

HRAF IN THE 21ST CENTURY BLUEPRINT FOR THE FUTURE AFTER 50 YEARS

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Human Relations Area Files, Inc.
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MISSION

The mission of the Human Relations Area Files, Inc. (HRAF) is to encourage and facilitate worldwide comparative studies of human behavior, society, and culture.

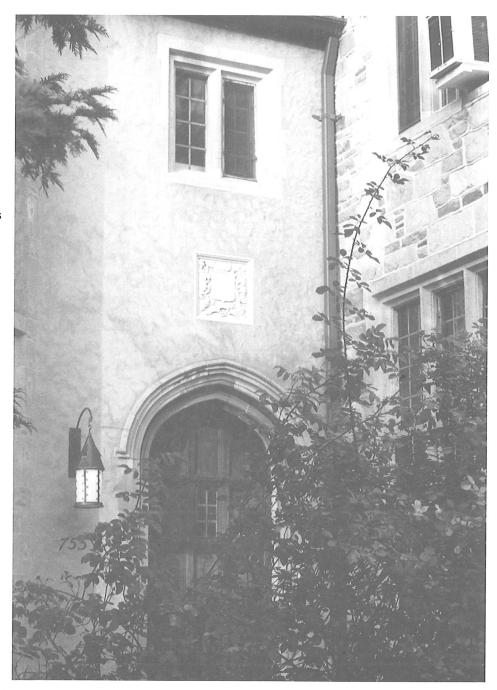
HRAF is an international not-forprofit membership organization: the members are universities, colleges, libraries, museums, and research institutes in the United States and other countries. The dues from member institutions support the production of the HRAF collections. These annually expanding collections - eHRAF Archaeology and eHRAF Ethnography contain indexed full-text information on the cultures of the world, past and present. Access to the collections is via the World Wide Web. HRAF also initiates, organizes, and prepares encyclopedias in collaboration with commercial publishers, and manages and edits Cross-Cultural Research: The Journal of Comparative Social Science.

HRAF was founded at Yale University in 1949 and has been a financially autonomous research agency of Yale ever since. The HRAF headquarters building is located about a mile from the center of the Yale campus. It is a replica of a Tudor Manor House, built as a private residence in 1920. HRAF has owned the building since 1964.

OVERVIEW OF HRAF:

ACCOMPLISHMENTS AND GOALS

This overview describes a half-century of HRAF accomplishment and a blueprint for the future. Among other things, the overview describes the history and uniqueness of HRAF, its programs and related topics, and specific goals for expanding the mission of HRAF as facilitator of worldwide cross-cultural research and teaching.



HISTORY AND

UNIQUENESS OF HRAF

HRAF has been a unique resource for cross-cultural research and teaching for more than 50 years. On February 26, 1949, delegates from Harvard University, the University of Pennsylvania, the University of Oklahoma, the University of Washington, and Yale University met in New Haven, Connecticut to pledge their membership in

HRAF's building at 755 Prospect Street in New Haven

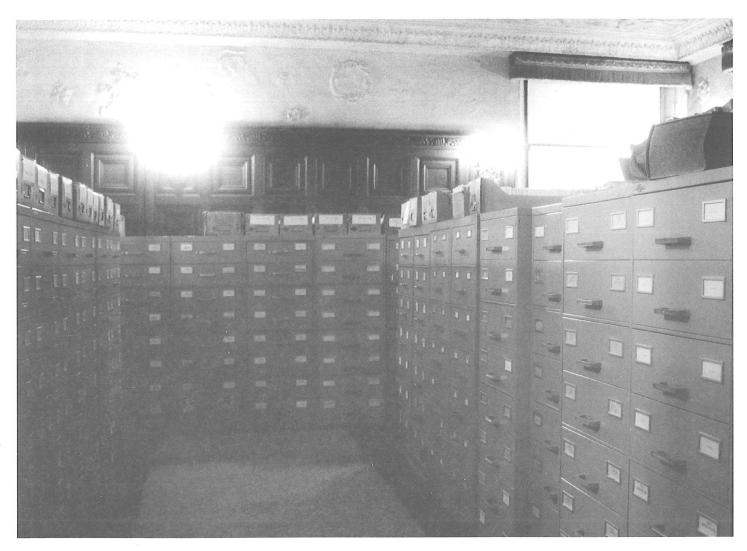
To foster comparative research on humans in all their variety

a new nonprofit research consortium to be based at Yale. The plan was "to develop and distribute files of organized information related to human societies and cultures." This information was to be organized in two ways, by culture and by subject. Each culture covered in the collection would have its own culture file, and a unique classification of subject topics would be used to index the documents on each culture down to the paragraph level. All of the passages relevant to a particular topic would be filed in the appropriate subject categories, which would make it easy for users of the files to search and retrieve particular kinds of data for cross-cultural studies.

The new inter-university corporation would be called the Human Relations Area Files, Inc. (HRAF). The name came from a building next to the Yale Medical School called the Institute of Human Relations, which had sponsored HRAF's precursor, the Cross-Cultural Survey, as part of an effort to develop an integrated science of human behavior and culture. By distributing organized information for worldwide cross-cultural tests of hypotheses, HRAF would be a key part of that effort. The idea was to foster comparative research on humans in all their variety so that explanations of human behavior could escape being culture bound. An explanation that fits one society may not fit others. Thus, HRAF was founded to help researchers find out what is likely to be true for all human societies. On May 7, 1949, there was a meeting in New Haven that formally established the HRAF consortium. Participating were representatives from three additional universities - the University of Chicago, the University of North Carolina, and the University of Southern California - and the representatives from the original five universities. So, a half-century ago, HRAF was born as a financially autonomous research agency of Yale University.

The original sponsor of the Cross-Cultural Survey, the Institute of Human Relations at Yale, is now defunct, but HRAF continues to thrive. HRAF is now an international research organization, with 19 voting or Sponsoring Member institutions and more than 160 active Associate Member institutions in the U.S. and 14 other countries. The full-text electronic collections provided by HRAF are accessible on the World Wide Web. Until the early 1960s, the member institutions received their annual installments of ethnographic information on 5 by 8 inch slips of paper. From then until 1994, most members received their installments on microfiche, with at first 20 and later up to 200 pages on a fiche. Since 1994, the annual releases of the HRAF Collection of Ethnography have been distributed in electronic format, on CD-ROM at first and then on the Web. In 1999, the first release of the HRAF Collection of Archaeology was mounted on the Web. Thousands of pages are added each year to the collections on the Web. As of 2000, about 40,000 pages are being added annually to the ethnography collection, and about 10,000-15,000 pages are being added to the archaeology collection. In the past, when the ethnography collection was distributed on paper and microfiche, only about 20,000 pages were added each year. The annual dues for a member institution receiving the ethnography collection are no higher now (taking inflation into account) than the annual dues for a member institution in pre-electronic days, but the annual release now includes twice the number of pages.





The electronic format makes for speedy retrieval of information, especially as compared with traditional library research methods. If a scholar wishes to compare or measure things about a number of cultures, it is not necessary to devote weeks to building bibliographies for each of the sample cases. One does not have to find the relevant books and articles and dissertations, which might have to be obtained by interlibrary loan. It is not necessary to search through every page of a source (that may not have an index) to find all of the passages with relevant information. If a researcher's institution belongs to the HRAF consortium, he or she can quickly access the information of interest.

The relevant paragraphs come up on the desktop – in the office, at home, wherever the researcher accesses the institution's computer system. The context of the information retrieved is never lost; one can always read backward and forward through the full text to get the complete context of the search hits. Cultural information has never before been so accessible.

The task of finding particular kinds of information is not just facilitated by electronic access. It is also enhanced by the unique indexing system that HRAF has developed and refined over the last 50 years. HRAF's indexing system (the Outline of Cultural Materials or OCM) helps identify information on more than 700

Above: HRAF's original paper files. Below: a release on CD-ROM.



graphic or archaeological document. Its efficiency derives from how it deals with the recurrent problem of varying vocabularies. This is a problem because a particular subject may or may not be identified by the same words in different sources, and even if there is an index (when the source is a monograph) there may not be an entry for a required kind of information. Articles and dissertations, of course, do not usually have indexes at all. Thus, a particular kind of information may not be easy to find just by looking through a document or its index (if it has one), because different documents may refer to what you are looking for in different ways, using different words or under different headings. HRAF's indexing system solves this problem. The OCM categories provide a standard vocabulary for finding any kind of information in seconds. The OCM index categories lead the researcher to the relevant passages even if differing authors used different words and headings. For example, if a researcher is interested in assessing the degree to which vari-

particular topics, covering virtually all sub-

jects that might be described in an ethno-

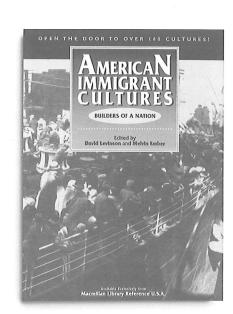
For example, if a researcher is interested in assessing the degree to which various cultures depend on stored foods, he or she would discover that there is an index category called "Preservation and Storage of Food" (OCM 251). A search of the information in that category will reveal all of the paragraphs that describe dried, smoked, pickled, refrigerated, frozen, canned, and irradiated foods, and whatever other ways people store or preserve food. The analysts at HRAF, who have read through and indexed every page of every text that goes into the HRAF files, have made it possible to find all the relevant information without having to know the particular words

(including untranslated native words) the authors may have used.

The HRAF collections allow an infinite number of comparisons. The OCM indexing system is so useful because it accommodates nearly every conceivable topic. It is also highly flexible. It allows users to decide themselves exactly how to deal with the information retrieved. For example, if the user wants to measure a variable, the user decides exactly how to do so.

HRAF membership is growing. More institutions apply for membership each year. Perhaps this is because the world is becoming a "global village," and people want to learn how to deal with cultural diversity and the uncertainties of an increasingly global economics and politics. There seems also to be a growing awareness that social science risks being parochial if it is not cross-cultural. Culture really does make a difference. People in different times and places behave differently because they have different repertoires of customary ideas and practices. The question is why. Cultural variation cannot be ignored if the social sciences want to understand why people behave and think as they do, which may be why textbooks in psychology, sociology, political science, and international relations, as well as in anthropology, are discussing cross-cultural research with increasing frequency.

The usefulness of social science—the possibility of social engineering or applying knowledge to solve social problems—depends on the validity of social science findings and theories. If a finding or theory is not true under some circumstances, we would be foolhardy to think of applying it to real world situations and problems. So if we want to maximize the usefulness of social



science—if we want to apply findings and theories in ways that are likely to solve social problems wherever they may be encountered—we need to test our ideas against worldwide cross-cultural data. A theory that seems to fit a particular region or even a sample of nations may not fit human societies generally. There is no way to tell without worldwide cross-cultural testing. This is why HRAF was invented in the first place, to enable scientists to test their ideas about humans on worldwide data.

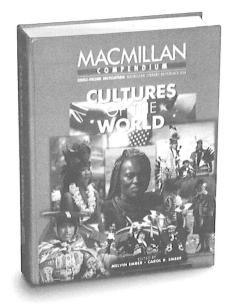
Cross-cultural research is of course not the only way social scientists test theory. They test their ideas in a variety of other ways too - by experiments, single and comparative field studies, historical analysis, cross-historical and cross-national studies, and computer simulations. But of all the research strategies for testing social science theory, worldwide cross-cultural research is the strategy that most ensures the generalizability of results. To be sure, not all theories can be tested on data from the ethnographic and archaeological records. If some cultural belief or practice is not widely described, we cannot use available information to measure it. But if we want to maximize the generalizability of results, and therefore the likelihood of effective application, we need to try to see if our theories survive worldwide cross-cultural tests.

In addition to its greater generalizability, cross-cultural research has another advantage that should not be ignored. Compared with other kinds of research in social science, cross-cultural research using ethnographic or archaeological data is likely to be more cost-effective, because the data required for hypothesis tests probably already exist.

MAJOR PROGRAMS

AND PUBLICATIONS

HRAF now provides information in three different forms for cross-cultural research and teaching. First, there are the electronic collections (archaeological and ethnographic), indexed sets of full-text information for comparative studies of the world's cultures, past and present. The first release of the new HRAF Collection of Archaeology (eHRAF Archaeology) and the 47th installment of the HRAF Collection of Ethnography (the 5th release of eHRAF Ethnography) appeared in 1999. HRAF also produces the Bibliography of Native North Americans (an electronic bibliographic database released twice a year by SilverPlatter Information, Inc.). The second way HRAF encourages cross-cultural research and teaching is to initiate and organize the preparation of encyclopedias for various educational domains, from colleges and universities to public libraries and secondary schools. The encyclopedias already published include the award-winning 10volume Encyclopedia of World Cultures (G. K. Hall/Macmillan; also available on CD-ROM and in a 1-volume abridgement), the 4-volume Encyclopedia of Cultural Anthropology (Holt), and the 2-volume American Immigrant Cultures (Macmillan). Currently in preparation are the 9-volume Encyclopedia of Prehistory (to be published by Plenum), the 4-volume *Encyclopedia of* National Cultures (to be published by Macmillan), and the 4-volume Encyclopedia of Urban Cultures (to be published by Grolier). The third way HRAF provides information for research and teaching is to sponsor and edit the peer-reviewed Cross-Cultural Research: The Journal of Comparative Social Science (published by Sage). The





Bannister in the HRAF building

official journal of the Society for Cross-Cultural Research, Cross-Cultural Research is now truly interdisciplinary, attracting contributions and readers from many of the social sciences, not just cultural anthropology. The contributors are often now researchers in other countries, so the interdisciplinary audience is increasingly international as well, not unlike the membership of HRAF. Encouragingly, in spite of the pressure on library budgets around the world, more and more of the subscribers to the journal are libraries.

The 6th release of eHRAF Ethnography (early in the year 2000) completes the updating and conversion of the 60-culture Probability Sample Files (PSF) that were constructed in the 1970s and 1980s. Researchers can use the PSF to test hypotheses on a fairly large and unbiased sample of the world's cultures. Because the PSF sample includes only one randomly selected culture from each of 60 cultural regions around the world, correlations in the PSF sample are likely to be valid. This is because the sample cases are independent; no two derive from a recent common ancestor. Each year from 2000 on, eHRAF Ethnography will grow by adding other randomly selected cases (as well as additional contemporary ethnic groups in the U.S. and elsewhere). The selected cases will be drawn by simple random sampling from a new sampling frame for the world that HRAF is constructing with advice from experts in world ethnography. The new sampling frame will eventually include national cultures as well as immigrant cultures all over the world. A program for accelerating the building of files on national and immigrant cultures could be initiated if HRAF succeeds in acquiring

special external funding (see below).

With release 2 of eHRAF Archaeology, researchers and students have electronic access to information on 20 randomly selected major traditions in the archaeological record, and many more sub-traditions and important sites. The archaeology collection now provides enough cases to conduct statistically significant studies of cultural variation and evolution in the archaeological record. Doing comparative archaeology is much more feasible than ever before. This is likely to produce a significant jump in the rate of comparative research and an increasing understanding of how and why cultures have evolved. That understanding will be anchored in the realities of change in the archaeological record, as eHRAF Archaeology increasingly covers complete archaeological sequences. Release 3 (due in 2001) will begin the coverage of full sequences with the inclusion of sources on pre- and postclassic Maya (classical Maya is already included). The more than 300 traditions identified in the *Encyclopedia of Prehistory* (to be published in the year 2000) constitute the sampling frame for randomly selecting the cases covered in eHRAF Archaeology. Thus, the releases of the archaeology collection, singly and together, provide an unbiased sample of the archaeological record, comparable to eHRAF Ethnography providing an unbiased sample of the ethnographic record.

The electronic HRAF collections are not yet large enough (in numbers of cases covered) for complex and definitive multivariate studies that can compare, combine, and model all rival explanations. This is because data are often missing in the ethnographic and archaeological records.

Thus, a given study will often need more cases than are now available in eHRAF to measure and evaluate all of the possible predictors simultaneously. This is why HRAF continues to expand the two collections, and emphasizes the need to seek external funding to double the growth rate of the HRAF collections. More about this need below, where there is discussion of the ways a new interdisciplinary Institute of Human Relations could accelerate the development of a more integrated and more universally validated social science.

Temporal sequences are required to validate causal theories. A cross-cultural study using ethnography may be able to discover predictors, but it cannot by itself confirm the temporal sequence assumed in a causal theory. Of course, one could try to measure ethnographic cases for two different points in time. Measuring each case twice may be increasingly possible as the ethnographic record grows and includes more and more cultures that have been re-studied. But for many questions about cultural evolution, the ethnographic (or ethnohistorical) record is unlikely to provide the necessary time-series data. This dilemma particularly applies to the classical questions about human cultural evolution. How can we test answers to questions about the emergence of agriculture, the rise of social inequality, and the origins of cities and states?

There is a way out of this dilemma through the use of eHRAF Archaeology. Cross-cultural (comparative ethnographic) studies can provide archaeological indicators of cultural and other (e.g., physical and social environmental) features. With such indicators, we can test many causal ideas about the major events in cultural evolution by using the time-series data in

the archaeological record. The data in eHRAF Archaeology will allow researchers to determine whether evolutionary patterns in one region are repeated in others, and to determine whether the presumed causal factors in one region are important, and antecedent, in other world regions too. Comparative ethnography can tell us about what predicts cultural variation in recent times; comparative archaeology can tell us about cultural dynamics in prehistory. In addition, only archaeology can tell us about most past societies, because most have not left written records. Where there are only material remains the archaeologist serves as historian.

In addition to the programs described above, HRAF has also published monographs and other materials, including various editions of three guides to cross-cultural and cross-archaeological research – the *Outline of Cultural Materials* (the indexing system for both HRAF collections), the Outline of World Cultures (the sampling frame for the ethnography collection), and the Outline of Archaeological Traditions (the sampling frame for the archaeology collection). The publications backlist includes 27 bibliographic monographs, 36 cross-cultural research monographs, 32 publications in a series on ethnocentrism around the world, 51 ethnographic monographs on societies in Africa, Asia, the Caribbean, Europe, the Middle East, North America, Oceania, and South America, 11 monographs on language and literature around the world, 5 miscellaneous publications, 7 pamphlets and manuals, 19 data sets for cross-cultural and time-allocation studies, and 10 titles in the Yale University Publications in Anthropology series.

Facilitating
research
on the classical
questions about
cultural evolution
and variation

The emerging directions in cross-cultural inquiry emphasize the central role that HRAF will play in future research and teaching.

FUNDING IN THE PAST

In the early years of HRAF, membership dues were insufficient to cover the expenditures required to build the HRAF Collection of Ethnography. Accordingly, funds were sought, and received, from the Carnegie Corporation, the Ford Foundation, the Rubicon Foundation, and from the National Institutes of Health, the National Science Foundation, and other government agencies.

In the last decade or so, HRAF collection-building has been supported mainly by membership dues and encyclopedia royalties. Sales of books from the publications backlist provide some additional income. (HRAF no longer publishes books or other materials unless they directly relate to using the HRAF collections.)

Over the years, various research projects (not involving collection-building) were also supported by external funding, particularly from the National Science Foundation and the National Institute of Mental Health. Since 1987, HRAF has received seven grants from government agencies to support research and related activities. The National Science Foundation supported a conference to assess the past and future of cross-cultural research. The NSF supported computerization of the HRAF bibliography on Native North Americans. With two other separate grants, the NSF supported six years of Summer Institutes in Comparative Anthropological Research. The Department of the Interior supported a large comparative study of Native American culture change in Alaska. The NSF and the U.S. Institute of Peace supported a crosscultural study of the relationship between democracy and peace.

GOALS FOR THE FUTURE

More and more types of investigators - not just cultural anthropologists and archaeologists - are using HRAF in doing worldwide comparative studies. Psychologists, political scientists, sociologists, health care professionals, and evolutionary biologists use HRAF to test hypotheses against worldwide data to see how universal their explanations may be. Researchers are using HRAF to test hypotheses about many new kinds of human variables - not just the standard cultural observables such as where couples typically live after they marry or how people get their food. The new kinds of variables include the psychological (as inferred from projective materials such as folklore), the biological (as measured using information that can be found in ethnographic and archaeological reports), and the purely archaeological (using ethnographic data that have archaeological correlates). Thus, we can expect that investigators in and outside of anthropology will increasingly be using the ethnographic and archaeological records, and the HRAF collections to access those records, for systematic worldwide tests pertaining to a wide range of human characteristics.

HRAF's mission has always been to encourage and facilitate worldwide crosscultural research and teaching. The emerging directions in cross-cultural inquiry emphasize the central role that HRAF will play in future cross-cultural research and teaching. However, the organization's ability to play this role is dependent on adequate levels of funding. Current and projected regular income will not be sufficient to enable HRAF to fulfill its research potential. Accordingly, HRAF seeks external support to assist it in meeting the goals that follow.

A New Interdisciplinary Institute of Human Relations. With modern statistical methods and available computer software, it is possible to model and choose between alternative universal explanations, and researchers can combine them when test results call for combination. Assisted by the technology of computerized databases (particularly the eHRAF databases), researchers can make worldwide tests relatively quickly and inexpensively. In the world of research and practice there is still a need to become more aware of the possibility as well as desirability of validating social science theory on the basis of worldwide empirical tests. HRAF is in an excellent position to help develop a more integrated, more general social science through the establishment of a new interdisciplinary Institute of Human Relations that would visibly and influentially encourage the cross-cultural testing of social science theory. While external resources are required for the development of the Institute, its four proposed parts could be separately funded.

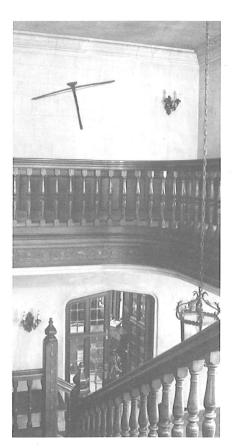
Part 1: As already noted, the ubiquity of missing data in the ethnographic and archaeological records means that it would be enormously useful to scholarship to accelerate the rate of adding cases to the HRAF collections on the Web. Current HRAF revenues will not allow acceleration of the existing production schedule. However, technology and procedures already in place would allow HRAF in five years to double the size of the sample in each collection with support from an outside funding or granting source. It is reasonable to expect that income from membership dues in the future would allow HRAF to maintain the doubled production rate without further external funding following five years of

external support. We note that some cultures and traditions that have been randomly selected for inclusion in eHRAF Ethnography and eHRAF Archaeology may not have much of a literature on them. When there has been recent fieldwork or other research on such cases, HRAF is ready to commission original monographs to provide the missing data (for more information on such commissions, see below).

Part 2: HRAF is prepared to offer new Summer Institutes to train people to conduct systematic cross-cultural research. In six previous Summer Institutes (supported by the National Science Foundation in 1991-1993 and 1996-1998), HRAF trained 72 people, mostly from anthropology. Now there is a need to train others, in psychology, political science, sociology, economics, international relations, and evolutionary biology, as well as in cultural anthropology and archaeology. In past experience with the Summer Institutes, we learned that it is possible to train a young faculty person to do a publishable study in less than three weeks. The Institutes teach various methods of research and how to use the HRAF · files. Mainly they teach how to transform qualitative ethnographic (and archaeological) data into at least ordinal measures (of all kinds of variables, not just cultural), and how to use the modern methods of multivariate analysis to compare, combine, and model rival explanations. The art of measurement, even with qualitative data, is not hard to teach. HRAF instructors know how to do it quickly.

Part 3: HRAF seeks to build a cumulative electronic database containing the results from all statistical worldwide studies of human behavior. The database would cover all of the traditional social science dis-

A new interdiscipinary institute to encourage the cross-cultural testing of social science theory



Central staircase in the HRAF building

ciplines as well as evolutionary biology, so that researchers could easily discover which theories have been tested cross-culturally, which have been validated, and which have not. This database would be posted on the HRAF Web site and updated on a regular basis. Clearly addressing needs not currently met, this product would enhance research as well as save innumerable hours of literature searching and data compilation for future generations of scholars.

Part 4: HRAF seeks to stimulate new research, not just cross-cultural, by assembling small groups of prominent researchers from different disciplines to brainstorm for a few days each year about research needed on particular important questions in key areas. Their mission would be to evaluate what is known or strongly suspected cross-culturally or cross-nationally, what results need to be replicated cross-culturally and by other kinds of systematic research, what is contradictory or competitive in the available results, how researchers might study the unknown, etc. At minimal cost, these annual seminars would stimulate various kinds of new research, not exclusively cross-cultural in nature. Such research, by the participants, their students, and others, could significantly increase the rate of building and testing general theory in social science. The revised papers that come out of these brainstorming seminars would be posted on the HRAF Web site and published in a more regular fashion (e.g., in Cross-Cultural Research), providing guidance to researchers in all of the disciplines concerned with explaining human behavior. Experience with the HRAF Summer Institutes indicates that small groups of people with similar or overlapping interests and

strong motivation to do research can produce a lasting and heady atmosphere for creative solutions to empirical questions.

There are many important questions that could be addressed by the seminars and the studies that come out of them. The following paragraphs provide a brief discussion of these. Research designed to answer these questions would likely have important implications for domestic and foreign policy. All of the variables involved in these questions have been measured from ethnographic and archaeological data, and could also be measured using crossnational and historical data. Both the president and executive director of HRAF have published cross-cultural studies on most of these questions, and they know many of the social scientists (political scientists, sociologists, psychologists, archaeologists) who have worked on these and related issues. Now is the time to get these individuals involved in seminars to organize an international research agenda that would advance the development of a more general social science.

The cross-cultural or ethnographic record shows that more female participation in the political arena is related to lower frequencies of war, and more warmth and affection in child rearing. Would the crossnational record show parallel results? Do more equal economic opportunities for women and other disadvantaged groups, and more achievements by them, produce more democracy (more political participation)? Or is the causality reversed: Does more democracy provide the means whereby disadvantaged groups can become more equally advantaged? With recent social and cultural change in many societies, we may soon be able to tell whether

more equality generally makes for more democracy, or the reverse.

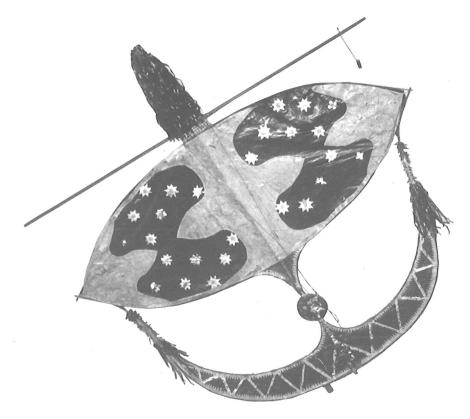
War in the ethnographic record is strongly predicted by a history of expected but unpredictable resource scarcity. This and other results suggest that people go to war to take resources from enemies ahead of time, to cushion the impact of expected but unpredictable scarcity. Does this theory apply to the modern world? Do nations with more of a history of expected but unpredictable resource scarcity (of oil, etc.) go to war more frequently? If this theory is supported by future cross-national and cross-historical research, the policy implication would be clear: Internationally assured relief in case of disastrous shortfalls, which would reduce the fear of expected but unpredictable scarcity, could reduce the likelihood of war.

In the ethnographic record, close-tohome internal war is very common. That is, warfare often occurs between villages or districts within the same society or language group. This pattern of warfare is correlated with various social features including kinship groups oriented around men, women marrying in from past or future enemy villages, antagonism toward women, and exclusion of women from combat and politics. Internal war occurs also in the cross-national record. Although it is relatively rare in economically developed nation-states, it is far from absent in less developed state societies, judging by Rwanda, post-Soviet Georgia, and Afghanistan in recent years. The question is: Does the cross-national record show correlates of internal war that parallel the correlates in the ethnographic record? For example, is the proportion of women in parliaments higher in countries with a history of less internal war? If yes, the implications for domestic and foreign policy would be profound.

In the ethnographic record, socialization practices that encourage aggression by young boys strongly predict higher frequencies of homicide and assault, even when other predictors are controlled statistically. Socialization of aggression seems to be a consequence, not a cause, of frequent war. Societies that encourage young boys to be aggressive are also likely to have relatively absent fathers. We need to find out if the cross-national record exhibits similar relationships.

Cross-culturally, the risks associated with how people make a living predict the values emphasized in child rearing. For example, crop failure in agrarian societies could jeopardize the food supply for months. Such societies emphasize responsibility in their child rearing presumably because to depart from traditional ("tried and true") practice is too risky. Planting too early, where there is the possibility of a late frost, can jeopardize the food supply for the year. In contrast, hunter-gatherers emphasize independence in their child rearing perhaps because failure in hunting on one or a few days will not jeopardize the food supply for long. Studies in some industrial societies suggest parallel results: The occupational requirements of parents, or the jobs parents anticipate their children will have, predict what the parents encourage in their children. Working class parents, who expect their children to have working class jobs, seem to emphasize compliance in their child rearing. Middle class parents, who expect their children to have more freedom of choice and more mobility in the job market, seem to emphasize indepen-

Socialization
practices
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aggression
by young boys
strongly predict
higher frequencies
of homicide
and assault



dence in their child rearing. However, the relatively few industrial societies that have been studied were not selected randomly. Would more random cross-national studies replicate the findings? And how can we explain why parents' values can change even if their occupations do not?

Cross-culturally, there is another predictor of higher war frequencies besides a history of unpredictable disasters that curtail resources. This other predictor is socialization for mistrust (e.g., telling children to avoid neighbors). Is this also a predictor of more war in the cross-national record? If so, the implications for foreign policy, NATO, and the United Nations would be important. If the other side is mistrustful, how do you get them to the negotiating table?

Then there are other questions that are classical questions in many of the social sciences. Many of these questions have not yet seen quantitative worldwide tests of alternative hypotheses. For example, what explains

the origins of the state? Why did multilocal polities with centralized coercive authority develop independently in the Old and New Worlds? Several theories are available, but none has yet been tested statistically, using comparative information about the earliest states. Here is a great opportunity for comparative archaeology. Which of the various theories predict the rise of the state, controlling on all the supposedly causal factors?

Another classical question concerns the preconditions of democracy (defined in terms of degree of political participation). What are the general preconditions of democracy in the ethnographic record? In nations? Could we make diachronic tests, measuring possible causes for earlier points in time than we measure political participation? Will a high degree of agreeing to disagree, which predicts more democracy cross-culturally, also predict more democracy cross-nationally and cross-historically?

Does social inequality in the sense of socioeconomic classes antedate the state, as some theorists would have it? Or is social inequality possibly a consequence of state development, as other theorists say? Are there stages in the development of inequality (first in prestige or rank, then in class)? Cross-cultural and cross-archaeological studies could tell us.

HRAF-sponsored seminars could attack these and other issues and would not be very expensive to support. The payoffs would be considerable and socially useful. The future could see the maturation of a practical social science, successfully applying findings and theories that have been validated by worldwide cross-cultural tests. With the assistance of significant external support, HRAF is positioned to help accelerate the development of a more general,

and hence more explanatory and useful, social science.

A New HRAF Database for the Study of National and Immigrant Cultures. Cultural anthropology as a discipline got started when people began to realize, with imperialism and colonialism, that the ways of life of people around the world varied enormously. In the beginning of the 20th century, there were still many cultures that depended on hunting and gathering. Villages in many places were hardly linked to their neighbors, much less to state-type polities. The world's cultural diversity was greater and more fragmented than it is today. Then the world was transformed into a multiplicity of nation-states, multicultural (multiethnic) polities that formed as little or larger empires. The "melting pot" and nationalism became dominant themes in the discourse of social science. But recently, even as we see Europe moving increasingly toward unification and the UN growing as an international force, we also see violent ethnic rivalries and attempts to secede in many places. Although these trends may only be temporary, people in many places seem to be turning away from central government and toward identification with smaller political units. The modern world is also a very mobile world. People all over the world are moving to other places, for jobs as well as to escape from persecution. Immigrants tend to move to places where others of their background are already living, and ethnicity becomes an asset.

The HRAF Collection of Ethnography primarily reflects what anthropology has traditionally studied – noncommercial and peasant societies subject to the influence of

expanding state societies. Now it is time to build a separate database of cultural information that focuses on the modern world, which mostly includes national and immigrant cultures, to facilitate comparative studies of these modern entities. (Cultural information on such cultures is not normally included in existing political science or sociology databases.) As a first step in this direction, HRAF has initiated and organized two encyclopedias, one devoted to national cultures around the world (in preparation) and the other on immigrant cultures in North America (already published). These encyclopedias, along with HRAF's 10-volume Encyclopedia of World Cultures, have provided HRAF with a huge worldwide network of social scientists who are ready to advise us on which groups and documents should be included in a special database on national and immigrant cultures. HRAF is prepared to build this new database immediately. But external funding is needed, just as when HRAF was originally founded to produce and distribute the Collection of Ethnography.

Links to Other Kinds of Electronic Data.

Social scientists regularly ask HRAF to make it possible for users of the HRAF databases to link to other forms of electronic information. The most frequently mentioned kinds of information are statistical measures already developed by crosscultural researchers and environmental/geographic information in GIS format. It would be extraordinarily useful for comparative archaeologists to be able to download geographic information on the sites they are comparing. Is it true that the earliest state societies were often located in areas that could not sustain rainfall-dependent

A new
HRAF database
for the study
of national
and immigrant
cultures

The world needs a Culture Conservancy

agriculture? Is the rise of social inequality tied to the management of water resources or other features of the physical environment? It is also easy to imagine the value in being able to link cultural (ethnographic) information to health and disease conditions that are described in other databases. The World Wide Web has revolutionized the opportunities available to scholarship. Clearly this is an opportunity which HRAF should seize, but to do so HRAF requires external funding support.

Commissioning Monographs in Ethnography and Archaeology. Academic and scholarly publishing is depressed by profit considerations. Publishers (including university presses) are unable to publish purely descriptive works that might sell only a few hundred copies to research libraries and a handful of specialists. It is difficult, if not impossible, for ethnographers and archaeologists to find publishers willing to publish the purely descriptive results of their fieldwork. Much of this work is relegated to the researcher's file drawer and never gets to be seen by interested researchers. This situation should not be allowed to continue. The waste of time and grant money is unconscionable. The world needs a Culture Conservancy. HRAF is ready to answer this need by commissioning and collecting ethnographic and archaeological monographs that would otherwise not be published or otherwise made available to interested researchers. With the advice of our network of experts on particular regions, HRAF could discover who has worked where recently, who has already written a descriptive monograph on their fieldwork, and who could be asked to write one. HRAF would then commission monographs for inclusion in the HRAF collections, and the resulting data in them would not be lost forever. The funding requirements for this project are minimal compared to the resulting benefits. These commissioned monographs would be added to the eHRAF collections.

Computerizing Data Bequeathed to HRAF. In the last few years HRAF has received three bequests of unique data sets. HRAF is enthusiastic about making these data sets available to interested researchers by converting them to electronic format and distributing them at cost. One set includes the behavior observations and other data resulting from the famous Six Cultures Project, the coordinated study of socialization in six cultures (organized by John Whiting, now deceased, William Lambert, and Irvin Child) that was funded by the Social Science Research Council and the Ford Foundation. Many important publications have made use of this data set, and many more researchers would use it if it were widely accessible. Carol Ember, the executive director of HRAF, did her doctoral work at Harvard with John and Beatrice Whiting, and was asked by them in 1997 if HRAF would agree to archive the data set and possibly distribute it in electronic format. HRAF agreed and now seeks external funding to convert the data to electronic format. The original (and now fragile) pages of data could be converted to images that could be classified electronically, allowing users to search, retrieve, and compare information. The same could be done with the data from the comparative field study of various cultures in Kenya, which the Whitings also organized (with funding from the Carnegie Corporation). The Whitings have given HRAF the Kenya

data set too. Finally, the late Gordon Hewes (of the University of Colorado) bequeathed his data set on conditions of life around the world in the 7th century A.D. This data set is available on-site at HRAF to interested researchers, and could also be converted to electronic format, contingent again on external funding.

Reducing the Cost of HRAF Membership. Most worldwide cross-cultural researchers use the HRAF collections because doing so is an exceptionally cost-effective way of retrieving information on a representative sample of the world. However, there is an impediment to the maximum use of HRAF, which is the current cost to institutions of joining the HRAF consortium. Many institutions, particularly outside the U.S., but also including many smaller colleges in the U.S., have told HRAF that they would join the consortium if the annual dues were lower. If HRAF could reduce the dues significantly, more members could join. This would generate more worldwide cross-cultural research and more validated theory that could be applied to solve social problems wherever they appear. Institutions in the poorer countries, where the need for applied social science is the greatest, would be particularly advantaged if it were possible to reduce the cost of HRAF membership. One way to do this would be to attract funds to build an endowment that would generate significant income, which in turn would allow HRAF to reduce the dues to associate member institutions by a commensurate amount. An endowment for HRAF would enable it to extend its mission to those institutions and countries that cannot now afford to pay for membership in the HRAF consortium.

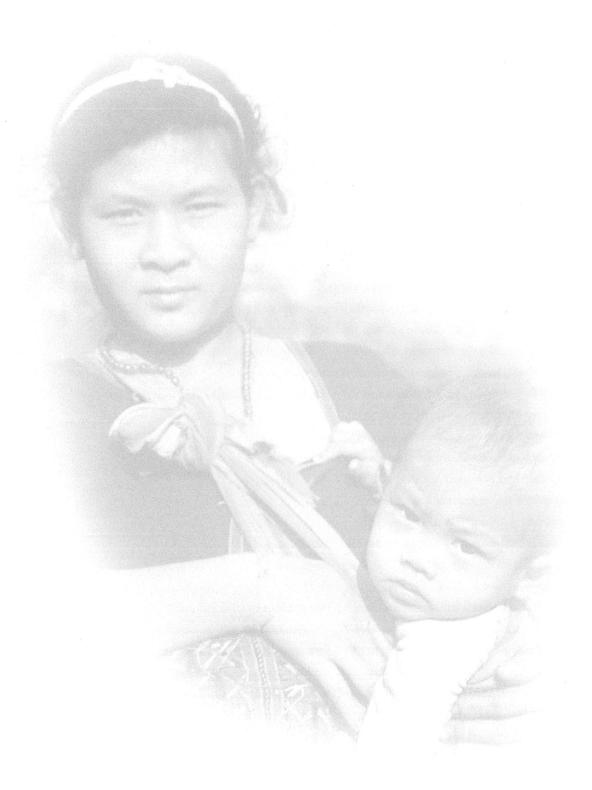


OPPORTUNITIES

FOR SUPPORTING HRAF

HRAF is committed to its mission of encouraging and facilitating worldwide comparative studies of human behavior, society, and culture. HRAF is not content to rest on its significant past accomplishments. Rather it actively seeks to extend the boundaries and to redefine the possibilities of cross-cultural and comparative scholarship. The preceding statement of HRAF's ambitious goals for the future define a clear direction for HRAF in the 21st century. It is equally clear, however, that HRAF cannot achieve these goals on its own, given its relatively inelastic income growth. This document makes clear what HRAF is and does, and how it seeks to proceed in the future. In seeking external funding from foundations and individuals, as well as government agencies, HRAF is ready to provide detailed cost estimates and any other information that may be required to help achieve its goals.

William Graham Sumner's original files of cross-cultural information.



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The institutions that are active members of the HRAF consortium are listed alphabetically in two groups: Members for eHRAF Archaeology and Members for eHRAF Ethnography. In addition, but not listed here, more than 200 institutions around the world have subscribed to all or some of the Cross-Cultural Database, an early electronic HRAF product distributed by SilverPlatter Information, Inc. that contains selected information from the microfiche HRAF Collection of Ethnography (10 topics on 60 cultures).

MEMBERS FOR EHRAF ARCHAEOLOGY

Arizona State University DePauw University Harvard University

Loyola Marymount University

National Museum of Ethnology, Japan

Pennsylvania State University

University of California – Los Angeles

University of Colorado

University of Florida – Gainesville

University of Georgia

University of Pennsylvania

University of Southern California

Washington State University

MEMBERS FOR EHRAF ETHNOGRAPHY

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Asbury Theological Seminary

Assemblies of God Theological Seminary

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Hawaii Campus

Brooklyn College, CUNY

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California State University - Pomona

California State University - Sacramento

California State University –

San Luis Obispo

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Claremont Colleges

Colgate University

College de France

College of Charleston

College of DuPage

Colorado College

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Cornell University

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Dartmouth College

DePauw University

Drew University

East Carolina University

Eastern Kentucky University

Emory University

Ethnologisches Seminar, Bibliothek

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Franklin Pierce College

Georgia State University

Graduate School and University Center,

CUNY

Grinnell College

Hartwick College

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Helsinki University

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Illinois State University

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University of Nevada - Reno

University of New Brunswick

University of New Hampshire

University of New Mexico

University of North Carolina

Chapel Hill

University of North Texas

University of Notre Dame

University of Oregon

University of Pennsylvania

University of Pittsburgh

University of Queensland

University of Regina

University of South Carolina

University of South Dakota

University of South Florida

University of Southern California

University of Tennessee

University of Toronto

University of Utah

University of Vermont

University of Victoria

University of Virginia

University of Washington

University of Waterloo

University of Wisconsin - Green Bay

University of Wisconsin - Madison

University of Wisconsin - Milwaukee

University of Wyoming

Uppsala University

Valdosta State University

Virginia Commonwealth University

Vrije University

Wake Forest University

Waseda University

Washington State University

Western Carolina University

Western Michigan University

Yale University

York College, CUNY

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HRAF is grateful to the following individuals for their past financial support.

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FINANCIAL STATEMENTS

HRAF STATEMENTS OF FINANCIAL POSITION

| | June 30 | |
|--|-----------|-----------|
| | 1999 | 1998 |
| | | |
| ASSETS | | |
| Current Assets | \$107,734 | \$193,148 |
| Investment | 47,076 | 42,661 |
| File and Publication Development | 231,938 | 175,015 |
| Property and Equipment net | 129,109 | 171,057 |
| | | |
| TOTAL ASSETS | \$515,857 | \$581,881 |
| | | |
| LIABILITIES AND DEFICIENCY IN ASSETS | | |
| Current Liabilities including deferred revenues of | | |
| \$453,713 and \$456,965, respectively | \$648,724 | \$747,863 |
| Long-Term Debt net of current portion | 355,808 | 245,244 |
| | | |
| Deficiency in Asset unrestricted | (488,675) | (411,226) |
| | | |
| TOTAL LIABILITIES AND DEFICIENCY IN ASSETS | \$515,857 | \$581,881 |

NOTE: HRAF's building, included in Property, was last appraised at \$750,000, and, adjusting the above statement for same, would result in Net Assets of \$180,725 at June 30, 1999

HRAF STATEMENTS OF ACTIVITIES

| | Years ended June 30 | |
|--|---------------------|------------|
| | 1999 | 1998 |
| REVENUE AND OTHER SUPPORT | | |
| Members' Dues | \$724,392 | \$626,087 |
| Royalties and Publications | 153,101 | 259,723 |
| Government (NSF) Grant | 49,488 | 40,852 |
| Other | 7,879 | 5,667 |
| TOTAL REVENUE AND OTHER SUPPORT | 934,860 | 932,329 |
| EXPENSES excluding depreciation and amortization | | |
| Program Services | 756,526 | 613,953 |
| Management and General | 204,886 | 297,847 |
| TOTAL EXPENSES | 961,412 | 911,800 |
| EXCESS (DEFICIENCY) OF REVENUES OVER EXPENSES | | |
| before depreciation and amortization | (26,552) | 20,528 |
| DEPRECIATION AND AMORTIZATION | 50,897 | 88,972 |
| INCREASE IN DEFICIENCY IN ASSETS | \$(77,440) | \$(68,444) |

MAKING A BEQUEST OR GIFT TO HRAF

HRAF seeks support from foundations and individuals to assure its long-term ability to encourage and facilitate cross-cultural research and teaching. The total amount necessary to achieve all of HRAF's goals is approximately \$8-10 million, but smaller amounts to help fund one or more of the programs described in this document will be gratefully received.

Bequests and gifts to HRAF, or to support the achievement of a particular goal, may involve specific liquid assets or property or a specified share of your residuary estate. All gifts should be made with the assistance of an attorney. The officers of HRAF suggest the following language for

making either a specific or a residuary gift to the Human Relations Area Files:

"I give ______ [specific amount or residuary share] to the Human Relations Area Files, Incorporated, having its principal offices at 755 Prospect Street, New Haven, Connecticut 06511, for its general purposes [or for some specific plan(s)]."

For more information about contributions and our financial needs, please contact Melvin Ember, president, at (203) 764-9401 (email: Melvin.Ember@Yale.edu). All inquiries will be confidential and will receive the highest priority.