

forms of tenancy, involve primarily wage-workers hired either directly by the landlord or his manager, or by the share-tenant. Wage labour, of course, exists at all levels of tenancy forms discussed above, including among resident farmers who utilize their household labour, but it finds its most acute expression in plantation agriculture. *e.g. in the Jordan Valley*

A significant aspect of tenancy forms in the Jordan Valley is the fluidity of class relations among intermediate peasants, especially among share-tenants. By "fluidity" I refer to the manner in which small holders and share-tenants periodically 'expand' and 'contract' their cropping plots, and hire their own, and their family's labour to other farmers and landlords. Unlike dry farming in the highlands, this fluidity is not primarily the product of work opportunity outside agriculture, involving industrial migrant peasant-workers who continue to maintain a marginal relationship to the land, but exists within agriculture. It is the product of a number of contingencies, including (1) the chronic shortage of agricultural labour resulting from migration; (2) redistributive land schemes initiated by the government (in the East Ghor); and, (3) the relatively short duration (Sharab, 1975: 30) of the share-contracts, giving tenants the option of seeking better tenancy leases without compromising their access to the land.

With the large-scale introduction of agricultural technology into irrigated agriculture in the last ten years, however, a new element of differentiation entered into defining the relationship between peasants and landlords. The magnitude of capital investment required to keep an average farm in operation, access to credit, access to markets, control over marketing outlets, and (in the case of West Bankers) control over the land, became the crucial determinants of the farmers' standard of living and his tenancy status. For many West Bank farmers it also challenged their ability to survive as peasants on the land.