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## The Household Division of Work: SCCS Codes<sup>i</sup>

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### 1. INTRODUCTION

The Household Division of Work data set ("HHDW") contains 377 new variables on the sexual division of labor by age and gender for 91 Standard Cross-Cultural Sample societies ("Standard Sample") (Murdock and White 1969). The data, variables 1271 to 1647, are in the MAPTAB files ST66.DAT to ST77.DAT and are described in the files STDS66.COD through STDS77.COD. The variables coded were agricultural tasks for two main crops for each society, as well as care and herding of large and small animals, trade, wage labor, gathering, hunting, child care, housekeeping, food preparation, fire tending, fuel gathering, burden carrying, and water carrying. These codes differ from nearly all other holocultural sexual division of labor data sets because they include children's work. In addition to the division of labor tasks coded by age on a number of dimensions, the HHDW data set includes variables on animals, crops, and agricultural inputs.

The HHDW data set was coded for my dissertation, *Women, Children and Work* (Bradley 1987). The purpose of the data set was to test ecological hypotheses about the sexual division of labor. With the exception of Jorgensen (1980; MAPTAB WNAI files) and Whiting and Draper (1969), previous holocultural research on the sexual division of labor included only adults' work (see Bradley 1987:153). Other researchers had speculated about the impact of children's labor contributions on women's work as well as on fertility (e.g., Burton and White 1984; Ember 1983; Nerlove 1974). I also coded agricultural inputs and crop type variables for the 91 Standard Sample societies, in order to go beyond previous ecological models of the sexual division of labor, which often focused on women's changing roles with agricultural intensification (Burton and White 1984).

This paper accompanies the HHDW data set itself, and discusses the sample, variables, codes and reliabilities for the HHDW data set.

### 2. THE HHDW SAMPLE

The HHDW data set is coded for 91 of the 186 societies in the Standard Sample. Eighty-six of these were societies also used for a National Science Foundation funded project titled "World Systems and Ethnological Theory" (White and Burton 1984), for which I was a coder and project director. One of our goals in selecting the world systems project sample was to maximize materials already coded for the sexual division of labor (specifically, data sets coded by Paige and Paige 1981 [ST22.DAT]; Ross 1983 [ST30.DAT]; Sanday 1981 [ST26.DAT]; and Whyte 1978 [ST27.DAT]; see Bradley 1987:467-471), while retaining a geographically representative subset of Standard Sample societies. For the HHDW data set,

I added an additional seven societies to replace cases where there were no data on children's work. For all 91 societies in the final HHDW data set, only eight language families are represented more than once (see Whiting, Sodergren and Stigler 1982). The HHDW sample is listed in Table 1.<sup>ii</sup>

1 Nama	2 !Kung	3 Thonga	6 Suku
11 Kikuyu	13 Mbuti	16 Tiv	17 Ibo
18 Fon	19 Ashanti	21 Wolof	22 Bambara
23 Tallensi	25 Fulani	26 Hausa	30 Otoro Nuba
31 Shilluk	34 Masai	37 Amhara	39 Barbara
40 Teda	41 Tuareg	43 Egyptians	46 Rwala
48 Gheg	49 Romans	51 Irish	52 Lapps
56 Armenians	57 Kurds	58 Basseri	64 Burusho
65 Kazak	68 Lepcha	69 Garo	70 Lakher
73 Vietnamese	76 Central Thai	77 Semang	79 Andamanese
83 Javanese	84 Balinese	85 Iban	89 Alorese
90 Tiwi	91 Aranda	93 Kimam	95 Kwoma
98 Trobrianders	99 Siuai	100 Tikopia	102 Mbau Fijians
104 Maori	108 Marshallese	109 Trukese	110 Yapese
111 Palauans	116 Koreans	118 Ainu	119 Gilyak
121 Chukchee	123 Aleut	124 Copper Eskimo	127 Saulteaux
129 Kaska	130 Eyak	136 Lake Yokuts	137 Paiute
138 Klamath	140 Gros Ventre	141 Hidatsa	142 Pawnee
145 Creek	147 Comanche	149 Zuni	151 Papago
152 Huichol	158 Cuna	159 Goajiro	160 Haiti
162 Warrau	163 Yanomamo	165 Saramacca	166 Mundurucu
168 Cayapa	169 Jivaro	170 Amahuaca	172 Aymara
179 Shavante	183 Abipon	184 Mapuche	

*Table 1: HHDW Sample Societies and Numbers*

The Standard Sample was developed by Murdock and White (1969) to provide a representative, well-documented sample of the world's cultural traditions. Their primary goal was to facilitate statistical analysis while minimizing the problem of interdependence of cultural units ("Galton's Problem") (Levinson and Malone 1980). Each society in the Standard Sample has a specific locational and temporal pinpoint. Standard Sample societies were selected from distinct linguistic groups as well as across regions and subsistence schemes. Attention was paid to the nationality of the ethnographer, minimizing as much as practical any bias in the sample toward English language source materials.

Despite the fact that well over a thousand variables are now coded for the Standard Sample (see Barry and Schlegel 1982; Levinson and Malone 1980; White et al. 1981), there are some problems with this sample. These problems may include the following: the definitions of the six world "regions" and the appropriateness of listing some societies in those regions (Burton et al. 1992; Burton and White 1991); under sampling of societies from Central Eurasia and non Native American New World groups (Burton and White 1991) as well as over sampling in the Pacific; temporal and regional clustering (Bradley et al. 1990); and non-random selection of Standard Sample societies from the 1,264 cases in Murdock's (1967) *Ethnographic Atlas* (Ember and Otterbein 1991). Some of the problems have been solved methodologically (Burton et al. 1992; Dow, Burton and White 1982; Dow et al. 1984; White and Burton 1984; White, Burton and Dow 1981).

A third of the holocultural studies of the sexual division of labor in agriculture used codings done by Murdock and Provost (1973; ST05.DAT) for the Standard Sample (Bradley 1989). These studies have made major contributions to our understandings of the sexual division of labor (Burton and White 1985; Peacock 1991; Schlegel 1989), one positive reason to use the Standard Sample for a study of children's work.

### 3. CROSS-CULTURAL CHORES DATA SET

Many of the variables coded for this project were compared for reliability purposes with Whiting and Draper's (1969) Cross-Cultural Chores data set. This unpublished data set includes 105 *Ethnographic Atlas* (Murdock 1967) societies (see Bradley 1987 for the Whiting and Draper sample and codebook). The purpose of the data set was to facilitate the study of the relationship between women's workloads, subsistence economy, children's work, gender differences in task assignment, and the ages at which children were considered old enough to do various tasks. Though Whiting and Draper's (1969) data set is not included as a file in this issue of *World Cultures*, 39 of the cultures (with correct date and location pinpoints) overlap between the two data sets. Reliabilities between the Cross-Cultural Chores and HHDW data sets are discussed where available.

### 4. STRUCTURE OF THE DATA SET

The codes for the variables in the HHDW sample are contained in the files STDS66.COD to STDS77.COD. This section describes the general structure of the data set. Discussion of specific variables, reliability of the codes, and coding issues appear in the following section.

The 377 variables in the data set are distributed among the MAPTAB .COD and .DAT files as follows:

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STDS66: 1271 to 1305	STDS70: 1402 to 1437	STDS74: 1522 to 1557
STDS67: 1306 to 1341	STDS71: 1438 to 1462	STDS75: 1558 to 1591
STDS68: 1342 to 1366	STDS72: 1463 to 1490	STDS76: 1592 to 1614
STDS69: 1367 to 1401	STDS73: 1491 to 1521	STDS77: 1615 to 1647

These files contain data on division of labor for many agricultural tasks (e.g., land clearance, soil preparation, planting, crop tending, harvesting), herding and caring for animals, hunting, gathering, wage labor, trade, and "domestic" tasks (e.g., housekeeping, tending fires, carrying water). Detailed data on agricultural techniques are also found in the files. A series of six codes applies to each task: (1) adult division of labor by gender; (2) child division of labor by gender; (3) child division of labor by age and gender; (4) work partners of children; (5) importance of tasks to child division of labor by gender; (6) adult preferences for age assignments of tasks. The data set also contains codes on agricultural techniques and domesticated animals. Each scale is described below, followed by the name and number of the variables to which it applies.

### **Scale 1: Crop identification codes**

This scale contains 34 identification numbers for crops. The codes for primary crops are listed in STDS68.COD and the codes for secondary crops are in STDS71.COD. The variables coded on this scale are:

1349. Primary crop name	1445. Secondary crop name
1350. Other primary crop name	1446. Other secondary crop name

**Scale 2: Adult division of labor codes**

CODE	DESCRIPTION
.	Missing data
0	Activity not present
1	Men only
2	Men predominant
3	Men and women equal
4	Women predominant
5	Women only
6	Not an adult task
7	Adult task, no data on sex
8	Men, no data on women
9	Women, no data on men
10	Slaves only

The variables coded for adult division of labor are:

1271. Adults clear land-- primary crop	1464. Adults care for small animals
1272. Adults prepare soil-- primary crop	1491. Adults herd large animals
1273. Adults plant--primary crop	1492. Adults care for large animals
1274. Adults tend crops--primary crop	1522. Adults do wage labor
1275. Adults harvest--primary crop	1534. Adults trade
1276. Adults do unspecified agricultural tasks--primary crop	1546. Adults gather
1277. Adults do other agricultural chores--primary crop	1558. Adults hunt
1367. Adults clear land--secondary crop	1570. Adults do child care
1368. Adults prepare soil--secondary crop	1581. Adults do housekeeping
1369. Adults plant--secondary crop	1592. Adults cook

1370. Adults tend crops--secondary crop	1604. Adults tend fires
1371. Adults harvest--secondary crop	1615. Adults gather fuel
1372. Adults do unspecified agricultural tasks--secondary crop	1626. Adults carry burdens
1373. Adults do other agricultural chores--secondary crop	1637. Adults carry water
1463. Adults herd small animals	

**Scale 3: Division of labor for children's tasks**

CODE	DESCRIPTION
.	Missing data
0	Activity not present
1	Boys only
2	Boys predominant
3	Boys and girls equal
4	Girls predominant
5	Girls only
6	Not a child ' s task
7	Child task, no data on sex
8	Boys, no data on girls
9	Girls, no data on boys
10	Slaves only

The following variables are coded for children's division of labor:

1278. Children clear land-- primary crop	1466. Children care for small animals
1279. Children prepare soil-- primary crop	1493. Children herd large animals
1280. Children plant--primary crop	1494. Children care for large animals

1281. Children tend crops--primary crop	1523. Children do wage labor
1282. Children harvest--primary crop	1535. Children trade
1283. Children do unspecified agricultural tasks--primary crop	1547. Children gather
1284. Children do other agricultural chores--primary crop	1559. Children hunt
1374. Children clear land--secondary crop	1571. Children do child care
1375. Children prepare soil--secondary crop	1582. Children do housekeeping
1376. Children plant--secondary crop	1593. Children cook
1377. Children tend crops--secondary crop	1605. Children tend fires
1378. Children harvest--secondary crop	1616. Children gather fuel
1379. Children do unspecified agricultural tasks--secondary crop	1627. Children carry burdens
1380. Children do other agricultural chores--secondary crop	1638. Children carry water
1465. Children herd small animals	

**Scale 4: Childhood division of labor by age groupings**

CODE	DESCRIPTION
.	Missing data
0	Children this age do not do task
1	Boys this age do task
2	Girls this age do task
3	Boys and girls this age do task
4	Not a child's task
5	Child task, no data on sex
6	Boys this age do task, no data on girls
7	Girls this age do task, no data on boys

The following variables are coded for children under age 6:

1285. Under 6 clear land-- primary crop	1470. Under 6 care for small animals
1286. Under 6 prepare soil-- primary crop	1495. Under 6 herd large animals
1287. Under 6 plant--primary crop	1498. Under 6 care for large animals
1288. Under 6 tend crops--primary crop	1524. Under 6 do wage labor
1289. Under 6 harvest--primary crop	1536. Under 6 trade
1290. Under 6 do unspecified agricultural tasks--primary crop	1548. Under 6 gather
1291. Under 6 do other agricultural chores--primary crop	1560. Under 6 hunt
1381. Under 6 clear land--secondary crop	1572. Under 6 do child care
1382. Under 6 prepare soil--secondary crop	1583. Under 6 do housekeeping
1383. Under 6 plant--secondary crop	1594. Under 6 cook
1384. Under 6 tend crops--secondary crop	1606. Under 6 tend fires
1385. Under 6 harvest--secondary crop	1617. Under 6 gather fuel
1386. Under 6 do unspecified agricultural tasks--secondary crop	1628. Under 6 carry burdens
1387. Under 6 do other agricultural chores--secondary crop	1639. Under 6 carry water
1467. Under 6 herd small animals	



The following variables are coded for children from age 6 to 10:

1292. 6 to 10 clear land-- primary crop	1471. 6 to 10 care for small animals
1293. 6 to 10 prepare soil-- primary crop	1496. 6 to 10 herd large animals
1294. 6 to 10 plant--primary crop	1499. 6 to 10 care for large animals
1295. 6 to 10 tend crops--primary crop	1525. 6 to 10 do wage labor
1296. 6 to 10 harvest--primary crop	1537. 6 to 10 trade
1297. 6 to 10 do unspecified agricultural tasks--primary crop	1549. 6 to 10 gather
1298. 6 to 10 do other agricultural chores--primary crop	1561. 6 to 10 hunt
1388. 6 to 10 clear land--secondary crop	1573. 6 to 10 do child care
1389. 6 to 10 prepare soil--secondary crop	1584. 6 to 10 do housekeeping
1390. 6 to 10 plant--secondary crop	1595. 6 to 10 cook
1391. 6 to 10 tend crops--secondary crop	1607. 6 to 10 tend fires
1392. 6 to 10 harvest--secondary crop	1618. 6 to 10 gather fuel
1393. 6 to 10 do unspecified agricultural tasks--secondary crop	1629. 6 to 10 carry burdens
1394. 6 to 10 do other agricultural chores--secondary crop	1640. 6 to 10 carry water
1468. 6 to 10 herd small animals	

The following variables are coded for children over the age of 10:

1299. Over 10 clear land-- primary crop	1472. Over 10 care for small animals
1300. Over 10 prepare soil-- primary crop	1497. Over 10 herd large animals
1301. Over 10 plant--primary crop	1500. Over 10 care for large animals
1302. Over 10 tend crops--primary crop	1526. Over 10 do wage labor
1303. Over 10 harvest--primary crop	1538. Over 10 trade
1304. Over 10 do unspecified agricultural tasks--primary crop	1550. Over 10 gather
1305. Over 10 do other agricultural chores--primary crop	1562. Over 10 hunt
1395. Over 10 clear land--secondary crop	1574. Over 10 do child care
1396. Over 10 prepare soil--secondary crop	1585. Over 10 do housekeeping
1397. Over 10 plant--secondary crop	1596. Over 10 cook
1398. Over 10 tend crops--secondary crop	1608. Over 10 tend fires
1399. Over 10 harvest--secondary crop	1619. Over 10 gather fuel
1400. Over 10 do unspecified agricultural tasks--secondary crop	1630. Over 10 carry burdens
1401. Over 10 do other agricultural chores--secondary crop	1641. Over 10 carry water
1469. Over 10 herd small animals	

### Scale 5: Work partners of children

CODE	DESCRIPTION
.	Missing data
0	Activity not present
1	Yes, children do this
2	No, children do not do this

The following variables are coded for children working alone:

1307. Alone clear land-- primary crop	1477. Alone care for small animals
1308. Alone prepare soil-- primary crop	1502. Alone herd large animals
1309. Alone plant--primary crop	1505. Alone care for large animals
1310. Alone tend crops--primary crop	1528. Alone do wage labor
1311. Alone harvest--primary crop	1540. Alone trade
1312. Alone do unspecified agricultural tasks--primary crop	1552. Alone gather
1313. Alone do other agricultural chores--primary crop	1564. Alone hunt
1403. Alone clear land--secondary crop	1575. Alone do child care
1404. Alone prepare soil--secondary crop	1586. Alone do housekeeping
1405. Alone plant--secondary crop	1598. Alone cook
1406. Alone tend crops--secondary crop	1609. Alone tend fires
1407. Alone harvest--secondary crop	1620. Alone gather fuel
1408. Alone do unspecified agricultural tasks--secondary crop	1631. Alone carry burdens
1409. Alone do other agricultural chores--secondary crop	1642. Alone carry water
1474. Alone herd small animals	

The following variables are coded for children working with other children

1314. With kids clear land-- primary crop	1478. With kids care for small animals
1315. With kids prepare soil-- primary crop	1503. With kids herd large animals
1316. With kids plant--primary crop	1506. With kids care for large animals
1317. With kids tend crops--primary crop	1529. With kids do wage labor
1318. With kids harvest--primary crop	1541. With kids trade
1319. With kids do unspecified agricultural tasks--primary crop	1553. With kids gather
1320. With kids do other agricultural chores--primary crop	1565. With kids hunt
1410. With kids clear land--secondary crop	1576. With kids do child care
1411. With kids prepare soil--secondary crop	1587. With kids do housekeeping
1412. With kids plant--secondary crop	1599. With kids cook
1413. With kids tend crops--secondary crop	1610. With kids tend fires
1414. With kids harvest--secondary crop	1621. With kids gather fuel
1415. With kids do unspecified agricultural tasks--secondary crop	1632. With kids carry burdens
1416. With kids do other agricultural chores--secondary crop	1643. With kids carry water
1475. With kids herd small animals	

The following variables are coded for children working with adults:

1321. With adults clear land-- primary crop	1479. With adults care for small animals
1322. With adults prepare soil-- primary crop	1504. With adults herd large animals
1323. With adults plant--primary crop	1507. With adults care for large animals
1324. With adults tend crops--primary crop	1530. With adults do wage labor
1325. With adults harvest--primary crop	1542. With adults trade
1326. With adults do unspecified agricultural tasks--primary crop	1554. With adults gather
1327. With adults do other agricultural chores--primary crop	1566. With adults hunt
1417. With adults clear land--secondary crop	1577. With adults do child care
1418. With adults prepare soil--secondary crop	1588. With adults do housekeeping
1419. With adults plant--secondary crop	1600. With adults cook
1420. With adults tend crops--secondary crop	1611. With adults tend fires
1421. With adults harvest--secondary crop	1622. With adults gather fuel
1422. With adults do unspecified agricultural tasks--secondary crop	1633. With adults carry burdens
1423. With adults do other agricultural chores--secondary crop	1644. With adults carry water
1476. With adults herd small animals	

### Scale 6: Importance of a task for children

The following scale is applied to variables coded for boys (the scale for girls is the same, with appropriate changes of wording):

CODE	DESCRIPTION
.	Missing data
0	Boys do not do this task

1	The most important task for boys
2	Boys commonly do the task, but not their most important
3	Boys rarely do task, or task usually done by girls

The following variables are coded for importance of task for boys:

1328. Boys clear land-- primary crop	1482. Boys care for small animals
1329. Boys prepare soil-- primary crop	1508. Boys herd large animals
1330. Boys plant--primary crop	1510. Boys care for large animals
1331. Boys tend crops--primary crop	1531. Boys do wage labor
1332. Boys harvest--primary crop	1543. Boys trade
1333. Boys do unspecified agricultural tasks--primary crop	1555. Boys gather
1334. Boys do other agricultural chores--primary crop	1567. Boys hunt
1424. Boys clear land--secondary crop	1578. Boys do child care
1425. Boys prepare soil--secondary crop	1589. Boys do housekeeping
1426. Boys plant--secondary crop	1601. Boys cook
1427. Boys tend crops--secondary crop	1612. Boys tend fires
1428. Boys harvest--secondary crop	1623. Boys gather fuel
1429. Boys do unspecified agricultural tasks--secondary crop	1634. Boys carry burdens
1430. Boys do other agricultural chores--secondary crop	1645. Boys carry water
1480. Boys herd small animals	

The following variables are coded for importance of task for girls:

1335. Girls clear land-- primary crop	1483. Girls care for small animals
1336. Girls prepare soil-- primary crop	1509. Girls herd large animals
1337. Girls plant--primary crop	1511. Girls care for large animals
1338. Girls tend crops--primary crop	1532. Girls do wage labor
1339. Girls harvest--primary crop	1544. Girls trade
1340. Girls do unspecified agricultural tasks--primary crop	1556. Girls gather
1341. Girls do other agricultural chores--primary crop	1568. Girls hunt
1431. Girls clear land--secondary crop	1579. Girls do child care
1432. Girls prepare soil--secondary crop	1590. Girls do housekeeping
1433. Girls plant--secondary crop	1602. Girls cook
1434. Girls tend crops--secondary crop	1613. Girls tend fires
1435. Girls harvest--secondary crop	1624. Girls gather fuel
1436. Girls do unspecified agricultural tasks--secondary crop	1635. Girls carry burdens
1437. Girls do other agricultural chores--secondary crop	1646. Girls carry water
1481. Girls herd small animals	

**Scale 7: Adult preferences for tasks**

CODE	DESCRIPTION
.	Missing data
0	None (e.g., activity not present)
1	Common or important adult task
2	Not preferred by adults, considered child's task
3	Usually adult task; kids do only if suitable adult absent



The following variables are coded for adult preference

1342. Adults clear land-- primary crop	1485. Adults care for small animals
1343. Adults prepare soil-- primary crop	1512. Adults herd large animals
1344. Adults plant--primary crop	1513. Adults care for large animals
1345. Adults tend crops--primary crop	1533. Adults do wage labor
1346. Adults harvest--primary crop	1545. Adults trade
1347. Adults do unspecified agricultural tasks--primary crop	1557. Adults gather
1348. Adults do other agricultural chores--primary crop	1569. Adults hunt
1438. Adults clear land--secondary crop	1580. Adults do child care
1439. Adults prepare soil--secondary crop	1591. Adults do housekeeping
1440. Adults plant--secondary crop	1603. Adults cook
1441. Adults tend crops--secondary crop	1614. Adults tend fires
1442. Adults harvest--secondary crop	1625. Adults gather fuel
1443. Adults do unspecified agricultural tasks--secondary crop	1636. Adults carry burdens
1444. Adults do other agricultural chores--secondary crop	1647. Adults carry water
1484. Adults herd small animals	

**Scale 8: Uses of fruits of labor (product use)**

CODE	DESCRIPTION
.	Missing data
0	None (e.g., activity not present)
1	Product consumer is child only
2	Product consumer is household or community
3	Wage labor/product sold

4	Household and wage labor or product sold
5	1 & 2 above
6	All of above

The following variables are coded for uses of fruits of labor:

1306. Primary crop	1501. Large animals	1597. Cooking
1402. Secondary Crop	1551. Gathering	
1473. Small animals	1563. Hunting	

### Scale 9: Agricultural techniques

CODE	DESCRIPTION
.	Missing data/no agriculture
0	None/absent
1	Yes/present

The following techniques were scored on this scale:

1351. Irrigation--Primary crop	1447. Irrigation--Secondary crop
1352. Hand plow--Primary crop	1448. Hand plow--Secondary crop
1353. Animal plow--Primary crop	1449. Animal plow--Secondary crop
1354. Terraces and mounds--Primary crop	1450. Terraces and mounds--Secondary crop
1355. Fences--Primary crop	1451. Fences--Secondary crop
1356. Green manure/mulch--Primary crop	1452. Green manure/mulch--Secondary crop
1357. Animal manure--Primary crop	1453. Animal manure--Secondary crop
1358. Human manure--Primary crop	1454. Human manure--Secondary crop
1359. Pesticides--Primary crop	1455. Pesticides--Secondary crop
1364. Soil treatments/sands--Primary crop	1460. Soil treatments/sands--Secondary crop
1365. Chemical fertilizer--Primary crop	1461. Chemical fertilizer--Secondary crop
1366. Stakes/trellises--Primary crops	1462. Stakes/trellises--Secondary crops

**Scale 10: Extent of weeding for crops**

CODE	DESCRIPTION
.	Missing data/no agriculture
0	None/no weeding/crops not weeded
1	Crop weeded once
2	Crop weeded twice
3	Crop weeded three times
4	Weeding, but not extensively, no data on number of times
5	Extensive weeding, no data on number of times
6	Weeding, no data on extent or number of times

Weeding is coded for two variables:

1360. Extent of weeding--Primary crop	1456. Extent of weeding--Secondary crop
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**Scale 11: Crop supervision**

CODE	DESCRIPTION
.	No data
0	No agriculture
1	Crops supervised from homestead
2	Distant crops supervised, e.g., huts built in fields

Crop supervision is coded for two variables:

1361. Crop supervision--Primary crop	1457. Crop supervision--Secondary crop
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**Scale 12: Planting techniques**

CODE	DESCRIPTION
.	No data
0	No agriculture
1	Seeds broadcast
2	Seeds planted by hand/manually
3	Seedlings transplanted
4	Cuttings planted
5	2 and 3 above
6	3 and 4 above
7	2 and 4 above

Planting techniques are coded for two variables:

1362. Planting techniques--Primary crop	1458. Planting techniques--Secondary crop
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**Scale 13:** A scale with 20 positions detailing the length of the shortest fallow period in years. Two variables are coded for length of shortest fallow period:

1363 Fallow period--Primary crop	1459. Fallow period--Secondary crop
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**Scale 14: Importance of domesticated animals**

CODE	DESCRIPTION
.	Missing data
0	Absent
1	Present, minor
2	Present, important

The animals coded included:

1486. Goats	1490. Sled/pack dogs	1517. Camels	1521. Llamas/alpacas
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1487. Sheep	1514. Cattle	1518. Reindeer	
1488. Pigs	1515. Horses	1519. Yaks	
1489. Rabbits/guinea pigs	1516. Donkeys/mules	1520. Water buffalo	

### Scale 15: Control of earnings

CODE	DESCRIPTION
.	Missing data
0	None
1	Child
2	Parents
3	Other
4	Child and Parents

Two variables were coded for control of earnings:

1527. Control of cash from wage labor	1539. Control of cash from trade
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## 5. DISCUSSION OF THE VARIABLES

### Agricultural Work for Primary and Secondary Crops

Sixty-seven percent of the societies in the HHDW sample are agricultural. Of the variables in the HHDW data set, 192 relate to agricultural work and farming systems. These 192 variables differ from previous data sets on the sexual division of labor in agriculture in four ways: (1) all variables are crop-specific, i.e., main and secondary crops are specified, and different codes pertain to main or, if applicable, secondary crops for each society; (2) the sexual divisions of labor is coded separately for adults and children; (3) all children's tasks are coded for children's ages, work partners, and the importance of each task for adults as well as male and female children; and (4) there are more agricultural intensification variables than in previous data sets, including intensification variables applicable to root crops.

#### *Crop Types*

Other crop type variables for the Standard Sample have been coded by Murdock and Morrow (1970), Murdock (1967), Pryor (1985), Whyte (1978) and others. Murdock (1967) and Murdock and Provost's (1973) division of labor in agriculture variables were coded for one or more principal crops. They did not specify crop names. Unlike some other data sets, the HHDW data set is coded for individual crops (e.g., millet, yams, or bananas) rather

than crop categories (e.g., grains, roots, or trees). The main criteria used to determine a crop's importance include any of the following: (1) the number of acres or hectares farmed; (2) the number of trees, in the case of a tree crop; (3) the yield of the crop; (4) the currency amount brought in by the crop (useful if the crop is mainly a cash crop); (5) the ethnographer's statement about the importance of one crop relative to another; (6) (rarely) planting order in a swidden systems. Not all crops could be ranked as primary or secondary for all societies. Thus, there are a few cases where the two main crops are listed randomly as either primary or secondary.

Table 2 (next page) shows Pryor's (1985) codings for a single crop compared with my codings for both primary and secondary crops. For 24 societies (92 percent), Pryor's codings agree with one or more of my crop type listings for that society. There was 92 percent agreement for the 26 overlapping cases between the Cross-Cultural Chores Data set and the HHDW data set.

### *Sexual Division of Labor*

I coded the sexual division of labor in agriculture specific to two main crops for each society. Work on different crops in the same society may be allocated differently between men and women in a variety of ways: (1) In swidden systems, crops are planted sequentially and/or intercropped, and there is often a different division of labor for different crops. Even on permanent fields, women and men may plant different crops on the same field. (2) There may be different divisions of labor on different plots or farm locations. Most of the agrarian societies in the Standard Sample have more than one type of plot or farm location; (3) Many rural societies have "house" or "kitchen" gardens which are usually gardened by women. (4) Crops differ in degree of symbolic importance or ritual elaboration. (5) The sexual division of labor for cash crops often differ from non-cash crops.

The five agricultural tasks of land clearing, soil preparation, planting, crop tending and harvesting were coded based on Murdock and Provost's (1973) guidelines. These variables are also discussed at length in Bradley (1987). Murdock and Provost's unpublished coding instructions for "Technology and the Division of Labor" is published in Bradley (1987), Appendix E. The HHDW data set includes two additional agricultural codes. There is an "Agricultural Task Unspecified" code which summarizes the overall participation of men and women in agriculture in a society when little to no task specific information was available in the ethnography. There is also an "Other Agricultural Chores" code which is for other agricultural tasks than those covered by Crop Tending. Few data are coded in the "Other Agricultural Chores" category.

All the sexual division of labor codes are coded on a ten point scale. Following Murdock and Provost (1973), each of the tasks was coded for whether the activity was done only by women (or girls), predominantly by women (or girls), divided equally between men and women (or boys and girls), performed predominantly by men (or boys), or done entirely by men (or boys). Other scale points describe less common situations (e.g., slaves do the task). There are separate variables on each task for adults and children.

Though there is considerable disagreement between some of my codings and those of Murdock and Provost (1973), variables for adults' work are adequately reliable (Bradley 1987, 1989). The children's work codes were compared with codes from the Whiting and Draper (1969) data set where available. Only gathering, hunting, child care, fuel gathering and food preparation were comparable. Reliability on these data range from good to acceptable (Bradley 1987, 1993).

<b>Society</b>	<b>Pryor's Code</b>	<b>HHDW Primary</b>	<b>HHDW Secondary</b>	<b>Match</b>
Thonga	Maize	Maize	Millet	OK
Suku	Root	Cassava	Mango	OK
Kikuyu	Maize	Maize	Millet	OK
Wolof	Sorghum	Millet/Sorghum	Dry Rice/Wet Rice	OK
Bambara	Millet	Millet	Maize	OK
Tallensi	Millet/Sorghum	Millet/Sorghum		OK
Otoro	Sorghum	Millet	Maize/Sorghum	OK
Shilluk	Sorghum	Millet	Maize	Error
Amhara*	Teff	Barley	Potato	??
Nubians	Millet	Millet	Dates	OK
Tuareg	Millet	no data	no data	no data
Egyptians	Wheat/Millet	Millet	Barley	OK
Gheg	Wheat/Maize	Wheat	Maize	OK
Romans	Wheat	no data	no data	no data
Irish**	Root	Fodder	Potato	OK
Armenians	Wheat/Dry Rice	no data	no data	no data
Kurds	Wheat	Wheat	Tobacco	OK
Basseri	Wheat	Wheat		OK
Burusho	Wheat/Barley	Barley	Buckwheat	OK
Lepcha	Dry Rice/Wet Rice	Dry Rice/Wet Rice	Cardamum	OK
Garo	Dry Rice	Dry Rice	Cotton	OK
Lakher	Dry Rice	Dry Rice		OK
Vietnam	Wet Rice	Wet Rice	Maize	OK



Thailand	Wet Rice	Wet Rice		OK
Java	Maize/Wet Rice	Wet Rice		OK
Bali	Wet Rice	Wet Rice		OK
Iban	Dry Rice	Dry Rice	Rubber	OK
Alor	Maize	Maize	Dry Rice	OK
Korea	Wet Rice	Wet Rice	Barley	OK

\*Unclear \*\*Different Pinpoint

*Table 2: Reliability of Crop Codes for HHDW Data set and Pryor (1985)  
Children's Ages*

Each of the tasks in the data set was coded for children at three ages: (1) children under age 6; (2) children ages 6 to 10; and (3) children over age 10. To minimize the problem of missing data, there is a separate variable for each age group on each task. Codes specify whether the task is a male task at that age, a female task at that age, or a task performed by children of both genders. It is also noted if a task is considered appropriate for children, in general, or at a particular age. Other categories cover situations of partial or missing data. There are no reliability scores on these variables.

#### *Uses of Fruits of Labor (Product Use)*

This variable is useful for distinguishing "work" from "play," "work" from "learning," or subsistence work from labor for a regional or world economy. Children sometimes consume goods on the spot (e.g., lizards they hunt) or the results of their work, especially agricultural work, contribute to the household or community. Some children's work is also connected to a larger context. If a child is working on a crop which is sold, the fruits of the child's labor may enter the world economy as a cash crop. The products of children's labor typically go for more than one use. For this variable in agriculture and other tasks (animal husbandry, gathering, hunting, fishing, food preparation), I recorded whether the product consumer was the child, the household or the community, or if the product of the child's labor was destined for some other extra-household/extra-community use (or a combination of all three). There are no reliability scores on these codes.

#### *Work Partners*

For each task, I recorded the children's work partners. There are three work partners variables for each task: (1) whether children work alone; (2) whether children work with children; and (3) whether children work with adults. All three could occur in one society. Each variable is coded dichotomously. No reliability scores are available for these codes.

#### *Importance of Children's Tasks*

As I was reading the ethnographic literature, I realized that there must be a way to assign different weights to children's work participation. Some activities are very important children's tasks in a society, such as Tiv boys chasing birds off ripening millet. Other

activities are often carried on during daily life but are roughly equal in importance. Finally, ethnographers often note that a task is not usually performed by children, but he/she occasionally saw children doing the task. In order to capture these different situations, I created two variables on the importance of a task for children. There is one variable for girls and one for boys for each task. No reliability scores are available for these codes.

#### *Adult Preference*

Some tasks are considered children's tasks and are tasks adults would rather defer to children. There are other tasks that children sometimes do, but which are not usually children's tasks. No reliability scores are available for these codes.

#### *Agricultural Intensification*

All 16 agricultural intensification variables are coded separately for main and secondary crops. All are coded dichotomously except the variables for weeding, crop supervision, planting techniques and length of the fallow period. Reliabilities are presented where available. For more information on these codes, see Bradley (1987).

Irrigation. Irrigation, defined as a water supply brought into the fields to insure a moisture level of the soil which is higher than would naturally occur, is present in 43 percent of the agricultural societies coded. There is 92 percent agreement between the variables coded for this data set and variables coded by Whyte (1978) for the same societies.

Hand Plow. Six percent of the agricultural societies in the sample have a hand plow. This is a plow powered by human, rather than animal, power. This is not an important activity even in the three societies that use these plows.

Animal-driven Plow. Thirty-one percent of the agricultural societies in the sample have an animal-drawn plow. There is 96 percent agreement between Pryor's (1985) plow data and the HHDW data for 23 societies.

Terraces and Mounds. Mounds and terraces, found in 44 percent of the agricultural societies in the HHDW sample, are structures built in fields. Both are labor intensive activities. Terraces are used to control water for irrigation and can channel runoff or break the impact of rushing waters. Mounds are usually formed out of clods of dirt and piled with mulch.

Fences. Fencing is used to keep animals off crops. Thirty-two percent of the agricultural societies in this sample had fences.

Green Manuring and Mulching. Three kinds of manuring are coded for the HHDW sample: green manures and mulches, animal manures, and human manures. Chemical fertilizers are also coded. Fourteen percent of the agricultural societies use green manure and mulch, defined as covering the soil with organic matter in order to provide nutrients and maintain soil moisture.

Animal Manures. Animal manures are the most common kind of manure in this sample, with 26 percent of the agricultural societies using animal manures.

Human Manure. Human manure is nearly always used with animal manures. It is relatively uncommon, present in 9 percent of the agricultural societies.

Pesticides. None of the sample societies had pesticides.

Extent of Weeding. This variable reports frequency of weeding for the agricultural societies coded. Weeding is found in 89 percent of the agricultural societies in the HHDW sample. I later coded more societies for the extent of weeding, as well as the sexual divisions of labor in both weeding and irrigation (Bradley 1990, Bradley n.d.).

Crop Supervision. Crops are supervised to prevent intrusion from thieves, wild animals, birds, and domesticated animals such as pigs. Crop supervision occurs in 98 percent of the farming societies. Crops are supervised from the homestead in 63 percent of the societies. Huts or platforms are built in fields for the remaining 35 percent.

Planting Techniques. Planting techniques include broadcasting of seeds, planting seeds by hand, transplanting seedlings, or planting cuttings.

Length of Fallow. Data are available on length of the fallow period for 35 societies. Lengths of fallow range from permanent cultivation to 20 years.

Soil Treatments/Sands. Soils or sands are imported to improve soil quality in 14 percent of the societies sampled.

Chemical Fertilizers. Chemical fertilizers are purchased in the world market and include three societies that also use animal manures.

Stakes and Trellises. Stakes and trellises, present in 14 percent of the societies coded (all having root crops), are used to train young plants.

### **Animal Care and Herding**

Variables for herding and care of large and small animals were coded for the HHDW data set. Large and small animals were coded separately, as were herding and care. Most of these variables are identical to those coded for agriculture, and include the sexual divisions of labor for adults and children, ages at which children do animal husbandry, product use, children's work partners, importance of children's participation, adult preferences, and animal types.

#### *Animal Types*

Small animals include goats (35 percent of the societies), sheep (33 percent), pigs (36 percent), rabbits and guinea pigs (three percent), and sled and pack dogs (five percent). Non-working dogs and fowl are not included. Large animals include cattle (44 percent of societies), horses (41 percent), donkeys and mules (20 percent), camels (six percent), yaks (two percent), reindeer (two percent), water buffalo (three percent), and llamas and alpacas (1 percent).

#### *Care and Herding*

Unlike other holocultural data sets, care and herding are coded separately for large and small animals for all animal husbandry activities. Care includes collecting fodder, feeding, and milking, but the animals are usually near the homestead. Herding may also include feeding, but the animals are usually away from the homestead.

#### *Divisions of Labor in Animal Care and Herding*

All sexual and age division of labor codes are coded in the same way as the agricultural tasks.

Ages at Which Children Herd/Care for Animals. These variables are coded in the same way as the agricultural variables. Children over ten are most like adults, whereas children under six are rarely allowed to herd or care for animals. Children in the middle are more likely to herd and care for small than large animals. These data are available for up to 25 societies.

#### *Product Use*

Coded the same way as the agricultural variables.

#### *Work Partners*

Coded the same way as the agricultural variables. Data are coded for up to 28 societies for these variables and discussion/results are presented in Bradley (1987:376). Care of large animals, and herding of large and small animals, are done the most of any activities in the company of other children. Herding of small animals is the most common activity that children do alone.

#### *Importance of Children's Animal Husbandry Tasks*

Coded the same way as the agricultural variables.

#### *Adult Preference in Herding and Care of Animals*

Coded the same way as the agricultural variables. Herding of large and small animals are activities disliked by adults in more societies than for any other task (Bradley 1987). Adults would rather leave herding of large animals to children in 33 percent of the societies, and herding of small animals to children in 27 percent of the societies.

### **Other Tasks**

Unless otherwise stated, all other variables in the data set are coded the same way as the agricultural tasks. The discussion in this section will be limited to definitions of the major task categories, and reliabilities for work variables, where available.

#### *Wage Labor*

Wage labor is defined as work for cash, shares or in kind (Bradley 1987; Bradley et al 1990). There are usable data on wage labor for 50 societies in the HHDW sample. Children participate in wage labor in 16 societies. Data are available for participation of both adults and children in wage labor in 15 societies. The variable for control of fruits of labor differs

from that of all other variables except trade. Here, I was concerned with who controlled the earnings, the parent (or another adult), or the child itself.

### *Marketing and Trade*

Other cross-cultural studies which discuss women's participation in trade include Zelman (1975) and Levinson and Swanson (Levinson and Malone 1980). Murdock and Provost (1973) and others do not. The marketing and wage labor variable includes selling in local and regional markets, as well as long distance trade. The latter, however, is rare for children. There are 45 societies in the HHDW sample with usable data on trade. Eleven of these have both adults' and children's work. These data indicate that children are involved in marketing and trade when it is mainly a women's task, but not involved in marketing and trade when predominantly a men's task (Bradley 1987). For all 33 societies for which there are data on adult preference, marketing and trade are considered adult tasks.

### *Gathering*

Gathering is restricted to collecting of wild vegetable foods. This is the same definition used by Murdock and Provost (1973) for one of four gathering variables. For the adult gathering variable, men never do more gathering than women in this sample. Gathering is usually dominated by female children as well. Reliability scores are adequate for the adult division of labor in gathering, with 71 percent agreement between the Whiting and Draper (1969) scores and my scores for seven common societies (see Bradley 1987:410).

### *Hunting*

Hunting of both large and small land animals is usually done exclusively by men (Murdock and Provost 1973). In the HHDW data set, women never hunted more than men. With one exception, girls never hunted more than boys. Children under age six rarely hunt, and hunting is a relatively rare activity in the other age groups. There is 77 percent agreement on the adult division of work in hunting between the HHDW data set and the Whiting and Draper data set. This is a reasonable level of agreement (Bradley 1987:412).

### *Child Care*

Cross-culturally, men never do more child care than women, and boys never do more than girls. Child care is the only task which children over age ten did in fewer societies than children ages six to ten. Child care takes place in a number of settings, most commonly with adults and with other children. For the adult division of labor in child care, there is 83 percent agreement between the HHDW data set and the Whiting and Draper (1969) data set for six societies (Bradley 1987). There is no product use variable for this activity.

### *Housekeeping*

Housekeeping is defined as such tasks as washing dishes, picking up the yard, making camp, laundering, etc. Housekeeping is done almost entirely by women and girls. In all the societies for which there were data, children did housekeeping in the company of adults. These tasks were rarely performed with other children. There is 100 percent agreement on the adult sexual division of labor in housekeeping between the HHDW data set and the Cross-Cultural Chores data set for 10 societies. There is no product use variable for this activity.

### *Cooking and Food Preparation*

I define cooking and food preparation, after Whiting and Draper (1969), to include grinding, grating, sorting, washing, peeling and cooking food, as well as butchering and dressing meat, cleaning fish, washing meat, and other related activities. Murdock and Provost (1973) have six food preparation tasks in their data set, of which butchering is a male task, but the remaining (preparing vegetal foods, preservation of meat and fish, preparation of drinks, manufacture of dairy products, and cooking) are female tasks. Women nearly always do more cooking than men. Children's participation is usually identical to adults', leaning heavily to an exclusively women's and girls' task. In all the societies for which there were data, food preparation was done in the company of adults. The HHDW and Cross-Cultural Chores data sets share 14 societies on the adult sexual division of labor in cooking and food preparation, with 71 percent agreement (Bradley 1987).

### *Fire Tending*

There are few data on fire tending, but the available data indicate that it is a women's and children's task. There is no product use variable.

### *Fuel Gathering*

Both Murdock and Provost (1973) and Whiting and Draper (1969) had fuel gathering variables. Women dominate fuel gathering in most of the societies coded. Boys sometimes did fuel gathering in societies where women did it. There is 71 percent agreement for the adult sexual division of labor in fuel gathering for eight common HHDW and Cross-Cultural Chores societies (Bradley 1987).

### *Burden Carrying*

Burden carrying was not coded by Whiting and Draper (1969). Murdock and Provost (1973) have a burden carrying variable which is mainly female, but men to carry burdens in many societies. The HHDW burden carrying variable, which includes transporting food others gather, transporting the harvest, moving residence in pastoral societies, and other burden carrying activities, is mainly a women's and girls' task. There is no product use variable.

### *Water Carrying*

After preparation of vegetal foods and cooking, fetching of water is the most female task on Murdock and Provost's (1973) table of technological activities. Water carrying is a task done mainly by women and girls in most of the societies coded for the HHDW data set, with boys participating in about a third of the societies. Water carrying was performed by children over age six in nearly all the societies, and was done by children over six in more societies than any other task. Children under six were carrying water in only 13 percent of the societies. Children rarely fetch water by themselves; in most of the societies they were accompanied by other children or by adults. Fetching water is one of the least preferred adult tasks. There is 69 percent agreement between the HHDW and Cross-Cultural Chores data sets for the adult division of labor in water carrying. There is no use variable for water carrying.

### *A Note on Fishing*

Fishing was coded but the data were not reported here nor in the dissertation. This is because of the complexity of fishing tasks. For example, fishing differs by kinds of animals fished, location (e.g., deep sea, seashore, river, irrigation canal, etc.), tools used to facilitate fishing (e.g., poisons, hooks, nets, baskets, hands, etc.), as well as by the mix of participants (e.g., so-called "communal" fishing, often with men, women and children poisoning or scaring fish toward nets; versus groups of men fishing together on boats, etc.). Any one society that fishes may also have many different kinds of fishing, fishing locations, tools, and fishing labor structures. Thus, the complexity of fishing and its divisions of labor goes beyond the simplicity of this particular project, but would make a fascinating project for another coder.

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## 8. APPENDIX: ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY OF PUBLICATIONS RELATED TO THE HHDW DATA SET

- Bradley, Candice  
 in press Keeping the soil in good heart: women weeders, the environment, and ecofeminism. In *Ecofeminism: Multidisciplinary Perspectives*, ed. K. Warren. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
- An ecological feminist analysis of the roles of women and men in weeding. Although the data are not discussed in depth in this chapter, it provides an overview of the findings in the HHDW dataset with respect to the weeding and agricultural intensification data.
- 1993 Women's power, children's labor. *Cross-Cultural Research* 27:70-96.
- Presents the codings of adults' and children's work for household tasks, wage labor, agriculture and animal husbandry, and discusses the findings about children's work, namely that children perform tasks adults of their gender perform, but that both male and female children do women's tasks, while female children rarely do men's tasks. This paper argues that the benefits of children's labor accrue to women cross-culturally.
- 1990 Women, weeding and the plow: A comparative test of Boserup's hypothesis. *African Urban Quarterly* 5(3-4):188-196.
- An early version of a paper on the role of weeding in the sexual division of labor. The paper argues that researchers looking at the sexual division of labor in agriculture underestimated the proportion of societies in which men weed. The conclusions in this paper were later revised with a larger data set and new analyses ("Weeds, Fields and Metaphors: Gender and Weeding in Comparative Perspective." Unpublished manuscript).

- 1989 Reliability and inference in the cross-cultural coding process. *Journal of Quantitative Anthropology* 1:353-371.

Discusses reliability of the sexual division of labor variables in the HHDW data set and Murdock and Provost's (1973) sexual division of labor codes.

- 1987a *Women, Children and Work*. Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation. University of California, Irvine. UMI [8893611].

The most complete discussion and analysis of the data, including sampling, coding and reliability, for the 377 variables in the HHDW data set.

- 1987b Children's work and women's work: A cross-cultural study. *Anthropology of Work Review* 8:2-5.

Briefly discusses early findings on the relationship between women's and children's work in the HHDW data set.

Bradley, C., C.C. Moore, M. Burton, and D. White

- 1990 A cross-cultural historical study of subsistence change. *American Anthropologist* 92:447-457.

Though the focus of this paper is not the HHDW data set, sampling for the HHDW data set was identical to the sampling for the world-systems project data set discussed in this article. This paper also includes discussion of the wage labor codes.

Ember, C., M. Ross, M. Burton, and C. Bradley

- 1991 Problems of measurement in cross-cultural research using secondary data. *Behavior Science Research* 25:187-216.

Chapter on measurement includes some discussion of cross-cultural coding issues that arose during coding of HHDW data set.

Whiting, Beatrice B. and Patricia Draper

- 1969 Cross-Cultural Chores. Unpublished Data set.

Draper coded this unpublished data set at Harvard for Beatrice Whiting. Whiting was mainly interested in the ages at which children began certain tasks. The Cross-Cultural Chores data set uses a different sample and has finer age categories than the HHDW data set. Both this and the HHDW data set suffer from missing data due to lack of information in the ethnographies on children's ages.

## 7. NOTES

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i. The dissertation on which this study was based was supported by a 1985 UC Irvine Patent Fund Grant and by White and Burton's (1984) NSF-sponsored world-system project. I acknowledge and thank the members of my dissertation committee: Michael L. Burton, Douglas R. White, Frank Cancian, and Beatrice B. Whiting. I also thank Beatrice Whiting and Patricia Draper for sharing the Cross-Cultural Chores Dataset with me.

ii. Society focus names listed in this table are taken, for the most part, from Murdock and White (1969) and White (1989). While I recognize that a few of the society names listed by Murdock and White (1969) are considered inappropriate or offensive for a variety of reasons (e.g., "Nama Hottentot," "!Kung Bushmen," "Eskimo," "Masai" rather than "Maasai," "Kikuyu" rather than "Gikuyu," etc.), I have used most of the names as they are listed in White (1989) because these names are well recognized by Standard Sample users.