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The paper details great ethnographic examples from the Mbuti, the Ju/'hoansi, and the Trobriand Islanders. The analysis of the Mbuti way of maintaining order ranged from shaming, leaving the group and ostracism to contempt and ridicule. Excellent choice of words in 'collective sense of humour'. Good observation skills in distinguishing between physical and mental ways of maintaining order. The observation of the Hxaro exchange showed originality of thought in comparing the system with the Western system of value. Excellent use of Malinowski and magic as a means of social control among the Trobriand Islanders. The concluding statement about stigma being a main mechanism of control in these societies was brilliant and shows great ability to make well sustained arguments based on readings. Overall, the paper engages with the assignment question through varied use of literature in an interesting and engaging way.

The two last paragraphs could have been perhaps joined together, as the last paragraph was short and it wasn't clear which one was the conclusion. Next time, the comparison between Euro-Americans would need to be referenced. Do the Europeans and Americans (presumably North Americans) have something in common in their justice system that people in say, Australia, or South America do not have? What I'm trying to say is that the term Euro-American is a huge generalization. But so is the term Western. Yet Western might be more accurate as it encompasses a wider geographical area. For example, the exchange system you described in opposition to the Hxaro exchange is not confined solely to Europe and North America, but it appears everywhere that has been 'Westernized'. The term 'Western monetary system' could have been in this instance a better term. But my advice would be to try to avoid both terms (Euro-American/Western) unless absolutely necessary or cited in the text. But overall this is a minor point in regards to the excellence of the paper. Well done.

Offer 4 different examples of how social groups maintain order. Explain how these methods maintain social order

Social order is crucial within any society as it keeps the group coherent and united. No matter how altruistic a group may be, there is always a need to deter those who would break the group's customs and if they do break them a way is needed to punish them and again serve to deter others from doing the same.

The Mbuti of the Congo have an easy to understand application of law and order, with equally uncomplicated punishments, but the difference with their system lies in its

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communality. As a group of hunter-gatherers living in the Congo jungle, they don't have as pressing a need for a wide-ranging justice system like that of Europe and America; but the justice they mete out is enough for what they need. Turnbull (1961, pp. 110-111) explains their 'justice' system as a way of settling disputes as and when they arise, and the punishment is given based on the context of the dispute. He comments on the informality of everything they do, but also notes the effectiveness of their punishments as they carry great social stigma amongst the group. This form of social order can be argued to be more efficient than the one used by Europeans and Americans as the stigma that is carried by committing a crime is so great and humiliating that some people will go so far as to leave the group out of shame. One example cited by Turnbull (1961, pp. 111-112) was a case where someone had committed the greatest crime in their eyes, incest. The justice that followed this crime was being chased around the village with stones, spears and knives; and because of the humiliation and shame of being discovered he was forced to leave the village and flee into the forest and chances were that he would no longer be accepted by this group and possibly no other group either if word spread.

The greatest threat, however, is being ostracised from the group as this can hold mortal consequences; for if someone is cast out and no other group will allow them to move in, the person will not live long alone in the forest, they say the forest will take their life or they will die of leprosy (Turnbull, 1961, p. 114). The main methods of justice they use however are much less severe in terms of physicality, but the social stigma these disciplinary measures can be equivalent of a beating; "The two attitudes that disturb the Pygmy most are contempt and ridicule" (Turnbull, 1961, p. 114). These two methods are used to shame and humiliate the offender, and sometimes the defendant as well, into a sense of regret; the group uses their collective sense of humour to mock the wrongdoer which gives them a degree of ostracization and puts them back in their place. Despite the bureaucratically informal system of justice, the group of Pygmies maintains their cohesion through a collective sense of humour which is used to put those who get too big for their boots back in their place; and when a more serious offence is committed then the whole village will get in on the punishment, be it a physical or linguistic beating.

The Ju/'hoansi are investigated in a short ethnography by Holly Peters-Golden, and a few methods of maintaining order are explored. The next most important method of maintaining order is the *hxaro* exchange. This process is an uncomplicated principle "the essence of the *hxaro* exchange is exchange between individuals that is not as immediate as barter: one person gives an item to another, and in future an item is returned" (Peters-Golden, 1994, p. 108). Within the principles of Euro-American economics, this system is confusing in that there is no direct correlation of the 'value' of the things exchanged, all that matters to the participants is that at some point an item is returned; but as a principle for their society, it works well to maintain order as gift giving shows a sense of openness and friendliness, keeping ties strong with those who are engaged in exchanges. Explaining the rules of engagement "All Ju/'hoansi are eligible to enter into *hxaro* together with the primary pathways emanating from husband and wife who exchange with their children, who exchange with their spouses, who exchange with their own parents" and "it can also serve as a safety valve for diffusing conflict; going off to do a *hxaro* can function as a valid excuse

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Commented [J5]: The author of the chapter of the Ju/'hoansi is Richard Lee. Holly Peters-Golden is the editor of the book.

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to leave a group when involved in escalating dissension" (Peters-Golden, 1994, p. 108) shows that this is a practice that the whole wider community can get involved in to maintain their sense of social unity; with it functioning to keep the group together peacefully whilst also offering an out to let tensions die down if things become heated between two members. The Ju/'hoansi bear some resemblance to the Mbuti in that they have a form of social punishment, for the Mbuti that is being joked about and told they are being too noisy and for the San it is their insulting of someone who is becoming overconfident.

The Trobriand Islanders of Melanesian New Guinea have a more structured way of social order and law when compared to the other groups. Malinowski wrote about the Islander's social structure and commented that "their social organisation is in certain respects complex and ill-defined." (1922, p. 50), particularly in reference to their traditions and customs. He draws attention to their more central customs which are upheld without question, such as the position of people within the social ladder and magical practices; but then notes that there are "a number of quaint usages, of vague graduations in rules, of others where the exceptions are so many, that they rather obliterate the rule than confirm it." (Malinowski, 1922, p. 50), this gives the impression of a complex system which he contradicts by saying beforehand that the rules are ill-defined yet the Trobriand Islanders as a whole are "one cultural unit, speaking the same language, having the same institutions, obeying the same laws and regulations" (Malinowski, 1922, p. 54). The main culture spanning method of control is the chieftain and his sorcerers. As a group they have a genuine and deep-seated fear of magic so the best method of control and punishment at a chieftain's disposal is summoning a powerful sorcerer under his command and publicly stating that the culprit shall die by black magic for their offense. And in even more extreme cases he shall send forth his hereditary henchmen to kill the offender outright. (Malinowski, 1922). This fear of sorcery and murder are effective deterrents because of the social history of them: as a culture they have fears of sorcery and witches so knowing that one is out to kill them will bring them back into line. The methods used by the Islanders can be considered more 'direct' than the methods used by the Mbuti and the Ju/'hoansi, and they also use more fear to get the punishment across but they are arguably as effective as the other methods.

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Comparing all these methods of keeping order show that the main way of keeping order is through social stigma. In the case of the Mbuti they fear being made fun of and any disputes that do arise are dealt with on the spur of the moment with no formal trial (Turnbull, 1961). The Ju/'hoansi have social methods in their insulting of people becoming overly confident and using the *hxaro* exchange to keep goodwill flowing between family groups (Peters-Golden, 1994) and lastly the Trobriand Islanders have a more physical way of maintaining order through hereditary killers being sent by the chief or fears of sorcerers out to get them with black magic. The social stigma surrounding these methods of punishment is even more acute because of how small the groups are, as everyone knows everyone and if any issues boil over then the whole band will know about the issue sooner or later.

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Social order is vital in maintaining the coherence of the group, if they split into partisan factions then they run the risk of infighting taking over their lives when they need to be

tending to the day-to-day jobs of their lives; any disputes that do arise need to be dealt with quickly and efficiently, and these methods do so in a variety of ways.

Commented [J10]: This is nice. Maybe this could have been related to Woodburn?

References

Malinowski, B., 1922. *Argonauts of the Western Pacific: An Account of Native Enterprise and Adventure in the Archipelagoes of Melanesian New Guinea*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul Ltd.

Peters-Golden, H., 1994. The Ju/'hoansi: Reciprocity and Sharing. In: 4th, ed. *Culture Sketches: Case Studies in Anthropology*. New York: McGraw-Hill, pp. 97-117.

Turnbull, C. M., 1961. *The Forest People: A Study of the Pygmies of the Congo*. 1st ed. New York: Simon & Schuster Inc..