

---

## UNIT 2 ECONOMIC ORGANISATIONS

---

### Contents

- 2.1 Introduction
- 2.2 Theoretical Part of which the Ethnography *Argonauts of the Western Pacific: An Account of Native Enterprise and Adventure in the Archipelagoes of Melanesian New Guinea* is an Example
- 2.3 Description of the Ethnography
  - 2.3.1 Intellectual context
  - 2.3.2 Fieldwork
  - 2.3.3 Analysis of data
  - 2.3.4 Conclusion
- 2.4 How does the Ethnography Advance our Understanding
- 2.5 Theoretical Part of which the Ethnography *The Trobrianders of Papua New Guinea* is an Example
- 2.6 Description of the Ethnography
  - 2.6.1 Intellectual context
  - 2.6.2 Fieldwork
  - 2.6.3 Analysis of data
  - 2.6.4 Conclusion
- 2.7 How does the Ethnography Advance our Understanding
- 2.8 Summary
  - References
  - Suggested Reading
  - Sample Questions

### Learning Objectives



At the end of this Unit, you will have:

- a broad overview of the scope, focus and findings of the two ethnographies on Trobriand Islanders/ Trobrianders of Papua New Guinea;
- a understanding of the evolution of the discipline of anthropology and particularly, ethnology, with the two field studies separated from each other by more than sixty years;
- an appreciation of how societies adapt to changes over time and with exposure to the outside world; and
- an understanding of the economic life of the people and the changes that have occurred over times.

---

## 2.1 INTRODUCTION

---

In this Unit, we shall undertake a comparative study of two ethnographies on the Trobriand Islanders/ Trobrianders of now modern Papua New Guinea. One of them is the classic monograph authored by Bronislaw Malinowski entitled *Argonauts of the Western Pacific: An Account of Native Enterprise and Adventure in the Archipelagoes of Melanesian New Guinea*, first published in 1922. The other is a much recent monograph by Annette B. Weiner named *The Trobrianders of Papua New Guinea*, published in 1988. The Trobriand Islanders and their culture have received considerable attention from anthropologists, representing a classic anthropological case and in the words of Spindler and Spindler (1988: viii), 'Trobriand society is one of the 'holy places' in the anthropological cosmography', with Malinowski first putting it on the anthropological map. The Trobriands comprise mainly four islands- Kiriwina, Kitava, Vakuta and Kaileuna, off the eastern coast of New Guinea, which was first colonised by Great Britain, then came under the subjugation of Australia and finally became part of the nation-state of Papua New Guinea in 1975. The inhabitants of these islands generally speak Kilivila, which is one of the approximately five hundred Austronesian languages common to Polynesia, Micronesia, Indonesia and much of the coastal and island areas of Melanesia.

As Weiner (1988:3) puts it, Malinowski's study on the Trobriand Islanders 'marks a watershed in British Social Anthropology, making ethnology come of age as a scientific discipline..[It]... not only brought to the fore new theoretical assumptions about the way individuals and institutions functioned in 'primitive' society but also radically changed the way ethnographers approach fieldwork'. As Sir James Frazer observes in the preface to Malinowski's book, 'Dr. Malinowski lived as a native among the natives for many months together, watching them daily at work and at play, conversing with them in their own tongue, and deriving all his information from the surest sources- personal observation and statements made to him directly by natives in their own language without the intervention of an interpreter'. Malinowski's work established participant observation as the most important method for anthropological fieldwork. As Malinowski says in the Introduction to the book, the ultimate goal of ethnographic fieldwork is 'to grasp the native's point of view, his relation to life, to realise his vision of the world' (1932: 25).

Weiner's fieldwork was conducted almost sixty years later following Malinowski's work, but also adhering to the Malinowskian tradition of prolonged fieldwork and viewing reality from the native's point of view.

The main focus of Malinowski's book is the remarkable system of exchange, locally called Kula, among the Trobriand Islanders, which is economic or commercial only in part and which also examines the motives and feelings underlying this, with magic playing a very important role in it. Weiner's much recent work also has a strong focus on the many kinds of exchange prevalent and how they are inextricably linked with different aspects of their culture but as she herself admits, a significant point of departure is her attention to women's economic role and productive activities which Malinowski largely ignored.

---

## 2.2 THEORETICAL PART OF WHICH THE ETHNOGRAPHY *Argonauts of the Western Pacific: An Account of Native Enterprise and Adventure in the Archipelagoes of Melanesian New Guinea* IS AN EXAMPLE

---

Malinowski's work is a fascinating example of the first hand fieldwork (lasting close to 30 months from 1914-1918) he carried out among the Trobrianders. Before him, anthropology was dominated by 'arm-chair scholars' or those who spent time with the so-called primitive people to know about their past so that these scholars could lend support to the evolutionary theory. Malinowski by contrast, was more interested in studying how the society actually functioned, rather than how it has evolved. Thus, Malinowski's work contributed to the Functional theory.

---

## 2.3 DESCRIPTION OF THE ETHNOGRAPHY

---

### 2.3.1 Intellectual Context

Malinowski in his classic monograph refers to the fact that the Papua-Melanesians (inhabiting the coast and outlying islands of New Guinea) are daring sailors, industrious manufacturers and keen traders. As the manufacturing centres of valuable articles like pottery, stone implements, canoes, baskets and ornaments are localised in several places, thus, they have to be traded over wide areas with people having to undertake voyages over considerable distances for this purpose. While many definite forms of exchange along definite trade routes exist among the various tribes, this book focuses on a 'very extensive and highly complex trading system' known as the *kula*, which link the Trobrianders with people living on other islands in the Massim region. In Malinowski's words, 'it is an economic phenomenon of considerable theoretical importance. It looms paramount in the tribal life of those natives who live within its circuit, and its importance is fully realised by the tribesmen themselves, whose ideas, ambitions, desires and vanities are very much bound up with the Kula' (1932:2).

### 2.3.2 Fieldwork

In this monograph, prior to embarking upon a description of the *kula*, Malinowski devotes the first chapter to describing the methods used in collecting ethnographic material; methods which have stood the test of time and continue to be relevant for modern anthropologists as they embark on field studies. According to Malinowski (1932: 24), ethnographic fieldwork must adhere to the following three cardinal strategies:

- 1) the organisation of the society and the anatomy of its culture must be recorded in firm, clear outline adhering to the method of concrete, statistical documentation;
- 2) within this frame, the 'imponderabilia of actual life' and the 'type of behaviour' have to be filled in. These have to be gathered through minute, detailed observations, noted in some form of an ethnographic diary and made possible by close contact with native life;

- 3) a collection of ethnographic statements, characteristic narratives, typical utterances, items of folk-lore and magical formulae has to be given as a *corpus inscriptionum*, that is, as documents of native mentality.

Malinowski further stresses that these three lines of aspects should lead to the final goal of grasping the native's point of view. In his words, 'to study the institutions, customs, and codes or to study the behaviour and mentality without the subjective desire of feeling by what these people live, of realising the substance of their happiness is, in my opinion, to miss the greatest reward which we can hope to obtain from the study of man' (1932: 25).

### 2.3.3 Analysis of Data

Coming to the people under study, Malinowski, found that the Trobriand Islanders were totemic and divided into a number of exogamous clans. The system of kinship was matrilineal and women yielded considerable influence and played a prominent role in tribal life. He found that sorcery was a matter of great importance and dread, and this fear became considerably enhanced when natives went to distant places. While adolescents enjoyed considerable sexual freedom, this was not the case following marriage. In his words, 'the most important feature of the Trobriand marriage is the fact that the wife's family has to contribute, and that in a very substantial manner, to the economics of her household, and also they have to perform all sorts of services for the husband'. There is no recognition of the physiological role of the father in procreation and the mother's brother is considered to be the real guardian of the children. However, the father is perceived to be 'by far the nearest and most affectionate friend of his child' (1932: 71).

Malinowski found that the natives invested considerable time and labour in cultivating their gardens, particularly yam gardens, with magic believed to play a big part in their success. He also noted that men cultivate these gardens not for themselves but for their respective sisters. However, each gardener takes considerable pride and receives societal appreciation for a good harvest, which is put on display for others to admire, compare and praise.

Chieftainship among the Trobrianders, according to Malinowski, is the combination of two institutions: village headmanship and totemic clanship, with each clan having more or less a definite social ranking. The position of village headmanship does not amount to much unless he is a member of the clan of high rank, in which case his power might even extend beyond his village. His wealth, needed to yield power, is enhanced by taking multiple wives from subject villages, whose relatives have to supply him with large amounts of crops. A chief is also expected to have access to the best sorcerers, who have to be rewarded generously for services rendered.

About five hundred pages of this monograph are devoted to a description of *kula* exchange, which is carried on by communities inhabiting a wide ring of islands, forming a closed circuit. Two kinds of articles constantly travel along this route in opposite directions. In the clock-wise direction, moves long necklaces of red shell called *soulava*, while in the anti-clock-wise direction, moves bracelets of white shell called *mwali*. Malinowski observes that 'each of these articles, as it travels in its own direction on the closed circuit, meets on its way articles of the other class, and is constantly being exchanged for them. Every movement of the *kula* articles, every detail of the transactions is fixed and regulated by a set of

traditional rules and conventions, and some acts of the *kula* are accompanied by an elaborate magical ritual and public ceremonies' (1932: 81). He found that a limited number of men on every island and in every village receive these particular goods, hold them for a short time, and then pass them on. Thus, every *kula* participant periodically, though not regularly, receives one or several *mwali*, or a *soulava* which then has to be transferred to one of his partners, from whom he receives the opposite commodity in exchange. Malinowski observed that 'once in the *Kula*, always in the *Kula*', as the partnerships between two *kula* partners is an enduring affair and also because the valuables are constantly travelling and cannot ever settle down in one place. While the ceremonial exchange of the two articles is the primary reason for the *kula*, simultaneously, the natives conduct ordinary trade, bartering (or *gimwali*) from one island to another to obtain unprocurable, indispensable utilities. Also, Malinowski notes that there are other activities, preliminary to the *kula*, or associated with it, such as the building of sea-going canoes for the expeditions, certain big forms of mortuary ceremonies, and preparatory taboos.

As to the underlying reasons for the *kula*, Malinowski observes that it cannot be for a moment considered as ephemeral, new or precarious, as its highly developed mythology and its magical ritual indicate its deep rootedness in tradition of the Trobrianders. He observes that 'a half commercial, half ceremonial exchange, it is carried out for its own sake, in fulfillment of a deep desire to possess. But here again, it is not ordinary possession, but a special type, in which a man owns for a short time, and in an alternating manner, individual specimens of two classes of objects. Though the ownership is incomplete in point of permanency, it is in turn enhanced in point of numbers successively possessed, and maybe called a cumulative possession' (1932: 510). He also stressed that perhaps the most important aspect of the *kula* is the people's mental attitude towards these valuables, which are neither used or considered as money or currency and bear little resemblance to these economic instruments. *Kula* that way is a unique kind of exchange where the valuables acquire their high value just by 'their being constantly within reach and the object of competitive desire, through being the means of arousing envy and conferring social distinction and renown...' (1932: 511).

### 2.3.4 Conclusion

Malinowski's monograph, while focused on the *kula* exchange, attempted to provide answers to certain questions regarding economic behaviour in simple societies. As to what motivates exchange in such societies, Malinowski (1932: 177, 189) noted a continuum of seven types of exchange ranging from 'pure gifts' (given for the sake of love) to 'trade, pure and simple'. With 'pure gifts' being rare, most gifts (also social obligations and duties) have the underlying expectation that something would be given in return. Exchange among Trobrianders is more aptly seen as a social act than a transmission of objects with exchange resulting not in economic gain but indicating the superiority of the giver over the receiver. Prestige among the Trobrianders is obtained mainly from the ability to give. Temporary ownership and the act of giving are perceived to be more important than permanent ownership, which is thought to be an expression of stinginess, one of the worst qualities a person could possess.

---

## 2.4 HOW DOES THE ETHNOGRAPHY ADVANCE OUR UNDERSTANDING

---

Malinowski was a remarkable fieldworker. Not only did he carry out his intensive fieldwork with the Trobrianders (and later on in Mexico and Africa), but also guided a large number of anthropologists. It is said that at one time, almost every budding anthropologist in the United Kingdom used to attend Malinowski's seminars in which they were trained in the nuances of fieldwork. The study of ceremonial exchange among the Trobrianders, which the economists found whimsical and non-rational, was a unique contribution, for it showed the functions it performed. Malinowski founded a brand of functionalism, known as 'psychological functionalism', which argued that the functions of customs is to fulfill the biological need of the individual. In fact, Malinowski was the first anthropologist to recognise the importance of the biological system, a point which later was integrated in the theory of social system by Talcott Parsons.

---

## 2.5 THEORETICAL PART OF WHICH THE ETHNOGRAPHY *The Trobrianders of Papua New Guinea* IS AN EXAMPLE

---

Annette B. Weiner's study of the Trobrianders finds many cultural items among the Trobrianders that Malinowski did not find. Weiner also corrects certain things which Malinowski misunderstood or overlooked. Moreover, it records the changes that have occurred over a period of sixty years. The most important contribution of this ethnography is its contribution to the understanding of women's work, influence, and wealth in determining male behaviour. That is why, Weiner's work is of central importance in gender study.

---

## 2.6 DESCRIPTION OF THE ETHNOGRAPHY

---

### 2.6.1 Intellectual Context

Based on fieldwork conducted more than sixty years following Malinowski's work, this book centres largely around the ability of Trobrianders to resist change and their acumen in transforming 'new ideas into ways that remain distinctively Trobriand' (1988: 12). An important concern of this book is dominance and hierarchy as this is a society with ranked chiefs, who by virtue of their birth, are accorded special privileges and powers, which are, however, not absolute and could be easily lost through one's own miscalculations, sorcery by others or societal demands at death. As Weiner observes, right from birth, each person's social identity is enhanced by others who give their own names, knowledge, magic spells, and wealth to create culturally the potential power of a child. In adulthood, the exchanges of yam, men's and women's valuables reiterate a person's status and build their social and political identity, which is undermined by death. To quote Weiner herself, 'this book explores the relationship between power and death as men and women, each in their own way, with their own valuables, confront the eternal problem of sustaining hierarchical relations in the face of loss and decay. It is in the attempts made to resolve these problems-for all societal solutions to the existential problems of power and death are only partial-that we see the roots of Trobriand resiliency to change' (1988: 13).

## 2.6.2 Fieldwork

The fieldwork for this book was conducted over a period of time covering both the periods of pre and post-independence (with independence obtained in 1975). Hence, it is but natural that the monograph also talks about the hopes and aspirations which Trobrianders had at this critical juncture. In the early 1970s, the islands witnessed a tourism boom and many villagers were engaged in traditional woodcarving to serve this market (which Weiner initially planned to study) and some of the profits of which were spent in either of the two European trade stores to buy tinned meat, rice, tobacco, clothes, etc. However, due to certain events which included the setting up of a local economic association led by a university educated Trobriander and which fuelled old political rivalries, the tourism boom ended. As income from wood carving waned, villagers went back to tending their yam gardens and young people began to spend more time in traditional village events. Weiner found that faced with almost a hundred years of new ideas and changes instituted by a colonial government, missionaries, traders and even Allied soldiers during World War II, Trobrianders held firm to many of their most important values and reflected a worldview which is not easily threatened or disturbed.

## 2.6.3 Analysis of Data

Chapter II of the monograph which focuses on the rituals surrounding a death emphasise how these act as a conservative force ameliorating the disjuncture between change and tradition as the things of most value such as material wealth, land, and social and political relationships are reconstituted for the living. With Trobriand society being a matrilineal society, it falls upon the members of a dead person's matrilineage to repay at his death all those members of other matrilineages who were close to him during his life, including his friends, allies, wives and children. They are required to give away resources such as yams, pigs and stone axe-blades which constitute the traditional male valuables and skirts made of red fibre and bundles of banana leaves, which are women's wealth. Weiner observes that this act of repaying at death has strong political connotations as the members of the dead person's matrilineage demonstrates publicly their strength, with everyone reading the social message in numbers as to how politically vital is this matrilineage. In her own words, 'power is never limitless; everyone recognises sorcery as the ultimate threat. Even chiefs must reckon with such limits from within their own group. Succession to a chieftaincy is inherited within the matrilineage, so the right to become chief can only be taken at the death of the incumbent chief. In many cases, the chief's heir is suspect' (1988:41).

As far as birth is concerned, women and men are believed to have complementary roles, though the former are perceived to have a far more basic role. The foetus is believed to be formed by a combination of a woman's blood and an ancestral spirit from her matrilineage. An infant is named after a deceased member of the mother's matrilineage and thus, according to Weiner (1988: 54), 'ancestral names and ancestral spirits, each in their own way, thus regenerate matrilineal identity through time'. She, however, stresses the point that this does not mean that the father has a lesser role to play in the life of his child as the public responsibility for its economic care falls on him. Men are not only expected to provide food for the child but to be responsible for enhancing the child's beauty by providing it with valuable shell necklaces, earrings and other decorations. Such decorations

convey to the society at large the father's social and political worth, which in turn secures for his child an entry into the world of politics.

A focus in the monograph is on how young people are culturally expected to make efforts to enhance their physical and social beauty as a powerful means of persuasion and seduction, with their being no taboos on pre-marital sexuality. Weiner observed that among the Trobriand Islanders, attracting lovers is not a frivolous, adolescent pastime but the 'first step towards entering the adult world of strategies, where the line between influencing others while not allowing others to gain control of oneself must be carefully learned' (1988: 71). In Trobriand society, marriage, despite the emphasis on seduction and love during adolescence, is usually an important political step and rarely a love match. Thus, through each marriage, new affinal alliances are built or old ones reinforced between the members of the new husband's and new wife's matrilineages. Also, after marriage, the priority accorded to beauty and its power recedes and is replaced by an emphasis on one's talents for producing and controlling objects of wealth. Among the Trobrianders, official recognition of a marriage comes when a couple eats yams together, which are cooked by the girl's mother. This, according to Weiner, marks only the beginning of the way their future married life will be organised around yam production. Following marriage, the wife's parents make a large presentation of raw yams, in exchange of which valuables like axe-blades and clay pots or *kula* shells are given to each person from the bride's side who contributed to the yam presentation. In the years following marriage, a couple receives harvested yams cultivated by the bride's father and her matrilineal kin. In Trobriand society, while a man is cultivating yams for his sister and daughter, the same is being done for him by his wife's brother and/ or her father and it is this complex network which forms the basis for all important kin and affinal relationships between women and men.

A person can acquire political power in the society only if he has the support of his wife's relatives, which is demonstrated mainly through yam production. For chiefs in Trobriand society, these networks are enhanced through polygyny but such marriages are only feasible when villagers decide that a chief has acquired enough influence to be supported by them. Chiefs attempt to win fame and consolidate their influence through the ownership of powerful magic spells which enable them to control other villagers' lives and the growing cycle of yams as well as the expenditure of huge resources.

Weiner, unlike Malinowski, has closely studied the importance attached to women's wealth in Trobriand society, which consists of skirts made of red fibre and bundles of banana leaves. Following a death, there are huge exchanges of women's wealth to mark the end of the mourning period and men, including chiefs, remain dependent on women and their valuables. As observed by Weiner (1988: 120), 'as a woman and her husband receive yams from her brother every year, her husband must help her find bundles whenever someone dies who was a member of her matrilineage...by giving yams each year to his sister, a man secures women's wealth from someone in another matrilineage for his own matrilineage'. When men need to find bundles for their wives, they exchange these against food, pigs, manufactured goods except with the exception of their stone-axes and shells, and this often leads to considerable draining away of men's economic resources. The women of the deceased's matrilineage give away these valuables to hundreds of 'others' beyond the matrilineage and in a symbolic manner, 'untie'



the dead person from his or her attachments and obligations to 'others' who have looked after the deceased during his or her lifetime.

*The Trobrianders of Papua New Guinea* also pays attention to the inter-island *kula* exchanges. According to Weiner, Malinowski's major emphasis in the context of the *kula* was on the circularity of the shells' movements as they passed from one man to another, with a timelessness dictated by custom. But her later study indicates that it is not merely a mechanical give and take, but rather a complex set of exchanges that contribute towards acquisition of strong partners and the highest-ranking valuables and provide opportunities to men 'to write the history of their own immortality in the shells they exchange with others' (1988: 14).

#### 2.6.4 Conclusion

Finally, in the concluding chapter of the monograph, we see how objects inform the most important stages in a Trobriander's life. The Trobrianders' almost compulsive focus on exchange of things is reflective of individual effort to control others while managing their own self-images, autonomy and political destinies. However, there is a pathos embedded in the most valued objects and which makes us appreciate the fragility of social and political relations which define people and where they belong, with death destroying both individual lives and complexes of social relationships. Against this finality, in the words of Weiner, 'men strive in exchanges for the freedom of power whereas women in their exchanges strive to transform death into a hope for the future' (1988:15).

The monograph concludes with the observation that Western money, education, religion and law, while making much inroad into Trobriand society, has not been able to uproot the importance accorded traditionally to yam production, production of women's wealth and *kula* activities. These continue to be the acts through which Trobrianders express their self-identity and their relationship with others.

---

### 2.7 HOW DOES THE ETHNOGRAPHY ADVANCE OUR UNDERSTANDING

---

#### Main points of difference

As to the question of comparison between Malinowski's monograph and that of Weiner's, the latter observes that 'taken together, our two studies profoundly exemplify the scientific basis that underlies the collection of ethnographic data. Like all such data, however, whether researched in a laboratory or a village, the more we learn about a subject, the more we can refine and revise earlier assumptions' (1988: 5). Hence, according to her, the lack of agreement on many aspects between Malinowski's and her work must not be taken as an adversarial attack against an opponent. It must be appreciated and understood that their differences can be traced historically within the discipline of anthropology.

The main point of departure between Malinowski's and Weiner's analysis is the attention which Weiner gave to women's productive work. In the *Argonauts of the Western Pacific*, Malinowski referred to the high position of women among the Trobriand Islanders but attributed it mainly to the principle of matrilineal descent. Weiner's deeper probe indicated that this importance was underwritten by women's own wealth, as distinct from men's wealth, which was the sole focus of Malinowski's work. Her work indicated that exchanges of women's

wealth create stability in the exchange relationships between men and the need for women's wealth at mortuary rites necessitates the expenditure of certain kinds of men's resources.

Weiner's focus on women also compelled the revision of many assumptions about Trobriand kinship. As she observes, 'Malinowski conceptualised matrilineality as an institution in which the father of a child, as a member of a different matrilineage, was excluded not only from participating in procreation but also from giving any objects of lasting value to his children, thus provisioning them only with love' (1988: 6). In contrast, Weiner found that apart from an acknowledged complementary role in conception without compromising the matrilineal identity, fathers had public responsibility for the economic care of the child, enhancement of the child's beauty as well as to provide the child opportunities to gain things from his matrilineage. This giving creates reciprocal obligations upon the child which last even beyond the father's death.

Also, Malinowski's monograph did not provide a very clear picture of the question of chieftainship in the different islands of the Trobriands. On the other hand, Weiner's work indicated that it was only in Kiriwana that chiefs have extensive authority and power, while in some other islands, they had very little advantage over others and in Kitava, inherited positions of chieftainship are non-existent. In Weiner's view, it must be acknowledged that Malinowski did most of his fieldwork on Kiriwana and therefore, he could not have known about these variations.

A criticism leveled against Malinowski by Weiner is that his functionalist orientations, whereby he tried to attribute a pragmatic function for each custom or institution, prevented him from understanding the subtleties and the significance of symbolic action. His interest, according to Weiner (1988: 8), 'was in the cause and effect of certain actions and activities rather than in the cultural meanings that Trobrianders give to the things and people around them'. While Malinowski demonstrated that Trobrianders perceived the world through rational thought, it must be appreciated that in all societies, logical understanding of events and circumstances has its limitations. This is most evident in Malinowski's understanding of the rationale behind the *kula* exchange, which he believed to be driven only by custom and for its own sake; while Weiner's later study unraveled many complexities underlying it.

---

## 2.8 SUMMARY

---

Thus, in the final analysis, it may be concluded that a comparative study of these two ethnographies, separated in time by about sixty years and focusing on the same society helps us to appreciate better the evolution of the discipline of anthropology over time. It also helps us understand how societies adapt to change over time and with exposure to the outside world, in a manner which could be at once accommodative and resilient. At the same time, the comparative study also brings home to us the timelessness of certain anthropological fieldwork methods and tools and reinforces the fundamental anthropological tenet of looking at societies from an emic or insider's perspective.

## References

Frazer, J.G. 1932. "Preface", in B. Malinowski, *Argonauts of the Western Pacific: An Account of Native Enterprise and Adventure in the Archipelagoes of Melanesian New Guinea*. London: George Routledge and Sons Ltd.

Malinowski, B. 1932. *Argonauts of the Western Pacific: An Account of Native Enterprise and Adventure in the Archipelagoes of Melanesian New Guinea*. London: George Routledge and Sons Ltd.

Spindler, G. L. Spindler. 1988. "Foreword", in A. B. Weiner, *The Trobrianders of Papua New Guinea*. California, USA: Wadsworth Cengage Learning.

Weiner, Annette B. 1988. *The Trobrianders of Papua New Guinea*. California, USA: Wadsworth Cengage Learning.

## Suggested Reading

Malinowski, B. 1932. *Argonauts of the Western Pacific: An Account of Native Enterprise and Adventure in the Archipelagoes of Melanesian New Guinea*. London: George Routledge and Sons Ltd.

Weiner, Annette B. 1988. *The Trobrianders of Papua New Guinea*. California, USA: Wadsworth Cengage Learning.

## Sample Questions

- 1) Evaluate critically the main points of difference between the two monographs- Malinowski's *Argonauts of the Western Pacific* and Weiner's *The Trobrianders of Papua New Guinea*.
- 2) What, according to Malinowski, should be the goal of anthropological fieldwork and how can it be reached? Did Weiner adhere to similar strategies in her field study?
- 3) Briefly describe the *kula* exchange as found by Malinowski and the reasons for it as attributed by him. Does Weiner have a different perspective on the reasons for it?