

Deliberation in Hunter-gatherer Cultures: A Systematic Review of the Ethnographic Record Using the Electronic Human Relations Area Files (eHRAF)¹

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This case study discusses a systematic review of published ethnographic records retrieved from the electronic Human Relations Area Files (eHRAF) World Cultures. The review formed part of my PhD project that dealt with the question why people deliberate. Relying on evolutionary psychology, I hypothesised that people share an evolved psychological mechanism that triggers deliberation upon the detection of specific environmental inputs (i.e. ingroup political disagreement). The underlying premise was that deliberation formed the default way to deal with ingroup political disagreement among our ancient ancestors who lived as (semi-)nomadic hunter-gatherers. To probe the plausibility of this premise, I conducted a systematic review of ethnographic records available through eHRAF to study how people in historically-documented (semi-)nomadic hunter-gatherer cultures dealt with political disagreements. In this case study, readers will learn how to set up and execute such a review –from getting to know the eHRAF environment and formulating a reproducible search query to the systematic selection of a (manageable) sample of records and the coding and analysis of selected records. Readers will also learn about key limitations, most notably that it may be difficult to (quantitatively) test (situational) hypotheses about political behaviour using published ethnographic records retrieved through eHRAF. Finally, readers will learn how to verify the quality of the data produced through such a systematic review and come to know how they can deal with missing data issues.

Published articles based on the research project this case study reflects on:

- van der Does, R. (forthcoming). Deliberation and egalitarianism. *Behavioral and Brain Sciences*.
- van der Does, R. (2025). Deliberation and human nature. *British Journal of Political Science*, 55, e46. doi: 10.1017/S0007123424000632
- van der Does, R (2024) Deliberation and human nature: A companion piece. Available from <https://osf.io/2xuha/>.

¹ This is the final draft of a case study accepted for publication in Sage Research Methods. The publication will appear here: https://methods.sagepub.com/cases#_.

Learning Outcomes

Having read this case study, readers should be able to . . .

- describe what a systematic review of the ethnographic record involves, including the search, selection, and coding of records
- judge the appropriateness of a systematic review for answering their questions about political behaviour in hunter-gatherer cultures
- design a systematic search and selection process of ethnographic records using eHRAF
- assess the quality of the data produced through a systematic review of published ethnographic records

Case Study

Why do people deliberate? That is to say, why do people engage in discussions about politics marked by mutual respect and an exchange of arguments? This is an important question now that political theorists and pundits alike increasingly seem to worry about how people talk politics, whether in parliament, at the coffee machine at work, or over family dinner. When reading much of the literature on deliberation, the prospects seem bleak. Prominent critics of deliberation argue that it goes against human nature to deliberate (Achen & Bartels, 2016); advocates of deliberation emphasise that deliberation requires extensive pedagogy (Rosenberg, 2014) or intricate institutions to incite people to engage in a respectful give-and-take of arguments over politics (e.g. Gutmann and Thompson 2018; Ryfe, 2005). When I read these arguments during my PhD, something seemed off to me. I had just read about people's evolved intuition for (political) reasoning (Mercier & Sperber, 2017) and knew of various examples of deliberation across disparate societies in human history (Sass & Dryzek, 2014; Sen, 2003). Could it be that the literature on deliberation got it wrong? Could it be that deliberation is somehow intuitive to people, that it is in line with human nature? Is the

apparent lack of deliberation perhaps due to how we structure society rather than to how we as humans are (psychologically) structured?

These questions turned my attention toward evolutionary psychology. In my PhD project (van der Does, 2023), I tried to bridge work on deliberation and work in the field of evolutionary psychology, developing what I would later call the “ingroup hypothesis” of deliberation (van der Does, 2025). According to this hypothesis, evolution has equipped the human brain with a psychological mechanism in the form of the heuristic: “IF I disagree with someone from my ingroup about an upcoming political decision, THEN deliberate.” I expected deliberation to be in line with human nature, then, in the sense that people share an evolved psychological mechanism that triggers deliberation upon the detection of specific environmental inputs (i.e. political disagreement with one or more people from their ingroup). The underlying logic was that this mechanism evolved because deliberation formed an effective response to the recurrent problem of ingroup political disagreement that would have threatened group and, consequently, individual survival among our distant ancestors who lived in hunter-gatherer communities for thousands of years.

To probe the plausibility of the premise that deliberation was the default way to deal with ingroup political disagreement among our ancient ancestors, I started the project by examining how people in historically-documented (semi-)nomadic hunter-gatherer cultures dealt with political disagreements. These cultures are generally thought to “provide the best model for human social organization” in the relevant ancestral environment (Van Vugt et al., 2008, p. 187). We should, then, per my theorizing, observe deliberation as the default response to ingroup political disagreement in these cultures. To study this, I conducted a systematic review of published ethnographic records, accessed through the electronic Human Relations Area Files World Cultures database (henceforth: eHRAF). The analyses rely on data from ethnographies published in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, covering 34 hunter-gatherer cultures located in North America, South America,

Africa, Asia, and Australia. This case study makes clear what opportunities and challenges such a systematic review offers for the study of a political behaviour like deliberation.

Section Summary

- *This study formed part of my PhD project on deliberation and human nature, which used insights from evolutionary psychology to study the question why people deliberate.*
- *I conducted a systematic review of published ethnographic records on hunter-gatherer cultures, accessed through the electronic Human Relations Area Files World Cultures database (eHRAF).*
- *The objective of the study was to probe the plausibility of the premise that deliberation was the default way to deal with ingroup political disagreement among our ancient ancestors, who lived in (semi-)nomadic hunter-gatherer societies.*

Research Design

For the purpose of this study, I conducted a new systematic review of published ethnographic records on hunter-gatherer cultures. I did so because existing reviews had two main limitations: (1) substantively, they did not explicitly focus on deliberation; and (2) methodologically, they were narrative rather than systematic reviews, making it difficult to draw reliable conclusions about the prevalence of deliberation prior to (ingroup) political decision-making. To address these limitations, I tried to systematise both the search and selection of relevant records as well as the subsequent coding process.

Data Sources

The data for the review come from eHRAF (for details, see: <https://ehrafworldcultures.yale.edu/>). I relied on eHRAF for several reasons: use of eHRAF is common practice in cross-cultural anthropological studies (Muthukrishna et al., 2021); eHRAF provides a large online collection of ethnographic records (with materials on 58 hunter-gatherer cultures in early 2022); it is curated by professional anthropologists; and, importantly, it makes it possible to conduct a reproducible search at the level of documents' paragraphs, allowing for queries using keywords and/or subject categories from an ethnographic classification system (i.e. the Outline of Cultural Materials (OCM)).

I performed two searches in eHRAF for cultures classified as hunter-gatherers: (1) a search using an extensive list of subject categories from the OCM (97 in total) related to interpersonal interactions and collective problems; and (2) a search in all remaining OCM subject categories (excluding categories dealing with the research and documentation process) using all variations of the verb “decide” and the noun “decision.”² This way, I tried to identify as many paragraphs as possible with potential information on political decision-making. This resulted in a total of 38,999 paragraphs. Next, I only retained paragraphs that came from documents classified in eHRAF as (partly) matching the Standard Cross-Cultural Sample (SCCS) ($N = 13,857$), as this sample is meant to cover “the entire range of known cultural variation” and overcome Galton’s problem of a lack of independence between cultures (Murdock & White, 1969, p. 331). After the removal of duplicates ($N = 394$) and paragraphs from documents not matching the SCCS ($N = 24,748$), I selected a random sample of 25% of the remaining paragraphs ($N = 3,464$). I did so mainly to keep the screening and coding of the retrieved paragraphs manageable for a small coding team. Finally, based on team-based screening (see “Coding and Variables” below), I only retained paragraphs from the random sample that described one or more political decisions taken by hunter-gatherers (i.e.

² Note that I performed my last search for this study in August 2021, before a new infrastructure for eHRAF went online.

decisions about what others beyond the immediate family should do). The result was a database with 400 eligible paragraphs from 34 cultures. To make the search and selection process transparent and reproducible, I made the search queries, codebook and coding instructions, and data openly accessible at <https://osf.io/2xuha/>.

Coding and Variables

The screening of the paragraphs part of the random sample was done in a small team, including myself and two trained graduate-level research assistants. *Team-based* screening for eligibility for inclusion in the study was not only a strategy to reduce the workload but also to assess the reliability of the identification of eligible paragraphs (using inter-coder reliability statistics) (cf. Slingerland et al., 2020). The coding of the eligible paragraphs I did by myself. I assessed the reliability of my coding by having another graduate student blind to the study's hypotheses code a sample of the 400 included paragraphs and, subsequently, calculating inter-coder reliability statistics.

The key dependent variables meant for statistical analysis were a series of dichotomous variables measuring the presence (1) or absence (0) of evidence of deliberation taking place prior to one or more political decisions. I assessed, first, whether a paragraph contained evidence (or not) of inter-personal verbal communication prior to a political decision (*Talk*). For the paragraphs that did, I then examined whether there was information (or not) suggesting that such talk displayed signs of reasoning (*Reasoning*) and/or mutual respect (*Respect*); and, conversely, I tracked whether a paragraph contained evidence of talk proceeding in ways antithetical to deliberation, that is, talk showing a lack of reasoning (*Claims*) and/or respect (*Disrespect*). The variables *Claims* and *Disrespect* seemed important to include in order to be able to account for mixed evidence.

The independent variables were two dichotomous variables tracking the type of decision-making situation. These measured for each paragraph whether there was evidence that one or more

decisions were taken *by and for members of the same group* (1) or not (0) (*Intra*), and whether there was evidence that one or more decisions were taken by or for *members of multiple groups* (1) or not (0) (*Inter*). For details on ‘groups’ in this context, see van der Does (2023, Chapter 3).

Planned Analyses

To synthesise the ethnographic materials, I planned, first, to report frequencies of the aforementioned variables, complemented by qualitative illustrations. These descriptive statistics would give a first impressions as to whether the records in eHRAF showed signs that deliberation (*Reasoning, Respect*) was the default way to deal with ingroup political disagreements (*Intra*) among hunter-gatherers. To test more formally whether ingroup political disagreement had a significant positive relationship with deliberation, I intended to run binary logistic regression models with *Deliberation* (1 = both *Reasoning* and *Respect* coded as 1; 0 = *Reasoning* and/or *Respect* coded as 0) as the dependent variable and *Intra* and *Inter* as the independent variables, expecting a significant positive relationship between *Intra* and *Deliberation* (and not between *Inter* and *Deliberation*). I planned to control for evidence of talk also displaying forms of non-deliberative communication (*Claims* and *Disrespect*) and for several technicalities (e.g. whether a paragraph described political decision-making in a culture in general or instead described a specific instance of decision-making) as well as to include fixed effects for the documents and cultures in which the paragraphs were nested.

Section Summary

- *Prior reviews of the ethnographic record did not focus on deliberation and were narrative rather than systematic reviews, making it difficult to draw reliable conclusions.*

- *I constructed a novel database of deliberation in hunter-gatherer cultures, based on a reproducible search and selection process of paragraphs available through eHRAF.*
- *The coding of paragraphs was assessed for reliability using inter-coder reliability assessments.*
- *To synthesise the materials and test the ingroup hypothesis, I planned quantitative analyses, including logistic regression models.*

Research Practicalities

The first step in conducting a systematic review using eHRAF is gaining access. Access to eHRAF is restricted to registered members, either via an institutional or an individual membership. As my institution was not a member of HRAF, I had to register as an independent researcher. At the time, this required me to list my university affiliation, provide a brief description of my research project, explain how I would use eHRAF, and make a payment of 500 USD for a one-year individual membership (for current fees and requirements, see <https://hraf.yale.edu/products/HRAF-membership/>). While in my situation the costs could be covered by my research budget, these costs need to be taken into consideration, especially by researchers with limited budgets. An alternative option is to request a 30-day free trial. Yet, in my experience, this would be much too short to complete any detailed study, as there is generally a need to go back to eHRAF at later stages (for example, to perform a new search or to have a look at some of the paragraphs preceding the one that was retrieved using a given search). Other options include asking one's institution to register as an HRAF member or to request a 60-day institutional trial.

The next step was to become familiar with the ethnographic materials available through eHRAF. Coming from political science, I was not familiar (yet) with ethnographies from the late nineteenth and early-twentieth century on hunter-gatherers; I had only read some illustrations and

prior syntheses of such materials (e.g. Boehm, 1996; Mansbridge, 1983). I therefore had to read up on ethnographic fieldwork at the time and had to come to understand the socio-political basics of the respective cultures, ranging from the Mbuti in Central Africa to the Nuxalk in North America and the Aranda in Australia. For the latter, I relied in the first place on the cultural summaries available through eHRAF (see here: <https://ehrafworldcultures.yale.edu/cultures>) and the socio-ecological information provided by the Database of Places, Language, Culture and Environment (see here: <https://www.d-place.org>). What is more, I had to familiarise myself with the Outline of Cultural Materials, so that I would be able to make use of the OCM subject categories (e.g. “621 Community Structure,” “701 Military Organization”) in my own searches. To explore the actual materials in eHRAF, I performed multiple mock searches to become acquainted with what would become the unit of observation in my study: the paragraphs that pop up as search hits in eHRAF. I screened paragraphs on hunter-gatherer cultures to check whether it seemed plausible that there would be any relevant information for testing my hypothesis. Taken together, these explorative exercises took up a substantial amount of time and this time investment needs to be figured into research planning, especially for those not familiar with eHRAF and/or the relevant ethnographic materials.

Having decided on a search strategy (see above), I was then confronted with a whopping 38,999 paragraphs that could be potentially relevant. It would be impossible for me to screen and code all those paragraphs in the time I had to complete the study. That is why I first tried to reduce the workload by only looking at the SCCS, for which there are also good theoretical reasons (see above). Then, based on my initial experience of the time it cost to screen and code the paragraphs, I decided to focus on a random sample of the paragraphs matching the SCCS. The idea was that by taking a random sample I could still, in the end, make inferences about the total population of paragraphs retrieved from the SCCS. Furthermore, I decided to recruit two research assistants to help me with the screening of the retrieved paragraphs for their eligibility to be included in the

study. This had two additional advantages: (1) I could check the reliability of the identification of relevant paragraphs by cross-checking our coding, calculating inter-coder reliability statistics on a random subsample; and (2) we could develop and improve the coding scheme together through multiple rounds of coding, discussing the clarity of both definitions and instructions. That said, this team-based screening of the paragraphs also required additional financial means (for hiring the research assistants) and time (for training the assistants and improving the instructions and the codebook). I coded the 400 paragraphs included in the study individually for eleven variables and I decided to have the reliability of the coding scheme checked by another graduate student on a random subsample (and she kindly did so for free). Again, while this took time, our discussions about the codebook improved the operationalisation of key concepts and the eventual inter-coder reliability assessments allowed me to assure the reader that the coding process was reliable.

Setting aside practical issues related to the analyses for now (I discuss these in the next sections), I encountered an ethical challenge once the database was completed. I wanted to make all the data openly accessible, following open science standards. However, the terms and conditions of eHRAF state that authorised users may not “Download, digitally copy, print out, distribute or otherwise make available significant portions of eHRAF beyond what is considered Fair Use” (see <https://ehrafworldcultures.yale.edu/terms>, accessed July 13, 2026). To make sure not to violate this condition, I made all data openly accessible, except for the paragraphs’ actual content. The main downsides, of course, are that others cannot easily verify the eventual coding decisions or, for example, extend the database to include, say, all SCCS-matching paragraphs.

Section Summary

- *Access to eHRAF is restricted and involves financial costs for researchers who do not have access to it via their institution.*

- *Becoming familiar with the relevant ethnographic materials part of eHRAF as well as the eHRAF search system can take up a considerable amount of time, especially for researchers without a background in anthropology.*
- *Team-based coding of paragraphs from ethnographic works can reduce the workload, help to assess coding reliability, and aid in improving the codebook and coding instructions. However, it can also involve additional financial costs and takes time.*
- eHRAF sets restrictions on the publication of ethnographic materials retrieved from its database. This makes it difficult for peers to check coding decisions and easily build on prior data collection efforts.

Method in Action

The actual analyses of the materials differed considerably from the ones that I had initially planned. Overall, the paragraphs contained too little detail to properly test the ingroup hypothesis by means of statistical methods such as the planned logistic regression models. Only in 164 of the 400 paragraphs (41%) did I encounter sufficient information to judge whether any form of talk preceded a political decision or not; and in the 82 paragraphs with evidence of talk prior to decision-making, only 48 paragraphs provided relevant information on one or both of deliberation's underlying dimensions (i.e. *Respect*, *Reasoning*). When considering paragraphs with information on deliberation *and* the type of decision-making situation (i.e. *Intra*, *Inter*), the numbers were even lower (e.g. only sixteen paragraphs contained the requisite detail to judge whether communication was (dis)respectful in situations of ingroup decision-making). This is why I restricted the analyses of the random sample to descriptive statistics and qualitative illustrations. This was, nonetheless, valuable in itself: it confirmed that talk prior to political decision-making had occurred in hunter-gatherer cultures in disparate parts of the world; and it made clear too that the ethnographic record

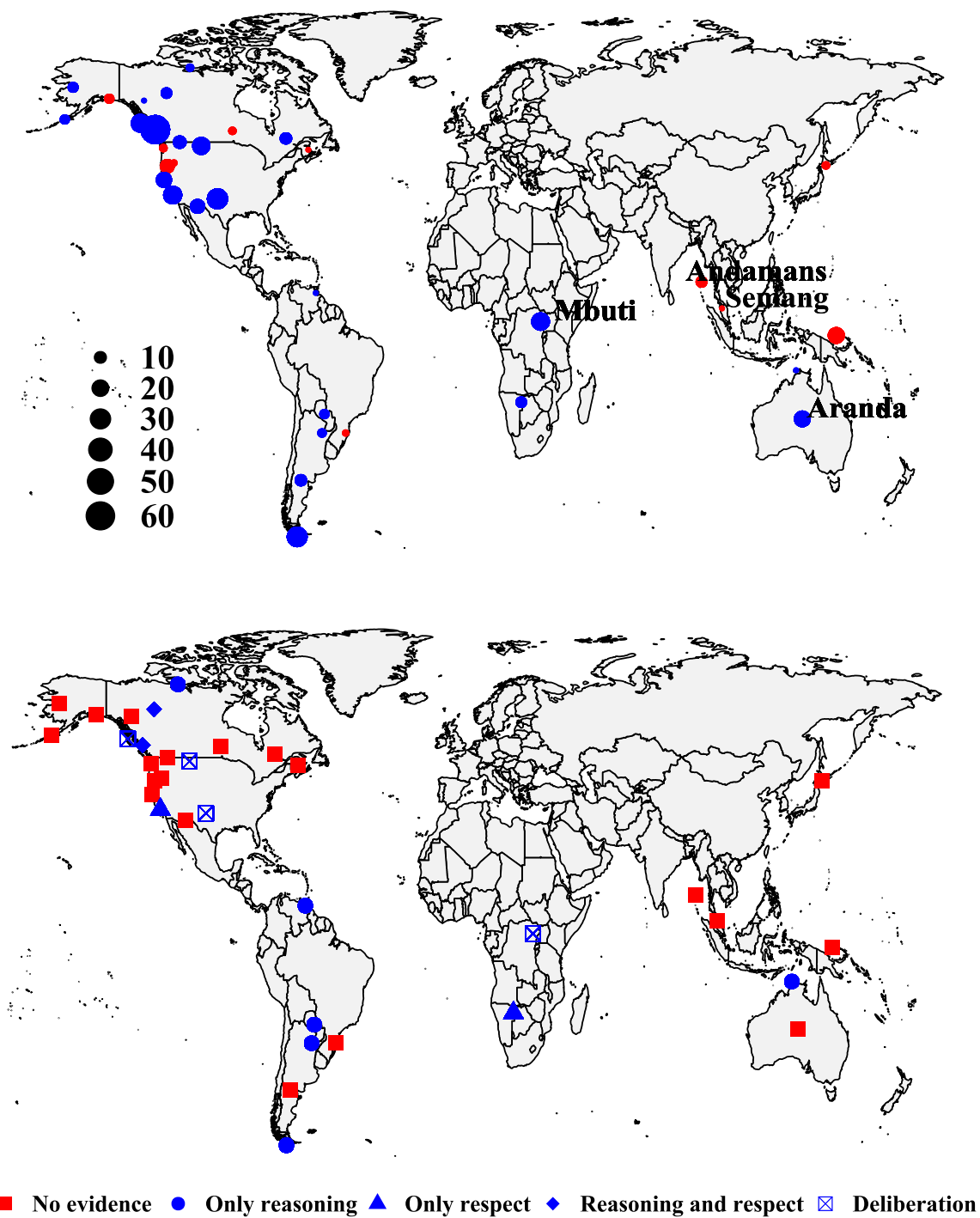


Figure 1. Evidence of deliberation prior to political decisions in hunter-gatherer cultures

Top: Shows cultures in blue with ($N = 23$) and in red without ($N = 11$) evidence for talk prior to political decisions in the random sample. Size of the circles represents the number of paragraphs with evidence for political decision-making. Bottom: Shows cultures in blue with ($N = 14$) and in red without ($N = 20$) evidence for talk involving reasoning and/or respect prior to political decisions in the random sample. “Reasoning and respect” refers to cultures for which there are paragraphs with only evidence of respect and paragraphs with only evidence of reasoning. “Deliberation” refers to cultures for which there is at least one paragraph with evidence of both respect and reasoning. Own elaboration.

shows signs of respectful and reason-based political talk in many hunter-gatherer cultures the world over (Figure 1).

But the question remained: why was there so little relevant information on political decision-making in the paragraphs I had retrieved via eHRAF? I wondered whether it could have been a result of my sampling strategy; perhaps I had missed out on many relevant paragraphs? To check the robustness of my findings, I therefore also coded *all* SCCS-matching paragraphs retrieved for four hunter-gatherer cultures located in different parts of the world: the Aranda in Australia, Mbuti in Central Africa, and Andamans and Semang in South Asia (for their locations, see Figure 1). While the analysis of these four cultures provided additional substantive insights, I observed the same lack of detail on how talk prior to decision-making proceeded as I had for the random sample.

I then engaged in a closer reading of the ethnographic record: why was there so little evidence of political decision-making in general and of deliberation prior to decision-making, in specific? Was deliberation really so rare among hunter-gatherers? And did this absence of evidence suggest a lack of support for the ingroup hypothesis? To address these questions, I first screened the ethnographic documents from which the paragraphs came. As their titles illustrated (e.g. van den Brink, 1974 *The Haida Indians: Cultural Change Mainly between 1876-1970*), many of the works showed little thematic interest in political decision-making. What is more, the fieldwork periods were limited in some cases and some ethnographers had had to rely on informants who (for varying reasons) would not share relevant information on politics (e.g. Helm, 1961 on her work among the Slavey in North America), which could partly explain the lack of requisite details for testing the ingroup hypothesis. Next, I turned to the eight ethnographic works dealing with the four cultures for which I had studied all retrieved paragraphs. I assessed how these works were produced, focusing on the authors' fieldwork, thematic interests, and reporting styles. These additional analyses confirmed the findings based on my rough screening of the other ethnographic documents. With the

ethnographer trying to cram all aspects of a given culture into a single book (or into a few books), politics was often just one topic among many and was often considered less important than, say, religious rites and ceremonies, as reflected in the limited space devoted to politics (e.g. Schebesta, 1954/1963, 1957/1963; Spencer & Gillen, 1927). Taken together, then, these additional analyses suggested that the absence of evidence was most likely due to choices in ethnographic method and reporting; and that the lack of evidence did *not* necessarily mean that deliberation prior to political decision-making had been infrequent (or completely absent) in the studied cultures.

Section Summary

- *The paragraphs retrieved via eHRAF rarely offered detailed information on political decision-making in general and on deliberation in specific.*
- *Hypothesis testing by means of regression models was deemed inappropriate due to missing data on key variables.*
- *Additional analyses of the ethnographic documents were performed to critically assess why there were so few details on political decision-making.*

Practical Lessons Learned

The main advantage of conducting this systematic review using eHRAF was that I could conduct a transparent and reproducible search and selection process of published ethnographic materials. This way, it allowed me to alleviate potential concerns about bias in the selection process (e.g. presenting only anecdotal evidence that fits one's hypotheses). Next to that, the coding of retrieved records profited from discussions among coders and the iterative improvement of the codebook and the coding instructions. This resulted in a usable codebook and a reliable coding process. However, it is difficult to say whether my coding (and that of the research assistants) was accurate. Even though I

tried to read up on the cultures part of the study as well as the ethnographic fieldwork, I did not consider myself an expert on the hunter-gatherer cultures part of the study and I may well have missed, for example, important displays of (dis)respect in communication that only an expert of a given culture can detect (Slingerland et al. 2020, p. 7). What would be advisable in this respect is to involve anthropologists and/or historians working on the respective culture(s) in the study –either by including them from the start or by asking them to assess the validity of interpretations and conclusions post hoc.

What the study showed was the limited potential for a review relying on eHRAF to (quantitatively) test situational hypotheses about a political behaviour like deliberation. Specifically, statistical modelling seemed inappropriate to me because of the large amounts of missing data (e.g. missing data already reached 59% of the cases in the random sample on the variable *Talk* alone). This experience calls into question to what extent databases like eHRAF indeed allow one to turn ethnographic materials “...into quantitative data that can then be analyzed statistically” (Muthukrisna et al., 2021, p. 17; see also Slingerland et al., 2020), at least when one is interested in testing hypotheses that require considerable situational detail.

The additional critical analyses of ethnographic documents provided reasons why there tends to be so little relevant detail: a lack of interest in political decision-making in published works; limited ethnographic fieldwork; and many published works’ focus on an entire culture of which politics is but one aspect. I would recommend complementing any analysis of paragraphs retrieved through eHRAF with such a critical reading of the production of the ethnographic documents to make sense of what the eventual data can(not) tell one about a given behaviour’s absence or presence. But a true way forward in dealing with missing information would be to not rely solely on published works. For at least some of the published ethnographic works part of this study, archival materials such as unpublished letters and field notes are available too (e.g. Petch, 2000 on the work

of Spencer and Gillen among the Aranda). Studying also what was left out of the eventual publications, archival research could be a valuable way to obtain a more comprehensive overview of political decision-making in a historically documented hunter-gatherer culture and, potentially, fill in many of the missing details (depending on what the respective archive has to offer, of course). I would say that for situational hypotheses like the ingroup hypothesis such work might, therefore, be much more rewarding than the systematic study of *published* ethnographic records on hunter-gatherer cultures alone.

Section Summary

- *Systematic reviews of the published ethnographic record allow one to conduct a transparent and reproducible search, selection, and coding of materials.*
- *Involvement of anthropologists and historians is advisable to check the validity of one's interpretations of historical ethnographic materials.*
- *The re-analysis of published ethnographic works does not lend itself easily to quantitative testing of situational hypotheses dealing with a political behaviour like deliberation.*
- *It is recommended to critically assess the production of published ethnographic documents.*
- *Archival research can be a way to fill in many of the missing details encountered in published ethnographic works on hunter-gatherers.*

Conclusion

A systematic review of published ethnographic records on political behaviour in hunter-gatherer cultures through eHRAF can be a valuable methodological strategy to make one's choices of searching and selecting records transparent and reproducible. Compared to narrative reviews, it can help to make a firmer case for the (potential) cross-cultural occurrence of a political behaviour like

deliberation. However, the present study suggests that the method shows limited potential for quantitative tests of situational hypotheses about political behaviour due to the high likelihood of encountering missing data on key variables. In this respect it is recommended to complement the review with analyses of how the relevant ethnographic documents were produced to be able to judge what the eventual data can(not) tell one about a given behaviour's presence or absence in the studied hunter-gatherer cultures. Furthermore, while systematic reviews like the one reported on here underpin the reliability of the selection and coding of ethnographic records, they do not safeguard the validity of the researcher's (and the coding team's) interpretations and conclusions. It is therefore recommended that non-experts on the respective ethnographic fieldwork and/or hunter-gatherer cultures collaborate with relevant experts to enhance the validity of the study's results. Finally, it seems advisable to complement studies of the published ethnographic record with (archival) studies of unpublished materials in an attempt to fill in many of the missing details about a given political behaviour and the circumstances in which it occurred (or did not occur).

Discussion Questions

1. To what degree can non-experts conduct valid reviews of the ethnographic record on hunter-gatherer cultures?
2. What kind of potential biases do you think could pose a problem in the re-analysis of historical documents on hunter-gatherer cultures?
3. What kinds of hypotheses do you think can(not) be tested using data gathered through eHRAF?
4. In what ways could archival research complement the study of published ethnographic records on political behaviour in hunter-gatherer cultures?

Further Reading

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