NATURE AND USE OF THE HRAF FILES

A Research and Teaching Guide

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A RESEARCH AND TEACHING GUIDE

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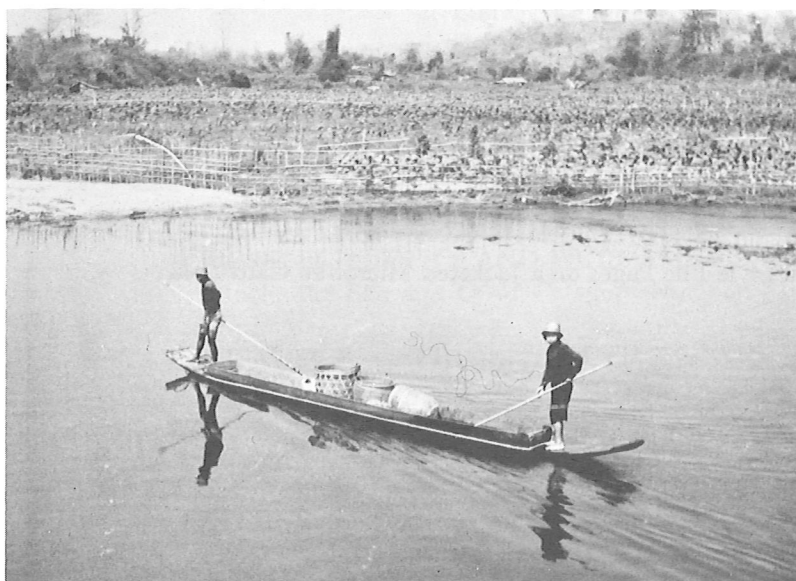
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PREFACE

The HRAF Files were developed by the Human Relations Area Files, Incorporated (HRAF), a nonprofit research organization sponsored and controlled by twenty-four major universities. Approximately two hundred and twenty-five educational and research institutions throughout the world presently participate in HRAF's programs.

For some twenty-five years, HRAF has served the educational community and contributed to an understanding of man and his ways of life, by organizing and making available primary research materials and study aids relevant to the human sciences and by stimulating and facilitating training and research in these fields.

In all, HRAF currently has three interrelated File programs. The basic File program consists of the *HRAF Paper Files*. Source materials are reproduced on standardized 5" x 8" paper slips called File pages, which are then filed by culture and subject. There are now Paper Files on approximately 300 cultures. Each of HRAF's sponsoring institutions has a complete set of the Paper Files.

Wider distribution of the HRAF Files was made possible by the development in 1958 of the *HRAF—Microfiles,* which are produced in a 3" x 5" microfilm card format. Materials from the Paper Files are processed into the HRAF—Microfiles at a rate of approximately 100,000 File pages per year, and are issued in annual series to participating institutions. HRAF's aim is for the HRAF—Microfiles eventually to contain most of the material in the Paper Files.

The *HRRF Collection* is the newest File Program. It consists of a special selection of sixty Files from the basic Paper Files, reproduced on 3" x 5" microfiche cards. The Collection was developed primarily as a curriculum support program for culture, area, and general social science studies at the two-year college level, but subscribing membership is also available to a broader range of qualified institutions. Since a study guide to the HRRF Collection has already been published (cf. Lagacé 1973), this Collection will not be discussed further in the present guide.

INTRODUCTION

The growing concern of students, scholars, and the general public with understanding man and his problems has created a demand for educational and research programs emphasizing the worldwide, comparative study of human behavior, culture, and society. The development of cross-cultural and area studies requires, however, large quantities of readily available, organized cultural data. Conventional sources of such data are widely scattered, often inaccessible, and very expensive to assemble and utilize effectively. The HRAF Files are especially designed to overcome these problems in meeting modern cultural data requirements.

The HRAF Files are a collection of primary source materials (mainly published books and articles, but including some unpublished manuscripts) on selected cultures or societies representing all major areas of the world. The materials are organized and filed by a unique method designed for the rapid and accurate retrieval of specific data on given cultures and topics, and are produced in formats which enable convenient handling and compact storage. The collection brings the necessary cultural data to the teacher and student and presents the data in a form which significantly increases the usefulness of the original source materials.

Utilizing the HRAF Files is a relatively straightforward process. Mechanics of use and research techniques are similar in many respects to standard library practices. Once the basic system is understood, it should be possible for a researcher to use the Files as readily as he uses his school or college library. One of the main purposes of this guide is to develop such an understanding. Mastery of the more complex aspects of the system is not essential to an effective utilization of the HRAF materials. This mastery may be developed gradually as the researcher acquires experience in the Files.

The other main purpose of the guide is to illustrate, by means of case examples, some of the principal uses for which the HRAF Files are particularly suitable. However, the guide itself can be no more than suggestive of the range of possible uses. Anyone who is interested in man's behavior,

customs, and social institutions—whether in anthropology, sociology, geography, politics, psychology, or in fields as widely diverse as literature, home economics, art or agricultural development—may find relevant data in the Files.

Anyone intending to use the HRAF Files for serious study or research should become thoroughly familiar with Parts IV and V of this guide, and should also scan Part VI. However, if a researcher wishes first to obtain some idea of what use the Collection may be to him, he can start with Part II, where suggested applications of the Files are discussed in detail, and Appendix A, which contains a listing of additional topics and problems which may be studied in the Files. The category numbers mentioned in Part II and Appendix A refer to the code numbers of the subject categories into which the material in the Files is classified. Finally, the teacher concerned with the question of how to utilize the Files for a course or classroom may wish to look first at Part III, where patterns of individual and group study are explored, along with other teaching applications.

It is recommended that for students with little social science training or experience, Parts IV and V of this guide be studied in the classroom under the guidance of a teacher. Advanced social science students should be capable of dealing with the information on their own.

In any event, Part I should be read carefully before turning to other parts of the guide.

PART I. THE NATURE OF THE HRAF FILES: AN OVERVIEW

The organization of the HRAF Files is described in detail in Part V of this guide, but a brief synopsis of several key points may be helpful as background to Parts II, III, and IV.

The Collection is organized first of all into separate Cultural Files, each of which contains descriptive information on one culture or on a closely related group of cultures. Each Cultural File coordinates with a cultural unit listed in a manual entitled *Outline of World Cultures (OWC)* (Murdock 1972). The *OWC* contains an inventory and classification of the known cultures of the world, with each distinct culture or group of cultures listed as a separate cultural unit and designated by a name and a unique letter/number code called the *OWC* code.

(It should be noted that a unit in the Files or an entry in the *OWC* is referred to as a "culture" or "cultural unit" regardless of whether it is actually a geographical region, a national state, an ethnic group, and so forth. For further explanation of the usage of these terms see section V.A.1., on p. 25.)

Within each Cultural File there are a number of sources (i.e. books, articles, and manuscripts), some of them original translations from foreign languages, which have been selected by culture or area experts on the basis of extensive bibliographic research.

The HRAF Files are more than just a collection of texts, however. Essentially, the Files provide a major data retrieval system, which has been developed to facilitate study, teaching, and research in the social-behavioral sciences, in world area studies, and in the humanities. The source materials in each File are organized according to a comprehensive subject classification system which is presented in a manual entitled *Outline of Cultural Materials (OCM)* (Murdock et al. 1971). The *OCM* consists of over 700 distinct subject categories, with each category briefly defined and designated by a unique number code. Thus each File contains both a complete, page-order, text copy of every source included in that File, plus a series of numbered category divisions within which all pages dealing with a particular subject are brought together.

A list of the cultures in the HRAF Files, arranged by major world areas, is given in Table 1, on pp. 2-3.

PART II. STUDY AND RESEARCH APPLICATIONS OF THE HRAF FILES

This section explores the range of study and research possibilities offered by the HRAF Files. Potential uses fall into four major types: cross-cultural studies, studies of specific cultures or areas, teaching and training in research, and the preparation of lectures. Each of these types will be discussed and illustrated with specific case examples. It should be emphasized, however, that the actual potentials of the Files are almost limitless, depending upon the ingenuity and imagination of the researcher.

A. Studies of Specific Cultures or Areas

Typically, studies of a particular culture or a world area have tended to be descriptive and content oriented. This is a useful and valid approach, but it is also possible to approach the study of a culture or world area with theoretical questions or problems in mind, perhaps similar to those reviewed in section B, below. A theoretical orientation has the great advantage of making the cultural data more meaningful and interesting to study.

1. **The Study of a Particular Culture.** *It must be emphasized at the outset that the following discussion is not intended for the expert on a given culture. If there is a File on a culture in which he is a specialist, it should prove useful to him in many ways, but his research will undoubtedly encompass a much broader range of materials than can be incorporated in the File.*

There are innumerable reasons why a researcher may wish to study particular cultures. We can only indicate here some especially interesting aspects of a few cultures in the HRAF Files, in order to stimulate further thinking about this approach. But it may also be noted that it would normally be impossible for the average student to study many of these cultures in depth without the Files, because the sources were

TABLE 1. List of HRAF Files by Major World Areas[1]

OWC Code[2]	Name of Cultural Unit	OWC Code[2]	Name of Cultural Unit	OWC Code[2]	Name of Cultural Unit
	ASIA		EUROPE		MIDDLE EAST
*AA1	Korea (60)	E1	Europe	M1	Middle East (68)
AB6	Ainu	E16	Slavic Peoples	MA1	Iran (58)
AC7	Okinawa	EA1	Poland (69)	*MA11	Kurd (67)
AD1	Formosa	EB1	Czechoslovkia (69)	MB1	Turkey (68)
AD4	Formosan Aborigines	EC1	Hungary	MD1	Syria
*AD5	Taiwan Hokkien	ED1	Rumania	MD4	Rwala (64)
AE3	Sino-Tibetan Border	EE1	Bulgaria	ME1	Lebanon
AE4	Lolo	EF1	Yugoslavia (73)	MG1	Jordan (69)
AE5	Miao (70)	*EF6	Serbs (64)	MH1	Iraq
AE9	Mongour (65)	EG1	Albania (72)	MI1	Kuwait
AF1	China	EH1	Greece (67)	MJ1	Saudi Arabia (64)
AF12	North China (68)	EH14	Sarakatsani	MJ4	Bedouin (73)
AF13	Northwest China	EI9	Imperial Romans	MK2	Maritime Arabs
AF14	Central China	EK1	Austria	MK4	Trucial Oman
AF15	East China	EO1	Finland	ML1	Yemen
AF16	Southwest China (67)	*EP4	Lapps (66)	MM1	Aden
AF17	South China (69)	ER6	Rural Irish (61)	MM2	Hadhramaut (59)
AG1	Manchuria	*ES10	Highland Scots	*MO4	Somali (68)
AH1	Mongolia	EZ6	Malta (69)	*MP5	Amhara (61)
AH6	Inner Mongolia			MR13	Fellahin (66)
AH7	Outer Mongolia		AFRICA	MR14	Siwans (62)
AI1	Sinkiang (64)			*MS12	Hausa (63)
AJ1	Tibet (67)	F1	Africa	*MS14	Kanuri
AJ4	West Tibetans (73)	FA8	Bambara (64)	MS25	Tuareg (62)
AK5	Lepcha (59)	*FA16	Dogon	*MS30	Wolof (66)
AL1	Southeast Asia (70)	FA28	Mossi (61)	MS37	Senegal (66)
AM1	Indochina (71)	FC7	Mende (61)	*MT9	Libyan Bedouin
AM4	Cambodia (71)	FE11	Tallensi (59)	*MW11	Shluh
AM8	Laos (71)	*FE12	Twi (60)	MX3	Rif
AM11	Vietnam (71)	FF38	Katab (70)	MZ2	Bahrain (70)
AN1	Malaya (65)	FF52	Nupe (64)		
AN5	Malays (65)	*FF57	Tiv (59)		NORTH AMERICA
AN7	Semang (65)	FF62	Yoruba (72)		
AO1	Thailand (60)	FH9	Fang (61)	NA6	Aleut (58)
*AO7	Central Thai	FJ22	Nuer (61)	*NA12	Tlingit (60)
AP1	Burma (62)	FJ23	Shilluk (66)	*ND8	Copper Eskimo (63)
AP4	Burmese (62)	*FK7	Ganda (65)	ND12	Nahane (61)
AP6	Kachin	FL6	Dorobo	NE6	Bellacoola (66)
AP7	Karen	FL10	Kikuyu (65)	NE11	Nootka (63)
*AR5	Garo	FL11	Luo (68)	*NF6	Blackfoot
*AR7	Khasi (61)	*FL12	Masai (67)	*NG6	Ojibwa (58) (63)
AU1	Afghanistan (59)	FN4	Chagga (61)	NH6	Montagnais
AV1	Kashmir (68)	FN17	Ngonde (66)	NJ5	Micmac (67)
AV3	Dard	*FO4	Pygmies	NL7	Historical Massachusetts
AV4	Kashmiri (68)	*FO7	Azande (60)	NM7	Delaware (66)
AV7	Burusho (64)	FO32	Mongo (64)	*NM9	Iroquois (64)
AW1	India (70)	FO42	Rundi (63)	NN11	Creek (61)
AW2	Bihar	FP13	Mbundu (69)	NO6	Comanche
AW5	Coorg	*FQ5	Bemba (59)	NP12	Winnebago (73)
AW6	East Panjab (68)	FQ6	Ila (62)	NQ10	Crow (58)
AW7	Gujarati (69)	*FQ9	Lozi	NQ12	Dhegiha (70)
AW11	Kerala (72)	FR5	Ngoni (70)	NQ13	Gros Ventre (68)
AW17	Telugu	FT6	Thonga (68)	NQ17	Mandan (60)
AW19	Uttar Pradesh	FT7	Yao (64)	*NQ18	Pawnee (62)
AW25	Bhil (60)	FX10	Bushmen (64)	NR4	Plateau Indians
AW32	Gond (62)	FX13	Hottentot (59)	*NR10	Klamath
AW37	Kol (66)	FX14	Lovedu (63)	NR13	Northern Paiute
*AW42	Santal (72)	FY8	Tanala (68)	NR19	Southeast Salish
AW60	Toda (58)			NS18	Pomo (61)
*AX4	Sinhalese			NS22	Tubatulabal
AX5	Vedda (66)			NS29	Yokuts (61)
*AZ2	Andamans (59)			NS31	Yurok (59)

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TABLE 1. List of HRAF Files by Major World Areas[1]

OWC Code[2]	Name of Cultural Unit	OWC Code[2]	Name of Cultural Unit	OWC Code[2]	Name of Cultural Unit
NT8	Eastern Apache (72)			SP22	Tapirape (62)
*NT9	Hopi		RUSSIA	SP23	Trumai
NT13	Navaho (73)			SQ13	Mundurucu (65)
NT14	Plateau Yumans (62)	R1	Soviet Union	*SQ18	Yanoama
NT15	River Yumans	RB1	Baltic Countries	*SQ19	Tucano
NT18	Tewa (64)	RB5	Lithuanians	SQ20	Tucuna
NT20	Washo	RC1	Belorussia	*SR8	Bush Negroes (72)
NT23	Zuni (66)	RD1	Ukraine (69)	SR9	Carib (68)
NU7	Aztec (59)	RF1	Great Russia	SS16	Pemon
NU28	Papago (62)	RG4	Estonians	SS18	Warao
NU31	Seri	RH1	Caucasia	SS19	Yaruro
*NU33	Tarahumara (61)	RI1	Georgia	ST13	Callinago (60)
NU34	Tarasco (67)	RI3	Abkhaz	SU1	Puerto Rico (73)
NU37	Tepoztlan (70)	RL1	Turkestan	SV3	Haiti (73)
*NV9	Tzeltal	RL4	Turkic Peoples	SY1	Jamaica
NV10	Yucatec Maya (69)	RQ2	Kazak		
		RR1	Siberia		
	OCEANIA	RU4	Samoyed		
		*RV2	Yakut		
OA1	Philippines (63)	RX2	Gilyak (72)		
OA5	Apayao (63)	*RY2	Chukchee (61)		
OA14	Central Bisayan (63)	RY3	Kamchadal		
*OA19	Ifugao (63)	RY4	Koryak		
OB1	Indonesia (64)				
*OC6	Iban (59)		SOUTH AMERICA		
OF5	Alor (63)				
OF7	Bali (67)	SA15	Mosquito (61)		
OF9	Flores	SA19	Talamanca (65)		
OG6	Makassar (69)	*SB5	Cuna (68)		
*OG11	Toradja	*SC7	Cagaba (72)		
OH4	Ambon	SC13	Goajiro (62)		
*OI8	Aranda (58)	SC15	Paez		
OI17	Murngin (62)	SD6	Cayapa (64)		
OI19	Tasmanians (63)	SD9	Jivaro (58)		
OI20	Tiwi (66)	SE13	Inca (67)		
OJ13	Kwoma	*SF5	Aymara (59)		
OJ23	Orokaiva (62)	SF10	Chiriguano (73)		
OJ27	Wogeo (61)	SF21	Siriono		
*OJ29	Kapauku (72)	SF24	Uru (68)		
*OL6	Trobriands (58)	SG4	Araucanians (59)		
OM6	Manus (65)	*SH4	Ona		
OM10	New Ireland (68)	SH5	Tehuelche (63)		
ON6	Buka (59)	SH6	Yahgan (62)		
ON13	Santa Cruz	SI4	Abipon (62)		
OO12	Malekula (62)	*SI7	Mataco (69)		
*OQ6	Lau (60)	SK6	Choroti (68)		
OR11	Marshalls (62)	SK7	Guana		
*OR19	Truk (72)	SM3	Caingang (64)		
OR21	Woleai (58)	*SM4	Guarani		
OR22	Yap (67)	SO8	Timbira		
*OT11	Tikopia (63)	SO9	Tupinamba (58)		
OU8	Samoa (63)	*SO11	Bahia Brazilians		
OX6	Marquesas (61)	SP7	Bacairi (70)		
OY2	Easter Islanders	*SP8	Bororo		
OZ4	Maori (66)	SP9	Caraja (69)		
OZ11	Pukapuka (61)	SP17	Nambicuara (61)		

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1 The eight major world areas are those delineated in the *Outline of World Cultures.*

2 These are the alphanumeric code designations for the respective cultural units as listed in the *Outline of World Cultures.*

3 Files also included in the *HRAF-Microfiles Collection* as of 1973 are indicated by the annual series number in parentheses following the name of the cultural unit.

4 Underlining of the cultural unit name indicates a File made up substantially of old style File pages.

5 When an asterisk (*) appears before the *OWC* code, it indicates that this cultural unit is included in the sixty HRAF Probability Sample Files. (See p. 7 for further discussion of this matter.)

written in several different foreign languages. A good example of this point is the SC7 Cagaba File, which includes six translations from three different languages—French, Spanish, and German.

The Cagaba File offers an excellent case study for the researcher who wishes to explore the functioning of a theocratic culture—i.e. a culture which is dominated by a priestly class. Furthermore, a researcher interested in psychological problems will find in this File a fascinating analysis of the focal conflicts in Cagaba culture, which are related to food, sex, and associated patterns of aggression.

Another File containing a good deal of data of psychological as well as cultural interest is that on the Yanoama (SQ18). Yanoama culture is characterized by an extraordinary degree of internal hostility and aggression, which raises many interesting questions about the factors responsible for these conditions and the way they may have influenced other aspects of culture.

For researchers with a political science interest, the Ashanti (FE12) provide a striking case study of a traditional African state which was evidently created and maintained by war, and which was marked by a strong military ideology.

The researcher who is interested in comparative or traditional law and case studies of dispute settlement will find excellent data on these matters in the Tiv File (FF57), the Lozi File (FQ9), the Ifugao File (OA19), and the Kapauku File (OJ29).

Any of the Files within the Middle East area would be useful for a study, perhaps in a comparative religion course, of how a major world religion, Islam, has been adapted within a particular culture, and how it has influenced that culture.

Finally, the Bemba File (FQ5) contains one of the best available studies on the food patterns and nutrition of a non-Western culture. Students in home economics, public health, rural development, and related fields may find this File to be of particular interest.

Perhaps these examples will suffice to motivate the researcher to explore the Files further on his own, in order to discover other cultures and topics of special interest to him.

2. **The Study of a World Area.** Interest in area studies has now spread throughout the educational system. The HRAF Files contain a sufficient number of cultures to constitute a good basis for area-oriented courses and research on most of the major world areas. (See the listing of cultures by areas in Table 1). Also, it is interesting to compare the results of studying a given topic or hypothesis on an area basis in contrast to studying this same topic or hypothesis on the basis of a worldwide sample of cultures or on the basis of cultures classified within a particular culture type. By doing so, the researcher may develop a clearer idea of the distinctive nature and organization of cultures in different world areas.

B. Cross-Cultural Studies

Here again it should be clearly understood that the discussion in section B is not directed at specialists in cross-cultural research. This is simply an introduction to cross-cultural approaches intended for the non-specialist, whether student or scholar. HRAF does plan to publish before long a detailed manual addressed to the cross-cultural specialist.

The study of particular topics or problems across cultures is greatly facilitated by use of the Files. This is especially true for students and teachers who are not familiar with the vast amount of ethnographic literature that is available today. Even for the professional anthropologist, the Files make it possible to carry out a research project which otherwise might be prohibitively time-consuming and costly. A good example of this point, based on research in the HRAF Paper Files, is a study of "Family stability in non-European cultures," which was published by Professor George Peter Murdock. He states that his paper "was undertaken as a specific test of the efficiency of the Human Relations Area Files as an aid in comparative [i.e. cross-cultural] research." It must be acknowledged that Professor Murdock was intimately familiar with the Files when he did this research, but the results are still most impressive:

> From the initial planning of the article, through the assembly of the material from the Files and its analysis, to the completion of the writing and typing of the paper, the total elapsed time was only twenty-nine hours—as compared with at least as many days consumed in the preparation of earlier comparable studies conducted by the ordinary laborious processes of library research [Murdock 1965: 311].

This quotation should *not* be understood as implying that a student's research project must take anything

like twenty-nine hours. The point is that a student may be able to gather the necessary data for his problem in several hours from the Files, whereas by using traditional library methods and resources it would probably take several days to gather a comparable body of data.

Three basic types of cross-cultural studies will be presented here. Since only a limited number of examples can be discussed, an extensive list of suggested research problems suitable for student assignments has been compiled in Appendix A. In addition, the researcher is urged to scan one or two cross-cultural bibliographies, such as those by O'Leary (1969 and 1971), in order to get a further idea of the great diversity of topics and problems that may be studied through a cross-cultural approach.

1. **The Study of Specific Topics.** Any aspect or feature of man's culture may constitute an appropriate research topic. The research problems described in section IV.A.3., pp. 16-17, of this guide are all examples of this type of cross-cultural study. The paper by Murdock referred to above also falls within this category and provides a good illustration of a piece of research which pertains equally to the fields of anthropology and sociology:

> Murdock's study focuses on the stability of marriage in forty selected non-European cultures, with his object being to place the family situation in the contemporary United States in cross-cultural perspective. The forty cultures constituted a worldwide sample. His first significant finding was that nearly all cultures make some standardized provision for the termination of marriage through divorce. (The solitary exception in his sample was the Incas.) The major finding was that in twenty-four out of the forty cultures, i.e. in 60 percent of the total, the divorce rate definitely exceeds that of the United States. From this he concludes that "despite the widespread alarm about increasing 'family disorganization' in our society, the comparative evidence makes it clear that we still remain well within the limits which human experience has shown that societies can tolerate with safety" (Murdock 1965: 312-16).

> Although Murdock also covers other factors, a student focusing on the central issue of divorce rates could make a very interesting restudy of this problem by using a different sample of cultures from the Files. It would be a fairly simple research task, since the relevant data should be found almost entirely in a single category in each File, namely category 586 (Termination of Marriage).

A comparable type of problem of psychological interest would be a study of the degree to which the manifestations and control of aggression are culturally determined—in other words: How and to what extent do these aspects of aggression vary in different cultures?

> A fairly small sample of eight cultures from the Files, one from each major world region, would be sufficient for a useful preliminary analysis of this problem. From the standpoint of subject categories, the research would be more complicated than the study of divorce rates, because a number of categories would have to be examined. The index to the *OCM* contains the following entry with category references under the term Aggression: control and repression of, 578; definitions of and sanctions for, 683; expressions of, 201; incidence and quality of, 152; control of in children, 865; training, 865. In addition, substantial information on this subject might be found under such categories as 186 (Ethnocentrism), 266 (Cannibalism), 477 (Competition), 522 (Humor), 526 (Athletic Sports), 586 (Termination of Marriage), 626 (Social Control), 628 (Informal Intergroup Justice), 668 (Political Movements), 691 (Litigation), 721 (Instigation of War), 754 (Sorcery), and 798 (Religious Intolerance). Generally, the student would not be aware at the start of his project that all of these categories might be relevant. Their determination would require a close scanning of the *OCM* and probably consultation with a social science teacher as well. Given this potential range of categories to search, the concept of aggression would have to be clearly and precisely defined for the student to gather only pertinent data.

Another study exemplifying this type of cross-cultural approach is the HRAF "Food Habits Survey" (1964):

> Data were gathered on the food patterns of 383 cultures, with one of the principal objectives being to determine the most commonly eaten staple foods in the developing areas of the world. The research design for this study will not be described here, since it was quite complex and involved the search of numerous *OCM* categories. The point of interest is that the study of food patterns turns out to be linked to nearly

all major aspects of culture, and can provide a very useful focus for a project which would be of relevance to such widely diverse fields as home economics, nutrition, agriculture, botany, animal husbandry, zoology, human geography, anthropology, sociology, and psychology. It would well repay a student to read the summary of this HRAF project that was published by Moore (1970). Among the obvious categories to be searched in the Files are those in divisions 22 through 27, plus such cross-referenced categories as 146 (Nutrition) and 853 (Infant Feeding). The single most important category would generally be 262 (Diet).

Students and scholars in the Fine Arts will also find the Files to be an excellent source of data for many unusual and enlightening projects:

> The number of cultures to be used may vary from few to many, depending on how the problem is phrased. Relevant categories may be located by checking the table of contents of the *OCM*, while additional categories may be determined from the cross-references to those categories or the *OCM* index. In fact, all of the key categories may be found in a single major division, 53 Fine Arts. Art is covered in categories 531 (Decorative Art) and 532 (Representative Art), music in 533 (Music) and 534 (Musical Instruments), the dance in 535 (Dancing), drama in 536 (Drama), while category 537 deals with oratory and 538 with literature. Thus a student of any one of these art forms would usually have only a small number of categories to search in the Files. Even within these categories, the problem can be further narrowed down to a study of the use of color in representative art, for example, or a study of one type of musical instrument.

2. **Testing Hypotheses Cross-Culturally.** An hypothesis is a statement or question concerning the relationship between two or more factors (commonly called *variables*). A simple example would be "X causes Y," in which case "X" is called the *independent* variable and "Y" the *dependent* variable. It is also possible to propose that X and Y are related, in the sense that they influence one another, without specifying which is the cause (i.e. the independent variable) and which the result (i.e. the dependent variable). In the context of the Files, we are concerned with hypotheses dealing with cultural variables or with the relationship between a cultural variable and some noncultural variable, such as an aspect of the physical environment.

For instance, the hypothesis discussed briefly in section IV.A.6., on p. 18 involves two cultural variables, plural marriage (X) and divorce (Y). Similarly, one might propose the hypothesis that cultures located in a cold climate tend to have a higher rate of divorce than cultures located in a warm climate. (The underlying assumption would be that climate in some way affects marital relations.) This hypothesis involves a physical variable, climate (X), and a cultural variable, divorce (Y).

The cross-cultural testing of hypotheses is essential for the development of valid general theory in the social and behavioral sciences, and this is the type of usage for which the HRAF Files were originally developed. Several of the early studies along these lines have become classics in the social science literature—for example Murdock's *Social structure* (1949) and Whiting and Child's *Child training and personality* (1953).

There are various ways of testing hypotheses cross-culturally, but scientifically the most powerful method (and the one used by Murdock, Whiting, and Child) is the statistical comparison of a worldwide sample of cultures—or what is now becoming known as the "hologeistic" method. (For a good, recent survey of hologeistic methodology, see Naroll, Michik, and Naroll 1974.)

One of the few available guides to conducting a hologeistic study is an article by Otterbein (1969). Another useful but quite technical article by Sipes (1972) presents criteria for evaluating the methodological adequacy of such studies. The discussion of data provenience, i.e. the spatio-temporal and social derivation of the data, in item (a) of section IV.A.6. is also directly pertinent. A thorough review of general problems in cross-cultural methodology cannot possibly be undertaken here, but two of these problems warrant at least a brief commentary because of their broad significance—namely, sampling and coding. Both of these problems may be relevant to other types of cross-cultural studies, but they are of crucial importance to the proper testing of hypotheses.

Sampling refers to the selection of cultural units to be included in a study, and it is one of the most basic and controversial problems in cross-cultural research (cf. Naroll 1973a for a comprehensive review of this problem). Among the key issues are: (1) definition of the type of cultural unit to be sampled (2) determination of the number of cultural units to be selected, i.e. the sample size (3) specification of the geographical distribution of the cultural units, i.e. use

of a worldwide sample vs. a regional or other type of sample, and (4) the question of the historical independence of cultural units, commonly called Galton's problem.

These are complex issues, but fortunately the student or nonspecialist using the Files now has available a means of undertaking a good cross-cultural study without becoming deeply entangled in sampling technicalities (although he should certainly be aware of the problem). The means of conducting such a cross-cultural study is through utilization of the HRAF Probability Sample Files, a special selection of sixty Files chosen so as to meet probability sampling requirements. These Files are clearly indicated in Table 1, pp. 2-3, by an asterisk (*) placed before the *OWC* code. (For a description of the methods used in selecting this sixty-culture sample, see *Behavior Science Notes 2* (1967): 70-88.) If a smaller sample size is desired, it would be a fairly simple matter to select randomly thirty or forty cultural Files from the total sixty, although roughly the same proportionate representation of the major world areas should be maintained, if possible.

Two cautions should be noted concerning the use of these Probability Sample Files. First, some Files contain data on several cultural units, only one of which should be used in the sample. For instance, the FE12 Twi File contains data on the Akyem, Ashanti, and Fanti; only the Ashanti should be used as the sample unit. The specific cultural units in the HRAF sample are listed on pp. 84-88 of the reference cited above. The second caution is that one or more of these Files may not be available yet in the particular HRAF Collection being used by a researcher. In such a case, a different File *from the same sampling cluster* may be substituted. Again, these sampling clusters are listed on pp. 84-88 of the reference cited above. If there is no alternative File listed for a cluster, then simply drop that cluster from the sample.

The other methodological problem to be discussed is *coding.* Ember (1973) and LeBar (1973) provide very useful reviews of this problem, the latter with particular reference to the Files. Coding involves essentially the classification of cultural units according to a set of categories which define operationally, measure, or classify a variable being studied. Technically, the categories pertaining to one variable are usually called the values of that variable. Again technically, these categories may take the form of a nominal, ordinal, interval, or ratio scale (cf. Stevens 1946). In simplified terms we can say that the categories may constitute a *typological classification,* such as a

present-absent dichotomy, or a more denotative set of types, such as the residence pattern typology traditionally used in anthropology (i.e. patrilocal, matrilocal, etc.), or the categories may constitute some kind of *scale* or *continuum,* such as percentages, a range of high-medium-low, etc.

Examples of the different types of categories appear in the case studies by Murdock, Roberts et al., Forde, and Mead, which are discussed below. To take just one example, in the study by Forde (cf. p. 9) the main variable is "subsistence economy." He categorizes this variable into a three-fold typology: food gatherers, cultivators, and pastoral nomads. The cultural units in his study are then classified according to this typology.

Obviously, there are many other aspects of coding which cannot be treated here. One additional point should be emphasized, however, since it is becoming standard practice in cross-cultural research. Whenever a researcher codes a variable, he should give specific *page* references for the data used in arriving at a particular code.

Several examples of theoretically oriented cross-cultural studies will be described to demonstrate the challenge and potentials of this approach. Again, Murdock's article on family stability in non-European cultures may serve as a good point of departure:

> It may be recalled that Murdock found that 60 percent of his sample cultures had a higher rate of divorce than the rate in the United States. He did not really attempt, however, to deal with the question of what factors may have been responsible for different rates of divorce in different cultures. Obviously, many variables could be involved. The only way to determine what might be the major causal variables is to develop and test a series of relevant hypotheses. One possible proposition is that the practice of polygyny (plural wives) is in some way related to the rate of divorce. From this proposition one might draw a testable hypothesis as follows: *Cultures with a high incidence of polygyny will tend to have a low rate of divorce.* Once the variables of polygyny and divorce are clearly defined, the researcher must devise some way of measuring and classifying (as high or low, by percentages, etc.) the frequency of polygyny and divorce in the cultures included in his sample. Then the relevant data in the Files may be gathered. This should be a relatively simple procedure, since nearly all of the data would be found in two

subject categories, 586 (Termination of Marriage) and 595 (Polygamy). The researcher must then analyze and code the data and tabulate the results—for example Culture A may be classified as having a high incidence of polygyny and a high rate of divorce, etc. From the completed tabulation, the researcher may determine (usually by means of a statistical measure) whether or not the hypothesis is supported by the data, and then he should interpret what this conclusion means in terms of the underlying theory.

The next case example is taken from an article by Roberts, Arth, and Bush (1959), which was partly based upon the Files. Professor John M. Roberts and his colleagues have conducted a series of original and intriguing studies on the significance of *games* in various cultures:

> In this article they define a game as a "recreational activity characterized by: (1) organized play (2) competition (3) two or more sides (4) criteria for determining the winner, and (5) agreed-upon rules." Games are then classified into three basic types in terms of distinctive patterns of play: (1) physical skill (2) strategy, and (3) chance. The elements of strategy and chance may be involved in games of physical skill (e.g. prize fights or hockey). Games of strategy may also involve chance but not physical skill (e.g. chess or poker), and neither physical skill nor strategy can be involved in games of chance, as in the case of dice games (Roberts et al. 1959: 594).

The general theory is that since games occur so widely in cultures around the world, they must meet some general human needs, although they do so in complex and usually indirect ways. Essentially, it is proposed that games represent (through signs or symbols) and simulate—i.e. are "expressive models" of—other aspects of culture. For example "many games of physical skill simulate combat or hunting, as in boxing and competitive trap shooting" (Roberts et al. 1959: 598-99):

> More specifically, games of strategy which are models of social interaction should be related to the complexity of the social system; games of chance which are models of interaction with the supernatural should be linked with other expressive views of the supernatural; and there is a possibility that games of physical skill may be related to aspects of the nat-

ural environment [Roberts et al. 1959: 599-600].

Only one of the hypotheses used as a test of this theory will be reviewed here. The hypothesis is that since games of strategy simulate social systems, those systems should be complex enough to generate such needs for expression. Simple cultures should not possess games of strategy and should resist borrowing them.

Two measures of social complexity were adopted: level of political integration and level of social stratification. Political integration was divided into high or low, and social stratification into present or absent. Forty-three cultures were found to have sufficient information to classify according to these variables and according to the presence or absence of games of strategy. The results of the study confirmed the hypothesis, as can be seen from the following table (a modification of Table 2 in Roberts et al. 1959: 600). Note that the numbers in the table represent the number of cultures classified into each category.

Table 2. Social Complexity and Games of Strategy

| | | Games of Strategy | |
		Present	Absent
Low Political Integration	Social Stratification Absent	3	13
	Social Stratification Present	2	5
High Political Integration	Social Stratification Absent	2	4
	Social Stratification Present	12	2

In 20 cultures with a high level of political integration, games of strategy were present in 14 and absent in only 6, while in 23 cultures with a low level of political integration, games of strategy were absent in 18 and present in only 5. When a high level of political integration is combined with the presence of social stratification, games of strategy were present in 12 out of 14 cultures; whereas in cultures with a low level of political integration and the absence of social stratification, games of strategy were absent in 13 out of 16 cases.

If a researcher were to do a restudy of this hypothesis using the HRAF Files, the following would be among the key categories to search in

each File: for data on games of strategy, category 524 (Games); for data on level of political integration, categories 622, 63, 631, and 642; for data on the presence or absence of social stratification, categories 563 through 567. Those cultures found to have adequate information on all three variables could then be used in the restudy. But before beginning any of this work, the researcher should read carefully the article by Roberts, Arth, and Bush to be sure he thoroughly understands the underlying theory and the definition of each variable.

A final case example will be discussed briefly. It is too complex to review in detail, but it deserves mention because of its relevance to one of the most vital problems in the modern world—namely the issue of war or peace. This is a study by Professor Raoul Naroll, based on the HRAF Files, which is entitled "Does military deterrence deter?" (Naroll 1966):

> The author states that there are two major rival hypotheses about the relationship between armaments and warfare, the arms race hypothesis and the deterrence hypothesis. The *deterrence* hypothesis holds that to preserve peace one must prepare for war; in other words, that cultures with strong military orientations should have less frequent war. The *arms race* hypothesis holds that preparation for war tends to make war more likely; thus an orientation to war is directly related to the frequency of war. These hypotheses were tested with data from forty-eight cultures. The findings in one respect were clear-cut: "This study gives no support at all to the deterrence theory" (Naroll 1966: 18). The competing hypothesis gave more ambiguous results: "these data offer a kind of mild and tentative support for the arms race hypothesis" (Naroll 1966: 19). Naroll's study provides a wide range of ideas for further research and merits careful reading by any interested student.

3. **The Study of Culture Types.** Rather than studying a specific topic or testing an hypothesis in the manner described above, another approach which the researcher may use with the HRAF Collection is to classify the cultures into broad *culture types,* and then study the similarities and differences among the cultures within the same culture type or different culture types. Also, once a system of culture types is established, any of the topics or hypotheses discussed in the two previous sections can be tested within such

a framework in order to determine the extent to which these phenomena vary by culture types.

Almost any aspect of culture may serve as a basis for the classification of culture types, but if such a classification is to be of value for research purposes, it should be based upon significant cultural factors which have broad implications for other aspects of culture. The three examples discussed below are offered primarily as a guide to the kinds of culture types which may be theoretically useful.
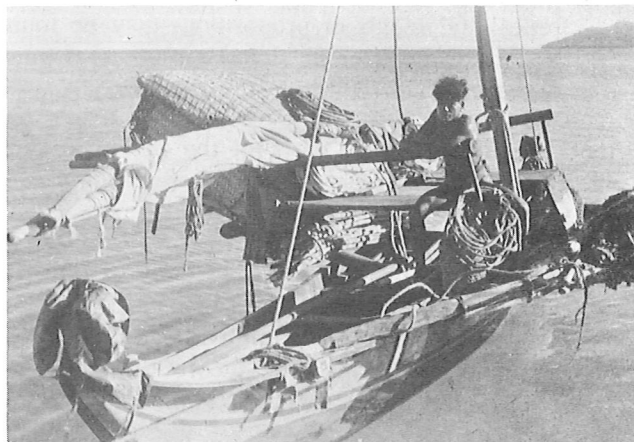
Sailing canoe, Central Carolines, Micronesia

One commonly used basis of classification is the *subsistence economy*:*

> Such a classification may be fairly elaborate, distinguishing relatively fine variations in subsistence patterns, or rather simple, using only gross distinctions. It is recommended that the student start with a simple classification, since the related cultural patterns will be more sharply defined. An example of a relatively simple scheme is that presented in a well-known book by C. Daryll Forde (1950). Forde classifies cultures into three general subsistence types: (1) food gatherers (i.e. hunting, collecting, fishing) (2) cultivators, and (3) pastoral nomads. He then proceeds to analyze a series of cultures within each type, describing the economic patterns and considering their relation to the physical environment, to social organization, and to major factors in the growth of civilization (Forde 1950: vi).

> Each of these subsistence types is represented in the Files, and it should not be difficult for the researcher to classify each culture by type. Per-

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*Subsistence economy refers to a people's means of livelihood, especially their activities, organization, and technology for obtaining food.

haps a good starting point would be to search categories 262 (Diet) and 433 (Production and Supply). Then based on the data in these categories, the pertinent categories in divisions 22 (Food Quest), 23 (Animal Husbandry), or 24 (Agriculture) may be examined. After this classification has been accomplished, specific research problems should be formulated as discussed in the first paragraph of this section. Ideally, these problems should reflect some general theory about the influence of the subsistence economy on the other aspects of culture. Relevant theoretical statements or propositions may be found in Forde's book or in almost any general introductory text in cultural anthropology.

Another frequently used basis for the classification of culture types is the *level of social complexity*:

One of the most widely known schemes is that by Service (1971), who classifies cultures into five levels of social complexity: (1) bands (2) tribes (3) chiefdoms (4) primitive states, and (5) archaic civilizations. The theoretical bases and criteria for this classification are explained in Service's book, on pp. 488-501, and this explanation should be studied before any research along these lines is undertaken. The process of classifying cultures in the Files according to these levels would be somewhat more complex than in the case of subsistence types. Pertinent categories to be searched include 101 (Identification), 619 (Tribe and Nation), 621 (Community Structure), all of the categories in division 63 (Territorial Organization), and category 642 (Constitution). Guidance in the formulation of research problems relevant to this classification may be found in Marsh (1967), Lenski (1970: 118-42), and in many other general sociology or anthropology texts.

A third and rather different kind of classification approach is provided in a book edited by Margaret Mead (1961):

Three major cultural emphases are delineated which pertain both to different aspects of behavior within a culture and to the culture as a whole. Behavioral patterns and cultures are classified along a continuum as being predominantly *cooperative, competitive,* or *individualistic.* Other cultural variables are then related to these differing emphases. This approach offers a most interesting area of research for the more advanced student or the scholar, but specific problems should be carefully formulated before turning to the data in the Files. In order to do this, the researcher must make a close study of the introductory and concluding sections of Mead's book, and perhaps scan one or two of the included cultural descriptions.

This completes the survey of suggested study and research applications of the HRAF Files. These usages should be sufficiently diversified and flexible to meet the needs of most researchers. Many other approaches are possible, however, and researchers are encouraged to experiment with different ways of utilizing the rich body of data in the Files.

Shaping a canoe hull on Truk, Micronesia

This part of the guide shifts to a consideration of the general ways of implementing the previously discussed types of usage, particularly in a classroom context.

A. Training in Research

There are several ways in which the HRAF Files significantly facilitate the training of students in research methods and techniques based upon the use of written materials. First, the necessary cultural data are made readily available, and these data are organized for maximum efficiency of usage. The importance of these points should be stressed, because they are easily overlooked. The development of research skills requires working with cultural data; otherwise discussions of methods and techniques tend to remain too abstract and sterile. But often a teacher is severely limited in the kinds of practice assignments he can give his students, because the school library does not have a sufficient range or depth of cultural descriptions. Furthermore, beginning or general students may find it difficult to deal with technical cultural monographs or articles as such, and may waste a good deal of time trying to locate and select the pertinent data. By using the Files, the pertinent cultures and subjects may be located rapidly, and most of the student's time can be spent working with and analyzing the cultural data that are relevant to his assignment.

Second, the HRAF Collection is ideal for use on a class basis. The same set of instructions can be given to all the students in the class, because they will all be using the same data system. Furthermore, the range of cultures and subject categories that are available allows the teacher a great deal of flexibility in determining appropriate assignments.

Third, because of the way the Files are organized, a disciplined approach is required on the part of the student. If he has been accustomed to approaching a research task haphazardly, without thinking through his problem beforehand, he will soon discover that he cannot use the Files effectively in this manner. Efficient use of the Files requires that a student clarify his basic ideas, define his concepts carefully and lucidly, and formulate a clear-cut, specific research problem.

B. Individual Projects

Probably the most common way in which the HRAF Files have been used since their development has been for individual projects: an individual researcher formulates a problem and then uses the Files as a source of data. Typically, a student may turn to the Files as a source of data for a term paper; either a teacher may have assigned the topic he is studying or he may have developed his own research problem within the context of a particular course. In either case, he is generally on his own insofar as use of the Files is concerned. This may be a perfectly feasible approach for the scholar or an advanced social science student, but it is definitely *not* a recommended approach for the general student.

Until a student has mastered the Files system and has had research experience with the Files, it is strongly recommended that the teacher guide and supervise his work as closely as possible. The degree to which this can be done will vary, of course, with the number of students for whom a teacher is responsible. At a minimum, if the teacher wishes his students to work on individual projects, he should instruct the class as a whole in the nature of and techniques for using the Files, preferably with this guide as a basis.

A more effective method, however, is for the teacher, or the teacher and students working together, to develop a class project built around the use of the Files.

C. Class Projects

There are many different ways of organizing a class project, and the following two examples are offered simply as a basis for further thinking along these lines. The key principle to keep in mind is that instruction in the nature and use of the Files is much more effective if it is done as an intrinsic part of a substantive research project. The student must actually use the Files and work with the subject categories and data toward a particular objective before the system can have real meaning for him. Two corollary but highly rewarding advantages of a class project should be noted: first, the inexperienced student can often participate in working on a more sophisticated and interesting research problem than he could normally do on his own and second, because the students must cooperate in the project, it may generate a more positive and effective learning experience.

1. **Testing an Hypothesis Cross-Culturally.** The first example is of a class project organized around the cross-cultural testing of a relatively simple hypothesis. This project is more complex than one dealing with a specific topic, but there are advantages which more

than compensate for the increased complexity—especially the rigorous data analysis that is required and the necessity for students to rely upon one another's findings.

There is no set sequence for carrying out such a project; the following is presented as one feasible approach, *using for illustrative purposes the study of games described in section II.B.2.* (Also consult Otterbein (1969) on cross-cultural methodology.) It is strongly recommended that section II.B., on pp. 4-10, be read before proceeding further.

(1) The general problem area should be developed in class, based on both the lectures and relevant reading assignments. In this case the students should obtain a broad perspective on the variety of games in human cultures, as well as some theoretical ideas concerning the functions of games in culture and how games may be related to other aspects of culture. These ideas may serve as a basis for formulating a testable hypothesis.

(2) Each student should be assigned certain Cultural Files for which he will be responsible. It is suggested that ideally each student be assigned two cultures, each from a different world area, to help him retain a balanced cultural perspective. But each teacher must determine what is a feasible work load in the context of a specific course.

(3) The organization of the Files may then be explained, based on Part V of this guide, and using copies of the two basic manuals, the *Outline of World Cultures* and the *Outline of Cultural Materials*. In conjunction with this explanation, or immediately following it, the students should actually look at their respective Cultural Files to get acquainted with the physical format.

(4) Next, the general principles and procedures for using the Files may be studied, based on Part IV of this guide.

(5) The first specific assignment in the Files may follow and it is suggested that this consist of each student's gathering data for a detailed identification of his cultures. (The procedure is outlined in section IV.B., "Orientation to Specific Files," but the factors discussed in section IV.A.6., "Considerations of Data Control," should also be applied.)

(6) The students will then be ready to gather data on the specific variables involved in the hypothesis to be tested. It is preferable that the hypothesis as such not be stated until after the data have been gathered and analyzed, so as to avoid biasing these procedures. Only the variables and how to analyze them should be presented to the students at this time.

It may be recalled that the hypothesis to be tested is the statement that since games of strategy simulate social systems, those systems should be complex enough to generate such needs for expression; and simple cultures should not possess games of strategy and should resist borrowing them. The variables used as measures of social complexity are the level of political integration, divided into high and low, and the level of social stratification, divided into present or absent. The games of strategy variable is divided into present or absent.

The next step is to decide which subject categories to search for the pertinent data on these variables. Usually, this information should be provided by the teacher or worked out in class. (In this instance, they have already been listed in section II.B.2.) Then each student must gather the necessary data on his particular cultures. He will need enough data to enable him to code the variables being studied as high or low (i.e. political integration), or present or absent (i.e. social stratification and games of strategy), for each of his cultures. Page references should be given to the data used for each coding.

(7) The findings of the students are then pooled in class, so that every student shares the findings on all of the cultures studied. This can be done in the form of a simple listing of the cultures, together with the codings of the variables by culture. If a culture lacks sufficient information for coding games of strategy, then it must be discarded from the study. If a culture lacks sufficient information for coding both political integration and social stratification, it must also be discarded; but if there is sufficient information on one of these variables, the culture can be used. In that case, however, the relationship between each of these two variables and games of strategy must be analyzed separately.

(8) The final stage is for each student to take the combined findings, do his own analysis, and

draw his conclusions as to the validity of the hypothesis. The key step in analyzing the findings is to develop a frequency table, such as the one shown in Table 2, p. 8. If the hypothesis is valid, the predicted relationship between the variables should have the highest frequencies in the table. The results can be evaluated to some extent by a simple computation of percentages, although a statistical measure such as chi-square* would allow a more meaningful evaluation.

A separate report can then be made by each student, who should also include the data he gathered on the variables in his cultures.

Street vendor, Chiengmai, North Thailand

2. **Cultural Role Playing.** The second example deals with the study of a particular culture and focuses on a quite different kind of approach, namely *cultural role playing*. Among the many different ways of studying a culture, role playing is one of the most interesting methods, and one which happens to be especially suitable for a class project.

Within any culture there are a large number of social roles: kinship roles, such as "father" or "wife;" economic roles, such as "cultivator" or "blacksmith;" political roles, such as "village chief" or "tribute collector;" legal roles, such as "judge" or "mediator;" ritual roles, such as "priest" or "medicine man," and so forth. The same person occupies many different roles, but cultures also differ in the degree to which they merge or differentiate specialized roles. In any event, social roles bracket all aspects of culture, and, in fact, their total inventory and description would encompass a major dimension of any culture. Each role involves not only characteristic patterns of behavior but also patterns of cultural norms, values, beliefs, knowledge, emotional loadings, etc. Social roles, therefore, offer a basic key to the understanding of a culture.

The Files are particularly useful for a class project based on cultural role playing, because the system of subject categories into which each File is organized clearly distinguishes many of these social roles, and the relevant data on any one role are pulled together, often from a rather large number of sources.

A Suggested Method for Implementing a Project on Role Playing

(1) The first project requirement is to select a Cultural File in which the data meet high standards of quantity and quality; such selection is essential if this method is to be applied effectively. Concrete behavioral descriptions or detailed life histories are especially valuable. Among the better Files in terms of these criteria are the following: FE12 Ashanti, FF57 Tiv, MS12 Hausa, NG6 Ojibwa, NT13 Navaho, NT23 Zuni, NU37 Tepoztlan, OA19 Ifugao, OL6 Trobriands, OR19 Truk, and OT11 Tikopia.

(2) Once a particular culture has been selected, the entire class should acquire an overall familiarity with the culture. Reading a good cultural summary, if one is available, may be the best way to accomplish this objective. Otherwise, the students should read the data in the subject categories listed in sections IV.B.1. and 2., on pp. 20-21.

(3) Then, depending upon the number of students, the class may be divided into several teams, with each team concentrating on a particular set of roles related to a significant cultural institution or event. One team could focus, for instance, on a case of dispute settlement— say a case involving a dispute over the control of land. Such a case would probably involve the roles of "judge," "plaintiff," "defendant," and perhaps other personnel. Each member of the team should identify with one of these roles. He must learn as much as possible about this role, so that he can effectively play his part in the simulated case. In addition, each member of

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*A statistical test used to determine the goodness of fit of the actual data to a theoretical distribution.

the team should become thoroughly familiar with the customs relevant to this type of case. Thus à dispute over land control would involve the cultural norms and practices concerning the allocation of land rights, norms and expectations regarding the conditions under which these rights may vary, the degree to which variations in the status or prestige of the participants in the case may influence the interpretation of the rules, and so forth.

(4) When the members of the team have adequately prepared themselves, they may then enact the case in the classroom, playing out the pertinent roles as they perceive would be appropriate to the culture under study.

Additional Suggested Topics

Another team could enact the roles of various family members and other persons involved in arranging a marriage; while a third team might develop a scene involving a ritual curer, the patient he is treating, and interested on-lookers, who could comment on the proceedings.

Cultural role playing requires both a complete absorption into the pertinent social roles of that culture and a comprehensive understanding of the cultural situation in which the roles are activated, if it is to be effective as a teaching device. Do not try to make a team do too much role enactment until the members have become thoroughly familiar with the cultural data.

D. Preparation of Lectures

By utilizing the Files, teachers can prepare lectures on an almost limitless variety of cultural topics in a fraction of the time required by the use of any other method. They can also include a better range of case examples than would normally be used.

Generally, three types of culture samples may be used as the basis for a lecture focusing on a particular topic: (1) a worldwide sample of cultures (2) the cultures classified within a major culture type (as described in section II.B.3., on pp. 9-10), or (3) the cultures within a specific world area. The type of culture sample used would depend upon the nature of the course, while the subject categories to be searched for any given topic would remain the same, regardless of the type of sample. Two examples should be adequate to illustrate these points:

First, suppose one were teaching a course on

traditional African political systems and wished to prepare a lecture on forms of political leadership. The culture sample should consist of a selection from the African cultures included in the Files. (Note, however, that some of these cultures are classified within the Middle East area.) Only a relatively small number of categories would have to be searched in each of the selected Files, since the lecture could be focused on forms of political leadership at the community level (categories 622, 623, and 624), at the sovereign state level (categories 643, 644, 645), or at intermediate levels, such as a district (categories in division 63). If, however, the teacher preferred to take a cross-section of the entire political hierarchy in each selected culture, then only a rather small number of cultures should be used.

For the second example, suppose one were teaching a course on child development and wished to prepare a lecture on some aspects of socialization. Any of the three types of culture samples could be used in this case, each serving somewhat different objectives. The subject matter should be limited to one or two aspects of socialization, if it is to be dealt with effectively within the scope of a single lecture. There are numerous subject categories in the Files relevant to socialization, any one of which might provide sufficient data for an outstanding lecture—e.g. category 861 (Techniques of Inculcation) or category 866 (Independence Training).

Undoubtedly, most teachers will be able to devise many other ways of using the Files effectively in the classroom. The suggestions offered in Part III are intended as a stimulation, not a prescription.

Shop scene, Chiengmai, North Thailand

It may be well to re-emphasize at this point that the Files are primarily a tool for research. They assist the researcher by making available to him, quickly and reliably, items of information from many cultures. The fact that information is presented to the researcher in this fashion in no way lessens his responsibility; it is the researcher who must formulate the problem, decide upon an approach, select and analyze the data, and determine his conclusions. Nevertheless, there are some general guidelines which may facilitate this research process.

A. Studying a Research Problem in the Files

The factors to consider when using the Files for the study of a research problem depend to some extent upon the level of approach. The beginning student should focus mainly on those factors which are necessary to carry out the research task adequately. These factors are discussed in items 1, 2, and 3, below. The more advanced student must also be concerned with methodological factors of greater complexity, such as those covered in items 4, 5, and 6.

1. Formulation of a Research Problem. There are several points which the researcher should keep in mind when phrasing a question or research problem for the Files.

(a) **The problem should require and guide a search for data rather than theory.** The Files constitute an organized collection of data, and they should be used to retrieve data, not theory. It is the researcher who must provide the theory. It is true that some categories in the Files, especially in the 12 (Methodology) division, are designed to contain information on method and theory found in the sources processed. But these sources were chosen principally for the data they present, and the source materials were classified for data content whenever possible, rather than for the theoretical implications of the data. Information found in the methodology categories is best used for data control purposes (see the discussion of this in section A.6., below) or for special studies of research methods and techniques.

(b) **The problem should be clearly stated.** The researcher should define his technical terms or concepts as clearly and precisely as possible and should strictly limit the number of concepts and the range of information encompassed by each concept. By following this rule, specific, unambiguous research questions can be posed, and the basic data to be searched for will be limited and manageable.

(c) **The problem should be phrased in <u>OCM</u> terms.** When searching for data organized in terms of any classification system, it is necessary to phrase, translate, or in some way equate one's terms and concepts with the categories of that classification system. A researcher does this whenever he uses a reference work, such as an almanac or an encyclopedia, or whenever he uses library subject headings to locate a book. The same principle holds for using the Files. Since data within each File are organized according to the categories in the *Outline of Cultural Materials*, these are the categories that the researcher must use in searching for the data.

2. Use of the Subject Classification System (<u>OCM</u>). Specifically how does a researcher go about phrasing his problem in *OCM* terms or, in other words, deciding which categories to use in his data search?

(a) The researcher should first check the *table of contents* and the *index* in the *OCM* to locate categories that may be relevant to his problem.

(b) He should then turn to the appropriate pages in the *OCM* and read carefully the complete definitions of these categories. Neither the category titles in the table of contents nor specific index terms are fully indicative of the total coverage of categories. By reading the full definition of a category, the researcher will see exactly what is meant by that category, and what kind of information it includes.

(c) Since the *OCM* categories are grouped by general topics, the categories adjacent to those determined to be most pertinent to his problem should also be checked, to see if they cover some relevant information.

(d) Finally, the researcher will note that most categories in the *OCM* are cross-referenced to related categories, and these should also be examined.

By following these steps, the researcher should be able to compile a *preliminary* list of categories pertinent to his problem. He should then test the usefulness of this list by actually searching these categories in a few Files for the required data. Since any one

category may cover various kinds of information, it is possible that much of the data included in that category will not bear upon the researcher's specific problem, and he must decide what is relevant and what is not. He should not be led astray by material which does not directly apply. Furthermore, as he works with the categories and data, the researcher will often find that he can limit his search to several key categories which seem to contain most of the information sought, and that the results of searching additional categories may not be worth the time and effort.

3. **Sample Research Problems.** Several sample problems are outlined below, to illustrate the principles and procedure discussed so far.

(a) Questions of Fact or Information Requiring Use of Only One *OWC/OCM* Reference:

"Do the Iroquois (OWC code NM9) have the institution of blood brotherhood?"

This is the simplest kind of question that can be asked of the Files. It is specific and unambiguous, and it requires the use of only one category in one File. The researcher should first check the index of the *OCM* to locate the entry for blood brotherhood. There he would find a reference to category 608. He should then turn to category 608 (which is entitled Artificial Kin Relationships) and read the definition completely, so that he will be aware of the range of information which may be included in this category. The final step is to look in the NM9 Iroquois File for category 608.

All the material relating to the topic of blood brotherhood should be found there, if the Iroquois do indeed have this institution and if the pertinent information was contained in the sources that have been processed for the Iroquois File. (For a discussion of the general issues raised in the last sentence, see section A.5., below.)

(b) Complex Questions of Fact or Information (in *OWC/OCM* System):

"Did any major 'Revitalization Movements' appear among the Plains Indians of the United States during the latter part of the nineteenth century (i.e. the period of White conquest)?"

["Revitalization Movements" are deliberate, organized efforts by members of a society to achieve substantial cultural change, and most of their manifestations may be political in nature, with some religious and culture contact aspects (cf. Wallace 1956).] In this case, unless the researcher knows

the names of the various Plains Indian cultures, he must first consult the index of the *OWC* to ascertain whether an appropriate File is available. The index contains the entry Plains Indians, NQ4, which turns out to be a general cultural unit for data on the Plains Indians as a whole. Examination of other cultural units listed in the NQ section of the *OWC* reveals, however, several cultures which are included in the HRAF Files: for example, NQ10 Crow, NQ13 Gros Ventre, and NQ18 Pawnee.

Although the index of the *OCM* does *not* list "Revitalization Movements," inspection of the table of contents reveals several categories which might pertain to this topic. The first of these, Political Movements (668), has in its definition the following (p. 99): "mass movements for substantial political change; types (e.g. messianic, nativistic . . .)." Examination of category 668 in the Pawnee File reveals that it does indeed contain a good deal of information on a major revitalization movement called the "Ghost Dance." (The *OCM* index lists "ghost dance," with references to categories 668 and 769, but presumably the researcher would not have known at the start that the Ghost Dance was a type of revitalization movement.) Religious aspects of the Ghost Dance should be found in category 769 (Cult of the Dead) and perhaps in category 794 (Congregations, which includes "special cult groups"), and culture contact aspects in category 177 (Acculturation and Culture Contact); whereas objectives of the movement might be found in category 185 (Cultural Goals).

Since positive information on the problem was found in the Pawnee File, it would not be necessary for the researcher to examine the other Plains Files, although he might wish to do so for comparative information.

(c) Nonspecific Informational Inquiries:

"What is the range and what are the variations in the cultivation, processing, and use of sugar?"

In terms of Files usage, this is a more complicated problem, since, in effect, one is asking for all the information available about sugar, in any location. The first step is to divide the question into its various aspects—cultivation, processing, and use. Then the researcher should look in the index of the *OCM*, where, under sugar, there are references to categories 249, 257, and 263. These categories would provide information only about large-scale sugar cultivation, the confectionery industry, and condiments. Eventually, therefore, depending on the ex-

tent and ramifications of the information he needed, the researcher would have to study the table of contents of the *OCM* and refer also to the following categories, any of which might bear upon other aspects of the subject:

241 Tillage
242 Agricultural Science
251 Preservation and Storage of Food
252 Food Preparation
261 Gratification and Control of Hunger
262 Diet
272 Nonalcoholic Beverages
273 Alcoholic Beverages
274 Beverage Industries
407 Agricultural Machinery
412 General Tools
415 Utensils
417 Apparatus
654 Research and Development

From the above categories, the researcher should be able to find out not only how sugar is planted and grown but also how it is used, what tools and machines are used in its cultivation and processing, what scientific knowledge people have of this crop, and any plans for its future development. The number of different Files to be searched for these categories would depend upon what geographical or other limits the researcher wished to impose.

(d) Questions Which Require Rephrasing or Adaptation into the *OCM* System:

"*What are the values of the Tikopia (OWC code OT11)?*"

This is the most difficult question of all. It is an example in fact, of the kind of question that must be rephrased before extensive searching of the Files can begin. Although there is a "values" category in the Files (category 181, Ethos), material is not classified in this category unless the author is clearly writing about values. All other data on values would have to be synthesized by the researcher himself. The first thing for him to do, therefore, is to modify the question. Instead of asking a general question about values, he would have to decide exactly what he means by values and in what particular values he is interested. Are the people competitive or cooperative? What ideas do they have concerning the worth and dignity of labor? Answers to these and other similar questions might throw some light on the problem of values. Then on the basis of such questions, the researcher must decide what categories in the *OCM* might provide

the relevant information. The economic categories, the social structure categories, the religious categories, or, in fact, almost any category may contain data pertinent to some aspect of values.

4. **Considerations of Data Context.** A perennial problem in using cultural data is the possible misinterpretations or distortions that may occur when data are taken out of their cultural context for purposes of analysis or comparison. A system such as the HRAF Files, which classifies the cultural information *within* a document, rather than the document as a whole, inevitably takes data out of context to some extent. But several provisions have been built into the Files system to minimize the dangers of misinterpretation or distortion.

(a) The source materials in the Files are not abstracts or excerpts from documents, but exact reproductions of the original text (except in the case of translations made by HRAF, or of materials processed before 1952, when it was necessary to make typewritten excerpts).

(b) Complete pages, not separate phrases or sentences, are filed by subject categories. Thus no single passage is torn from its surrounding discourse.

(c) If a researcher thinks for any reason that he would like to see the broader context of a particular File page found in a subject category, he can turn to category 116 in that File, where he will find a complete, page-order text copy of the source from which that page was taken—and of all the other sources processed for that File as well. This is the ultimate control for any possible distortion or misinterpretation of what an author has written.

A few other procedures of a more technical nature are also employed for maintaining data context. Since these procedures are more easily understood after one has read Part V of this guide, they are described in a separate section (see Appendix C).

5. **What about the Negative Case?** One of the most troublesome special problems of cultural research based on the existing literature is the negative case, i.e. the *absence* of a particular trait, practice, or institution in a given culture. For many research problems it is as important to know that a specific feature *does not* occur in a culture as it is to know that it *does* occur. There is no difficulty when a definite statement to this effect appears in the source materials: e.g. "Culture A does not have agriculture." But what if such a flat statement fails to appear?

Since the HRAF Files do not contain all the literature available on any one culture, there is the possibility that the desired information may appear in a source which has not yet been processed for the File on that culture. Generally, it is not feasible for the researcher to search the entire literature for this information. Moreover, it is quite possible that the information *does not* occur in the existing literature, since it is manifestly impossible for authors to mention all the cultural features that *do not* occur in any given culture; they generally limit their comments about absences to features they consider to be particularly significant or to those which have especially drawn their attention for some reason. Is there any way, then, for the researcher to deal with this negative case problem within the framework of the source materials available to him in the Files?

There is no definitive solution to this problem, but there is a rule of thumb which may be applied; namely to judge on the basis of the quantity and quality of information presented concerning the general topic within which the specific cultural feature at issue falls. For example, if the sources on a given culture include a comprehensive description of the subsistence economy, yet no statement about agriculture appears, then it may be reasonably safe to conclude that the culture does not have agriculture. Even then, this conclusion should not be taken as a certainty, but simply as a reasonable probability. On the other hand, if the sources do not include a comprehensive description of the subsistence economy, the lack of any statement about agriculture cannot be interpreted to mean that agriculture is absent.

Usually, the researcher can expect to find more adequate coverage of those topics which form the central and conventional concerns of ethnographers—e.g. kinship, economy, politics, and religion—so that it is often possible to make reasonable inferences about the absence of particular features within these topics. As the researcher moves farther from the central concerns of ethnographers, the lack of information becomes harder to interpret. For example, the fact that juggling is not mentioned in the source materials on a particular culture cannot be interpreted to mean that juggling is absent, even if the sources include a fairly extensive discussion of games. It is more probable that observers have either overlooked juggling or neglected to record its absence than it is for them to have overlooked or neglected recording key information about agriculture. (See Moore 1969: 256-57 for further discussion of this issue.)

The same principles just discussed in terms of the

negative case apply equally to the problem of the *unreported positive case*, i.e. the possible presence of a particular feature in a culture when a definite statement to this effect fails to appear in the available source materials. Both of these cases constitute essentially the same problem.

6. Considerations of Data Control. In order to evaluate and use cultural data properly, there are certain controls which may be applied. These controls involve the determination of three sets of factors: the *provenience* (i.e. origin or source) of the data; the *nature* (i.e. primary, secondary, etc.) of the data; and the *trustworthiness* of the data. The factors involved in evaluating trustworthiness are often referred to as data *quality* control factors.

(a) **Provenience of the data.** Data on a particular culture may manifest differences related to three key factors; time, space, and social complexity. It is important, therefore, that the provenience of the data in any processed source be specified as precisely as possible in terms of these key factors. This is essential, for instance, for the valid testing of hypotheses as discussed in section II.B.2. An example may clarify this point. Suppose a researcher wishes to test the hypothesis that cultures with a high incidence of plural marriage also tend to have a high rate of divorce. In order to determine validly whether or not these two features are significantly related, the researcher must know if they do or do not actually occur together. This means that the data on the incidence of plural marriage and on the rate of divorce must pertain, in any given culture, to roughly the same time period, location and social group. Thus if one source reports that the Wolof (*OWC* code MS30) practiced plural marriages in 1850, and another source presents data on Wolof divorce rates in 1950, this information *cannot* be used as the basis for any statement about the relationship between plural marriage and divorce rate among the Wolof. The same restriction applies if the data on plural marriage and divorce rates, respectively, were derived from widely separated locales within the Wolof area, or from different "caste" groupings within Wolof society. This restriction holds true even if the data pertain to the same time period.

The *time* factor includes two aspects, field date and date of coverage. Field date refers to the time period when the data were actually gathered in the field through direct contact with the people studied. When this date can be determined, it is included in the heading of each File page, as noted

in section V.C. on pp. 29-30. The field date is also noted at the bottom of the bibliography slip for each source in category 111 (cf. Illustration 2 on p. 23). Further information about field dates—specific months, total time in the field, etc.—may be obtained from the information classified in categories 101 and 114.

The field date, however, is not necessarily the same as the date of coverage—i.e. the time period covered by the data presented in a particular source—and this distinction must be specified when it exists. When a different date of coverage applies to substantial portions of a source, this date will be printed in the heading of the relevant File pages directly *below* the field date, and also enclosed in parentheses. When a different date of coverage applies to only a short section of a source or to scattered pages, then a headnote containing this date may be written or typed above the text on the relevant File pages and enclosed in brackets, if it seems that this would be useful to the researcher. Otherwise the researcher may attempt to determine the date of coverage by searching categories 101 and 114.

Space refers to the specific geographical locale in which the data were collected or to which the data pertain. This may be a region, a village, an urban neighborhood, etc. In any case, this locale should be identified as clearly as possible by name, geographic coordinates, political district, or other distinctive locational data. Often the name of a particular region or community covered in a source will be printed in the heading of the relevant File pages directly beneath the name of the *OWC* unit (cf. section V.C.), or, if only a small number of pages are involved the name may be written or typed in a headnote enclosed in brackets on those pages. Otherwise the researcher again may be able to find this information in categories 101 and 114.

Social complexity refers to the fact that different social groups within a culture may manifest differences *not* based on time-space variations. Such social groups may consist of ethnic or racial minorities, or of different class or caste groups, etc. Therefore, when a culture is characterized by social differences of this kind, it is necessary to know if the data derive from or pertain to the members of that culture in general, or only to certain social segments. This information is not provided in the File page headings and will have to be determined by the researcher. Key categories to search would

include 101, 114, 115, and most of the categories in the 12 (Methodology) division.

(b) **Nature of the data.** This factor refers mainly to the question of whether the data are primary—i.e. direct, first-hand data—or secondary, and to the quality of the data—i.e. good, poor, etc. Information on these points appears in coded form in the heading of each File page and at the bottom of the bibliography slips in category 111. Coded numbers are used according to the following evaluation scale:

1 Poor sources
2 Fair sources
3 Good, useful sources, but not uniformly excellent
4 Excellent secondary data (e.g. compilations and/or interpretations of original data and primary documents)
5 Excellent primary data (e.g. travelers' accounts, ethnological studies, etc., as well as primary documents such as legal codes, other legal documents, autobiographies, etc.)

A source may contain both secondary and primary data, in which case the source is coded for both numbers 4 and 5. The location of the code number in the File page heading may be seen in Illustration 8 (cf. p. 36).

It should be noted that evaluations 1 and 2 rarely appear in the Files, since a source that the HRAF research staff feels is inadequate is not included in the Files unless other material on the subject or culture is unavailable.

(c) **Trustworthiness of the data.** A basic problem in the social sciences is how to detect systematic errors or biases in written reports containing primary field data. Traditionally, the approach to this problem has been rather intuitive, with one generally used criterion being the author's background. The assumption, which has yet to be validated, is that a professional social scientist, for instance, will produce a more trustworthy or less systematically biased report than a government official or missionary. This criterion is reflected in the Files by means of a letter code in the heading of each File page which indicates the profession or discipline of the author, and the same information is spelled out at the bottom of the bibliography slip in category 111. The following identification code is used:

Author Identification

A Archeologist, Antiquarian
B Folklorist
C Technical Personnel (engineers, agricultural experts, foreign aid advisors, etc.)
D Physician, Physical Anthropologist
E Ethnologist, Social Anthropologist (formerly used also for Sociologist, see Z)
F Foreign Resident
G Government Official (administrator, soldier, foreign diplomat)
H Historian
I Indigene
J Journalist
K Geographer
L Linguist
M Missionary, Clergyman
N Natural or Physical Scientist
O Lawyer, Judicial Personnel
P Psychologist
Q Humanist (philosopher, critic, editor, writer, etc.)
R Artisan (artist, musician, architect, dancer)
S Social Scientist (other than those designated)
T Traveler (tourist, explorer)
U Unknown
V Political Scientist, Propagandist
W Organizational Documents and Reports (constitutions, law codes, government or UN reports and documents, censuses)
X Economist, Businessman
Y Educator (teacher, school administrator)
Z Sociologist

The location of the author identification code in the File page heading may be seen in Illustration 8.

The author's background is only one of many possible *quality control factors,* by which is meant characteristics of the data collection process which are related—or thought to be related—to the accuracy of the data reported (cf. Naroll 1973b; Koh 1966; Lagacé 1970). In recent years, starting with the work of Naroll (1962), more precise methods of identifying and testing such factors have been developed. At least five specific bias-sensitive quality control factors have now been tentatively validated through several research projects (Naroll 1973b; Rohner, Dewalt, and Ness 1973; Schaefer 1973), and in the future, information on these factors will regularly be incorporated in the bibliography slips for sources processed in the Files. The five quality control factors are: (1) length of time in field, i.e. the total duration of fieldwork or field observations (2) time lapse, i.e. the difference in time—if any—between the field date and the date of coverage, the main purpose being to differentiate between descriptions of ongoing cultures and what is known as "memory ethnographies"—reconstructions of earlier days by elderly informants (3) field language, i.e. whether a researcher had sufficient knowledge of the indigenous language to be able to work without an interpreter, whether or not he actually did so (4) verification methods, i.e. whether a researcher used any special verification techniques such as censuses, sampling surveys, multiple informants, or psychological tests, and (5) references listed, i.e. the number of citations listed in the bibliography of a field report relating to reports by other authors on the same culture. (For information on the kinds of data biases that may be related to these quality control factors, see the studies by Naroll, Rohner, and Schaefer, cited above.)

Among the key categories to be searched in the Files for information relevant to the listed quality control factors are 101, 111, 113, 114, and most of the categories in division 12 (Methodology).

B. Orientation to Specific Files

Whenever the researcher uses data from any categories in a particular Cultural File, he should become sufficiently familiar with that File as a whole—particularly the cultural unit covered in the File and the source materials included—so as to develop a frame of reference for properly understanding and placing the data in overall cultural context. Several aspects of the Files will help the researcher in this task.

1. Use of the File Guide: Category 10. Eventually, in category 10 of each File there will be a more or less extensive guide to the File, which has been prepared by the HRAF research staff. The File guide provides a basic orientation to the File as a total entity, and it is strongly recommended that where available this guide be read by a researcher before he begins to work with any of the other materials in that File.

The File guide is planned to include the following range of information, although this may vary somewhat from File to File:

(a) an identification of the culture or cultures covered in the File, including names, the nature of the cultural unit(s), location, any major temporal, spatial, or social subdivisions, any special characteristics, etc.;

(b) a short summary outline of the culture—including especially the sociopolitical organization, or a reference to such a summary in the published literature;

(c) population size and trends;

(d) indigenous language and linguistic affiliations;

(e) a general review of the literature included in the File, especially noting the languages in which the sources were written, subject coverage, and how this literature relates to any major subdivisions which have been identified;

(f) a general evaluation of the File in terms of the total existing literature on the culture(s) covered, adequacy of subject coverage, quality of the sources, etc.; and

(g) any special features in the organization of the File, or any special subject classification decisions; for example the guide to the FQ5 Bemba File notes that information on the paramount chief of the Bemba has been classified in category 643, while information on the territorial chiefs may be found in category 622, and on village headmen in category 624.

The main purpose of the File guide is to help the researcher to judge the nature, relevance, reliability, and research usefulness of the File.

(For a sample of one of the shorter File guides, see Illustration 1 on the following page. For a model File guide see Lagacé 1968.)

2. Detailed Identification of the Cultural Unit. The researcher will often require more detailed identification data about the cultural unit covered in a File than can be provided in the File guide (e.g. see the factors listed in Lagacé 1967: 97-99). The key categories to search for specific types of information are as follows:

(a) categories 101 and 619—for names, nature of the unit, main subdivisions, etc.;
(b) category 131—for geographic location;
(c) categories 161 and 162—for population size and composition;
(d) category 197—for language and linguistic affiliations;
(e) category 631—for general sociopolitical structure above the community level (if any);
(f) category 105—summary statements on the culture in general or on major cultural aspects.

3. Bibliographic Information. The researcher may also desire more extensive bibliographical information about the cultural unit(s) covered in the Files. There are three categories in each File that deal entirely with bibliographical information, plus a fourth category that does so in part. These are categories 111 (Sources Processed), 112 (Sources Consulted), 113 (Additional References), and 114 (Comments). By referring to these categories, the researcher will be able to obtain references to a substantial portion of the existing literature on any culture covered in the Files. The nature of each of these categories will be described briefly. (Also see sec. VI.B.3. on p. 43.)

Category 111 in each File contains a full bibliographical citation for each source processed for that File, together with a brief description of the contents of the source, biographical information about the author (if available), the call number assigned to the source by the library from which it was borrowed, the evaluation of the source by the HRAF staff, the date of fieldwork or observation, the name of the staff member(s) who classified the data in the source, and any information pertinent to the handling of the source by HRAF, such as preparation of bibliographies or glossaries, omission of material, etc. These bibliography slips are arranged in sequence by source number. A sample bibliography slip is reproduced in Illustration 2, on p. 23.

Category 112 in each File contains bibliographical information on sources which the HRAF research staff has consulted, but which have not been processed for that File. The reason why a source has *not* been processed should be stated on the bibliography slip. It may be that the source duplicates material presented in other sources in the File, or the source may be of such poor quality that it does not warrant processing. Occasionally, a source is reviewed in category 112 which should and eventually will be included in the File, but which has not yet been processed because of lack of funds or because of other priorities. Bibliography slips in this category are arranged alphabetically according to the author's surname.

Category 113 in each File usually contains any bibliographical information that appears in sources that have been included in that File. Bibliographical citations appearing as lists or footnotes at the ends of chapters or at the end of the source are normally classified simply for category 113. However, when the bibliographical information is scattered throughout the text of a source in footnotes, a bibliographical list may have been compiled by the HRAF research staff and classified in category 113. When neither of these

ILLUSTRATION 1

Sample File Guide: Category 10

SC7 Cagaba--1-2

GUIDE TO THE SC7 CAGABA FILE

[For purposes of this file, the term "Cagaba" refers to a group of four Chibchan-
speaking tribes of the Sierra Nevada de Santa Marta, a mountain massif in northern
Colombia, S.A., plus two linguistically related lowland tribes, the Chimila
(probably extinct) and the Tairona (extinct in the 17th century). The four Sierra
Nevada tribes, often called collectively the "Arhuaco," consist of the Buntigwa,
the Ica, the Kogi, and the Sanká. Many variant names have been used for these tribes
in the ethnographic literature, so it may be helpful to list the main alternate
names the researcher is likely to encounter. The Buntigwa are also known as the
Atánquez, Busintana, or Kankuáma; the Ica as the Bintukua, Businka, Busintana, Ijka,
or Iku; and the Sanká as the Guamaca or Sanhá. The most important possible source
of confusion in nomenclature, however, concerns the Kogi; in the literature, including
most of the sources in this file, they are generally called the Cagaba (Kágaba), the
term used here for the entire group of tribes. Kogi is the preferred term since it
is more specific, and also it is the name used by the people themselves (cf. 1:
Reichel-Dolmatoff, pp. 17-20).

This file focuses on the Kogi, the largest and least acculturated of the
mountain tribes, and there is also a substantial amount of information on the Ica.
Very little data are included on the other tribes. The Kogi population has been
estimated as somewhat under 1,800, while the Ica and Sanká populations are usually
placed at about 500 each; the Buntigwa may now be extinct (cf. 1: Reichel-Dolmatoff,
pp. 17, 38, 40; 5: Park, p. 870).

SC7 Cagaba--2

Seven sources have been processed, one in English and six translations; of the
latter, one was translated from the French, two from Spanish, and three from German.
1: and 2: Reichel-Dolmatoff (a two-volume work) is the major source. This is a
comprehensive, basic ethnography of the Kogi, covering material culture, economy,
social organization, life-cycle, values, religion, mythology, and psychocultural
patterns. In this excellent study, the Kogi emerge as a highly distinctive and
fascinating people whose society is dominated by a priestly class called mamas, and
many of whose activities reflect two fundamental cultural themes, food and sex.
Reichel-Dolmatoff's field work was done between 1946 and 1950, whereas the data in
3: Brettes and 6: Sievers derive from the latter part of the 19th century. Brettes
presents miscellaneous ethnographic data on the Kogi, while Sievers, although emphasizing
the Kogi, has data on the Cagaba in general, and includes a discussion of accultura-
tion trends. 4: Preuss contains data mainly on Kogi mythology and religion, some of
which may be unreliable.

The other principal monograph in this file is 7: Bolinder. This is primarily
a general description of Ica ethnography, but the social organization is poorly
covered. Bolinder also includes short sections on the Buntigwa and the Kogi based
upon quite brief field work periods. Finally, 5: Park is a compact cultural
summary of the Cagaba as a whole, with particular reference to the Kogi.]

Processed in 1966-1968   File Guide prepared in 1971
                                              by Robert O. Lagacé

ILLUSTRATION 2

Sample Bibliography Slip: Category 111

111   SC7 Cagaba

4: Preuss, Konrad Theodor. Forschungsreise zu den Kágaba/Journey of
   Exploration to the Cagaba/. St. Gabriel-Mödling bei Wein:
   Administration des "Anthropos," 1926.

   Pp. xii, 423; 16 plates; 1 map; index./HRAF MS: pp. vi, 219/.

   Yale: Fzh K827 P92.

Translated from the German for the Human Relations Area Files by Marianne
Moerman.

Pages processed for the Files: pp. i-xii; Part I, "Travel Impressions and Results,"
on pp. 1-131; the map facing p. 96; and the 16 end plates. The title page and
the index on pp. 415-423 have been processed for the foreign text only. Part II,
"Texts and Translations," pp. 132-350, and Part III, "Grammar," pp. 351-414,
have not been processed.

/The author presents a large body of data on the mythology and religion of
the Cagaba. Much of this was gathered in the form of native texts during some
five months of field work. However, these data plus the author's observations
are not sufficient to give a full picture of the religious system. Scattered infor-
mation on social life and some aspects of material culture are also presented, but
mainly in connection with the discussions of ritual and belief./

Field date: 1914-1915   Evaluation: Ethnologist-5

Analysts: Sigrid Khera   Processed in 1967-68
           Robert O. Lagacé

techniques proved feasible, a note may have been added to the pertinent bibliography slip in category 111, and a cross-reference slip inserted in category 113, telling the researcher where the bibliographical citations in that source may be found in the 116 (Texts) category.

Category 114 in each File was designed in part to contain an author's comments and critiques of other sources, regardless of whether the other sources have been processed for that File or not. But comments by an author on purely historical documents would usually be classified for category 175 (Recorded History), rather than 114. Review articles or references to published reviews concerning a processed source may also appear in 114.

C. Suggestions For Taking Notes

It is recommended that the researcher use 5″ x 8″ cards or paper slips for note taking, since they can be easily handled and conveniently filed. Separate cards should be used for each subject and culture on which data are gathered. If there is no information on a subject in a given File, a note should be made of this fact on a separate card.

Each card should be headed with the name of the culture to which the data on that card pertain, the *OWC* code for that culture, and the appropriate *OCM* category number. This information may be obtained from the heading on the microfiche card, or from the heading on the component File page(s) together with the category number written in the margin of the File page.

Specific data noted on a card should also be identified as to its source by the source number, the author's surname, and the pertinent page number(s). Again, each File page contains this information.

When the researcher has finished extracting data from any one File, he should look in category 111 for the full bibliographic citation for each of the sources actually used. These citations are arranged sequentially by source number. Citations for the sources used should then be recorded on a separate bibliography card.
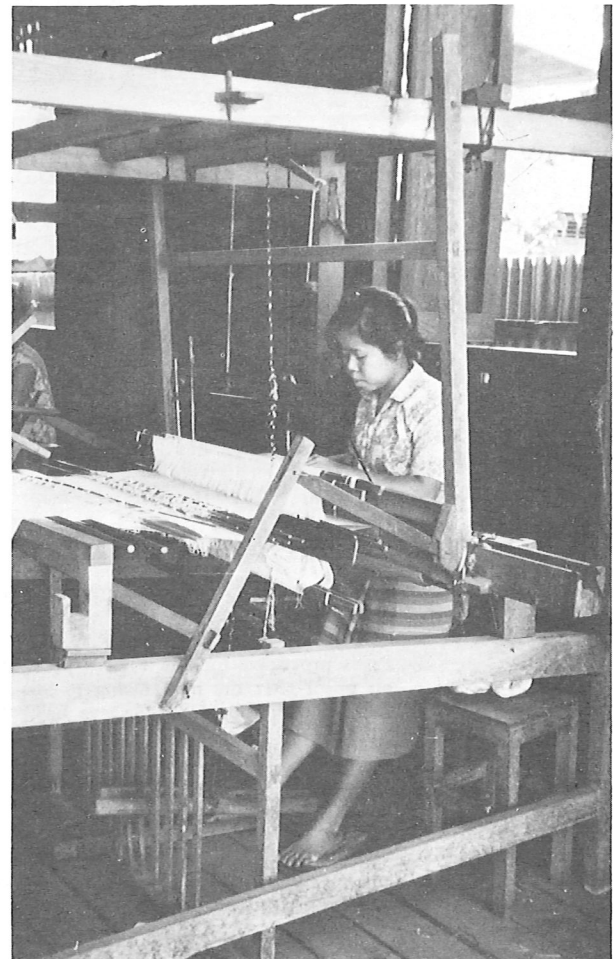
Silk weaving, Chiengmai, North Thailand

PART V. ORGANIZATION OF THE HRAF FILES

This section will explain the two classification systems on which the organization of the HRAF Files is based and will describe the physical format of the Files.

A. Coverage of Cultures and World Areas

The HRAF Collection is organized first of all into separate Files, each of which focuses on a particular culture or society. Some Files also include data on other closely related cultures. Since these Cultural Files constitute only a sample of all the cultures of the world, it is important to understand how the selected cultures relate to the total cultural universe, and on what basis they were selected.

1. **The Outline of World Cultures (OWC).** The *OWC* is a manual which presents a preliminary inventory and classification of all the world's cultures known to

history and ethnography. Each File corresponds more or less closely to a cultural unit defined in the *OWC*. The basic classification system used in the *OWC* will be outlined briefly, but the researcher should consult the Preface to the *OWC* for fuller details.

Karen hill village women, North Thailand

At the most general level, the *OWC* divides the world into eight major geographical regions or areas, each designated by a code letter:

A — Asia
E — Europe
F — Africa
M — Middle East
N — North America
O — Oceania
R — Russia
S — South America

(Some very general cultural units are defined at this broad level, and designated by an added number: e.g. F2 Black Africa; S3 South American Indians.)

Each of the major regions is then subdivided, usually on a political basis, into subregions designated by the addition of a second letter: e.g. FF designates the African country of Nigeria and its component cultural units, while SC designates the South American country of Colombia and its component cultural units.

Finally, within each subregion, more specific cultural units are defined and designated by an added number; these may be country entities, such as FF2 Colonial Nigeria or SC2 Historical Colombia, or culture-bearing population units—variously called "cultures," "societies," "tribes," "ethnic groups," etc.—such as

FF57 Tiv or SC7 Cagaba. ("Culture," "society," etc. are *not* equivalent terms, but for the sake of simplicity and consistency, the terms *culture* and *cultural unit* are used as the basic designations throughout this guide.)

Each cultural unit defined in the *OWC* and designated by a distinct alphanumeric (i.e. letter + number) code, called the *OWC* code, constitutes a potential File of cultural data. (See Appendix B for further discussion of this point.)

Each Cultural File may be placed in its proper regional, political, and cultural context by locating the corresponding cultural unit in the *OWC* by means of the *OWC* code.

The Table of Contents of the *OWC* lists only the major regions and subregions, but the *OWC* index contains an exhaustive listing of all the named units in the *OWC*, referenced to the proper *OWC* codes.

Illustrations 3 and 4, following, show first, a sample page of cultural units from the *OWC*, and second, a sample page from the *OWC* index.

2. Selection of Cultures for the HRAF Files. Several thousand cultures are listed in the *OWC*. The cultures in the Files were selected mainly on the basis of the following criteria:

(a) Maximum cultural diversity—the cultures should represent, as far as possible, the known range and variety of cultural types in terms of language, history, economy, and social organization.

(b) Maximum geographical dispersal—the cultures should be geographically representative of all the major world areas and major types of ecological settings.

(c) Adequacy of literature—within the scope of the two preceding criteria, the cultures should have a quantitatively and qualitatively adequate literature coverage.

3. Present Culture and Area Coverage. Table 1 on pp. 2-3 lists the Files that are now or soon will be available, at least in the Paper Files. Those Files which have been incorporated into the HRAF-Microfiles as of 1973 are noted by the date of inclusion. There is now a total of 294 Files, most of which are organized around specific ethnic groups or societies, rather than national or country-level units.

ILLUSTRATION 3

Sample Page from the *Outline of World Cultures*

(reduced)

<p align="center">Ghana</p>

FE1. Ghana. General data on the geography, demography, and indigenous peoples and cultures, and specific data on the national institutions, multi-ethnic urban areas, non-indigenous inhabitants, and broad sociocultural trends of the Republic of Ghana (formerly the Gold Coast and British Togoland).

FE2. Colonial Ghana. General data on the geography, demography, and indigenous peoples and cultures, and specific data on the colonial rule, non-indigenous inhabitants, Eurafrican urbanization, and broad sociocultural trends of Ghana during the colonial period.

FE3. Traditional Ghana. General data on the geography, demography, and African peoples and cultures, and specific data on European or other contacts, non-African inhabitants, and broad sociocultural trends of Ghana from the beginning of recorded or oral history up to the onset of colonial rule. For data on Prehistoric Ghana see FE14.

FE4. Dagari. Specific data on the Dagari-speaking Birifor (Lober), Dagaa-Wiili, Dagaba, and LoDagaa, the last comprised of the LoDagaba and the LoWiili.

FE5. Dagomba. Specific data on the Dagomba or Dagbamba tribe, including the related Nanumba.

FE6. Ga. Specific data on the Ga tribe, including the related Adangme.

FE7. Grusi. Specific data on the Grusi (Grunshi)-speaking Awuna (Aculo), Builsa (Kanjaga), Chakalle, Degha (Dyamu, Mo), Isala (Sisala), Kasena, Nunuma, Siti, Tampolense, and Vagala.

FE8. Guang. Specific data on the Gonja (Ngbanya) nation, including the related Atyuti, Bazanche, Brong (Abron), Chimbaro, Chumbuli, Krachi, Kunya, Nawuru, and Nchumuru (Nchumbulung) peoples.

FE9. Mamprusi. Specific data on the Mamprusi tribe.

FE10. Nankanse. Specific data on the Nankanse or Gurensi (Gorensi), plus the kindred Kusasi and Namnam.

FE11. Tallensi. Specific data on the Tallensi people.

FE12. Twi. Specific data on the Twi-speaking peoples, including the Akwapim, Akyem, Asen-Twifo, Ashanti, Fanti, Kwahu, and Wasa. For data on the related Anyi-Baule see FA5, on the Chakossi see FA13.

<p align="center">-46-</p>

ILLUSTRATION 4

Sample Page from the *Outline of World Cultures* Index

(reduced)

Snake, NR14
Snake River Shoshone, NR14
Snohomish, NR15
Snuqualmi, NR15
SO, AM37
Soai, AM7
Soba, FL8
Sobaipuri, NU29
Soboyo, SE6
Soce, FA27
SOCIETY ISLANDS, OX7
Socotra, MM3
Sofi, FJ18
Sofyan, MW9
Soga, FK7
Soghaua, MS5
Sokham, MW5
Sokile, FN17
Sokna, MT9
SOKO, FO44
SOKORO, FI31
Sokwia, FK13
Soliman, MS9, SQ25
SOLOMON ISLANDS, ON1
Solomons, Historical, ON2
Solomons, Prehistoric, ON3
Solon, RU5
Solongo, FO21
Solor, OF5
SOMALI, MO4
Somaliland, Historical, MO2
Somaliland, Prehistoric, MO3
SOMALI REPUBLIC, MO1
Somba, FA9
Sombrero, ST6
SOMRAI, FI32
Sonde, FO28
Songe, FO27
SONGHAI, MS20
Songhay Empire, FA2
Songish, NR15
Songo, FO30, FP6
SONGOLA, FO45
Songomeno, FO16
Sonhrai, MS20
SONINKE, MS21
Sonjo, FN25
Sonsorol, OR18
Sooke, NR15
Sop, AM29
Sorol, OR20
Sorotua, FP7
Soso, FA33
Sosse, FA27
Sossi, FF40
SOTHO, FW2
Sotho, Transvaal, FX16
Soto, SS20
Soussou, FA33
SOUTH AFRICA, FX1
South Africa, Historical, FX2
South Africa, Traditional, FX3
SOUTH ALASKA ESKIMO, NA10
SOUTH AMERICA, S1
South America, Historical, S2
SOUTH AMERICAN INDIANS, S3
SOUTH AMERICAN ISLANDS, SZ1
SOUTH AMERICAN NEGROES, S5
South America, Prehistoric, S4
Southampton Island Eskimo, ND5

South Arabia, ML2, ML3
South Arabia, Historical, ML2
South Arabia, Prehistoric, ML3
SOUTH BRAZIL, SM1
South Carolina, NN1
SOUTH CENTRAL STATES, NO1
South Central States, Historical, NO2
South Central States, Prehistoric, NO3
SOUTH CHINA, AF17
South Dakota, NQ1
SOUTHEAST ASIA, AL1
SOUTHEASTERN INDIANS, NN3
SOUTHEASTERN STATES, NN1
Southeastern Yavapai, NT14
SOUTHEAST SALISH, NR19
Southeast, Prehistoric, NN4
SOUTHEAST SIBERIA, RX1
Southern Africa, Prehistoric, FX4
Southern Bushmen, FX10
Southern Cayapo, SP11
Southern Dynasties, AF6
SOUTHERN FILIPINOS, OA32
Southern Lunda, FP14
SOUTHERN NEGROES, NN6
SOUTHERN PAIUTE, NT16
Southern Rhodesia, FS2
SOUTHERN THAI, AO8
SOUTHERN YEMEN, MM3
South Georgia, SZ1
South Kanara, AW18
SOUTH KOREA, AA6
SOUTH NGUNI, FX17
South Orkney, SZ1
South Ossetian Autonomous Oblast, RH9
South Sandwich, SZ1
South Shetland, SZ1
South Slavs, EF1
SOUTH VIETNAM, AM13
South West Africa, FX22
South West Africa, Prehistoric, FX4
SOUTHWEST CHINA, AF16
SOUTHWESTERN INDIANS, NT5
SOUTHWESTERN STATES, NT1
Southwest, Historical, NT2
SOUTHWEST ISLANDS, OR18
Southwest, Prehistoric, NT3
Soviet Central Asia, RL1
SOVIET UNION, R1
Sowe, FN9
SOYOT, RS3
SPAIN, EX1
Spanish Morocco, MW1, MX1
SPANISH REGIONAL CULTURES, EX6
SPANISH SAHARA, MY1
Sparta, EH9

Spartans, Ancient, EH9
Spiti, AJ4
SPITZBERGEN, EZ10
Spokan, NR19
Spreewald District, EL12
Squamish, NE13
Squaxon, NR15
Sragna, MW10
Sre, AM27
Stalo, NE13
Starbuck Island, OV6
Stegaraki, NN13
Stewart Island, OZ5
Stewart Islands, OT10
STIENG, AM39
Stoney, NF4
Stono, NN12
Suba, FL8
Subano, OA33
SUBANUN, OA33
SUBIA, FQ11
Subiya, FQ11
SUB-TAINO, SX5
SUBTIABA, SA18
Subu, FH7
Subya, FQ11
SUCRE, SF22
SUDAN, MQ1
Sudan, FJ1, FJ3, FJ26, MQ2, MQ3, MS1-MS3
SUDETEN GERMANS, EL9
Suerre, SA17
SUEZ CANAL, MR15
Suga, FH14
Sugaree, NN13
Sugbuhanon, OA14
Sui, AF5
Suichichi, SE14
SUI-SUNG, AF5
Suk, FL13
Suka, FL5
SUKU, FO46
Sukuma, FN18
Sukur, FF12
SULA, OH15
Sulawesi, OG1
Sulu, OA16
Sulu, Cagayan, OA16
Suma, NU20
SUMATRA, OD1
Sumatra, Historical, OD2
Sumatra, Prehistoric, OD3
SUMBA, OF17
SUMBAWA, OF18
Sumbawanese, OF18
Sumbe, FP6
Sumbwa, FN18
SUMERIANS, MH9
Sumo, SA15
SUNDANESE, OE7
Sundi, FO21
Sunesua, SS17
Sung, AF5
Sungor, MQ16
Sungu, FO47
Sura, FF6
Surara, SQ18
Suri, MP22
SURINAM, SR4
Surma, MP22
Suro, MP22
Surprise Valley Paiute, NR13
Susquehannock, NM8
SUSU, FA33
Suvorov Island, OZ5
Suwanose, AB9
SUYA, SP21
Svan, RI12
SWAHILI, FM2

SWAN, RI12
Swanet, RI12
SWAZI, FU2
SWAZILAND, FU1
Swaziland, Historical, FU3
Swaziland, Prehistoric, FX4
SWEDEN, EN1
Sweden, Historical, EN2
Sweden, Prehistoric, EN3
Swedes, EN1
Sweta, FL8
SWITZERLAND, EJ1
Switzerland, Historical, EJ2
Switzerland, Prehistoric, EJ3
SURAI, MH12
Syeba, FH9
Synteng, AR7
SYRIA, MD1
Syria, Historical, MD2
SYRIAN BEDOUIN, MD5
Syrian Christians, AW11
Syrians, MD1
Syria, Prehistoric, MD3
Szechwan, AF16

Taaisha, MQ5
Ta-ang, AP10
Tabak, FJ11
Tabalosa, SE14
Tabancal, SE17
TABAR, OM12
Tabasco, NV1
Tabassaran, RH8
Tabi, FJ13
Tabwa, FQ5
Tacame, NU12
TACANA, SF23
Tacarigua, SS8
Tachoni, FL4
Taclaudub, SQ18
Tacunyape, SQ26
Tadjik, RO2
Tadjoni, FL4
Tadla, MW10
Tadmekket, MS25
TADZHIK, RO2
Tadzhik S.S.R., RO1
TADZHIKSTAN, RO1
Taelba, MQ5
Taensa, NO8
TAGABILI, OA34
TAGAKAOLO, OA35
Tagalagad, OA10
Tagali, FJ21
TAGALOG, OA36
Tagaydan, OA15
TAGBANUA, OA37
Tagdapaya, OA7
Tagoy, FJ21
Tagu, MQ7
Tahami, SC9
TAHITI, OX8
Tahltan, ND12
Tahue, NU41
Taidnapam, NR18
Taifasy, FY16
Taimoro, FY7
Taimyr National Okrug, RU1
TAINO, SV5
Taioba, SM4
Taipeshishi, SP10
Taira, SR12
Tairona, SC7
Taisaka, FY17

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The numerical distribution of the Files by major world areas is as follows:

Asia:	62	North America:	45
Europe:	19	Oceania:	37
Africa:	36	Russia:	20
Middle East:	30	South America:	45

It should be recalled that this delineation of major world areas follows Murdock's classification in the *OWC*. A different classification would produce a different distribution. For example, the "Middle East" area includes twelve Files on cultural units located within the continent of Africa; if these were grouped with the other Files on Africa, there would be a total of forty-eight African Files.

B. Source Materials

This section will describe the kinds of information included in the Files and how this information was obtained.

1. Bibliographic Research. Once the decision has been reached to build a File of information on a particular culture, intensive bibliographic research is undertaken to identify as thoroughly as possible all of the significant literature on that culture. This work is done by the HRAF research staff, either independently or in consultation with area experts whose services are available to HRAF on an advisory basis. Researchers are also urged to inform HRAF of any material they think should be included in the Files which might otherwise escape the notice of the staff. (For an indication of the scope and complexity of this bibliographic research task, see O'Leary 1973b.)

2. Types of Information Sought. The materials processed for the Files are basically *descriptive* rather than theoretical, and the great majority are *primary* documents, resulting from field observation. The ideal source from the standpoint of the Files consists of a detailed description of a culture, or of a particular community or region within that culture, written on the basis of prolonged residence among the people studied by a professional social scientist having a good knowledge of the language of these people. Of course, many documents which do not meet all of these criteria are included in the Files, because they are still important sources of information; in fact, they may be the only sources available for particular time periods, regions, or subjects. Thus the researcher will find many works by travelers, missionaries, colonial officials, traders, and so forth, some of whom may have spent a considerable number of years among the people about whom they are writing, and whose accounts may contain quite valuable information for cultural research.

In addition to searching for primary, descriptive sources, the research staff is guided by four other considerations in deciding what should or should not be included in a File. How extensive is the bibliography on the culture in question? How reliable is a source, and what is the training of the author? To what extent does a source duplicate material that is available in other sources? If a source is written in a foreign language, does it warrant the cost of translation into English? Theoretically, everything that has ever been written about a culture should be included in the File. For some cultures, however, the material is so extensive that only a sample of the literature can or should be processed. This is the case, for example, with the Lapps (*OWC* code EP4). On the other hand, the literature on some cultures may be limited, as it is with the Andamans (*OWC* code AZ2), in which case it is likely that nearly all of the available material will be processed.

The major general sources that offer a comprehensive coverage of the principal cultural institutions are processed first. Then other sources are added to round out the subject coverage and, when advisable, to provide greater time depth in the materials. Ideally, information should be included on all subjects relevant to man and his ways of life, ranging from basic sociocultural patterns to psychological, demographic, ecological, and other data.

Generally, when a source is selected for inclusion in a Cultural File, the entire source is processed. Occasionally, however, some sections of a source are omitted, the main reasons being (1) that these sections do not pertain to the cultural unit of the File, or (2) that the kind of information may not warrant its complete processing; in a large collection of folktales, for example, it might seem sufficient to process only a few examples of each type of tale and to indicate for the specialist the location of the unprocessed tales. In the case of omissions, this fact is clearly noted on the bibliography slip for that source (see section IV.B.3., above, especially Illustration 2 on p. 23).

Over 4,000 sources have been incorporated into the HRAF Collection. They include numerous unpublished or rare sources, not otherwise available, and many English translations of foreign texts which have been made exclusively for the Files.

3. **Preparation of Translations.** If a source is written in a foreign language, and if it is determined that this source should be included in the Files, an English

translation is made. Special rules guide the preparation of HRAF translations, since these have a scientific rather than a literary purpose. The key principle is to render the exact words of the author as accurately as possible. In the interests of this aim, some standards of English style may be sacrificed. For example, any given term is translated consistently throughout a source, even though this sometimes leads to awkward constructions and redundancy. The author's use of pronouns is followed, even though the antecedent may be ambiguous. Editing the author or interpreting what he might mean in an ambiguous or seemingly contradictory passage is avoided, so as not to mislead the researcher into thinking that the author is more precise or definite than he actually is. In clear cases of typographic errors, the error may be corrected without notation, but if the slightest question exists with regard to a term, either the term is retained and underlined or an explanatory note is inserted in the text in slashes. Peculiar phrasings that are sometimes found in the translation may be a feature of a particular language or may be an idiosyncrasy of the author. There is an advantage beyond that of accuracy in retaining such phrasings, however, inasmuch as the researcher is reminded that he is reading a translation of a work whose author is likely to have had views and concepts quite different from those expressed in modern sources written in English. The editors at HRAF exert great care in choosing words that seem to be most appropriate for a given source, with consideration being given to the language of the source, the date of the source, the background of the author, the nature of the material, and the like.

The original foreign text is also reproduced and included in the 116 (Text) category, directly following the HRAF translation of the source. (The meaning of category numbers is explained in section D, below.) This copy is for the use of the researcher if he wishes to check the translation. It is only the English translation that is classified according to the subject categories.

C. File Page Headings

Current File Pages. After a source has been selected for inclusion in a Cultural File, a *heading* is printed at the top of each page to be processed. (Either original pages from the source or photocopies of the original pages may be used.) This heading helps the researcher to identify the individual File pages and aids in the filing of the pages. Below is a copy of the heading on the sample File page shown in Illustration 8 (cf. p. 36).

> 2: Lewis   E-5 (1956-1957) 1958   MO4 Somali MO4

This is the type of heading that appears on an English-language source. It contains first of all a source number (2) followed by the author's surname (Lewis). The source number is assigned sequentially when a source is selected for processing and has no significance except as identification. This number prevents confusion between works by the same author and aids the researcher to locate the correct text in category 116 and the correct bibliographic citation in category 111.

The next two items consist of a letter and a number code (E-5), which indicate the author's background or field of specialization, and a classification of the work as primary or secondary data, etc. These codes are fully explained in section IV.A.6. on pp. 19-20.

The dates in parentheses (1956-1957) indicate the period of original fieldwork or field observations. If no fieldwork was done, or if the dates cannot be established, the entry (no date) would appear. This is followed by the date of publication, 1958, which is not enclosed in parentheses.

The final portion of the heading contains the *OWC* code (MO4) and the name of the cultural unit (Somali). The MO4 *in front of* the word Somali indicates that the complete text of the source from which this File page comes is located in category 116 in the MO4 File. The MO4 *after* the word Somali indicates the File for which this particular page of text has been classified. This distinction is important, because some pages or parts of pages may contain data pertinent to a File other than the one for which the source in general has been processed, and the pages should be filed accordingly. For example, if part of this page pertained to the Masai File (*OWC* code FL12), the heading would be as follows:

> MO4 Somali MO4
> Masai FL12

Thus a copy of the page would be filed in both the MO4 and FL12 Files, while the complete text would be located only in the MO4 File. For further examples of these procedures, see the Preface to the *Outline of Cultural Materials*.

Occasionally, a source or parts of a source may pertain only to a subregion or subgroup within the total cultural unit covered in a File. In such cases, this will be indicated by a *subhead* without an accompanying *OWC* code. For example:

> MS30 Wolof MS30
> Cayor

This entry means that the information on this File page refers only to the region or former state of Cayor within the Wolof cultural unit.

Or take another example:

SC7 Cagaba SC7
Ica

In this case, the File page pertains only to the Ica tribe rather than to the Cagaba in general.

The type of heading that appears on the File page of a source which has been translated especially for the Files varies in only one respect from the type of heading just described: the page number of the translated text appears after the author's surname. This is exemplified in the following copy of the heading from the sample File page shown in Illustration 9 (cf. p. 37):

> 19: Bérenger- Féraud—12 D-5 (no date) 1879 MS30 Wolof MS30
>
> ↑
> page number of translation

The main consideration is to enable the researcher to go immediately from any passage in the translation to the corresponding passage in the original text. Since the pagination of the translation differs from that of the original, the former is put in the heading of each File page, whereas the latter, enclosed in slashes, appears in the text where each new page begins in the original work and at the beginning of the text on each File page. Thus Illustration 9 shows the number 13, i.e. the pagination of the original text, enclosed in slashes immediately before the first line of translated text, while page 14 of the original text begins with the third paragraph.

The heading on the foreign language text itself contains only the source number, the author's surname, and the *OWC* code, followed by the name of the cultural unit:

> 19: Bérenger-Féraud   MS30 Wolof

Old Style File Pages. Prior to 1952, HRAF made typewritten excerpts of source materials. File pages containing typewritten excerpts are referred to as "old style" File pages. Seventeen Files are composed substantially of old style File pages, and these Files are indicated in Table 1 (pp. 2-3) by a line drawn below the name of the cultural unit.

The type of heading that appears on many old style File pages is exemplified in the following copy of the

heading from the sample old style File page shown in Illustration 10 (cf. p. 39):

> 22: Osgood—146-147   E-5   (1947) 1951   Koreans
> 116, 175, 428, 565, 665

There are three basic variations in this heading from the type of heading that appears on current File pages as previously described. First, following the author's surname (Osgood), there are two numbers (146-147) which indicate the pages in this source from which the excerpt on this File page was derived. Second, the *OWC* code does not appear adjacent to the name of the cultural unit (Koreans), the reason being that the classification of cultural units that was first published in the *Outline of World Cultures* in 1954 had not yet been developed. The third variation is that the subject category code numbers pertaining to the excerpted data (i.e. 116, 175, 428, 565, and 665) appear in the second line of the heading instead of being placed in the margin adjacent to the relevant text. This point will be discussed further in section D.2., below.

On some old style File pages there is a fourth basic variation from the current format. The letter and number codes (e.g. E-5) that indicate the author's background and whether the data are primary or secondary do *not* appear. The researcher may also encounter a number of additional minor variations in format when working with old style File pages, but these should not pose any significant problems, so they will not be discussed here.

Headings on old style File pages for foreign language texts differ from the current format only in one respect—they lack the *OWC* code.

D. Subject Classification System

The materials within each Cultural File are organized by subject, according to a special classification system. The following section will describe this system and explain how it is applied to the source materials and how the resulting arrangement of materials in a File is accomplished.

1. The Outline of Cultural Materials (OCM). The *OCM* is a manual which presents a comprehensive subject classification system pertaining to all aspects of man's behavior, social life, customs, material products, and ecological setting. (See the Preface of the *OCM* for a discussion of the rationale and theoretical principles underlying this system of classification.) This system is used for the classification of materials

in all the Files; therefore, the *OCM* functions as a kind of subject index to the entire HRAF Files.

The *OCM* consists of 710 numbered subject categories, plus a category numbered 000 for unclassified materials (see item (d) in section D.2., on p. 38). The 710 categories are grouped into seventy-nine major subject divisions, each designated by a two-number code ranging from 10 (Orientation) to 88 (Adolescence, Adulthood, and Old Age). Within each major subject division, more specific categories—up to nine in number—are defined and designated by a three-number code. For example, the 59 Family division is subdivided into seven more specific subject categories as follows: 591 Residence, 592 Household, 593 Family Relationships, 594 Nuclear Family, 595 Polygamy, 596 Extended Families, and 597 Adoption; the 86 Socialization division includes among its nine specific categories: 861 Techniques of Inculcation, 862 Weaning and Food Training, . . . 869 Transmission of Beliefs.

Following the number and title of each category in the *OCM* is a brief descriptive statement, indicating the range of information which may be classified under that category. It is impossible, of course, to do more than suggest the immense variety of specific content. Beneath the statement there normally appears a list of cross-references to other categories under which related information may be classified. These cross-references are presented in tabular form in numerical order. (See the sample *OCM* page in Illustration 5 on p. 32.)

This system of subject categories was developed largely on a practical, trial-and-error basis. The categories, therefore, represent a sort of common denominator of the ways in which anthropologists, geographers, sociologists, historians, and nonprofessional recorders of cultural data habitually organize their materials. (See Ford [1971] for further discussion of the development of the *OCM* and Moore [1971] for a discussion of classification problems.)

Some authors organize their data into broader or more abstract categories than do others. The *OCM* adopts a number of these, e.g. 181 (Ethos), 463 (Occupational Specialization), 511 (Standard of Living). It should be emphasized, however, that broad categories of this type will normally include only data thus organized in the sources, and that much pertinent information on such topics will be found only under the more specific categories employed in other sources.

To avoid overloading certain categories with masses of descriptive detail about the artifacts employed as means in the particular cultural activity, or produced as results thereof, a number of categories are reserved specifically for such descriptive data. The most important of these are found in divisions 29 (Clothing), 34 (Structures), 40 (Machines), 41 (Tools and Appliances), and 71 (Military Technology).

Some categories, e.g. those of divisions 77 (Religious Beliefs) and 82 (Ideas about Nature and Man), are reserved primarily for symbolic or ideational behavior. A number of categories are concerned almost exclusively with organized social relationships and groups, e.g. those in divisions 47 (Business and Industrial Organization), 61 (Kin Groups), 64 (State), 70 (Armed Forces), and 79 (Ecclesiastical Organization).

A major distinction should be noted between those categories—the great majority—which describe the behavior, customs, or social organization of a people as it appears equally to a member of that culture and to an outside observer, and other categories which present interpretations or conclusions involving a level of scientific knowledge and abstraction usually possible only in a highly trained observer. The latter type includes most of the categories in divisions 13 through 19 and such others as 435 (Price and Value), 511 (Standard of Living), 781 (Religious Experience), and 811 (Logic).

A *Table of Contents* and an extensive, detailed *Index* aid the location of appropriate subject categories by the researcher (cf. Illustrations 6 and 7 on pp. 33-34).

2. Coding Techniques. *"Coding"* refers to the subject classification of source materials by the application of the pertinent *OCM* subject category code numbers to the source pages. The following procedures pertain only to the current File page format; procedures applied to old style File pages will be discussed separately.

Every File page must have at least one category number entered in the margin adjacent to the first line of text on that page. This is necessary because each page is treated as a separate slip of paper. If no other numbers are pertinent to the information on a page, three zeroes (000) should appear to indicate nonclassified data (cf. item (d), p. 38).

Classification of the text information is done sentence by sentence, though most category numbers apply to a paragraph at least. Category numbers may be entered singly or in groups, depending on whether one or more subjects are discussed in any specific block

ILLUSTRATION 5

Sample Page from the *Outline of Cultural Materials*

(reduced)

589 CELIBACY--prevalence of bachelors and spinsters; reasons for celibacy; status and activities of unmarried, widowed, and divorced celibates; etc. See also:

Religious celibates	79	Chastity	831
Care of widows	736	Premarital adulthood	885
Mourning	765		

---

59 FAMILY

59 FAMILY--general statements dealing with several specific aspects of the family. The family is a social group consisting of two or more adults of different sex who are married to one another, and of one or more children, own or adopted, of the married parents. It is to be distinguished alike from marriage, the social relationship uniting the parents of opposite sex, and from the household, the social group occupying a dwelling or other domicile. Hence, strictly speaking, a married but childless couple or a widowed or divorced parent with children may form a household but not a family.

591 RESIDENCE--prevailing rule governing the place of residence of a married couple (e.g., matrilocal, avunculocal, patrilocal, neolocal); existence of combined rules (e.g., alternating, bilocal, matri-patrilocal); occurrence of alternative rules under special circumstances; extent to which marriage normally involves the removal of bride or groom to another community (e.g., local exogamy, local endogamy); residence changes by children or unmarried adults (e.g., removal to home of grandparents or maternal uncle); residence changes made late in married life; evidence bearing upon former or current changes in residence rules; etc. See also:

Dwellings	342	Residence readjustments after divorce	586
Settlement patterns	361	Organization of the community	621
Bride-service	583	Residence changes by widows and widowers	768
Postmarital visits	585		

592 HOUSEHOLD--typical composition (e.g., nuclear or polygamous family, joint or extended family, clan); range, types, and incidence of variations; extent of inclusion of servants, retainers, and dependent relatives (e.g., aged grandparents, parents-in-law); physical seat (e.g., a single small or large dwelling, a cluster of adjacent huts, a compound); functions and cooperative activities of the household unit as such (i.e., irrespective of variations in family composition); locus of authority; rule of succession; mechanism for adjusting disputes within the household; ownership of dwelling, food stores, and household possessions; etc. Functions associated with particular forms of the family rather than with the household as such will be found in separate categories. See also:

83

ILLUSTRATION 6

Sample Page from the *Outline of Cultural Materials* Table of Contents

(reduced)

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ILLUSTRATION 7

Sample Page from the *Outline of Cultural Materials* Index

(reduced)

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Industry (specialized), aircraft, 399;
  automobile, 398; beverage, 274;
  capital goods, 39; chemical, 38;
  coal products, 382; electrical sup-
  plies, 393; fertilizer, 387; iron
  and steel industry, 327; machine,
  392; motion picture, 546; petroleum,
  382; railway equipment, 397;
  recreational and art supplies, 549;
  rubber, 383; synthetic, 384; to-
  bacco, 277
Infancy and childhood, 85
Infant, betrothal, 584; mortality, 165;
  sexuality, 864
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Infanticide, 847
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  treatment of, 757
Inferiority, incidence of, 152
Infibulation, 304
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  group justice, 628
Informants, 115
Information, dissemination of, 203;
  gathering of, for press, 204
Ingestion, ideas about, 261, 827
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  tion of, 186
Inheritance, 428; taxes, 651
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  694
Initiation, puberty, 881; into age
  grades, 561
Injuries, treatment of, 752
Innovation, 176
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Insane persons, care of, 758; exemp-
  tions from legal responsibility, 672
Insanity, incidence of, 158; treat-
  ment of, 755
Insecticides, manufacture of, 38, 278,
  314; use, animals, 231; human, 751
Insects, protective measures taken
  against, 751; incidence of, 136;
  measures to protect animals from,
  231, etc.; paraphernalia worn as
  protection against, 293; mosquito
  netting, 513; body lice, 515

Insignia, 301; as prestige symbols,
  554; military, 703, 714
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  cal, 534; navigation, 416, 502
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Integration, cultural, 178, 182;
  personal, 154, 155
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  as a social group, 571
Intelligence tests, 125; results of,
  153
Intent, legal definition of, 672
Interaction, social, 571
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Intercourse, sexual, 833
Interest, 426; on public debt, 652
Interior decoration and arrange-
  ment, 353
Internal migration, 166
International relations, 648
Interpersonal relations, 57
Interpreters, selection and use
  of, 124
Intertribal relationships, 648
Interviewing, 124
Intimidation of gods, 782
Intoxicants, 273
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Inventions, 176; as property, 424
Investment, 454
Iron and steel industry, 327
Ironworking, 326
Irredentism, 563, 648
Irregular unions, 588
Irrigation, 312

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Jails, 697
Jealousy, 152
Jesters, 522
Jewelers, 306; tools, 413
Jewelry manufacture, 306
Jokes, 522
Joking relationships, 602
Judicial authority, 692

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Juggling, 524
Juries, 693
Jurisprudence, 671
Jus primae noctis, 585
Justice, 69; as an ideal, 577
Justice, informal in-group, 627;
  informal inter-group, 628

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Kaolin, 317
Kava, as a beverage, 272;
  as a stimulant, 276
Kidnapping, 673
Killing humans, 682
Kin groups, 61
Kin relationships, 602
Kindreds, 612
Kingship, divine, 643
Kinship, 60
Kinship regulation of sex, 835
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  town, country, 438; drafts, 466,
  653; levies, 651; by age, 561;
  by sex, 462
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  wealth, 427, 556; clearing of, 241
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34

of data. The category number or group of numbers is recorded in the margin of the page as nearly as possible opposite the beginning words of the first sentence to which the number or group is appropriate. This category number or group of numbers is applicable until the data vary in subject matter and a new number or group of numbers is more pertinent.

If discussion of a single subject or the same group of subjects is continued for several pages, the same category number or group of numbers will be repeated at the beginning of each page until another subject is introduced or the discussion of any particular subject ceases.

Each time a new category number or group of numbers is introduced, all previously entered numbers cease to be applicable unless they are repeated in the new series. For example, on the sample File page in Illustration 8 (cf. p. 36), category number 668 (Political Movements) applies to the first three lines of text. This initial category number ceases to apply as category 177 (Acculturation) is introduced at the fourth line of text. This means that there are no data on political movements in the immediately subsequent part of the text. If there were, number 668 would be repeated along with the new number 177. When data on political movements again appear in the bottom three lines of text, number 668 is repeated there, along with the other pertinent category number 648 (International Relations). The only exception to this principle occurs in the case of category numbers enclosed in brackets, as discussed in item (b), below.

On old style File pages, a different procedure is followed, as already noted in section C, above. The subject category code numbers are listed sequentially in one or more rows directly below the first line of the heading, starting at the left-hand side of the page (cf. Illustration 10 on p. 39). In the sample old style File page shown in Illustration 10, the short line drawn below category number 565 indicates that this particular copy of this File page was placed in category 565 in the Korea File. Finally, it may be noted that category number 116 appears on this sample File page. This practice has been discontinued in the current format since an extra copy of every File page is automatically printed for inclusion in the 116 Text category.

As a rule, information is not classified for both a specific category and the categories to which it is cross-referenced in the *OCM*, since it is assumed that the researcher will investigate all of the categories to which he is referred by the *OCM*. Similarly, categories which follow each other consecutively in the *OCM* are normally not used for the same passage. If, for example, a passage refers to both courtship (category 584) and nuptials (category 585), a decision is usually made as to which category is more appropriate, and the passage is classified accordingly. The researcher should, therefore, consult categories adjacent to the one he is using for material that may be relevant to his topic.

Whenever possible, information is classified according to a specific three-number category rather than the broader two-number categories. In addition, certain other technical conventions are used to make the Files as useful as possible to the researcher. These include the two-number, bracketed, asterisked, and zeroed categories, each of which is discussed below.

(a) **Two-number categories.** A two-number *OCM* category is used when the nature of the material is such that a breakdown into more specific three-number categories is not feasible. For example, a passage covering briefly information pertinent to categories 301 (Ornament), 302 (Toilet), and 305 (Beauty Specialists) may be classified only for category 30 (Adornment).

(b) **Bracketed categories.** An *OCM* category number is enclosed in brackets to indicate to the researcher that only the sentence or two opposite the bracketed number contains information pertinent to that specific category. The last preceding *unbracketed* category number or group of numbers applies equally to material immediately opposite and succeeding the position of the bracketed number. For example, on the sample File page in Illustration 9 (cf. p. 37) most of the page deals with preventive medicine (category 751), but there are also brief references to sects (category 795), ethnobotany (category 824), ethnozoology (category 825), and sorcery (category 754). The category numbers for these brief references are all enclosed in brackets to indicate that only the immediately adjacent passages are pertinent to those category numbers, and that category number 751 continues to apply.

It should be emphasized that bracketed categories *do not* indicate any difference in the importance or validity of the adjacent information as compared to other material classified with unbracketed numbers. The brackets indicate that the information so marked is brief and may be incidental or parenthetical to the subject matter discussed at greater length in the larger context. The distinction between material marked by bracketed numbers and

ILLUSTRATION 8

Sample File Page, Annotated

AUTHOR'S TRAINING
(Ethnologist)

SOURCE EVALUATION (Original
Field Work by Trained Researcher)

OUTLINE OF WORLD CULTURES CODE
(Indicating Location of Text Category)

SOURCE
NUMBER

AUTHOR'S
LAST
NAME

DATE OF
FIELD
WORK

DATE OF
PUBLICATION

NAME OF
SOCIETY

OUTLINE OF WORLD CULTURES CODE
(Indicating Location of Category Pages)

2: Lewis E-5 (1956–1957) 1958 MO4 Somali MO4

MODERN POLITICAL MOVEMENTS IN SOMALILAND   251

chiefs and a new elite—although there is something of this especially among the Sab of Somalia. The real struggle is between the ideal of national unity as opposed to the reality of the values of clanship and sectional kinship interests in the lineage system.

668 ——— POLITICAL MOVEMENTS

As a whole, the Somalilands, because of their poverty in natural resources, have been little affected economically by European colonization. Pastoral nomadism remains the basic economy, carrying with it for the majority of the population the traditional political structure and kinship values described above. There has been no general local industrial revolution[1] and correspondingly little large-scale urbanization. The main towns in the Somali territories are tabulated here for comparison with estimates of their population.

177 ——— ACCULTURATION

361 ——— SETTLEMENT PATTERNS

162 ——— COMPOSITION OF POPULATION

French Somaliland   Jibuti, new town, population c. 30,000 (15,000 Somali).[2]
British Protectorate   Hargeisa, new town, population[3] c. 30,000 Somali.
Harar Province of Ethiopia Harar, ancient city, population[4] c. 60,000 (2,000? Somali).
Somalia   Mogadishu, ancient city,[5] population c. 110,000.

The presence of a class of traders is no new phenomenon, although the Somali element in it, as opposed to the Asian immigrant, has probably considerably increased over the last twenty years. Through foreign colonization markets have widened and trade extended. In the absence of any large European settler community in Somaliland the middle class of 'new men', which has arisen elsewhere in Africa in response to colonial rule, has been largely absorbed in posts in the administrative services. The influence of a European alien community is most marked in Somalia, the former Italian colony and the foothold for the Italian conquest of Ethiopia. But, compared with other African colonies, the numbers are small—at present including expatriate administrative staff amounting to little over 4,000—and economic developments and the attraction of foreign investments have been correspondingly slight. Certainly in Somalia the work of the agricultural associations (the largest being the *Societa Agricola Italo Somala*, S.A.I.S.) constitutes an economic development of some importance.[6] But the number of labourers employed here and in light industries is small. The population of Somalia is estimated[7] to consist of 40 per cent. nomads, 30 per cent. pastoralists who practise some agriculture, 20 per cent riverine cultivators, and 10 per cent. town dwellers. In the British Protectorate 5 per cent. of the population are thought to practise cultivation (the north-western cultivators), 5 per cent. to live in towns, and the remainder (90 per cent.) to be fully nomadic.[8]

441 ——— MERCANTILE BUSINESS

563 ——— ETHNIC STRATIFICATION

162 ——— COMPOSITION OF POPULATION

In the small territory of French Somaliland, on the other hand, almost half of the mixed Somali, Danakil, and Arab population is concentrated in the relatively heavily industrialized port of Jibuti, on which the country's economy mainly depends.

As a whole, the Somali have not been harshly administered or savagely oppressed under the colonial regimes. This common spur to nationalism—in the form of opposition to colonial rule—was probably, however, of some significance in Somalia

648 ——— INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

668 ——— POLITICAL MOVEMENTS

[1] This factor is justly stressed for other parts of Africa in T. Hodgkin's essay, *Nationalism in Colonial Africa*, London, 1956.
[2] *Documents et Statistiques*, No. xv., Feb. 1957, p. 6.
[3] *Colonial Reports, Somaliland Protectorate, 1952/3,* 1954, p. 20, gives a figure of 32,000.
[4] This seems a reasonable estimate for 1957 from

31,000 recorded in 1938 by Francolini, 1938, p. !115.
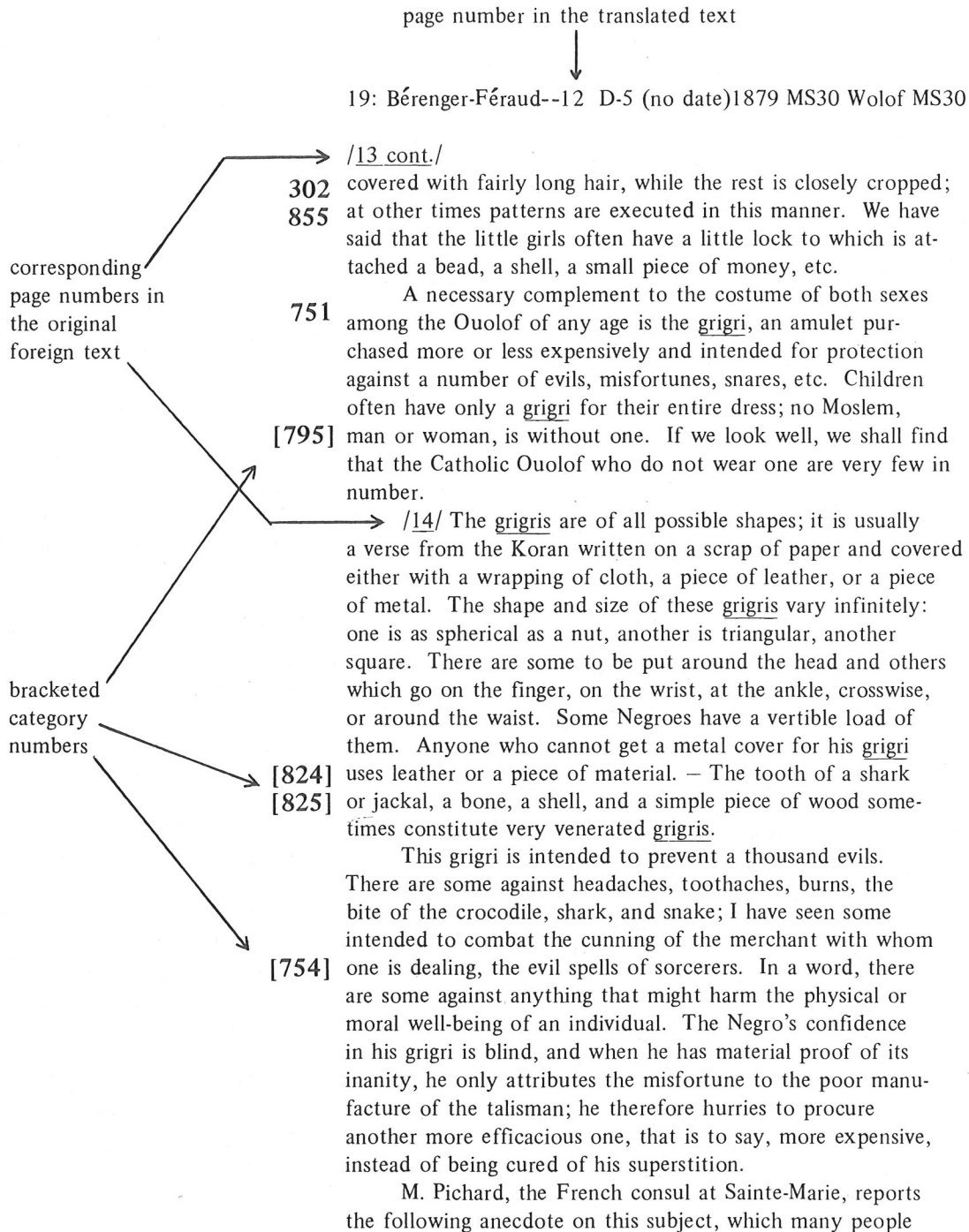[5] *Rapport . . . Somalie, 1955*, p. 149.
[6] See *Rapport . . . Somalie, 1955*, pp. 64-77; Lewis, 1955, pp. 80-82.
[7] *Rapport . . . Somalie, 1955*, p. 89.
[8] Hunt, 1951, p. 121.

ILLUSTRATION 9

Sample File Page, Translation with Bracketed Categories, Partly Annotated

page number in the translated text

↓

19: Bérenger-Féraud--12 D-5 (no date)1879 MS30 Wolof MS30

corresponding page numbers in the original foreign text

bracketed category numbers

/13 cont./

302
855 covered with fairly long hair, while the rest is closely cropped; at other times patterns are executed in this manner. We have said that the little girls often have a little lock to which is attached a bead, a shell, a small piece of money, etc.

751 A necessary complement to the costume of both sexes among the Ouolof of any age is the grigri, an amulet purchased more or less expensively and intended for protection against a number of evils, misfortunes, snares, etc. Children often have only a grigri for their entire dress; no Moslem,

[795] man or woman, is without one. If we look well, we shall find that the Catholic Ouolof who do not wear one are very few in number.

/14/ The grigris are of all possible shapes; it is usually a verse from the Koran written on a scrap of paper and covered either with a wrapping of cloth, a piece of leather, or a piece of metal. The shape and size of these grigris vary infinitely: one is as spherical as a nut, another is triangular, another square. There are some to be put around the head and others which go on the finger, on the wrist, at the ankle, crosswise, or around the waist. Some Negroes have a vertible load of them. Anyone who cannot get a metal cover for his grigri

[824] uses leather or a piece of material. — The tooth of a shark
[825] or jackal, a bone, a shell, and a simple piece of wood sometimes constitute very venerated grigris.

This grigri is intended to prevent a thousand evils. There are some against headaches, toothaches, burns, the bite of the crocodile, shark, and snake; I have seen some intended to combat the cunning of the merchant with whom

[754] one is dealing, the evil spells of sorcerers. In a word, there are some against anything that might harm the physical or moral well-being of an individual. The Negro's confidence in his grigri is blind, and when he has material proof of its inanity, he only attributes the misfortune to the poor manufacture of the talisman; he therefore hurries to procure another more efficacious one, that is to say, more expensive, instead of being cured of his superstition.

M. Pichard, the French consul at Sainte-Marie, reports the following anecdote on this subject, which many people

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*Some of the comments on this sample File page obviously reflect the biases of a nineteenth-century European, but the specific data reported are valid and useful.

that classified by unbracketed numbers is thus one which is clearly quantitative, *not* qualitative.

(c) **Asterisked categories.** An asterisk (*) is sometimes placed beside a category number to indicate that a block of material pertinent to this category exists, and that this material will be found only in the complete text (category 116). For example, in a collection of folk tales, category 539 (Literary Texts) would apply to each page, and the book might thus appear in its entirety in both the 116 and 539 categories. To avoid this duplication, category 539 is asterisked (*539), a cross-reference slip is prepared for category 539 referring the researcher to category 116, and File pages are printed only for the 116 category. It is not necessary for the pages that have been asterisked to be strictly consecutive; the major criteria are that they be more than thirty pages in length and just as useful in category 116 as in a specific subject category.

(d) **Zeroed categories.** Passages which have no relevance to any category in the *OCM* are "zeroed out," i.e. three zeroes (000) are placed opposite the text to which they apply. Material so marked appears only in category 116 (Texts). Triple zeroes are most frequently used for tables of contents, acknowledgments, speculations of the author, random comments, etc.

3. **Multiple filing techniques.** Within each Cultural File, the File pages are arranged according to *OCM* subject categories. This is accomplished by the following procedure. One copy of a page of text is reproduced for each *different* category number on that page, and a copy filed under each of the appropriate subject categories within that File. An additional copy is made and filed in the 116 Text category. Thus each File contains both a complete, page-order text copy of every source processed for that File, plus a series of category divisions within which all pages dealing with a particular subject are brought together.

The sample File page in Illustration 8 may serve as an example of this technique. This page was processed for the MO4 Somali File, and it contains seven *different* category numbers written in the margin. Seven copies of this page were reproduced, and a copy filed within each of those seven subject categories in the Somali File. An eighth copy was also made and filed in the 116 Text category of the Somali File. In this way, all of the information on, for instance, political movements (category 668) among the Somali, from all of the sources processed for the Somali File, is to be found in a single block in Category 668 in the MO4 Somali File.

This process of reproducing and filing multiple copies of text pages by subject categories within each Cultural File is what makes the HRAF Files a rapid and efficient data retrieval system, which can significantly facilitate any relevant research project.

4. **Inclusion of Complete, Page-Order Texts.** A complete copy, in page order, of every source processed for a particular Cultural File is included in category 116 (Texts) of that File. These sources are arranged in order by source number. By referring to category 116, users of a File can establish the complete original context for any File page appearing in other categories of that File.

If a source was translated from a foreign language especially for inclusion in the Files, a complete, page-order copy of the foreign text is also placed in category 116, directly following the English translation.

E. Physical Format of the Paper Files

The Paper Files are composed of standardized 5″ x 8″ paper slips called File pages. (There are now approximately three million File pages in each complete set of the Paper Files.) The textual content is printed (or typed, in the case of old style File pages) on only one side of each File page. These pages are then filed in filing cabinets with drawers of the appropriate dimensions. There is a separate File for each distinctive cultural unit as defined in the *OWC*. Within each File, the File pages are arranged topically according to the subject categories of the *OCM*. For example, as noted in the description of multiple filing techniques, all of the pages marked for information on political movements (category 668) among the Somali, from all the sources processed, are to be found in a single block, between tabbed separator cards, under Category 668 of the MO4 Somali File. Within such a block of File pages, the individual pages are arranged in a definite order, first by sequential source number, and second, within each source, by sequential page number.

A complete set of the Paper Files may be found at each of HRAF's twenty-four sponsoring institutions, and a twenty-fifth set is maintained at HRAF headquarters in New Haven, Connecticut.

F. Microfilm Card Formats

Physically, the HRAF-Microfiles consist of 3″ x 5″ microfilm cards. (This program was started before the general adoption of the now standard 4″ x 6″ microfiche size, and the 3″ x 5″ size was chosen so

ILLUSTRATION 10

Sample File Page (Old Style), Partly Annotated

(reduced)

Note: *Only those items in the heading which do not correspond to the items explained in Illustration 8 are annotated. See p. 30 for a discussion of this heading format.*

PAGE NUMBERS IN THE SOURCE   OCM SUBJECT CATEGORY CODE NUMBERS   NOTE LACK OF OWC CODE

22: Osgood--146-147   E-5   (1947) 1951   Koreans
116, 175, 428, 565, 665

"The great importance of family and clan held for all the Korean people irrespective of class and condition, but for political and social reasons more emphasis was given to status by the Yangpan group. Active allegiance to a political party was almost inevitable, since these latter organizations were primarily alliances established between powerful families controlling most of the land and the farmers who cultivated it. Family records were kept over many generations and it was inevitable that sons to inherit the positions of power and prestige were a first requirement. Therefore, although the life pattern of the indi- [147] vidual is parallel in both classes, notable emphases appear in that of the Yangpan, as we shall see."

that the cards would fit regular library catalogue card drawers.) With only minor exceptions, each Cultural File in the HRAF-Microfiles is an exact photographic duplicate of the corresponding Paper File. The microfilm cards within each Cultural File are arranged sequentially according to the subject category code numbers of the *OCM*.

There are two types of microfilm cards. For the first ten years of the HRAF-Microfiles program (1958-67), microfilm strips jacketed in acetate and cardboard were used, capable of accommodating up to twenty-seven File page images (cf. Illustrations 11 and 12). Since 1968, a complete microfiche format has been used that is capable of accommodating up to sixty File page images (cf. Illustrations 13 and 14). The top portion or *heading* of each microfilm card, whether jacketed microfilm or microfiche, carries the essential identification and control information. The information elements presented in the headings of both types of microfilm cards are as follows: (1) each card is numbered consecutively within a given File as an aid in filing and refiling the cards—this is called the card serial number; (2) the proper *OWC* code and the name of the cultural unit are indicated; and (3) the *OCM* category code number(s) for the subject(s) contained on that card are listed. Beyond this
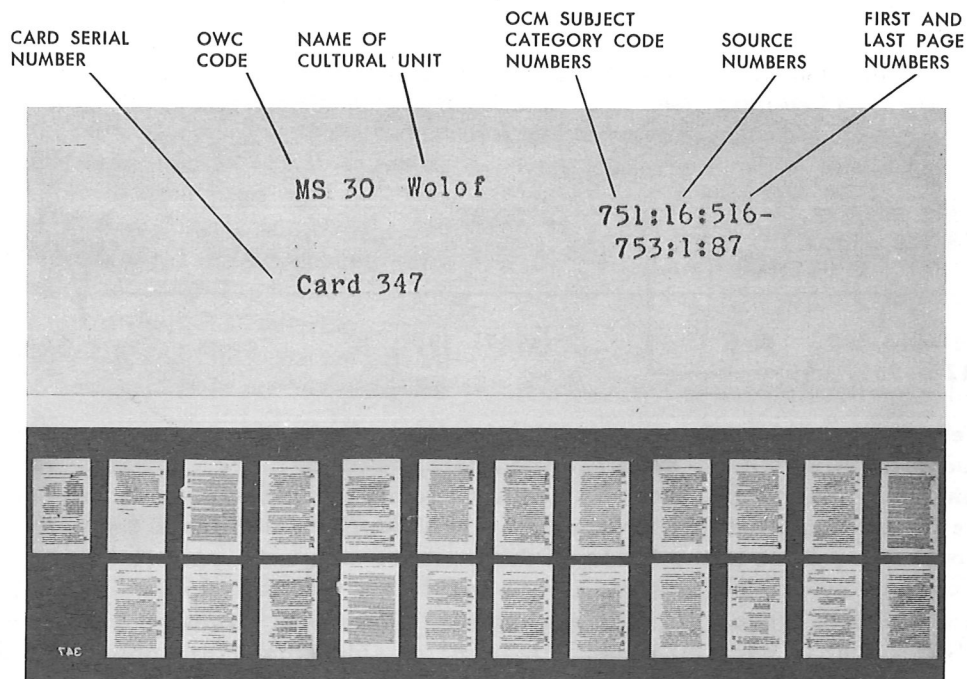
common framework, the number, kind, and arrangement of information elements in the heading differ in the two types of microfilm cards, as may be seen from an inspection of Illustrations 11 through 14. It should also be noted that while the headings on the jacketed microfilm cards follow the *same pattern* in cards marked for both the 116 Text category and for the other subject categories, the headings on the microfiche cards *differ* in this respect, with additional information (i.e. the source number, author's surname, and the page numbers of the first and last File pages appearing on that card) being included in the heading of cards classified for the 116 Text category.

Other than relatively minor variations in the headings, there are two significant format differences between the jacketed microfilm cards and the microfiche cards. These differences involve the number of subject categories treated per card, and the arrangement of File page images on a card.

On a microfiche card, only the File pages that have been filed in a single subject category (in the Paper Files) will appear, even though there may be space for more File page images. Or, if a card has been headed for Category 116 (Texts), only File pages from a single source will appear on that card. On
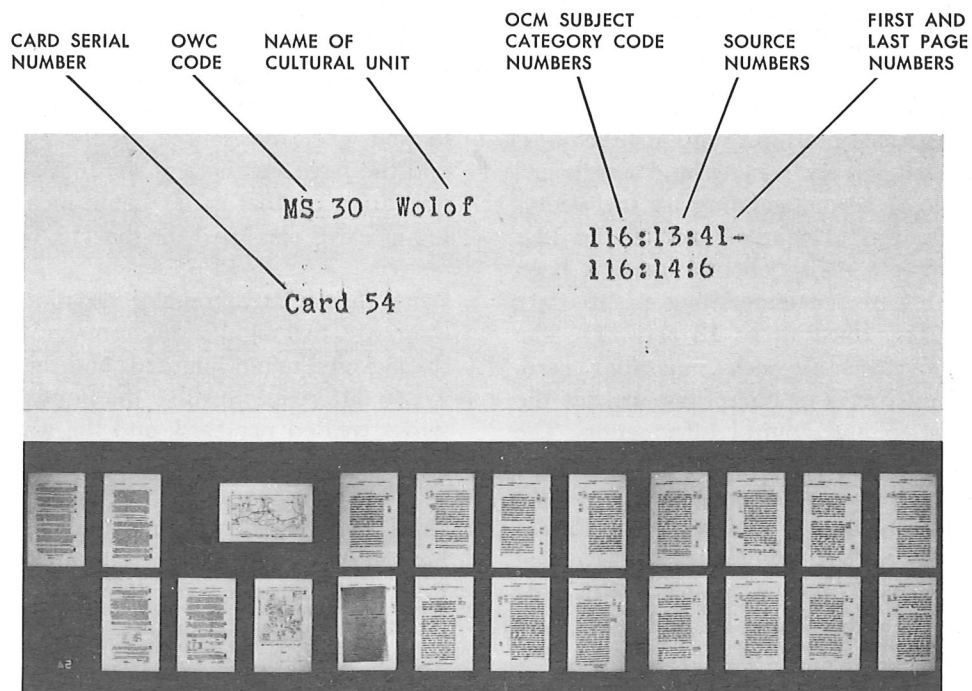
ILLUSTRATION 11

Sample Jacketed Microfilm Card, Annotated

CARD SERIAL NUMBER · OWC CODE · NAME OF CULTURAL UNIT · OCM SUBJECT CATEGORY CODE NUMBERS · SOURCE NUMBERS · FIRST AND LAST PAGE NUMBERS

MS 30 Wolof

751:16:516–
753:1:87

Card 347

ILLUSTRATION 12

Sample Jacketed Microfilm Card from Category 116 (Texts), Annotated

CARD SERIAL NUMBER · OWC CODE · NAME OF CULTURAL UNIT · OCM SUBJECT CATEGORY CODE NUMBERS · SOURCE NUMBERS · FIRST AND LAST PAGE NUMBERS

MS 30 Wolof

116:13:41–
116:14:6

Card 54

ILLUSTRATION 13

Sample Microfiche Card, Annotated

OCM SUBJECT CATEGORY CODE NUMBER   CARD SERIAL NUMBER   OWC CODE   NAME OF CULTURAL UNIT

Category 621 (3)   MB1 Turkey
Card 388
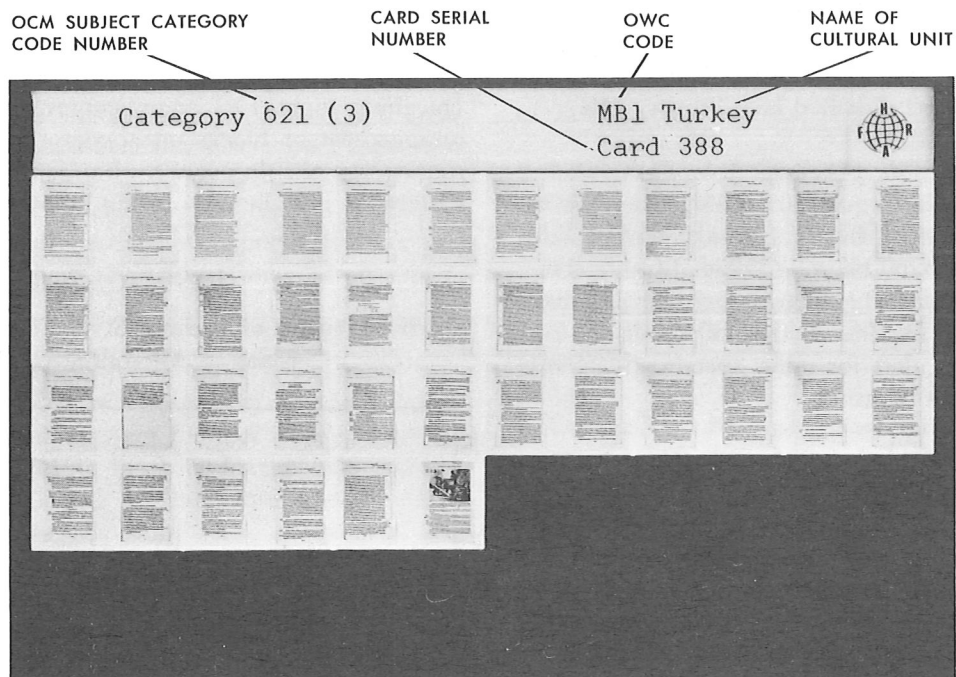
ILLUSTRATION 14

Sample Microfiche Card from Category 116 (Texts), Annotated

SOURCE NUMBER, AUTHOR'S SURNAME, AND PAGE NUMBERS   CARD SERIAL NUMBER   OWC CODE   NAME OF CULTURAL UNIT

Category 116 (7)   MB1 Turkey
2:Makal p.42-99   Card 18
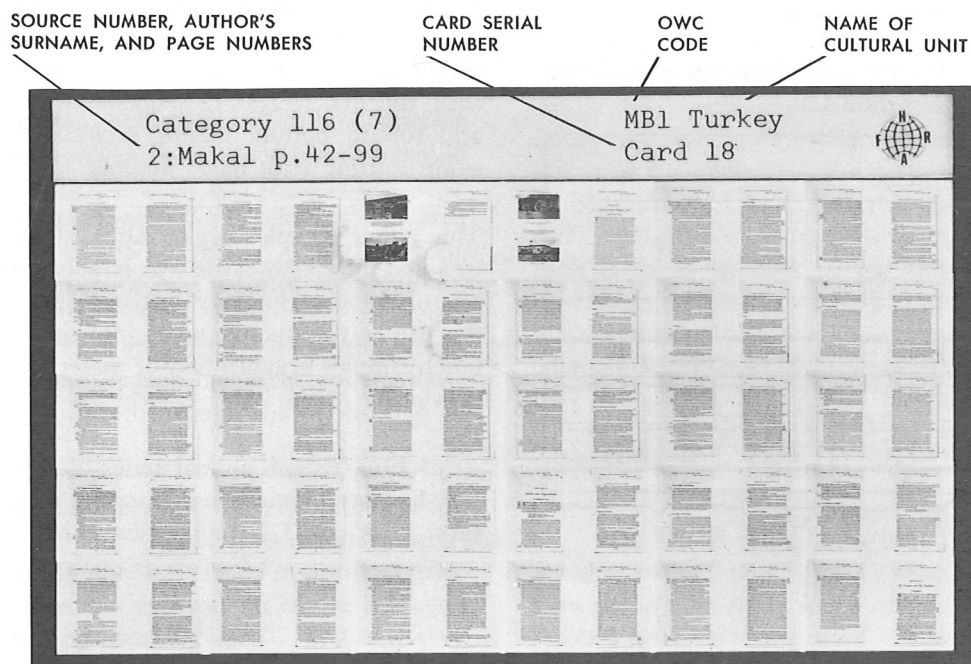
jacketed microfilm cards, in contrast, all of the available space for File page images will be used, so that File pages that were filed in more than one subject category (in the Paper Files) may appear on a single card, depending upon the number of File pages per category. And File pages from more than one source may appear on a card classified for Category 116.

The arrangement of File page images on a microfiche card follows a regular sequence, running from left to right and top to bottom, but the arrangement of File page images on jacketed microfilm cards is more complicated and variable. There are two basic patterns, each of which will be described briefly, but the researcher should be alert for other specific variations in the cards he may be using.

The first pattern is used mainly for old style File pages, with type running the width of the File page. On a microfilm card these pages are arranged into three rows with up to nine File pages per row—making nine columns. The columns are then grouped into three blocks of three columns each (meaning nine File page images per block). For purposes of discussion, we will number these blocks 1, 2, and 3. Usually, block number 1 appears on the *right*-hand side of a microfilm card, block number 2 in the center, and block number 3 on the left side. In this case the File pages are sequenced from *right to left* and top to bottom *within each block* successively, starting with block number 1. This pattern is illustrated in the following diagram:

DIAGRAM 1

Arrangement of Old Style File Pages on a Jacketed Microfilm Card

| Block 3 | Block 2 | Block 1 |
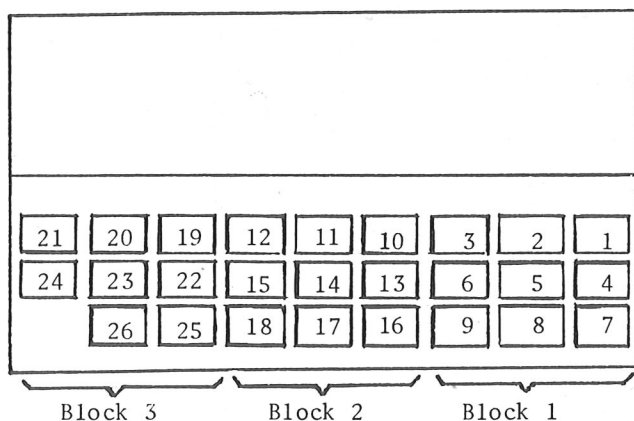
The second pattern is used for current style File pages, which are mainly photoreproductions of original text pages. On a microfilm card these pages are arranged into two rows with up to twelve File pages per row—making twelve columns. The columns are then grouped into three blocks of four columns each (meaning eight File page images per block). The arrangement of blocks on a microfilm card and the sequencing of File pages are the same as for the first pattern, as may be seen in the following diagram:

DIAGRAM 2

Arrangement of Current Style File Pages on a Jacketed Microfilm Card

| Block 3 | Block 2 | Block 1 |
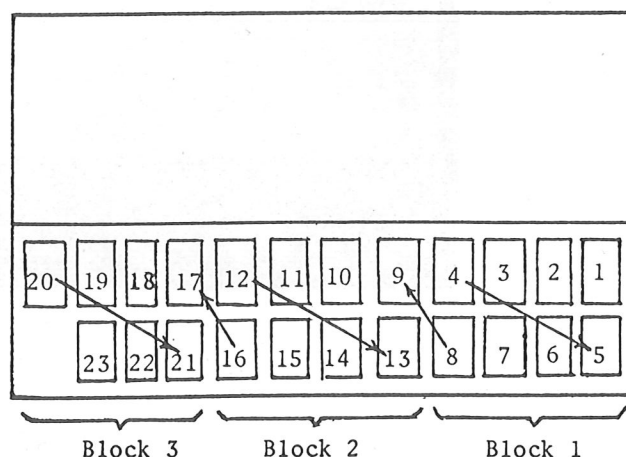
Occasionally the arrangement of blocks and the sequencing of File pages may be *reversed* in *both* patterns. That is, block number 1 may appear on the *left*-hand side of a microfilm card, block number 2 in the center, and block number 3 on the right side. In that case, the File pages are sequenced from *left to right* and top to bottom *within each block* successively, again starting with block number 1.

This rather complex organization of materials on the jacketed microfilm cards was largely a product of the microfilming technology available at the time. With the use of the microfiche format initiated in 1968, a much simpler organization of materials is possible, as previously noted.

As of 1973, sixteen annual series of the HRAF-Microfiles had been issued, incorporating a total of 190 Cultural Files on 71,375 microfilm cards.

The HRAF Files constitute the focal component of a developing information system. HRAF's over-all objective is the provision of a comprehensive, integrated, cultural information system for comparative and area research in the social-behavioral sciences. This section of the Guide presents brief descriptions of the other components of this system that are already available or currently under development. Further information about these components may be obtained from HRAF.

A. The HRAF Orientation Film

This film (16 mm., color & sound, ca. 15 min.) is entitled "Human Relations Area Files: A Fund of Knowledge." It presents (1) a brief intellectual and organizational history of HRAF (2) the nature and structure of the HRAF Files (3) some basic procedures for using the Files most efficiently, and (4) varied usages for which the Files are particularly suitable. This is not, however, a technical instructional film. Rather, it was produced by HRAF to serve primarily as a communications device; it provides a good introduction to the Files for persons unfamiliar with the Collection. As such, the film has proven to be an effective means of disseminating knowledge about the Files, and for improving the quantitative and qualitative usage of the Files through its presentation to librarians, academic departments, and students.

B. Bibliographic Components

HRAF has developed a sophisticated, computerized bibliographic system for the collection, organization, storage, manipulation, and retrieval of bibliographic data. This system, called HABS (HRAF Automated Bibliographic System), is especially designed to serve the needs of the social-behavioral sciences and area studies. Details of HABS cannot be presented here, but the interested reader may consult Koh (1973), which gives a full description of the basic characteristics and capabilities of the system. All of the bibliographic components discussed below, except for those in item 4, were produced through the application of HABS.

1. **The HRAF Source Bibliography.** This bibliography contains a listing of all books, articles, and manuscripts processed for the HRAF Files. Bibliographic entries are organized by cultural units and arranged in alphanumeric sequence by *OWC* codes. Every entry that has been included in the HRAF-Microfiles is annotated with the year of inclusion in parentheses.

The bibliography is indexed by area and alphabetically by author and by cultural unit. It was first published in 1969, and it is up-dated annually by means of HABS.

2. **Library Catalog Cards.** In order to make the materials in the HRAF Files more accessible to potential users, HRAF also produces a set of standard library catalog cards, which may be interfiled with existing catalog files in a subscribing institution's library. The cards cover all of the monographs processed for the HRAF Files.

3. **Culture Unit Bibliographies.** Rarely, if ever, will all of the available literature on a cultural unit be processed for the HRAF Files (see section V.B.2. on p. 28 for a discussion of this point). To complement the materials in the Files, therefore, HRAF plans to produce comprehensive, analytical bibliographies on all of the incorporated cultural units. These bibliographies will be inserted in the pertinent Files, including index entries in the relevant subject categories, and will also be issued in published form. This combination of the data in a Cultural File plus the related analytical bibliography will provide a new and powerful research tool for social scientists. Thus far, only three such bibliographies have been almost fully processed: Copper Eskimo, Lapps, and Pawnee. Bibliographies on other cultural units will be produced as rapidly as is feasible.

4. **Bibliographies of Cross-Cultural Studies.** In section II.B. of this Guide, the use of the HRAF Files for cross-cultural research was explored at length. Within the past few years HRAF has expanded its role in this field by sponsoring the preparation of annotated bibliographies of cross-cultural studies (see O'Leary 1969, 1971, 1973a). Part of the information given for each entry is whether or not the study was based directly or indirectly on data from the HRAF Files. More importantly, since these are the only regular, comprehensive bibliographies published in this field, they make a significant and widely appreciated contribution to the assessment and development of cross-cultural research.

C. The HRAF Index

Another major research tool is the *Index to the Human Relations Area Files* (8 vols., approx. 5,000 pages), which was prepared under the joint auspices of HRAF and the Council for Intersocietal Studies at Northwestern University. This publication is a com-

plete, page-by-page, line-by-line subject index to over 4,000 sources included in the HRAF Files up to about the end of 1967. The index is organized according to the 710 subject categories of the *Outline of Cultural Materials,* and contains over 2,000,000 page references keyed to specific sources and specific Cultural Files. A major purpose of the index, when used in conjunction with the *HRAF Source Bibliography,* is to enable a user to go directly to conventional library resources in situations where the HRAF Files are not available. Also, it can be used to check the coverage in the Files on any given subject without consulting the Files themselves. Thus a researcher can determine rapidly if there is sufficient information on a subject in the Files to do whatever research he may be planning. Future up-datings of the index are planned by HRAF.

D. Coded Data Archive

HRAF is sponsoring the development of a computerized archive of coded data at the State University of New York at Buffalo under the direction of Raoul Naroll. This archive will incorporate all available cultural codes such as those published in Murdock's *Ethnographic Atlas* (1967) and Textor's *A Cross-Cultural Summary* (1968), and will also include quality control information and page references (when possible) to the data sources on which the codes are based. Computer programs will enable researchers to make various statistical analyses of the archived data. When the archive is operational, its services will be made available to scholars and students.

APPENDIX A

LIST OF ADDITIONAL CROSS-CULTURAL RESEARCH TOPICS
AND PROBLEMS FOR STUDENTS
(Including Relevant OCM Category Numbers)

1. Evidence for malnutrition and its effects (146).

2. Color perception (158, 822). Different peoples have different ranges of color names, and the question is: Do they perceive colors differently? An interesting but tricky topic.

3. Innovation and invention (176). Lord Raglan once said: "A savage is incapable of inventing anything." Check his hypothesis cross-culturally, but be sure to define your terms.

4. Evidence of race prejudice and/or religious intolerance among non-literate peoples (186, 798).

5. Concepts of progress as cultural goals (185). Get what you can from the Files and if there is not too much, summarize it and contrast it with what you know of the American concept of "getting ahead."

6-7. Secondary languages as a means of social interaction. (6) A survey of the frequency, purposes and causes of bilingualism (191).
(7) The role of special marginal languages (pidgin, trade languages), their composition and frequency (198).

8. Culturally patterned expressions of affection (or fear or disgust or grief) (201, 152). This could be an exceptional paper, showing the varieties of culturally determined responses from a single psychological stimulus.

9. The organization of agricultural labor (241). A cross-cultural study of the formation of special groups (work parties etc.) for a specific end.

10. A survey of food preservation (251). The acquisition of a food surplus is largely dependent on some means of preservation, which in turn permits men to gather into larger cultural groups. If there is too much information, narrow down topic to smoking, etc., as a means of preservation.

11. Hunger drives and gluttony (261). A survey of groups which gorge themselves periodically. Try to find out why they do it.

12. Meals and eating regularity (264). A cross-cultural study to determine if there appear to be universal physiological norms which govern eating habits. Limit yourself to the number of times a day men eat.

13. The varieties of alcoholic beverages consumed by non-Western man (273). This is always a good subject to be an authority on. Work on the kinds of food fermented and the methods of fermentation.

14. Narcotics and their nontherapeutic roles (276).

15. Uses of clothing (291). A cross-cultural study of normal clothing (exclude ceremonial clothing) to determine its functions. Is it primarily used in each group as a protection from the elements, for reasons of vanity, modesty, etc.? Do *not* make this a descriptive study, but stress *uses*. Compare the various uses cross-culturally and arrive at generalizations.

16. Sex and status differences in the wearing of ornaments (301).

17. Land usage efficiency (311). Try to answer this one question for each culture on which you can find information: Do they use land efficiently? After you have done this, make cross-cultural generalizations. There are two ways to define efficiency. One is absolute in terms of advanced agricultural technology. The second is relative, in terms of the culture. See how they both work.

18. The role of seasonal dwellings (342).

19. Status differences reflected in dwelling types (342). Generalize on the cross-cultural kinds of status roles that require special buildings.

20. Cross-cultural roles and usages of nonfunctional monuments (349). You will ultimately have to define "monuments" and "nonfunctional," perhaps challenging the latter concept.

21. A survey of weapons of warfare in nonliterate societies (411). Read category 411 in the *Outline*

of Cultural Materials and arrive at a typology of different weapons, then plot their distribution.

22. Exchange transactions (437).

23. Forms of gambling and their social roles (524). Put the emphasis upon the various cultural contexts such as laying wagers on games, contests, bets, etc.

24. Slavery (567). Discuss forms and functions.

25. Age stratification; a survey of social forms (561). Be sure to distinguish age grades where they occur.

26. A cross-cultural survey of clubs, secret societies, and other voluntary organizations with a restricted membership (575).

27. Brawls and riots: a cross-cultural study of interpersonal relationships (579).

28. Ingroup antagonism; a typological survey (578).

29. Secondary marriages of the levirate type (587).

30. A survey of the typical composition of households (592).

31. A survey of irregular marriages (588).

32. Types of adoption and their various cultural roles (597).

33. Patterns of behavior between grandparents and grandchildren; a cross-cultural study of role relationships (603).

34. Patterns of behavior toward nonrelatives (609).

35. Community and village councils as a means of social control (623).

36. Law enforcement specialization (624).

37. The prevalence of alcoholism (633).

38. A cross-cultural survey of the motives for warfare (721).

39. Sorcery as a cause of disease (754).

40. Types of medical specialists (759).

41. Incidence of suicide and attitudes toward it (762).

42. Luck and chance (777).

43. Orgies, revels, phallic rites, and other practices reflecting release from normal inhibitions (786) (stress forms and occurrence).

44. The prevalence and forms of divination (787).

45. Cultural definitions of adultery (837).

46. Prevalence of infanticide (847).

47. The role and prevalence of puberty rites (881).

48. Status of the aged (888).

APPENDIX B

DEFINING THE FILE UNITS

As indicated in section V.A.1. (p. 25), the cultural units defined in the *OWC* are highly variable in their nature and scale. Of particular importance here is the fact that while some of these *OWC* units, such as FF57 Tiv or NT23 Zuni, consist of only one distinct culture, other *OWC* units, such as FQ5 Bemba or SC7 Cagaba, consist of a number of distinct cultures, presumably closely related (in other words, a culture cluster). In the latter case, when building a corresponding Cultural File, it is necessary to decide whether to cover all of the cultures included in the *OWC* unit, or to limit the File coverage to only one component culture. Specific decisions are based on various factors, including the degree of similarity among the component cultures, the total amount of literature available on any one of these cultures, and so forth. Thus the results vary considerably from File to File. For example, the SC7 Cagaba unit in the *OWC* includes six different cultures; the SC7 Cagaba File concentrates on the best-described culture, the

Kogi, but also includes substantial information on a second culture, the Ica; whereas there is very little information on the other four cultures (see Illustration 1 on p. 22). On the other hand, the FQ5 Bemba unit in the *OWC* includes some fourteen different cultures, yet the FQ5 Bemba File is restricted essentially to only one culture, the Bemba proper.

After a particular culture has been selected for coverage in a File, there remains the further task of carefully defining and delimiting that culture, and of identifying, whenever possible, the focal subgroups or subareas best described in the literature so that

they may be emphasized in the File. A good example of a focal subarea occurs in the MS25 Tuareg File. The Tuareg are a Berber-speaking people who live in the Western Sahara and adjacent regions of the Sudan. Their population of around 300,000 is widely dispersed in seven main regional groups or political confederations. The information in the Tuareg File focuses on the Ahaggar confederacy, a small group of about 4,400 people who are isolated in the heart of the Sahara desert in a mountainous region of southeastern Algeria. (For a detailed discussion of the whole issue of defining File units see Lagacé 1967.)

APPENDIX C

ADDITIONAL PROVISIONS FOR MAINTAINING DATA CONTEXT

The general problem of data context was discussed in section IV.A.4., on p. 17, and it is suggested that the researcher read that section again before proceeding further. This appendix contains a description of three additional, rather technical provisions for maintaining data context in the Files.

1) Category numbers are frequently applied to a passage, even though there is nothing in that passage particularly relevant to the subjects for which it is classified, in order to provide the context for what is to follow. Thus, for example, if a discussion of a particular ceremony appears on page 43 of a source, but a sketch of events leading up to the ceremony begins on page 40, pages 40-42 may also be classified for the ceremony category (796).

2) If the researcher requires further information or directions to understand the context of some particular data, *notes*, written by an HRAF research staff member, lettered by hand or typed and enclosed in brackets (to distinguish them clearly from the original text) may be added to a File page either as footnotes or headnotes. These notes usually repeat in a location more convenient to the researcher information that the author has presented on a separate page of the same source, or they may direct the researcher to the relevant page. For instance, when it is felt that the necessary context can be established by a word or phrase, a footnote may be added to the File page. Thus, if the Morning Star ceremony (of the Pawnee Indians) is identified on page 43 of a source, and a succeeding page refers simply

to "this ceremony," a caret and raised numeral (e.g.^{1}) may be placed next to the word "ceremony" in the text and a note written or typed at the bottom of the File page:

^{1}[i.e. the Morning Star Ceremony, see category 116, p. 43 ff.—Analyst]

A headnote in brackets may be added to the heading of a File page to identify a region, a time period, particular phenomena, etc., when the data in the text are not clear.

3) Another technique which may help to establish data context is use of *cross-reference slips*. These slips are typewritten, but again, clearly distinguishable from the original text pages, and are filed in the pertinent subject categories. The major purpose of cross-reference slips is to provide the researcher with information as to the location of material not appearing in the category or categories where he might ordinarily expect to find it. Thus, data that are peripheral to the main theme of a section, data that are scattered throughout a section and therefore difficult to classify, or data that provide background information only may not be classified for the subject categories to which they pertain. Instead, a cross-reference slip may be prepared and filed in each of those subject categories, directing the researcher to the appropriate pages in the source which he may consult in category 116. Cross-reference slips are also used when a category number is asterisked, as explained in section V.D.2. on p. 38.

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