

While no single index can capture class status with absolute accuracy, we would suggest, that *the use of outside labour [sic] relative to the use of family labour*, would be the most reliable single index for categorizing the peasantry more precisely. . . . For a cultivator, there can be two types of use of outside labor in production: (a) direct hiring of others' labour, (b) indirect appropriation of others' labour through leasing out land for rent. Conversely these are the same two ways in which his labour may be appropriated by others: (a) direct hiring out of family labour, (b) indirect, through payment of rent for land leased in.<sup>14</sup>

This is formulated as an empirical ratio termed the "labor-exploitation ratio":

$E=x/y$ , where x denotes the "net total use of outside labor (i.e., labor days hired in minus labor days hired out) plus net labor days taken through rent (i.e., labor days taken through rent minus labor days given through rent)," and y denotes family labor days.

The inclusion of rent exploitation derives from the fact that in colonial and semicolonial countries where there has been

very little growth of capitalist relations in rural areas, extraction of precapitalist land rent was one of the major forms of exploitation not only of the peasantry by landlords but also to some extent as practiced by richer peasants vis-à-vis poorer peasants.<sup>15</sup>

The extent of exploitation is measured by labor days, whether paid in kind or money, as a share of gross output.<sup>16</sup>

In the case of Palestine, we do not have detailed data comparable to Patnaik's data on India including labor days hired in or hired out nor on land

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<sup>14</sup>Patnaik, *Class Differentiation*, A84.

<sup>15</sup>Patnaik, *Peasant Class*, 27-8.

<sup>16</sup>Patnaik, *Class Differentiation*, A84.