jobs elsewhere.

After the Israeli occupation, the employment rate in the West Bank increased due to the opening of the Israeli labour market to the Arab workers from the West Bank. About one-third of the employed persons from the West Bank work in the Israeli labour market, and most of these are found in unskilled and semi-skilled jobs, especially in construction. Workers from the West Bank in Israel earn lower wages than those in the West Bank, and at the same time, workers from the West Bank earn lower wages than their Israeli counterparts.

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CHAPTER ELEVEN

CONCLUSION

11.1 Introduction

The West Bank took its shape after the establishment of the State of Israel in 1948. It contains three Districts and eight Subdistricts. After the Israeli occupation of the West Bank in 1967 East Jerusalem was annexed to Israel.

The number of villages listed in the West Bank differs from one year to another according to the establishment and the destruction of the villages, and sometimes because of the way in which villages are defined in each census or estimate. In 1981 (Arab Studies Society, 1985) for example, there were 436 villages, 11 cities and 20 refugee camps (one of these camps is now uninhabited). Only about one-quarter of the villages had 2,000 inhabitants or more in 1981, and in earlier estimates (1945, 1961 & 1967) the percentage of villages of this size was less than 13 per cent. The average size of the village in 1981 was about 1,500 inhabitants, while in the 1945, 1961 and 1967 censuses its ranged between 900 and 1,000 inhabitants. More than two-thirds of the West Bank population live in the rural areas; Nablus District has the largest number of villages and population living in the rural areas. In the 1987 sample survey, more than half of the villages were administered by *mukhtars*, with about one-third by village councils, and the others by municipalities. More than two-thirds of the villages were connected with neighbouring cities with roads made of asphalt, and more than half of the villages had internal roads made of asphalt and earth. Less than half of the villages had health clinics, while more than one-fifth were supplied with running water.

Most of the dwellings in the West Bank villages were owned by their inhabitants. The building materials and the services available in the house varied according

to when the house was built, the family income for the residents in that house, and the availability of water and electricity in the village. The houses in the West Bank villages were characterized by having large areas although only a small number of bedrooms. More than three-quarters of the dwellings contained three rooms or less and two bedrooms or less, the occupancy ratio was about 16 square metres per person, while the density of persons per room was about two, with about four persons per bedroom. This is due to the fact that large areas in the dwellings were used for other purposes such as storage for farm products or for animals, while only a small number of rooms were used as sitting rooms or bedrooms.

As in other traditional Arab societies, the extended family was common in the West Bank villages; about 9 per cent of households in the 1987 sample survey contained two families or more. The average size of a household was 7.3 persons. This high average number of persons per household was due to the high fertility rates and the fact that many of the emigrants leave their wives and children behind.

11.2 Population growth

According to estimates by the Israeli Central Bureau of Statistics; the natural increase in the West Bank as a whole has been around 30 per thousand since 1968, the crude birth rate has been around 40 and the crude death rate around 10 per thousand. In the West Bank villages, according to the 1987 sample survey, the natural increase was 29.3 per thousand, very close to that for the West Bank as a whole, but the crude birth rate was 44.7 and the crude death rate 15.4 per thousand, both higher than Israeli estimates for the West Bank population as a whole.

The higher crude birth rate in the villages probably reflects the situation found in most of the less developed countries, where fertility in rural areas is generally higher than in towns. The high crude death rate in the villages is associated with the limited nature of health services in rural areas; at the same time, the relatively

low mortality suggested by the official figures for the West Bank as a whole may well be a product of under-reporting of deaths, especially those of small children and the elderly, particularly in the villages. Thus, for example, the Israeli Ministry of Health (1985) estimated the infant mortality rate in the West Bank in 1983 to be about 29 per thousand, while from the 1987 sample survey the estimate was about 83 per thousand; when the indirect methods were used for the estimation of infant and childhood mortality, the rate remained higher than the Israeli estimation. Another reason for the low estimates of the mortality rate in the West Bank by the Israeli sources may be an attempt to show that there have been improvements in the health services and in the socio-economic conditions of the population in the Occupied Territories.

The completed fertility of the ever-married women (50 years and over) according to the 1987 sample survey was 8.5, while the average number of children dead to each ever-married woman aged 50 or above was 1.8, which means that there are 6.7 children still alive for those women. This reflects the high fertility rate in the West Bank villages. The average number of children ever-born and the number who have died per ever-married woman according to the 1987 sample survey have a positive relationship with, for example, the age of mother and the duration of marriage, while they have a negative relationship with the level of education of the mother and father.

More than 40 per cent of the ever-married women in the West Bank villages did not use or know of any contraceptive methods. The number of methods which the women used or knew of were affected by their age, level of education, place of previous residence and the number of children desired. The pill was the most common contraceptive method used or known of among the women in the villages because of its cheapness, ease of use and availability in all pharmacies.

About three-quarters of the ever-married women (15-49 years old) in the villages wished to have more children in addition to their children ever-born. This factor is in addition to the low level of knowledge about contraceptive methods, leading to high fertility rates in the future, and this despite the improvement of the educational level of the females.

There has been a net migration loss from the West Bank since 1968, due to the socio-economic and political factors in the West Bank and the neighbouring countries. Since 1982, emigration from the West Bank has decreased due to the Jordanian plan to limit the emigration from the Occupied Territories. The emigrants from the West Bank villages are characterized by the fact that most of them are of working age and have a high level of education.

Despite the high level of emigration and mortality in the West Bank, it has a high rate of annual population growth which reached 2.83 per cent during the period 1980-1987, according to the Israeli Central Bureau of Statistics. According to this annual growth rate, the population in the West Bank, excluding East Jerusalem, will reach one million inhabitants in 1993.

11.3 Population Structure

The West Bank population as a whole and also that of the villages are characterized by a youthful age structure, due to the high fertility rates and the emigration among those in the middle age group (25-49). This leads to a low median age and aged/child ratio. The sex ratio has been around 100 males per 100 females since 1961. Those in the population aged less than 20 years and over 60 years have a high sex ratio while those aged 20-59 have a low age-specific sex ratio.

More than half of the population aged 15 years and over were married. The number of married women in the West Bank as a whole and in the West Bank villages in particular was higher than the number of married men, because many men leave

their wives and children with their extended families and emigrate outside the West Bank searching for jobs, and because of polygamous marriage in Islamic society. The mean age at first marriage in the West Bank villages according to the 1987 sample survey was 22.8 for males and 19.0 years for females, the level of education having a positive relation with the age at first marriage for both sexes. Marriage to relatives has always been common in the West Bank villages.

There is a lower level of illiteracy and a higher level of school enrolment among both sexes in the West Bank than in the neighbouring countries, because of the availability of a school in most villages in the West Bank, and many of the Palestinians look to education as the only way of finding a suitable job with high income in the neighbouring countries.

There is a high economic dependency ratio in the West Bank as a whole, including the villages, due to the low activity rate, especially among the female population, and to the youthful population structure. The employment rate in the West Bank increased after 1968 with the opening of the Israeli labour market to the Arabs from the Occupied Territories, while after 1982 the unemployment rate increased due to the limits on emigration from the West Bank and to the decline in employment opportunities in the Israeli labour market. The Israeli estimation of the unemployment rate was lower than other estimates due to the definition of unemployed persons used in Israeli sources. About one-third of the employed persons in the West Bank were working in the Israeli labour market, with about half of them working in construction.

In most of the demographic and socio-economic measures which were used in this study, the Hebron District was different from other Districts in the West Bank. For example, it has a high level of fertility and mortality and a high percentage of illiterate persons, while it has a low percentage of emigrated persons, low age at first marriage and low level of female activity rate. This is because most of the population

living in its villages were of bedouin origin, and most of them were engaged in raising livestock and held fast to traditional customs.

11.4 Special features of the population of the West Bank villages

This study has identified a number of special features of the population of the West Bank villages which, when considered in combination, distinguish that population from others in the Middle East and elsewhere.

(i) As a result of the maintenance of high fertility and some recent decline in mortality, the natural increase rate estimated at 29.4 per thousand in 1987, is now among the highest in the Middle East.

(ii) To an even greater extent than in most developing societies, the population of the West Bank villages contains a high proportion of children, 41.3 per cent of the total were below the age of 15 in 1987. Together with the exceptionally low female activity rates, this produces a very high economic dependency ratio; in 1987 there were about 342 dependants for every 100 economically active persons.

(iii) Very high fertility, combined with the tradition of the extended family leads to a predominance of large households. In 1987, the average number of persons per household in the villages stood at 7.3.

(iv) Another striking feature is the predominance of early marriage, with an average age at first marriage of 19 years for females and 22.8 for males, though in recent years there has been a trend towards later marriage for both sexes.

(v) As part of the extended family tradition, a high proportion of marriages take place between relatives. Such marriages generally take place at an early age and produce higher fertility than do marriages between unrelated individuals. This is another factor in the maintenance of high fertility levels.

(vi) Emigration has had a significant effect on the size and structure of

the West Bank village population, particularly since the Israeli occupation of the territory in 1967. This has been highly selective of males, especially the younger and better educated, for whom there are only limited employment opportunities, both in the West Bank itself and on the Israeli labour market. Movement in search of more highly paid employment has been mainly to Jordan and the Gulf States. One result has been a reduced sex ratio, particularly since 1967; in 1987 there were only 99.5 males per 100 females in the villages population as a whole. The proportion of males is especially low among those aged 25-49 where there were only 75 males per 100 females. Emigration has checked population growth and has removed an excessive proportion of the most active and enterprising elements.

(vii) In common with Palestinians resident in other parts of the Middle East, the population of the West Bank villages has been particularly concerned to raise its level of education and illiteracy rates are low. There remains, however, a significant gap between male and female illiteracy rates, particularly among the older age groups.

(viii) There is a strong inverse relationship between the mother's educational attainment and both the number of children ever-born and the average number of child deaths per ever-married woman, a relationship identified elsewhere by several authors (Caldwell, 1979. Abu-Gamrah, 1982. Shorter, 1985). In the case of the West Bank villages, the average number of child deaths per ever-married women ranged from 1.6 for illiterate women to 0.1 for women with a university education. A similar relationship occurs, for example, in Cairo (Tekce, 1985) where child mortality varied between 143 per thousand live births for illiterate women and 52 per thousand for university educated. The negative relationship between fertility and child mortality on the one hand and the mother's educational attainment on the other is due to several intervening variables. More educated women tend to marry later owing to their wider opportunities for employment; they have a greater knowledge of contraception

and appreciation of the need to ensure a high quality of life for their children rather than to produce large families. They are also less subject to the restraints of a traditional society and are more likely to be involved in marriages where family size is a joint decision between the partners. Infant mortality is reduced by the educated mother's greater knowledge of hygiene and such medical improvements as immunization against specific diseases. Such mothers may themselves be less susceptible to illness, and thus better able to care for their children since births occur at wider intervals. Above all, educated mothers usually have the economic resources to ensure higher levels of diet, health care, housing, hygiene and sanitation for their families.

(ix) In many societies, there is an inverse relationship between the number of children ever-born and the size of the family's income. In the case of the West Bank villages, this applied from the bottom to the middle of the income scale but at higher income levels fertility increased again. This may be associated with the fact that, in the West Bank, most high income earners are either merchants or farmers with large areas of land, both of whom require larger families to assist them.

(x) Numerous studies have shown an inverse relationship between the number of children ever-born and the duration of the period of breastfeeding. Bongaarts (1985) for example found that post-partum infecundability resulting from breastfeeding has a strong fertility-inhibiting effect in countries with high fertility. Among the population of the West Bank villages, however, the relationship between the number of children ever-born and the length of the breastfeeding period is positive. This would appear to be due the fact that the length of the breastfeeding period varies inversely with the level of education; most of the women who breastfeed for a long period are illiterate. The average length of the breastfeeding in the West Bank villages is 8.6 months which may be compared with a period of 10.8 months in Damascus recorded by Shorter (1985).

(xi) Knowledge and use of contraception among women in the West Bank villages remains at a low level. More than 40 per cent of the ever-married women in the sample neither used nor knew of any contraceptive method. By comparison, in Damascus in 1976, 45.8 per cent of women in reproductive age groups used the oral pill or some other method (Shorter, 1985), while 95 per cent of Australian couples use contraception (Caldwell, 1982). Limited knowledge of contraception, together with the expressed desire of three-quarters of women of productive age in the West Bank sample for additional children point to a continuing high level of fertility in future years.

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APPENDIX I

A SAMPLE SURVEY OF THE POPULATION IN THE ARAB VILLAGES OF THE WEST BANK

Serial number:

Name of the village:

Subdistrict:

District:

Head of household:

Name of interviewer:

Date of interview:

This questionnaire is for academic purposes only;

please answer all questions.

(I) Village questionnaire

1. Village administration.

   1. Municipality 2. Village council 3. *Mukhtar*

   Communications in the village:

2. Transportation to village.

   1. On foot 2. Bus 3. Taxi

   4. Animal 3. Bus & taxi 6. Others

3. Road connections with city.

   1. Asphalt 2. Earth road 3. Asphalt & earth road

4. Road within village.

   1. Asphalt 2. Earth road 3. Asphalt & earth road

5. Public transport in village.

   1. Bus station 2. Taxi rank 3. Bus & taxi rank 4. None

6. Post office.

   1. Yes 2. No

7. Newspaper.

   1. Regular distribution 2. Irregular distribution 3. None

8. Cinema.

   1. Yes 2. No

9. Telephone.

   1. Public 2. Private 3. Public & private 4. None

Health services:

10. Hospital.

    1. Yes 2. No

11. Pharmacy.

    1. Yes 2. No

12. Health clinic.

    1. Yes 2. No

13. Mother and baby care centre.

    1. Yes 2. No

14. Family planning centre.

    1. Yes 2. No

15. Private clinic.

    1. Yes 2. No

16. Water supply.

    1. Running water 2. Spring 3. Wells 4. Running water & spring
    5. Spring & wells 6. Running water & wells 7. Others

17. Is there a sewage system?

    1. Yes 2. No

18. Electricity.

    1. Public 2. Private 3. Public & private 4. None

Educational services:

19. Elementary school.

    1. Males only 2. Females only 3. Co-educational
    4. Males & Females separately 5. None

20. Preparatory school.

    1. Males only 2. Females only 3. Co-educational
    4. Males & Females separately 5. None

21. Secondary school.

1. Males only 2. Females only 3. Co-educational
4. Males & Females separately 5. None

Other services:

22. Sports club 1. Yes 2. No
23. General store 1. Yes 2. No
24. Butcher 1. Yes 2. No
25. Car spares 1. Yes 2. No
26. Bakery 1. Yes 2. No
27. Electrical shop 1. Yes 2. No
28. TV. & radio repair 1. Yes 2. No
29. Barber 1. Yes 2. No
30. Agricultural implement shop 1. Yes 2. No

(II) Household questionnaire

1. House tenure.

   1. Owner 2. Tenant 3. Others

2. If the house is rented, how much do you pay every year (Jordan Dinar).

3. Number of families in the house.

4. Number of rooms in the house.

5. Number of bedrooms in the house.

6. Lighting in the house.

   1. Electricity 2. Oil 3. Others

7. Water supply in the house.

   1. Running water 2. Spring 3. Well 4. Others

8. Heating in the house.

   1. Electricity 2. Oil 3. Gas
   4. Firewood 5. Electricity & oil 6. Electricity & gas
   7. Oil & gas 8. Oil & firewood 9. Electricity & Firewood

9. Drainage system in house.

   1. Mains drainage 2. Cesspit 3. Outside lavatory 4. Others

10. Is there is a garden?

    1. Yes 2. No

11. If there is a garden, what size is it? (Dunam)

12. Does the family have agricultural land?

    1. Yes 2. No

13. If the family has agricultural land, what size is it? (Dunam)

14. What is the area of the land on which the house is built? *(m2)*

15. Date when house was built?

16. What is the building material of the house?

1. Stone 2. Brick 3. Cement 4. Clay
5. Stone & brick 6. Stone & cement 7. Brick & cement
8. Brick & clay 9. Cement & clay 10. Others

17. Type of house.
1. Detached 2. Multi-storey

18. Building surface of house. *(m2)*

19. Monthly family income. (Jordan Dinar)

20. Number of persons in household.

Services in the house:

21. Kitchen 1. Yes 2. No
22. Bathroom 1. Yes 2. No
23. TV. 1. Yes 2. No
24. Radio 1. Yes 2. No
25. Cassette recorder 1. Yes 2. No
26. Telephone 1. Yes 2. No
27. Washing machine 1. Yes 2. No
28. Refrigerator 1. Yes 2. No
29. Solar panel 1. Yes 2. No
30. Oven 1. Yes 2. No
31. Sewing machine 1. Yes 2. No
32. Car 1. Yes 2. No

(III) Individual questionnaire

Serial number	Name	Relationship to head of household	Sex	Age	Place of birth	Place of previous residence	Place of residence	Religion	Educational Status				
									Attendance at school	Educational level	Specialization	Place of graduation	Date of graduation
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)	(14)
1.													
2.													
3.													
.													
.													
.													
25.													

to be continued

continued (III) Individual questionnaire

Marital status						Economic status					
Marital status	Age at first marriage	Duration of marriage for married divorced and widowed women	Number of marriagges	To married males how many women in your bond of marriage	Kinship between wife and husband	Employment status	Occupation	Economic activity	Relation with the employer	Place of work	Monthly income (Jordan Dinar)
(15)	(16)	(17)	(18)	(19)	(20)	(21)	(22)	(23)	(24)	(25)	(26)
1.											
2.											
3.											
.											
.											
.											
25.											

(IV) Fertility questionnaire

To married, divorced and widowed women

1. Age.

2. Marital Status.

   1. Married 2. Divorced 3. widow

3. Previous residence before marriage.

   1. Village 2. City 3. Refugee camp

4. Level of education.

   1. Illiterate 2. Elementary 3. Preparatory
   4. Secondary 5. Institute 6. University

5. Religion.

   1. Moslem 2. Christian 3. Others

6. Number of marriages.

7. Age at first marriage.

8. Duration of marriage.

9. Is your husband living at home?

   1. Yes 2. Temporarily absent 3. No

10. If you have been married more than once, how did the first marriage end?

    1. Divorce 2. Widowed

11. If you have been married more than once, how long were the previous marriagges?

12. How many children ever-born?

    Males

    Females

    Total

13. How many children are still alive?

    Males

    Females

Total

14. How many children have died?

Males

Females

Total

15. In the last twelve months, how many children have you had?

Males

Females

Total

16. How many more children do you wish to have?

Males

Females

Total

17. Has any child died during the first year?

Males

Females

Total

18. In the last twelve months, has any child died during the first year?

Males

Females

Total

19. Where are your children usually born?

1. Home 2. Hospital 3. Home & hospital

20. Where was your last baby born?

1. Home 2. Hospital

21. Do you breast-feed your baby?

1. Yes 2. Rarely 3. No

22. How many months did you breastfeed your last child?

23. If you are pregnant, what sex would you prefer?

1. Male 2. Female 3. Not important

24. If you might be pregnant in the future, what sex would you prefer?

1. Male 2. Female 3. Not important

25. What sex did you hope for with your first child?

1. Male 2. Female 3. Not important

26. Have you ever had an abortion?

1. No 2. For health reason 3. Not wanting more children

If we assume that the law allows abortion, do you agree or disagree with abortion for the following reasons:

27. Pregnancy endangers the mother's life.

1. Agree 2. Disagree 3. I do not know

28. Pregnancy endangers the mother's health.

1. Agree 2. Disagree 3. I do not know

29. Pregnancy resulting from rape.

1. Agree 2. Disagree 3. I do not know

30. Child likely to be malformed or handicapped.

1. Agree 2. Disagree 3. I do not know

31. Mother not married.

1. Agree 2. Disagree 3. I do not know

32. Husband unable to support additional child.

1. Agree 2. Disagree 3. I do not know

33. Abortion for unspecified reason.

1. Agree 2. Disagree 3. I do not know

34. Have you heard of contraception?

1. Yes 2. No

35. Did you use anything to prevent pregnancy?

1. Yes 2. No

36. Were you pregnant when you used contraception?

1. Yes 2. No

Have you heard of or do you use any of these contraceptive methods?

37. Pill 1. Use 2. know 3. Heard of 4. Don't know

38. Coil 1. Use 2. know 3. Heard of 4. Don't know

39. Douche 1. Use 2. know 3. Heard of 4. Don't know

40. Cap 1. Use 2. know 3. Heard of 4. Don't know

41. Condom 1. Use 2. know 3. Heard of 4. Don't know

42. Rhythm method 1. Use 2. know 3. Heard of 4. Don't know

43. Withdrawal 1. Use 2. know 3. Heard of 4. Don't know

44. Abstinence 1. Use 2. know 3. Heard of 4. Don't know

45. Female sterilisation 1. Use 2. know 3. Heard of 4. Don't know

46. Male sterilisation 1. Use 2. know 3. Heard of 4. Don't know

47. Other methods 1. Use 2. know 3. Heard of 4. Don't know

48. Have you ever worked outside the home?

1. Before marriage 2. After marriage 3. Before and after marriage
4. Before birth of baby 5. After birth of baby
6. Before and after birth of baby 7.Never

49. If you worked before marriage were you:

1. Employer 2. Self-employed 3. Hired worker
4. Family worker without payment

50. What is your occupation now?

1. Housewife 2. Professional 3. Administrative 4. Clerical
5. Commerce 6. Service 7. Construction 8. Agriculture
9. Industry 10. Transportation 11. Others

51. Place of work.

1. Same village 2. Other village in West Bank 3. City in West Bank
4. Refugee camp in West Bank 5. Gaza Strip 6. Israel

52. How old is your husband?

53. What is the educational level of your husband?

1. Illiterate 2. Elementary 3. Preparatory
4. Secondary 5. Institute 6. University

54. Where did your husband live before marriage?

1. Village 2. City 3. Refugee camp

55. What is the occupation of your husband?

1. Professional 2. Administrative 3. Clerical 4. Commerce
5. Service 6. Construction 7. Agriculture
8. Industry 9. Transportation 10. Others

56. What is the relation between your husband and his work?

1. Employer 2. Self-employed 3. Hired worker 4. Family worker without payment

57. What is the employment status of your husband?

1. Employed 2. Unemployed 3. Student
4. Pensioner 5. Incapable

58. Place of husband's work.

1. Same village 2. Other village in West Bank 3. City in West Bank
4. Refugee camp in West Bank 5. Gaza Strip 6. Israel
7. Outside

59. What is the economic activity of your husband?

1. Agriculture 2. Miner 3. Industry
4. Construction 5. Electricity, gas & water 6. Commerce
7. Transportation & Storage 8. Services 9. Others

60. What is the monthly family income?

61. Who is older?

1. Husband 2. Wife 3. Equal

62. Difference in age between husband and wife.

63. Kinship between husband and wife.

1. Cousin on father's side 2. Cousin on mother's side 3. Same family
4. Same village 5. Other village 6. City 7. Refugee camp
8. Arab 9. Non-Arab

(V) Mortality questionnaire

1. Has anyone in the household died in the last twelve months?
   1. Yes 2. No

2. Relationship to head of household.
   1. Husband or wife 2. Son or daughter 3. Brother or sister
   4. Father or mother 5. Grandson or Granddaughter
   6. Father in law or mother in law 7. Wife of son or husband of daughter
   8. other relative 9. Not a relative

3. Sex of deceased.
   1. Male 2. Female

4. Age of deceased.

5. Marital Status of deceased.
   1. Under the age of marriage 2. Single 3. married
   4. Divorced 5. Widowed

6. Employment status of deceased.
   1. Employed 2. Unemployed 3. Housewife 4. Student
   5. Pensioner 6. Incapable

7. Occupation of deceased.
   1. Professional 2. Administrative 3. Clerical 4. Commerce
   5. Service 6. Construction 7. Agriculture
   8. Industry 9. Transportation 10. Others

8. Economic activity of deceased.
   1. Agriculture 2. Miner 3. Industry
   4. Construction 5. Electricity, gas & water 6. Commerce
   7. Transportation & Storage 8. Services 9. Others

9. Educational level of deceased.
   1. Illiterate 2. Elementary 3. Preparatory
   4. Secondary 5. Institute 6. University

10. Place where deceased usually lived.

1. Same village 2. Other village in West Bank 3. City in West Bank
4. Refugee camp in West Bank 5. Palestine 6. Outside

11. Place of death.

1. Home 2. Hospital 3. Road 4. Others

12. Cause of death.

1. Sickness 2. Old age 3. Pregnancy
4. Heart attack 5. Accident

(VI) Migration questionnaire

Persons from the household living outside the village

(1) Is there is any one from the household living outside the village? 1. Yes 2. No

Serial number	Name	Relationship to head of household	Sex	Age	Place of birth	Place of previous residence	Place of residence	Religion	Does he has right of reunion	How many years since he/she has visited you	Why is he/she living outside the village	When did he/she emigrate	Does he/she like to live in the West Bank
(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)	(14)	(15)
1.													
2.													
3.													
.													
.													
.													
15.													

to be continued

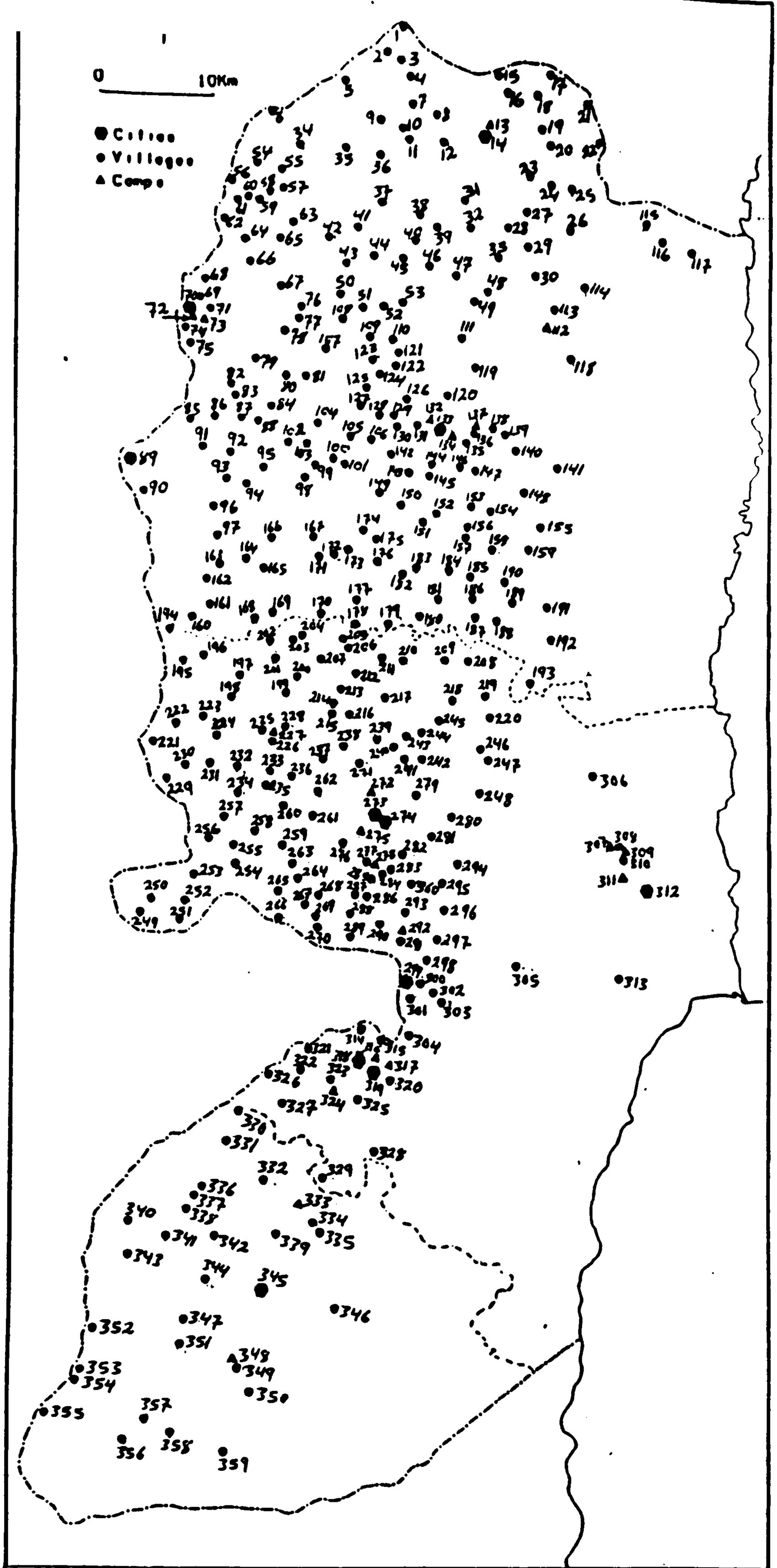
continued (VI) Migration questionnaire

Educational Status					Marital status					
Attendance at school	Educational level	Specialization	Place of graduation	Date of graduation	Marital status	Age at first marriage for married divorced and widowed women	Duration of marriage	Number of marriagges	To married males how many women in your bond of marriage	Kinship between wife and husaband
(16)	(17)	(18)	(19)	(20)	(21)	(22)	(23)	(24)	(25)	(26)
1.										
2.										
3.										
.										
.										
.										
15.										

to be continued

continued (VI) Migration questionnaire

Economic status						
Employment status	Occupation	Economic activity	Relation with the employer	Place of work	Monthly income (Jordan Dinar)	How much he/she transfered to you each year
(27)	(28)	(29)	(30)	(31)	(32)	(33)
1.						
2.						
3.						
.						
.						
.						
15.						



APPENDIX II
THE ARAB SETTLEMENTS IN THE WEST BANK

Appendix II List of the settlements

1 Zabobah	2 Romaneh	3 Ta'nnek	4 Silat Haretheih
5 'Annean	6 Perta'eh	7 Al-Yamon	8 Kufr Dan
9 Al-'Araqa	10 Al-Hashemeah	11 Kufr Qud	12 Burqean
13 Jennin Camp	14 Jennin	15 Al-Jalemeh	16 'Araneh
17 'Araboneh	18 Deir Ghazaleh	19 Beit Qad	20 Deir Abu Da'eaf
21 Feqo'a	22 Jelabon	23 Um Al-Tut	24 Jelqamos
25 Al-Mughaiyer	26 Raba	27 Talfeat	28 Zababdeh
29 Al-Kufeir	30 I'qaba	31 Qabateah	32 Meseleih
33 Sear	34 Zebdeh	35 Ya'bad	36 Kufearet
37 'Arabeh	38 Merkeh	39 Jarbeh	40 Al-Zaweih
41 Fahmeh	42 Kufr Ra'e	43 Al-Reaneh	44 'Ajeh
45 'Anza	46 Snour	47 Meathalon	48 Gdeadeh
49 Seareas	50 'Atareh	51 Silat Al-Dahir	52 Al-Fundqomeih
53 Jaba'	54 Qefean	55 Ferasean	56 Zelit 'Isa
57 Al-Nezla Al-Sharqieh	58 Al-Nazla Al-Wasta	59 Al-Nazla Al-Garbeih	60 Baqa Al-Sharqieh
61 Nazlet Abu Nar	62 Zeita	63 Saida	64 'Ateal
65 'Elar	66 Deir Al-Ghuson	67 Bal'a	68 Shweakeh
69 Iktaba	70 Tulkarem	71 Thenabeh	72 Tulkarem Camp
73 Nur Shames Camp	74 Irtah	75 Far'on	76 Kufr Roman
77 'Anabta	78 Kufr Al-Labed	79 Shufa	80 Safarean
81 Beit Lead	82 Al-Ras	83 Kufr Sur	84 Kur
85 Flameh	86 Kufr Jamal	87 Kufr Zabad	88 Kufr 'Abosh
89 Qalqilya	90 Hableh	91 Jeios	92 Khirbaht Sair
93 'Azon	94 Al-Nabi El-Yas	95 Kufr Laqef	96 Kufr Tholth
97 Sanearieh	98 Jean Safut	99 Al-Fundeq	100 Ummatean

101 Fer'ata	102 Baqa	103 Hajah	104 Kufr Qadum
105 Jeet	106 Sarreh	107 Ramean	108 Bezareah
109 Burqa	110 Beit Imrean	111 Yasead	112 Al-Fara' Camp
113 Tubas	114 Tayasir	115 'Ain El-Beida	116 Berdaleh
117 Al-Sakut	118 Tummun	119 Taluza	120 'Aseareh Al-Shamaleih
121 Nus Gubeal	122 Ignesenia	123 Sabastiah	124 Al-Naqura
125 Deir Sharaf	126 Zawateh	127 Qusean	128 Beit Iba
129 Beit Wazen	130 Ignead	131 Rafeadia	132 Camp No. 1
133 Nablus	134 Balata Camp	135 Balata	136 'Asker
137 'Asker Camp	138 'Azmout	139 Deir Al-Hatab	140 Salem
141 Beit Dajan	142 Tel	143 Madama	144 I'raq Burean
145 Burean	146 Kufr Qaleal	147 Rujeab	148 Beit Fureak
149 'Arearah Al-Qbleih	150 'Ureaf	151 'Ainnabos	152 Huwara
153 'Awarta	154 Udala	155 Yanoun	156 Beita Fouqa
157 Beita Tahta	158 Usarean	159 'Aqraba	160 Deir Belut
161 Rafat	162 Al-Zaweih	163 Mas-ha	164 Bedia
165 Sarta	166 Qraweh Beni Hassan	167 Deir Istia	168 Kufr Ed-Deek
169 Ibroqean	170 Farkha	171 Hares	172 Kefel Hares
173 Qeareh	174 Zeita	175 Jema'en	176 Marda
177 Salfeat	178 Khirbaht Qays	179 'Amourieh	180 Al-Luban Al-Sheqieh
181 Al-Sawieh	182 Iskaka	183 Yasof	184 Yetma
185 Qabalan	186 Telfeat	187 Keryout	188 Jalud
189 Qusra	190 Jureash	191 Majdal Beni Fadel	192 Duma
193 Al-Mughaiyer	194 Khirbaht Musmar	195 Ranteas	196 Al-Luban
197 'Abud	198 Deir Abu Mash'al	199 Deir Nedham	200 Al-Nabi Saleh

201 Beit Reama	202 Deir Ghasaneh	203 Kufr 'Ean	204 Qaraweh Bani Zaid
205 Mazare' Al-Nubani	206 'Arura	207 Deir Al-Sudan	208 Turmos 'Aia
209 Senjel	210 Jelejlieh	211 'Abwean	212 I'Jul
213 Um Safa	214 Jebia	215 Kuber	216 Burham
217 'Atarah	218 Al-Mazra'eh Al-Sharqieh	219 Khirbaht Abu Falah	220 Kufr Malek
221 Budrus	222 Qbeabeh	223 Shuqba	224 Shebtean
225 Jammalah	226 Deir 'Amar	227 Deir 'Amar Camp	228 Beitilow
229 Al-Medieh	230 Ne'lean	231 Deir Qedeas	232 Kharbatha
233 Ras Karker	234 Bel'ean	235 Kufr Ne'meh	236 Al-Janieh
237 Al-Mazra'a Al-Qeblieh	238 Abu Shkeadem	239 Beir Zeit	240 Jefna
241 Dura Al-Qar'	242 'Ain Yabroud	243 'Ain Senia	244 Yabroud
245 Selwade	246 Deir Jarear	247 Al-Taibeh	248 Ramon
249 Al-Latrun	250 'Imwas	251 Deir Ayub	252 Yalu
253 Beit Nuba	254 Beit Leqia	255 Khirbaht Al-Musbah	256 Beit Seara
257 Safa	258 Beit Ur Al-Tahta	259 Beit Ur Al-Foqa	260 Deir Ibzea'
261 'Ain 'Ireaq	262 'Ain Qenia	263 Al-Teareh	264 Beit Duqu
265 Beit 'Annan	266 Qataneh	267 Al-Qubeabeh	268 Beit Ijza
269 Bedu	270 Beit Sureak	271 Abu Qash	272 Al-Jalazon Camp
273 Rammallah	274 Al-Bira	275 Al-Am'ary Camp	276 Beitonia
277 Rafat	278 Qalandia Camp	279 Beiteen	280 Deir Debwan
281 Burqa	282 Kufr 'Aqab	283 'Atarut	284 Qalandia
285 Judeara	286 Beir Nabaleh	287 Al-Jeab	288 Al-Nabi Samuel
289 Beit Iksa	290 Beit Hannena	291 Shufat	292 Shufat Camp
293 Al-Nabi Ya'qub	294 Mukhmas	295 Jaba'	296 Hazmeh

297 'Anata	298 Al-Issaweih	299 Jerusalem	300 Al-Tur
301 Selwan	302 Al-'Azarieh	303 Abu Dies	304 Sur Baher
305 Al-Khan Al-Ahmar	306 Al-U'ja	307 Al-Nwe'meh Camp	308 Al-Nwe'meh
309 'Ain Al-Sulta Camp	310 'Al-Douk	311 'Aqbet Jaber Camp	312 Jericho
313 Al-Nabi Mosa	314 Shurafat	315 Safafeh	316 'Aideh Camp
317 Beit Jebrean Camp	318 Beit Jala	319 Bethlehem	320 Beit Sahur
321 Bettir	322 Husan	323 Al-Khader	324 Al-Dheasha Camp
325 Artas	326 Wadi Fokkin	327 Nahalin	328 Tequ'
329 Beit Fejjar	330 Al-Jabe'h	331 Sureaf	332 Beit Ummar
333 Al-'Arub Camp	334 Sa'ir	335 Al-Shoukh	336 Kharas
337 Nuba	338 Beit Ula	339 Halhul	340 Khirbaht Jamra
341 Terqomia	342 Beit Kahel	343 Idna	344 Tefuh
345 Hebron	346 Bani Na'em	347 Dura	348 Al-Fawar Camp
349 Al-Reahia	350 Yata	351 Deir Razekh	352 Beit Mersem
353 'Ennab Al-Saghear	354 'Ennab Al-Kabear	355 Beit Al-Rush Al-Tahta	356 Al-Dahiriyeh
357 Al-Smmia	358 Shweakeh	359 Al-Smu'	360 Al-Ramm