



1984

The Human Relations Area Files as a Source for Ethnographic Use of Field Data

Flemming Sorensen
Loyola University Chicago

Follow this and additional works at: https://ecommons.luc.edu/luc_theses



Part of the [Anthropology Commons](#)

Recommended Citation

Sorensen, Fleming, "The Human Relations Area Files as a Source for Ethnographic Use of Field Data" (1984). *Master's Theses*. 3375.

https://ecommons.luc.edu/luc_theses/3375

This Thesis is brought to you for free and open access by the Theses and Dissertations at Loyola eCommons. It has been accepted for inclusion in Master's Theses by an authorized administrator of Loyola eCommons. For more information, please contact ecommons@luc.edu.



This work is licensed under a [Creative Commons Attribution-Noncommercial-No Derivative Works 3.0 License](#).
Copyright © 1984 Fleming Sorensen

205

THE HUMAN RELATIONS AREA FILES AS A SOURCE
FOR ETHNOLOGICAL USE OF FIELD DATA

by

Flemming Sorensen

A Thesis Submitted to the Faculty of the Graduate School
of Loyola University of Chicago in Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree of

Master of Arts

December

1984

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to acknowledge the director of the thesis committee, Dr. Paul Breidenbach for his counseling and guidance in the completion of the thesis.

I would also like to acknowledge the members of the thesis committee, Dr. A. Ojeda and Dr. C. Fry, for their time and consideration.

VITA

The author, Flemming Erik Sorensen, is the son of Dr. Soren E. Sorensen and Doris Sorensen. He was born September 11, 1951 in Copenhagen, Denmark.

He completed elementary and secondary education in Buffalo, New York. He graduated from Amherst High School in Buffalo in June 1969.

Mr. Sorensen attended undergraduate schools at the State University of New York at Buffalo, the Royal Academy of Fine Arts (Copenhagen, Denmark) and the University of Colorado. In December 1977 he received a Bachelor of Science in engineering.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	<u>Page</u>
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.....	ii
VITA.....	iii
LIST OF TABLES.....	v
LIST OF FIGURES.....	vi
 CHAPTER	
I. INTRODUCTORY: BRIEF COMMENTS ON THE HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF THE ANTHROPOLOGIC AND ETHNOLOGIC TRADITION UP TO THE EMERGENCE OF THE HUMAN RELATIONS AREA FILES (H.R.A.F.).....	1
II. TEMPORAL SHIFTS IN ETHNOLOGIC METHODOLOGY AS REFLECTED IN THE H.R.A.F.: THE ALEUT CASE OF ETHNOGRAPHIC DATA.....	15
III. CROSS-CULTURAL COMPARISON AS METHODOLOGY IN THE H.R.A.F.: THE NORTH AMERICAN INDIAN CASE ON THE TOPIC OF MEDICAL THERAPY.....	20
IV. CONCLUSIONS: THE H.R.A.F. AS A SOURCE FOR METHODOLOGY AND A TOOL FOR THE COMPARATIVE METHOD.....	34
BIBLIOGRAPHY.....	38

LIST OF TABLES

	<u>Page</u>
TABLE	
1. Types of Tribal Medical Therapy Notes in the H.R.A.F.....	31

LIST OF FIGURES

FIGURE	<u>Page</u>
1. Tribe Location.....	23

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTORY: BRIEF COMMENTS ON THE HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF THE ANTHROPOLOGIC AND ETHNOLOGIC TRADITION UP TO THE EMERGENCE OF THE HUMAN RELATIONS AREA FILES (H.R.A.F.)

The Human Relations Area Files (H.R.A.F.) were created by George Murdock. The files, beginning in 1937 (known initially as the cross-cultural survey), have been maintained as a catalogue of indexed ethnographic summaries organized into a system of 710 cultural and "natural" categories. The information is filed in two basic indexing reference works: The Outline of World Cultures and The Outline of Cultural Materials. The former lists the code for the cultural group(s) and the latter codes the cultural trait(s). The information is cross-referenced such that data on a given subject can be brought together within each relevant area file's group.

The development and the utilization of the H.R.A.F. are the culmination of statistically oriented approaches to ethnology. The various approaches to ethnology, and its parent, anthropology, are each interconnected and the methodology of development are briefly reviewed.

Ethnology is the study of cultures in situ. There are many areas of study within modern ethnology, which are continually being developed and refined, as ethnomedicine, ethnomusicology, ethnolaw, folklore, etc. This outgrowth of specialization stems from emphasizing a particular focus of (realistic) investigation to provide the pieces for the complex picture of understanding a culture.

The Greek and Roman historians provided early ethnographic accounts of areas other than their own culture.

Herodotus (484-425 B.C.) wrote of his travels to Macedonia, Babylon, and Egypt. Many of his statements are questionable, but much has been verified by archaeological data. The Greek, Megasthenes (Third Century B.C.), wrote a description of the Mauryan dynasty of northern India. He noted the existence of the caste system and other aspects of the culture.

Unlike Herodotus and Megasthenes, the Roman historian, Tacitus (A.D. 55-A.D. 117), did not visit the lands of his literature. His writings of the "barbarians" of northern Europe were based on persons and soldiers who had traveled to the region.

After the fall of the Roman Empire, western-European interest in other cultures greatly declined. But there are accounts about India written by the Chinese historians Fa-Mien (Fifth Century A.D.) and Hsieuen Tsrang (Seventh

Century A.D.). The Islamic scholar Ibn-Khaldun (1332-1406) wrote The Mugaddimah in which the lifestyles of the nomadic Bedouins were contrasted with the city dwellers. Also discussed were effects of climate on human personality, and reasons for the rise and fall of dynasties. Ibn-Khaldun's work impacted a new perspective on ethnological writing.

Western-European society became interested in other cultures upon the discovery of the New World. A still important source of information on the Inca civilization is Commentarios Reales Que Tratan del Origen de le los Incas (1607,1617) by Garcilaso de la Vega.

Due to the invention of printing, by the eighteenth century, a large amount of ethnological information had made intellectuals aware of the effect of "culture" on human behavior. This was apparent in the writings of Locke, Voltaire, Rousseau and other authors of the Enlightenment.

Locke's An Essay Concerning Human Understanding examined the relationships between environment and human thoughts. The "relationships" of such concerns eventually evolved into many of the disciplines of modern behavioral science, such as cultural anthropology and sociology. The Enlightenment attitude was that behavior, in any form, was the outgrowth of learned conditioning. The implications

associated with "learned conditioning" has predelictions to certain levels of toleration of cultural variation.

In this context, the first actual field guide for ethnographers was written by Citizen Joseph-Marie Degerando in his Considerations on the Various Methods to Follow in the Observation of Savage Peoples (1800). His approach stated: "the first means to the proper knowledge of the Savages is to become after a fashion, like one of them; and it is by learning their language that we shall become their fellow citizens (Honigman, 241)."

Degernado also emphasized studying societies in their own context. Some of the necessary determinations were posed as:

To what point do the relations of kinship extend and keep any influence? In what way are they observed? What law and order is observed among them? What are the internal bonds of society, and the foundations on which rests the unity of its members? (Honigman, 241)

Philosophers of the era, while accepting cultural differences, also felt that the "reason" of man would delegate him to an ultimate truth. A universal ultimate truth which could be developed into a search for "natural laws" of man. The natural laws emphasized a scheme of evolutionary reconstructionism.

The evolutionary interest of Turgot's Universal History (1844) has mankind evolving through the stages

of hunting, pastoralism, and farming. The stages of cultural history were also noted by Montesquie, and later by Lewis H. Morgan, as savagery, barbarism, and civilization.

The eighteenth-century ethnographers were not as interested in the scientific study of culture as Locke would wish, being more the reporting of "customs." The information from this period was gathered from travelers' reports and Jesuit ethnographers. Also Degerando's suggestions of observations of on-going unbiased sociocultural behavior had little effect on fieldwork methodology during the eighteenth century.

The stages of development concept became tied to environmental conditioning. The problem of the environmental determinism approaches at the time was the confusion of the adaptive features with hereditary traits. But the emphasis on "adaptive features" did lead to research in archaeological directions.

Archaeological research paralleled ethnographic data after 1860. Research as well as "available" societies expanded with more refined observation standards and comparison techniques.

The evolutionists three-stage development theory document evidence by the technique of the "comparative method." The approach is based on the belief that socio-cultural systems of the present are not that removed from

the systems of the past. The comparative methods' structural approach seemed to follow the biological evolutionary interpretation of development. In essence, the method implied that since not all cultures are equally "evolved," then certain groups would equate to each stage of development.

L. H. Morgan used the comparative method in the study of kinship structures using questionnaires (1859). Thus, a statistical basis of data compilation was initiated with the comparative method. In 1889 Edward Tylor wrote "On a Method of Investigating the Development of Institutions, Applied Laws of Marriage and Descent." The paper had a cross-cultural scope, examining approximately 400 societies. The paper included correlation techniques on specific cultural traits. Many anthropological historians believe Tylor's paper to be the predecessor of the statistical cross-cultural methodology of George Murdock's Human Relations Area Files.

Herbert Spencer also emphasized that historical reconstruction must include a large quantity of socio-cultural data in utilizing the comparative method. With this attitude he published volumes of information from 1873-1934 under the title Descriptive Sociology. The volumes were each broken into two basic parts. The first part provided a summarized categorization of each investigated society's cultural and physical traits, as well

as their development (if known). The second part documented the summarizations in the first part with the appropriate information from other cited sources. I would like to quote from Marvin Harris' The Rise of Anthropological Theory that Spencer's work, his:

original conception, since as guide to the collection of ethnographic information, it foreshadows.... those in George P. Murdock's list of cultural universals - the organizing frame for the Cross-Cultural Survey and Human Relations Area Files (Harris, 160).

And from Spencer's initial work:

The thing it really concerns us to know is, the natural history of society. We want all facts which help us to understand how a nation has grown and organized itself. Among these, let us of course have an account of its government; with as little as may be of gossip about the men who officered it, and as much as possible about the structure, principles, methods, prejudices, corruptions, etc., which it exhibited; and let this account include not only the nature and actions of the central government, but also those of local governments, down to their minutest ramifications. Let us of course also have a parallel description of the ecclesiastical government---its organization, its conduct, its power, its relations to the state; and accompanying this, the ceremonial, creed, and religious ideas---not only those nominally believed, but those really believed and acted upon. Let us at the same time be informed of the control exercised by class over class, as displayed in social observances---in titles, salutations, and forms of address. Let us know, too, what were all the other customs which regulated the popular life out-of-doors and in-doors, including those concerning the relations of the sexes, and the relations of parents to children. The superstitions, also, from the more important myths down to the charms in common use, should be indicated. Next should come a delineation of the industrial system: showing to what extent the division of labor was carried; how tribes were regulated, whether by caste, guilds, or otherwise; what was the connection between employers and employed; what were the agencies for distributing commodities; what were the means of communication; what was the circulating medium. Accompanying all

of which should be given an account of the industrial arts technically considered; stating the processes in use, and the quality of the products. Further, the intellectual condition of the nation in its various grades should be depicted; not only with respect to the kind and amount of education, but with respect to the progress made in science, and the prevailing manner of thinking. The degree of aesthetic culture, as displayed in architecture, sculpture, painting, dress, music, poetry, and fiction, should be described. Nor should there be omitted a sketch of the daily lives of the people---their food, their homes, and their amusements. And, lastly, to connect the whole, should be exhibited the morals, theoretical and practical, of all classes, as indicated in their laws, habits, proverbs, deeds. These facts, given with as much brevity as consistent with clearness and accuracy, should be so grouped and arranged that they may be comprehended in their ensemble, and contemplated as mutually-dependent parts of one great whole...the highest office which the historian can discharge is that of so narrating the lives of nations as to furnish materials for a Comparative Sociology, and for the subsequent determination of the ultimate laws to which social phenomena conform (Harris,159-160).

Spencer's volumes examined contemporary and ancient groups.

In 1865 John Lubbock published Pre-Historic Times, which was extremely detailed in presenting all aspects of archaeological data. Unfortunately, like many of his nineteenth century contemporaries, the comparative method, when applied to the ethnographic view, used the available data to justify and reiterate the existing views. The existing viewpoint was a belief that "primitive" peoples were biologically, psychologically, or, in every way, inferior to European groups. This was based on the belief that non-Europeans were at a lower stage of development. One failing of the early compilers was in being prone

to such reports since they were justifying a "stage" development philosophy. The scrutinization and validation of exaggerated information was also lacking in much reported information. Although the quantity increased and quality was highly variable.

The attitudes of most nineteenth-century ethnographers were then thematically centered about evolutionist theory that necessitated collecting pre-selected types of information to verify broad "stages" of culture history.

From the explicatory viewpoint the evolutionists did not establish an understanding between techno-economic variables and the social structure of the society. The techno-economic and techno-environmental factors of a group are tied to the strategy of cultural materialism. The basis of the strategy, which was developed by Marx and Engels (in a Darwinian guise), is that techno-economic conditions determine and favor certain organizational and ideological motifs through a survival or struggle of the fittest.

The effect of the cultural materialist philosophy at the turn of the twentieth century became identified with Marxism, since Engels incorporated the evolutionists' stage development basis. Thus, the comparative method, the development of the cultural materialist strategy as well as establishing a universal view were temporarily abandoned.

Franz Boas was an anthropologist who is associated with the term "historical particularism." His influence was felt during the early twentieth century. The basis of his philosophy was in the variety of history, which would inherently oppose evolutionary concepts. Boas' program became one of meticulously collecting information for historical reconstruction. Ultimately, all the data would hopefully improve anthropological development. The facts which Boas and his students collected were oriented toward the "expression" of the group, such as mythology, language and art. Such traits cannot be easily quantified or evaluated. The data was also from an emic point of view with few key informants as the sources.

Boas' approach could not have a nomothetic approach. His collection of data proved man unpredictable and highly variable. He presented arguments against all types of cultural determinants in his idiographic work by showing the difficulty in isolating specific determinants in relationships of cultures, individuals and their natural environment. However, The Mind of Primitive Man, written in 1911, did help in dissipating belief in the racist evolutionary oriented schemes.

Thus, the fieldworkers who were not interested in general cultural evolution were possessed by modes of historical reconstruction. The North American fieldworkers

of this era were generally oriented to recording the details of the primitive Indians whose culture and social system had already largely been altered.

Thus, the only sources of information involved lengthy interview sessions with informants who could remember their past way of life. As stated by P. Pelto:

Exaggerated characterizations of this research method sometimes place the fieldworker in a hotel bar with his informants, who recall their glorious past for the ethnographer and afterward use their hourly pay to dissolve in alcohol the memories of defeats, exploitation and the white man's greed (Honigman, 242).

There is a large difference between this informant-oriented style. This can be exemplified in a note by Franz Boas whose interest in the cultural past was hindered by the cultural present when he wrote of the Kwakiutl (Honigman, 243): "I had a miserable day today. The natives held a big potlatch again. I was unable to get hold of anyone and had to snatch at whatever (tales) I could get (Honigman, 243)."

During the early twentieth century diffusion of cultural "development" surfaced from earlier concepts of evolutionary schemes. The basic idea is to designate a certain geographical region as a specific culture area, which has a relatively even distribution of cultural traits. In Europe this concept was known as Kulturkreise (Culture-Circles). The Culture-Area is a form of geographical determinism, it is a techno-environmental understanding

which is vital in the initial phases of ethnographic research. However, it cannot incorporate nomothetic principles on its own. Culture-Area concepts do not explain, for example, the variability of cultures within specific areas and how areas and features change with time.

Boas' early emphasis on the "symbolic" features of culture favored individual psychological attitudes to cultural research. Notably this was evident in the works of Boas' students, Ruth Benedict (Patterns of Culture) and Margaret Mead (Coming of Age in Samoa). By 1930 Franz Boas was advocating a "study of the individual under the stress of the culture in which he lives." Therefore, a "culture and personality" theme was applied to study groups.

From 1915-1925 ethnographic interests changed direction with the growing interest in a historical structural-functional study of social systems. This was mainly instilled by the theoretical works of A.R. Radcliffe-Brown and Bronislaw Malinowski.

This participant-observation type of fieldwork involved living in close contact with the research "population" to record their daily routines, ritual and social acts, economic activities and other cultural behavior.

Malinowski completed Degerandos guidelines as he also worked in the native language and became "like one of them." The approach of the structural-functionalists

is based on the premise that a social group works on a minimum common level which is maintained by the sociocultural relationships of the members. The approach is an examination of the cultural institutions which function to maintain the social structure.

French anthropologists during the 1930's also followed in a structural approach. The French structuralism was parented by Emile Durkheim in the 1890's; however, since the strategy for ethnographic study was explored after the H.R.A.F.'s emergence it is briefly mentioned here for completeness. Basically, the social structure of the group is believed by the structuralists to represent fundamental structures of the mind. Structurally oriented cross-cultural studies were compiled involving kinship and linguistics in hopes of establishing "elementary" laws.

During the 1920's Malinowski's methodologies were influencing sociologists in Chicago, notably Robert Park and Robert Redfield. Their application was termed a "community study" and tended "toward holistic qualitative descriptions of life in face to face communities" (Honigman, 244).

In 1927 The Science of Society was published by Albert Keller. The four-volume work maintained a culturally materialistic approach to evolution. The final volume

contained an index system not unlike the H.R.A.F. However, it was Tylor's earlier essay, "On a Method of Investigating the Development of Institutions; Applied to Laws of Marriage and Descent" (1889), which should be credited the initial statistical survey approach. Tylor's method was utilized by S. R. Steinmetz (1930) in attempting to catalogue cultures. Steinmetz, although unsuccessful in his own effort, inspired other studies in the 1920's and 1930's with the approach.

Thus, it was in the context of a recommitment of generalizing principles along with the revival of the comparative method which George Murdock initiated the Human Relations Area Files.

Contemporary fieldwork methodology is mentioned since "quantifiable" data techniques are a major aspect of current approach.

Since World War II ethnographers have emphasized a "presenticist awareness" of holistically analyzing society and culture as an integrated, dynamic system. However, contemporary fieldwork has a growing interest in moving away from the constraints of the single community data approach. This New Ethnography is, again, indicative of a return to intensive interviewing of a few key informants in conjunction with techniques of quantified analysis.

CHAPTER II

TEMPORAL SHIFTS IN ETHNOLOGIC METHODOLOGY AS REFLECTED IN THE H.R.A.F.: THE ALEUT CASE OF ETHNOGRAPHIC DATA

The presentation of this chapter is to provide an example of the chronological changes in ethnographic methodologies used in the study of a particular group.

In establishing the methodologies employed by the H.R.A.F. source documents, the following cultural traits were employed from the Outline of Cultural Materials in the H.R.A.F., based by category:

- 115: Informants - identification and characterization of persons as sources of information.
- 121: Theoretical Orientation - research aims and objectives, general theoretical approach.
- 123: Observational Role - techniques for establishing rapport, assumption or ascription of a status in the community.
- 124: Interviewing - methods of selecting informants or subjects (e.g., sampling).
- 125: Tests and Schedules - description of tests, schedules and questionnaires used.
- 126: Recording and Collecting - method of note taking.
- 127: Historical Research - extent of use of records, museums, documents, census, etc.
- 128: Organization and Analysis - methods of processing raw data, techniques of analysis, determining consistency and validity of results.

The Aleut tribe was selected since the reference material dates back to the 1820's.

The earliest methodological documentation in the H.R.A.F. on the Aleut tribe is by Ivan Veniaminov in a joint Russian and American venture. In his fieldwork (1823-1834) he maintained the role of a personal observer with a theoretical orientation to "analysis of qualities of local animals" (1: Veniaminov). Fieldwork by Henry Elliot during 1872-1874 and by the U.S. Census Bureau (1880-1881) provided additional "general" information on the Aleuts. Elliot's approach as a personal observer was to "portray the life and country of Alaska" (3: Elliot). The census report utilized Russian missionaries and U.S. Army personnel as informants to obtain information on geography, topography, history and population of the region.

Historical reconstruction themes did not first appear until after the turn of the century. Vladimir Jochelson's study, Archaeological Investigations in the Aleutian Islands, was based on work in 1909-1910 and attempted to determine the relationship between the Asiatics and the North American Indians.

The historical perspective was also the main concern of Ales Hrdlicka in his fieldwork (1936-1938) in determination of the relationship of the Aleuts to other groups

as well as their origins. Hrdlicka's methodology included using key-informant interviewing of local inhabitants (a chief and a priest), and historical research. His work, The Aleutian and Commander Islands and Their Inhabitants was published in 1945.

Linguistic clues to migratory routes was the historical theme of R. M. Geoghegan's study for the U.S. Department of Interior in 1944. Geoghegan's historical research, like Hrdlicka's, used the early Aleut information of Ivan Veniaminov.

The exception to the historical perspective theme of the earlier Aleut studies is a study by H. D. Anderson, Alaska Natives: A Survey of Their Sociological and Educational Status (1935). The fieldwork was completed in 1931 with the goal to determine a "solution of education and welfare problems of the Eskimos" (13: Anderson). The study provided information on the current mental and physical conditions of Aleut children. This was a quantifiable study in that it was based on questionnaires involving music, drawing and writing along with the physical examinations. Anderson would travel to each village interviewing the children by "purity of native blood." The report results were compared to children in the continental U.S. The study concluded that a government program for the Aleuts should be initiated to resolve their differential aspects. The report was edited by Franz Boas.

Another health-oriented study on children was com-
Children. However, his fieldwork (1945-1949) with inter-
viewing native children did not have a control group for
comparison.

The fieldwork by Charles Shade, an archaeologist,
produced Ethnological Notes on the Aleuts (1949). The
manuscript provided some historical information on the
Aleuts in their social life by using a few key informants
from the area. The informants included village elders.
During the same time William Laughlin used informants
and data from the local U.S. Government office to "deter-
mine physical traits and lineage" (24: Laughlin). In
addition to the anthropometric information, he gathered
skeletal remains from comparative evolutionary physical
traits.

The strictly historical perspective was again ex-
amined in 1950 and 1952 by Knut Bergsland whose linguistic
basis yielded Aleut Dialects of Atka and Attu (1959).
The methodology used key informant interviewing with his-
torical research.

The most recent report in the H.R.A.F. on ethnograph-
ic methodology of the Aleuts is by Dorothy Jones (1970).
The report, The Study of Social and Economic Problems
in Unalaska, an Aleut Village, is an example of contem-
porary techniques in fieldwork. It is a community study

where the quantified data, supplied by local health officials, is used in conjunction with informal interviews. Jones systematically established the failure of the government programs in providing acceptable alternatives to the disintegrating traditional social life. In addition to informal interviewing, Jones also acted as a participant in determining native behavioral patterns.

The early methodologies, as noted by the source material, are basically oriented to historical reconstruction. The more recent methodologies are focused more to the community - as a research unit approach. This follows the general trend of the methodological development in Chapter I. It also indicates the chronological dependence of ethnographers, being subjugated by the training of their era.

When scrutinizing the source material, the historical approach is typified by informant interviewing, and the community study by large scale collective data techniques (questionnaires, test, etc.).

Jones' report also characterizes "New Ethnography" methodology by emphasizing the external (environmental) with the internal affectations on a "social unit" on individuals and within a group. This particular approach leads to the need for an interdisciplinary research strategy to rationally cope with the potential compedium of relationships modern ethnographers are examining.

CHAPTER III

CROSS-CULTURAL COMPARISON AS METHODOLOGY IN

THE H.R.A.F.: THE NORTH AMERICAN INDIAN

CASE ON THE TOPIC OF MEDICAL THERAPY

This chapter examines the utilization of the Human Relations Area Files as a mechanism for cross-cultural comparison.

The chosen field of interest is medical anthropology. Medical anthropology is the general category of which medical therapy is an intrinsic part. Medical anthropology is generally defined as the understanding of the manner in which different people deal with sickness. The area of concern, medical therapy, is defined in the Outline of Cultural Materials (category 757) as:

extent of differentiation of medical from magical & mental therapy; home remedies and self-medication; resorting to a specialized practitioner (e.g., circumstances, arrangements, payments); diagnosis (e.g., examination for symptoms, diagnostic aids); consultations; therapeutic principles (e.g., counterirritation, homeopathy); therapeutic methods (e.g., blood-letting, administration of cathartics and emetics, medication); prescribed regimen (e.g., rest, diet, isolation); remedies for specific complaints (e.g., fevers, colds, toothache, indigestion, rheumatism, infectious diseases)

The definition has three areas of development, independent of whether the therapy is one's own or that of a

specified practitioner. The process involves a diagnosis, a "consultation" based on therapeutic principles and methods, and the "prescribed regimen." The definition also establishes a perspective independent of a magical and mental therapy. This is difficult to stipulate since the difference between the two types of therapies (magical and medical) is based on what the patient feels the illness originates from. The therapy in actuality is not distinctly medical, nor strictly magical and mental, but more often both. The practical definition is not bounded, it crosses many lines.

Medical therapy, as a subject, has many complex and diffuse aspects which are difficult to isolate from other traits and as a whole affect the patterns of any cultural group. Therefore, a holistic approach is warranted. The objective viewpoint is to be capable of understanding a particular tribe's interpretation of illness as tribe members themselves would understand it. The additional traits employed from the Human Relation Area Files to develop a broader understanding of a tribe's background are listed with their corresponding definitions (from the Outline of Cultural Materials):

- 131: Location: Latitude and longitude, position in land and sea (e.g., insular, coastal, interior); area of territory occupied, accessibility by land and sea routes; boundaries, etc.
- 161: Population: enumeration and estimates (with dates); density (e.g., arithmetical for arable land); population trends, etc.

771: General Character of Religion:....conception of what constitutes religion, differentiation of sacred and the profane; distinctions drawn between religion and superstition; relation of religion to the unknown and the unpredictable; relative prominence of magical and anthropomorphic elements...

777: Luck and Chance:....concept of good and bad luck; ideas about chance and probability;...., conception of fate,....

The "location" category (HRAF 131) is related to medical therapy in assuming similar illnesses would tend to arise from similar environmental conditions. The population trait (HRAF 161) would indicate a tribe's ability to restrict acculturation, and would present the ethnologist's view of possible available physical contacts with a tribe. Categories HRAF 771 and 777 are necessary to explore the basis for the inner relationship(s) of man, existence, illness and death.

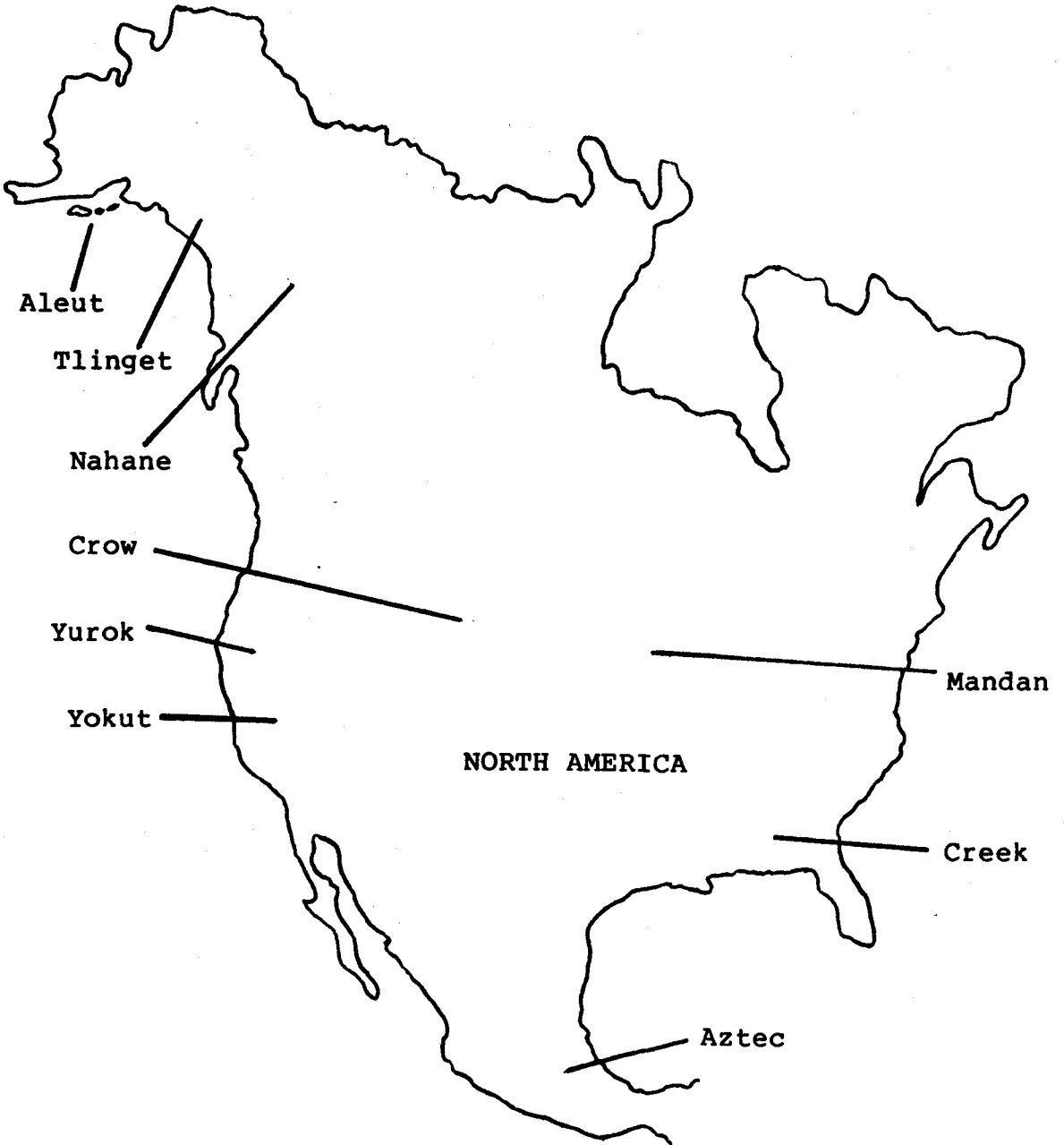
The tribes are segregated into four basic geographic locations. Figure 1 lists and locates the tribes on North America.

The first general area of examination is northwest Canada and Alaska. There are three tribes examined in this region: the Aleuts, the Tlingit, and the Nahane.

The Aleuts exist on the Aleutian Islands off the coast of Alaska. The population has substantially decreased since the pre-Russian era (1800) of 20,000 (1: Veniaminov, 260) to approximately 1400 people in 1953 (23: Hrdlicka, 32). The Aleut philosophy emphasizes

FIGURE 1

Tribe Location



beliefs related to hunting, good health, and a strong association between objects and people (1: Veniaminov, 129). Also noted, as recently as 1967, were "religious practices designed to control the unpredictable forces of nature" (70: Jones, 33).

The data pertaining to "medical therapy" were consistent with respect to the continual practice of "piercing" and poultice application from 1802 to 1970.

During the eighteenth century no specific remedies were relied on. The basic treatment involved a "diet and endurance" attitude, or physically oriented treatment as "holding the belly" by a woman (1: Veniaminov, 260-263). The early 1900's introduced the warming lamp to the Aleuts, who employed this as a heat source in sweat-houses (10: Jochelson, 73). Information from the 1940's indicated that herbs were used for sore throats and stomach aches (28: Alexander, 1036) and that females have special healing powers during their first menstruation (17: Shade, 100).

The Tlingit are a coastal tribe in the northwest region of Canada, specifically, in the area of southeast Alaska. The population of the tribe was approximately 6,000 in the late 1890's, and later stated in the 1950's as "a few villages of 300-500 people in each village" (1: Krause, 62).

The medical therapy of the Tlingit is based on research compiled from 1881-1914. The geography provided hot sulfur springs which were used for various ailments. An interesting aspect was noted as shamans were not employed in all cases of illness (1: Krause, 283). Similar to the Aleuts, the Tlingit practiced bleeding (for rheumatism), poultice application, "rubbing" (by females), had flower and herbal remedies (for colds and sores), used sweathouses, and maintained a "diet and endurance" attitude (6: Jones, 226-228).

The Tlingit religion was also oriented "with luck in hunting" (10: Swanton, 457) and would involve relating objects with people, chance, and "special powers" (1: Krause, 102). An example of the latter is the practice of inserting eagle feathers into open wounds to aid in curing.

The Nahane tribe is situated inland (east) of the Tlingit and bordered on the east by the Canadian Rockies. The population in 1940 was approximately 200 people (1: Honigman, 224). The demographic constriction could conceivably limit the availability in determining tribal traits. The single reference to the Nahane religion stated, "religion was a minor part of the daily life, except for the Catholic Mass." This acculturation was also noted when Honigman stated that, "white man's medicine was used for toothaches" (1: Honigman, 217).

The information on medical therapy is based on research gathered during 1943-1945. Specific treatments paralleled both the Tlingit and Aleut tribes; sweathouses, flower and herbal teas, and poultices. Charcoal, rubbed under the eyes was used to prevent snow blindness (1: Honigman, 201,245-247).

The second general geographic region of tribal groups is the southeast and central United States. The tribes concerned are the Creek, the Crow, and the Mandan.

Very little information exists on the Creek tribe in the H.R.A.F. The available data refers to 1810 when the Creek composed an extensive list of sub-tribes. These tribes inhabited areas of Alabama, Georgia, Florida, and the Carolinas (2: Swanton, 2-6). The medical therapy category is limited to one example; that plants and roots were used for both concurrent and preventative medicine (2: Swanton, 665-670). The Creek philosophy involved the interaction of abstractions (luck, power, etc.) with tangible objects or actual occurrences. The ethnologist Swanton stated this as:

they (Creek) viewed religion with the idea that similarity in appearance means similarity in nature, that similarity in one property involves similarity in all other properties, and that association of any kind will result in communicating properties from one thing or person to another (10: Swanton, 517).

Information from 1910 indicates that the Crow tribe was located in southeastern Montana. The tribal population

at that particular time was approximately 1800 people (2: Lowie, 185). Their philosophy emphasized supernatural "visions" through the use of peyote (9: Lowie, 323). The planting and harvesting of the tobacco plant also had a ritualistic importance in terms of obtaining favorable experiences (4: Lowie, 174).

The tribe's approach in treating illness involved; "lancing" and applying poultices (to treat swollen parts of the body), rubbing chewed ise root on the patient (for headaches) (1: Lowie, 63). Use of peyote for "supernatural" healing was noted until 1948 (7: Voget, 642).

The Mandan tribe were originally located to be in South Dakota after 1805. But in 1908 a reservation was established along the Missouri and Yellowstone rivers in Montana and South Dakota (1: Deland, 278) where the tribe moved. The population in 1834 was 1250 (3: Wied-Neuwied, 336). In 1931 the tribe had 200 people remaining on the reservation (2: Bowers, 1). The religion of the Mandan was centered around "Spirits," both good and bad. These were respectively represented by the summer and winter seasons (7: Catlin, 156).

Early information on medical treatment within the tribe noted that sweathouses were employed as a general "cure-all." The use of geographically available vapor baths was common. Frozen limbs would be rubbed by snow or, if diseased, the affected area would be trampled upon.

Therapy of eye problems included bleeding and soaking the eye in a water and gunpowder mixture (3: Will and Sponden). Data from 1905 indicated that the earlier methods of treatment were still being practiced along with the application of poultices for snake bites (7: Catlin, 97).

The third tribal geographic area is the region of coastal and central California. Two tribes were studied; the Yokuts and the Yurok.

The Yokuts were situated in what is now the San Joaquin Valley of California, just east of San Francisco (3: Latta, 1). The population was 3400 people in 1918 and by 1948 only a "few hundred were left" (3: Latta, 277). Their philosophy invoked the stars, moon and thunder. Numbers and dreams also were related to personal occurrence.

The information in H.R.A.F. on medical therapy for the Yokuts provided the most comparatively complete set available. Data from 1871-1876 stated that sweathouses were used (but were not necessarily as popular as further north), midwifery was practiced, and that a attitude of "disease in blood" led to the practice of scarification (7: Powers, 378). Observations until 1948 noted that the most common treatments to illness included the use of herbs, plants and roots. "Bloodletting" was still a common treatment. Other specific examples cited were; flowers and roots in poultices (for snakebites, colds,

wounds, rheumatism, and menstrual pain), the use of clay, paint and cake tobacco (as medicaments and emetics), jimsonweed (used as an anaesthetic), redwood sap steam (coagulant to stop bleeding), and bloodletting between the eyes (for headaches) (1: Gayton, 16-134).

The Yurok were a small tribe (approximately 700 people in 1910) of the north coastal area of California (9: Kroeber, 19). The Yuroks worshiped the sun, moon and stars (1: Heizer and Mills, 24). They also observed a high degree of reverence to specific trees. The pepperwood tree was associated with bad luck. It could produce bad weather or kill a child. Basket-weaving after sunset was thought to invite unfortunate circumstances for an individual (5: O'Neal, 49).

The Yurok tribe had the same name for doctor as for magician (or devil) and from 1850-1916, the use of shamans was noted to be practiced (1: Heizer, 134). Sweathouses were common and used for rheumatism and colds (6: Waterman, 234). Being a coastal tribe, the Yurok would employ kelp and saltwater for wounds. Anti-toxins for poisoning were made from sugar extracted from the sugar-pine tree (12: Thompson, 28-29).

The fourth geographic area is Central America, where Aztec tribe was examined. The only demographic source placed the population of Tenochtitlan (Mexico City) at 60,000 in 1519 (11: Kiaz, 49).

The religion was based upon the calendar. This leads to the understanding of "lucky" and "unlucky" days (1: Vaillaint, 109). Sacrificial rituals were performed to control the elements (e.g., to induce rain) (3: Sahagun, 42).

Reference material on the medical therapy for the Aztecs is from Shagun in 1519 and is very limited in its scope. He observed that bleeding was practiced in the form of cutting open swellings, and a "turpentine" type unguent was used on sores as well as for hoarseness.

Table 1 represents a summary of the common treatments to illnesses by the tribes based on the information gathered in the Human Relations Area Files. It should be emphasized that just because a certain therapy is not noted in the Files, that does not necessarily imply the therapy was not practiced. The summary only reflects which types of treatment were stated in the H.R.A.F.

The results are analyzed geographically. The area of northwest Canada and Alaska have apparent practices in all types of indicated therapies. This may be due to the physical isolation of the tribes from western culture (i.e., resisting acculturation). This is substantiated by the available data (reflecting the noted treatment) until the present. The most common form of treating illness is the use of herbs and flowers, which were primarily for cold remedies. Common to the Aleut and Nahane were

TABLE 1

TYPES OF TRIBAL MEDICAL THERAPY NOTED IN THE H.R.A.F.

<u>TREATMENT</u>	<u>NORTHWEST CANADA AND ALASKA TRIBES</u>	<u>SOUTHEAST AND CENTRAL U.S. TRIBES</u>	<u>COASTAL AND CENTRAL CALIFORNIA TRIBES</u>	<u>CENTRAL AMERICA TRIBES</u>	<u>TOTAL NUMBER OF TRIBES</u>
1. "Piercing" or "Bloodletting"	Aleut Tlinget	Crow Mandan	Yokuts	Aztec	6
2. Use of herbs	Aleut Tlinget Nahane	Creek Crow	Yokuts		6
3. Use of poultices	Aleut Nahane	Crow Mandan	Yokuts Yuroks		6
4. Sweathouses	Aleut Nahane	Mandan	Yokuts Yuroks		5
5. Form of "Pre- Natural" (faith) Healing	Aleut Nahane	Crow	Yokuts Yuroks		5
6. Form of "Physical" Therapy	Aleut Tlinget	Crow Mandan			4
7. Animal-Human Relationship	Tlinget		Yokuts		2

sweathouses, while the Tlingit employed hot sulfur springs. These were used to cure colds, rheumatism, and general ills. The emphasis on curing colds would be expected for the tribes in this northern climate.

Bloodletting, herbal remedies, "physical" therapy, and poultice application are the most prevalent forms of treatment to the Crow and Mandan tribes. Their particular medical methods resembled those of the northwest Canada and Alaska region, which have similarities with the hard winter climate of Montana and Dakota.

The Yurok and Yokut tribes were consistent in the application of poultices, sweathouses and practicing "pre-natural" healing (of "faith" healing). The aspect of faith-healing is important since this is related to an understanding of herbs which can be used to induce a mind-altered reality. This is possible when the number of types of available herbs is very large, as is the case in the fertile areas of California (where these tribes were located).

As with the Creek Tribe, little data exists on the Aztecs. However, bloodletting was practiced, which was common to the Yokut tribe who were in relative "close" geographical proximity to the Aztecs.

In non-technically oriented cultures the origin of the disease is in the viewpoint of who or which particular incident may have caused the affliction. This is

reiterated in each tribe when the tribal philosophy associates an object or person with metaphysical properties. Personifying nature is also a variation of this belief. This particular aspect was common to all the tribes studied.

The therapies employed by the tribes were relative to a basis of removing the illness from the body. The form the removal may take is dependent on the treatment type expressed; as bleeding, sweating, or trampling. Faith healing is a mechanism to remove the disease first spiritually and then physically.

The question of faith healing being a "mental" or a "physical" therapy is equivalent to disseminating between whether an actual physical cure occurs or a mental (outlook) cure occurs first. For example most herbs used by the tribes would have spiritual as well as actual medicinal values. There is also difficulty in establishing the specific reason a "cure" occurs.

In reviewing the source material, it is evident that the Human Relations Area Files do provide a sound basis of cross-cultural research for suspected relationships, but again the prime factor is the statistical data base. The larger the available data for each group the more "refined" (or biased) the evaluation can be. In this particular case the evaluative model is also a physical (quantifiable) model, geographic determinism.



CHAPTER IV

CONCLUSIONS: THE H.R.A.F. AS A SOURCE FOR METHODOLOGY AND A TOOL FOR THE COMPARATIVE METHOD

The Human Relations Area Files do as quantitative and comparative tool provide a good indication basis for establishing relationships between suspect phenomena.

The H.R.A.F. utilitarianism is also emphasized in the H.R.A.F. Research Guide as:

(The Files are) intended for both areal and cross-cultural research, and the variety of problems for which they are potentially useful is therefore almost limitless. For example, a person planning a field trip can use the Files to acquaint himself with the coverage and specialization of previous studies of the culture in which he is interested. Conflicting reports on specific points are obvious, and the field worker's attention is drawn to these problem areas. A research organizing an experimental study can use the Files to pre-test his hypotheses or to establish possible correlations. (In the latter context, he might simply skim the relevant OCM categories to ascertain what evidence can be adduced to support a suspected relationship.) A person interested in comparing an institution cross-culturally will find material in the Files for that purpose also.

The usefulness is more apparent in light of the emphasis on quantification in contemporary fieldwork.

The "New Ethnography" can be typified by Freilich's The Marginal Native: Anthropologists at Work (1970) which

indicated each researcher used surveys, questionnaires, psychological tests and other data collecting methods.

John Honigman also employed Rorschach inkblot tests on Eskimos and Indians. William Schwab administered questionnaires, field guides, random sampling and other "sociological devices" in a complex urban African community.

The quantitative direction is probably due to much criticism of "impressionistic" and non-quantifiable field data which were dependent on participant observation, casual interviewing and key-informant interviewing. Therefore, by possibly obtaining "hard" numerical information it would be expected a certain amount of additional creditability could be attained.

The totally quantitative approach is represented by studies that assume some type of theoretical model. Statistical data is collected to test the design and minimize inferential ambiguity. However, most studies on groups or communities often have nonquantified data as a base.

The scientific point of view involves numerical projection to modes of people's daily determinants, as organized and descriptive as possible. The techniques commonly used are: mapping (in kinship-residence patterns), inventories of material goods, and census and numerical data (population density, geographical factors, income, nutritional levels, etc.). The H.R.A.F. provides

obvious input into these factors. As stated by Marian Smith (Barnow, 241): "...that information gathered for a particular purpose became suspect, for selection in itself suggested distortion."

As presented previously in categorizing methodology types which are oriented to historical reconstruction or large-scale community data survey, the H.R.A.F. reflects the most available information. These methodology types, due to their quantifiable or "scientific" nature, are also "easier" to categorize. With the more recent types of fieldwork, where interdisciplinary studies occur, the source material has a more "qualifiable" aspect. The "quantifiable" impact of qualifiable source material in a comparative study is a subjective and cautiously taken judgement. The judgement is based on many considerations including: the students focus and orientation to the study, whether the viewpoint is past, present or future, if it is static or dynamic, if the comparative frame is a singular constraint or multi-variant, if the comparative frame is "physical" model or non-physical type model.

Quantifiable data is comparatively easier to manipulate in these viewpoints than qualifiable data. However, quantifiable data by itself does not provide all the answers to the complex array of inter/intra-dependent questions of cultures. But the level of problem should have a level of solution which provides a basic understanding

from every view in pragmatic and realistic terms. For a realistic view a statistical model could be applied and the H.R.A.F. would be a particularly useful tool for validation as well as establishing aspects to related cultural phenomena.

An individual utilizing the Files should be sensitized to the limits and capabilities of their source material particularly with respect to the focus of study. Here the H.R.A.F. Research Guide also indicates its limits within its utility for a comparative methodology approach:

Regardless of his problem, however, the researcher should keep in mind the concept of the Files themselves. The Files are a tool for research. They assist the researcher by making available to him, both quickly and simply, items of information from many cultures. The fact that information is presented to the researcher in this format in no way lessens his responsibility. It is the researcher who must decide on the approach he intends to use, the size and distribution of his sample, the independence of the cases selected for study, and the validity of cultural traits taken out of context.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Barnouw, Victor. AN INTRODUCTION TO ANTHROPOLOGY: ETHNOLOGY. New York, Dorsey Press, 1971.
2. Honigman, John. THE HANDBOOK OF SOCIAL AND CULTURAL ANTHROPOLOGY. New York, Rand-McNally, 1973.
3. Harris, Marvin. THE RISE OF ANTHROPOLOGICAL THEORY. Harper and Row, New York, 1968.
4. Murdock, George. OUTLINE OF WORLD CULTURES. 5th ed. New Haven, Human Relations Area Files, 1975.
5. Murdock, George. OUTLINE OF CULTURAL MATERIALS. 4th ed. New Haven, Human Relations Area Files, 1971.

NOTE: The following are published by the HRAF Press.

- 13 Anderson, H.D. ALASKA NATIVES: A SURVEY OF THEIR SOCIOLOGICAL AND EDUCATIONAL STATUS. Stanford, Stanford University Press, 1935.
- 68 Bergsland, Knut. ALEUT DIALECTS OF ATKA AND ATTU. Philadelphia, American Philosophical Society, 1959.
- 2 Bowers, Alfred. MANDAN SOCIAL AND CEREMONIAL ORGANIZATION. Chicago, University of Chicago Press (1950).
- 7 Catlin, George. ILLUSTRATIONS OF THE MANNERS, CUSTOMS, AND CONDITION OF THE NORTH AMERICAN INDIANS. London, Henry G. Bohn, 1857.
- 1 Deland, Charles. THE ABORIGINES OF SOUTH DAKOTA: PART II, THE MANDAN INDIANS. South Dakota Historical Collections, 4 (1908): 273-748.
- 11 Diaz del Castillo, Bernal. THE TRUE HISTORY OF THE CONQUEST OF NEW SPAIN. London, Hakluyt Society, 1910.
- 3 Elliot, Henry W. OUR ARTIC PROVINCE. New York, Scribner's Sons, 1886.

- 1 Gayton, Anna. YOKUTS AND WESTERN MONO ETHNOGRAPHY. Berkeley, University of California Press, 1948.
- 45 Geoghegan, R.M. THE ALEUT LANGUAGE. Washington, D.C., U.S. Department of Interior, 1944.
- 1 Heizer, Robert. THE FOUR AGES OF TSURAI. Berkeley, University of California Press, 1952.
- 1 Honigman, John. CULTURE AND ETHOS OF KASKA SOCIETY. New Haven, Yale University Press, 1949.
- 23 Hrdlicka, Ales. THE ALEUTIAN AND COMMANDER ISLANDS AND THEIR INHABITANTS. Philadelphia, Wistar Institute of Anatomy and Biology, 1945.
- 10 Jochelson, Vladimir. ARCHAEOLOGICAL INVESTIGATIONS IN THE ALEUTIAN ISLANDS. By Waldemar Jochelson. Washington, D.C., Carnegie Institute of Washington, 1925.
- 70 Jones, Dorothy. A STUDY OF SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC PROBLEMS IN UNALASKA, AN ALEUT VILLAGE. Ann Arbor, University Microfilms, 1970.
- 6 Jones, Livingston. A STUDY OF THE THLINGETS OF ALASKA. New York, Revell (c. 1914).
- 9 Kroeber, Alfred. HANDBOOK OF THE INDIANS OF CALIFORNIA. Washington, D.C., Government Printing Office, 1925.
- 3 Latta, Frank. HANDBOOK OF THE YOKUT INDIANS. Bakersfield, Kern County Museum, 1949.
- 24 Laughlin, William S. THE PHYSICAL ANTHROPOLOGY OF THREE ALEUT POPULATIONS: ATTU, ATKA, AND NIKOLSKI. Cambridge, Harvard University, 1949.
- 1 Lowie, Robert. THE CROW INDIANS. New York, Farrar and Rinehard (1935).
- 9 Lowie, Robert. THE RELIGION OF THE CROW INDIANS. New York, American Museum of Natural History, 1922.
- 4 Lowie, Robert. THE TOBACCO SOCIETY OF THE CROW INDIANS. New York, American Museum of Natural History, 1919.
- 2 Lowie, Robert. SOCIAL LIFE OF THE CROW INDIANS. New York, American Museum of Natural History, 1912.

- 6 Maximilian, Wied-Neuwied. TRAVELS IN THE INTERIOR OF NORTH AMERICA. London, Ackerman, 1843.
- 5 O'Neale, Lila. YUROK-KAROK BASKET WEAVERS. Berkeley, University of California Press, 1932.
- 40 Petrov, Ivan. REPORT ON THE POPULATION, INDUSTRIES, AND RESOURCES OF ALASKA. 10th census, 1880.
- 7 Powers, Stephen. THE YO-KUTS. Washington, D.C., Government Printing Office, 1877: 369-392.
- 3 Sahagun, Bernardino de. FLORENTINE CODEX: GENERAL HISTORY OF THE THINGS OF NEW SPAIN. BOOK 2-THE CEREMONIES. Santa Fe, School of American Research and University of Utah, 1951.
- 17 Shade, Charles. ETHNOLOGICAL NOTES ON THE ALEUTS. Unpublished manuscript. Cambridge, Harvard University, 1949.
- 10 Swanton, John. SOCIAL CONDITION, BELIEFS, AND LINGUISTIC RELATIONSHIP OF THE TLINGET INDIANS. U.S. Bureau of Ethnology, Annual Report, 26 (1904-1905): 391-486.
- 2 Swanton, John. RELIGIOUS BELIEFS AND MEDICAL PRACTICES OF THE CREEK INDIANS. U.S. Bureau of American Ethnology, Annual Report, 42 (1924-1925): 473-672.
- 12 Thompson, Lucy. TO THE AMERICAN INDIAN. Eureka, California (Cummins Print Shop, c. 1916).
- 6 Waterman, Thomas. YUROK GEOGRAPHY. Berkeley, University of California Press, 1920.
- 59 Wilde, Edwin. HEALTH AND GROWTH OF ALEUT CHILDREN. Journal of Pediatrics, 36 (1950).
- 3 Will, George. THE MANDANS: A STUDY OF THEIR CULTURE, ARCHAEOLOGY, AND LANGUAGE. Cambridge, Harvard University, 1906.
- 1 Vaillant, George. AZTECS OF MEXICO: ORIGIN, RISE AND FALL OF THE AZTEC EMPIRE. Garden City, Doubleday, Doran, 1941.
- 7 Voget, Fred. INDIVIDUAL MOTIVATION IN THE DIFFUSION OF THE WIND RIVER SHOSHONE SUNDANCE TO THE CROW INDIANS. American Anthropologist, n.s., 50 (1948): 634-646.

- 1 Veniaminov, Ivan. NOTES ON THE ISLANDS OF THE UN-ALASKA DISTRICT. Sanktpeterburg, Izdano Izhdiveniem Rossiiskoamerikanskoi Kompanii, 1840.

APPROVAL SHEET

The thesis submitted by Flemming Sorensen has been read and approved by the following committee:

Dr. Paul Breidenbach, Director
Professor, Anthropology, Loyola

Dr. C. Fry
Professor, Anthropology, Loyola

Dr. A. Ojeda
Professor, Anthropology, Loyola

The final copies have been examined by the director of the thesis and the signature which appears below verifies the fact that any necessary changes have been incorporated and that the thesis is now given final approval by the Committee with reference to content and form.

The thesis is therefore accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts.

Nov 28, 1984
Date

Paul Breidenbach
Director's Signature