

drawn from the Standard Cross-Cultural Sample.⁶ Five variables were used to establish world-system position: (1) the existence of trade and markets, (2) cropping systems, (3) labor relations, (4) taxes and rents and (5) imports and exports. A pattern emerged clustering the societies into four groups, which were interpreted as the zones of the world-system: (1) semiperiphery, (2) export-periphery, (3) extractive periphery, and (4) marginal. A fifth category is the core. The distinction of export-periphery and extractive periphery reflects the different economic potential of societies in the periphery, the former having a marketplace and being export-oriented, the latter only partially having market places but exporting prized goods via traders. The majority of cases (43) were found to belong to the periphery, 6 were coded as marginal and 4 cases fall within the semiperiphery.

I have calculated correlations (Pearson's *r*) of the world-system position variable with a number of variables measuring internal and external warfare (Nammour 1975; Ross 1983). These variables were used as the most general indicators of frequency of violent conflict management. The sample consisted of those societies in the SCCS, for which both the world-system position variable as well as the warfare variables were coded, the number of cases ranging from *n*=36 to *n*=51. All correlations were non-significant, contrary to the expected relation between world-system position and warfare patterns (see Table 1).

Table 1. Correlation between world-system position (*wsp*) and warfare variables (internal warfare: *iwr*, *iwn*; external warfare: *ewr*; external warfare being attacked: *ewb*; external warfare attacking: *ewa*)⁷

	<i>iwr</i>	<i>ewr</i>	<i>iwn</i>	<i>ewa</i>	<i>ewb</i>	Pearson's <i>r</i>
<i>wsp</i>	.167	.11	.206	.172	.137	<i>p</i>
	.165	.261	.073	.116	.176	<i>n</i>
	36	36	51	50	48	

Even though the results should be regarded as tentative, since the coding of the world-system position is, according to the authors, preliminary⁸, they are supported by evidence from case studies. I give an example: The Chagga of East Africa (living in the area of Mt. Kilimanjaro) and neighboring Hehe were both involved in the caravan trade leading from the Swahili coast to the interior. This was their link with wider economic networks and based on it they would probably both be placed within one zone

⁶ The Standard Cross-Cultural Sample (abbreviated SCCS) is a selection of 186 preindustrial societies representative "of the world's known and well described cultures" (Murdock and White 1969: 329) and is widely used in cross-cultural theory testing.

⁷ "n" indicates variables published in a study by Nammour (1975), following Otterbein. "r" variables coded by Ross (1983).

⁸ The codes were published in the electronic journal *World Cultures* (issue 5 #2) but recently withdrawn. In an article by one of its authors (White 1990, this volume) it is stated that: "Although different features of warfare may vary with world-system zones, the actual frequencies of external or internal conflict are not expected to covary with position of world-systems, as well as in societies outside world-system networks". This supports my findings.