

stages of the country's economic development. The mobilization of these Jews from pre-capitalist social formations dominated by semi-feudal and small-scale commodity production, in which they were skilled craftsmen and traders, and their transfer into the Western Jewish economy, transplanted in the Palestinian social formation, resulted necessarily in the "de-skilling" of this population in Israel. This de-skilling has persisted until recently, when the emergence of the Black Panther movement exerted moral and political pressure on the Jewish State and raised demands for human capital investment and manpower development efforts, and concomitantly, when an abundance of unskilled Palestinian labor was made available and desirable in the aftermath of the 1967 war. These two factors have resulted in a shift towards public and community services, hence this population group increasingly became State and local government employees.

The recent massive penetration of Oriental-Jews into the mushrooming public services sector, where wages are higher, has significantly improved their standard of living, due to a higher effective demand. Their increasing access to income was not accompanied by an increasing access to economic ownership. Oriental-Jews, since they were alienated from their means of subsistence upon their transfer into the Jewish State, have had no access to the means of production in Israel, except for possession, not ownership, of agricultural "national" land, off which they are now moving into services. Their increased share in revenues as they penetrate the service sector promotes the downward-commodity-mobility providing for a false sense of an upward-social-mobility, hence the co-optation and pacification of this group, as evident in their voting in the recent elections.⁸ The resulting transformation in their consumption habits and ownership of durable goods⁹