

## PYGMIES

of course they prefer their own names for themselves

The Mbuti, studied by Colin Turnbull

*Wayward Servants*

Live in densest equatorial rainforest

forest-oriented system of values

forest is friendly and generous

rainy: 70"-80" rain per year/everyday

humid and hot: 95% humidity and 70-90 degrees in shade

not many bugs/water NOT polluted

Nomadic Hunters and Gatherers

hunt- antelope, birds, chimps, grubs, and insects

gather- roots, mushrooms, nuts, berries, fruit, honey

Material culture from raw materials

-easily available in forest

Forest is "Father and Mother"

Forest is more than environment

Forest is a living thing

Forest is depended on, respected, trusted, obeyed and loved

True H & G but associate with Bantu villagers

move in and move out of Bantu villages

census- guess ~40,000 higher? lower?

2 GROUPS - Net hunters (fewer animals, more work) and

- Archers (original subsistence pattern, more animals)

70% of diet is plant food

Band = group that recognizes and uses a common territory

band membership fluid - fission and fusion

small- 3 families

big- 30 families

Leadership - ACEPHALOUS (not have a leader)

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"no head" in Greek

no chief, no council of elders

egalitarian/ everybody equal

"sultani" - villagers use term

common ancestry - patrilineal descent

know relatives on both sides - bilateral

rites of passage - many villagers manage

subject themselves to ritual authority of villagers for rites of passage

No legal system - no laws

### TWO WORLDS OF THE MBUTI

Forest: independent - no laws, leaderless, no big kin groups

Village: dependent?

bananas, peanuts, matches, corn, rice, beans, manioc, palm wine, tobacco

Mbuti say "better hunting"

or is there economic, political, and ritual dependence?

superficial acculturation

Harvard study - Mbuti could not survive

without access to cultivated food, metal cooking, utensils

Efe- no more than 6 days without barter with villages  
- barter for machetes, matches

2 strategies- available to Pygmies

1. foraging - Hunting and gathering
2. trade for domesticated food with Bantu (villagers, farmers)

Bantu dependent on Mbuti

guide through forest, forest is the enemy for Bantu

Bantu use witchcraft to protect themselves from the forest

Bantu in warfare use Mbuti to help

Bantu need Mbuti for meat, honey, house building supplies  
from forest - saplings and leaves

Mbuti work in Bantu gardens but don't like to work in gardens

Mbuti guard the gardens while Bantu men are gone

MBUTI COME AND GO AS THEY PLEASE

### HARVARD STUDY OF EFE

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Archers of the Ituri Forest

rely on cultivated food

60% of food they eat is cultivated, 40% is wild

not growing food themselves, get from Bantu villagers

Bantu expansion ~2000 BC

Efe live in least developed areas

-few coffee plantation

-no large towns

-minimum market economy/low population density

no competition for land

EXCHANGE between Bantu farmers and Efe

Efe- bow and arrows (spears)

Men's activity for food: meat, honey

Women's activity: gathering plant food, insects, fish

-Negotiating EXCHANGE with Bantu

Efe talk about exchange as if it is a male activity only WHY?

1) Bantu highly value - meat and honey and males acquire

2) Women move in Efe society when they marry (patrilocal)

Men have lifelong relationships with Bantu villagers

BUT it isn't not simple

Men initiate, negotiate, and trade

have trade partners - balanced reciprocity

Wives of trade partners doing trading

Efe women trade:

agricultural work, fire wood and water they collected,

other forest products (for houses), and food

Efe men trade meat and honey (labor)

Get: implements, clothing, tobacco, and marijuana

What if there is a food shortage in village?

-turn to another Bantu village, informal ties previously

-go and join another Efe band using women's kinship ties

Efe women decide how long to work in village

women want to live close to not walk far

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men want to live far to have better hunting  
conflict between men and women

There are two worlds-

Women-oriented village

Men's world of the forest

Turnbull coined "2 worlds" idea and made it sound 50-50

(of course he hung out with men)

CHANGES IN THE ITURI FOREST

(affect exchanges)

Deforestation

Mbuti - not have bargaining power of meat and honey

Mbuti need villagers more and villagers able to exploit them

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What will happen?

Probably nothing good for Pygmies

Pygmies already have low status in villages