

of this decline was only modified by the consolidation of holdings by middle peasants who were keen on investing their savings in land (Firestone, 1975b:316; Taqqu, 1977:184).

It was in this period also that the Mukhtar's role demoted (or perhaps if we want to compare it to its Ottoman origins, reverted) to that of a governmental functionary and lost his representative character (Taqqu, 1980:275; Baer, 1980:109-114). But we suspect that this trend was tied to the general integration of village politics into the national administration dictated primarily by security needs (cf. Baer, 1980:110, 123) and only secondarily by the mechanisms of market interaction and labour migration.

What does one conclude from the pre-war (1948) trends in peasant-proletarianization? And how do they relate to the second major wave of internal labour migration which was generated by the Israeli occupation of the West Bank and Gaza?

First we must stress the obvious, but necessary, observation that both the Mandatory labour mobility and those taking place under Israeli rule were internal migrations, as distinguished from the outmigration of Palestinian population to the Gulf and the Americas in the sixties and the 1970's. The social implications for this distinction on the rural household will be discussed below.

A second observation, made by Taqqu, introduces a critical turning point during the war years, when the patterns of employment began to disregard the regional boundries of village and traditional loyalties of the peasant-workers within the village (Taqqu, 1980:276). This gives the appearance of imminent proletarianization and the emergence of class consciousness among peasant-workers, but the main impact of the new recruitment patterns has been the disruption of traditional political authority