

proletarianization, is continuously obstructed by the instability of his work tenure. In the construction sector, for example (which accounts for over half the rural labour force employed in Israel), the peasant-worker enters into a work process which involves unskilled and de-skilled labour, non-contractual agreements, high turnover, and small aggregates of workers on the work site. The prevalent notion that Palestinian village workers commuting to Israel constitutes a 'proletarianized underclass' (see Chapter 3) misconceives the complex hierarchy of work relationships which the peasant-worker encounters in the construction and service. The analysis of this hierarchy is important for understanding the manner in which Arab village workers are recruited into the Israeli economy. We have illustrated above (Chapter 8) the significance in the distinction between an unskilled labourer and a mu'allim, the manner in which Jewish employers and contractors are distanced from their Arab sub-contractors and employees, and the way village work teams relate to their Jewish and Arab bosses. These hierarchies create not only a sense of protective patrimonial consciousness among rural workers, but also an efficient system of labour management reinforced by the absence of workers' organizations and work stability. To portray this persistent awareness as a form of 'false consciousness' (as is often done) is simply to ignore its functional correspondence to the daily realities encountered by peasant-workers.

(c) While income from wage-labour outside the village has raised the household's standard of living, it does not seem to have contributed significantly to the internal differentiation of the peasantry. On the contrary, it seems that work opportunity outside the village has created a new homogeneity in the rural class structure. Although the evidence is not conclusive on this point and deserves additional case studies from a larger number of case studies, I will stress this conclusion on the