

also were agricultural laborers, the latter being their primary occupation. Given what was argued earlier about other members of the production unit (i.e., the family), compensating for the lost time of the wage earner, it seems that the figure of 25 percent arrived at in the census is a very close approximation for landless families. Doreen Warriner, writing in 1948, and using the same census of 1931, had the same conclusion (i.e., 30,000 families were landless agricultural workers).¹⁰¹

The second survey was conducted in 1936. It included 322 villages with a total area of 3,250,000 *dunums* and a population of 242,000.¹⁰² Government-owned lands were excluded from the survey, but large holdings of the Jewish National Fund, P.I.C.A., and Waqf were included. Thus, as Loftus points out, “The holdings of the latter bodies constitute a high proportion of the largest holding but unfortunately the records do not reveal the extent of these holdings and in consequence the mean size of holding is considerably inflated by their inclusion.”¹⁰³ The results of the survey are reproduced in Table 3.7.

As Table 3.7 shows, the size distribution of holdings is very skewed. Forty-seven percent of holdings represented only 3.3 percent of the total area of land for holdings up to 9 *dunums*. On the other extreme 0.2 percent of holdings encompassed 27.5 percent of the total land area. However, the removal of the

¹⁰¹Warriner, *Land and Poverty*, 63.

¹⁰²Government of Palestine, *National Income of Palestine, 1944* (Jerusalem: Government Printer, 1946), 41.

¹⁰³*Ibid.*