

completely on land and in other ventures that were leased from or supported by official Zionist institutions. In the privately owned enterprises, this policy was not completely successful.

According to Metzger, in 1921, 14 percent “of all persons employed in the Jewish economy were Arabs.” In 1931, it was 10 percent, but, more importantly, represented “20 to 23 percent of all wage earners in the Jewish economy,” and those were 8 to 10 percent of the total Arab wage labor. In 1935, the “12,000 Arabs . . . employed by Jews . . . accounted for about 5 percent of the entire labor force, and for about 8.5 percent of all persons employed in the Jewish economy that year.”<sup>64</sup> Those Arab wage laborers comprised 15 to 17 percent of all wage labor in the Jewish economy and 11 to 15 percent of total Arab wage labor.

Thus, “these figures clearly demonstrate that the unskilled labor market was far from segregated,”<sup>65</sup> which means that the Jewish labor-only policy was not completely successful (i.e., could not exclude Arab labor but succeeded in limiting their numbers). The wage gaps “strongly suggest that the labor market, if not segregated, was definitely ethno-nationally segmented.”<sup>66</sup> This allowed Jewish employees to “recoup part of the cost” of hiring Jewish workers by paying less wages to Arab workers. The “supply of unskilled Arab labor imposed an effective

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<sup>64</sup>Ibid., 130-31.

<sup>65</sup>Ibid., 131.

<sup>66</sup>Ibid.