

ponds to the objectives of the Zionist movement: Jewish proletarianization/capitalization, and the creation of a Jewish capitalist social formation through colonial settlement; Jewish relations of production and Jewish class struggle for the reproduction of the State superstructure. These considerations seem to be articulated in settlement patterns since the Yishuv.<sup>3</sup> It is, therefore, a very important aspect of the political economy of Israel where the various segments of the working class reside. This question overlaps with the following discussion regarding type of employer (capital) and relations to the political/ideological superstructure to be further discussed later on.

We identify a hierarchical relationship among the various habitat forms. Hierarchical in terms of "standards of living", as a ranking criterion. Standards of living is regarded here as an indicator of the differential cost of reproduction of labor power of the residents of a particular habitat. This ranking criterion reflects people's positions in the worlds of both production and consumption. Standards of living cannot be measured by income alone, it must also include public services, access or lack of access to development opportunities, the quality of education, health (preventive and curative services), environmental quality, recreational facilities, etc. One can also use per capita municipal budget as a measurement of standards of living of the different habitat forms.

In these terms, habitat forms in Israel rank as reflected on Scale 3, shown on the following page. Note that we excluded the kibbutz, because we are concerned only with the location of proletarian labor force in the various habitat. Kibbutznic labor, owing to its relation to the means of production through its share in the communal ownership, is not part of the