

"intact": the West Bank and Gaza.

### The West Bank and Gaza: the Logic of Old Hierarchies

The prototype of de-classment and de-peasantization which is often projected from the conditions of dispersed refugees in urban Lebanon, Syria and Jordan, overlooks the fact that over half the Palestinian people still live in (historic) Palestine--now 'united' through common Israeli rule--most of them residing in relatively stable communities, in or near the place of their birth. If we use the term 'de-classment' in the sense utilized by Rauf to mean 'expulsion from the means of production', then we refer basically to communities living in refugee camps. Only in Gaza do refugee camps constitute a slight majority (around 55%) of the population. In the West Bank they are less than 20%, and in the Galilee and the Triangle refugees (though not living in camps) constitute less than 15% of the total Palestinian population. Furthermore, most of the remaining Palestinians living in other parts of the state of Israel (villages around West Jerusalem, the Naqab, Lydda-Ramleh area and Jaffa) have retained their places of residence.

Although conditions of work for those in the occupied territories is relatively unstable, and remains concentrated in sectors which are most exposed to economic recessions (especially construction) unemployment remains low--2% in official data (for 1980) and about 4% if we incorporated unemployment in semi-professional, academic and white collar occupations (all of which are underestimated in Israeli figures--see ATSQ, 1981:117-133).

But considerations of employment in themselves are deceptive if we are seeking indicators of stability in class structure. What is crucial for the occupied territories is the manner in which the Palestinian labour force was incorporated into the Israeli economy. (This subject is discussed at greater length in chapters 6 and 7). Here I will merely sketch the main