

The "Bongary" and "Debaky": in the Sahafatra "Society, District of Vondrozo

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Abstract: In the "Sahafatra" sub ethnic-group, there is a custom which has practice dealing with traditional exchange. Their ancestors made the rule of this practice which is called "debaky" and "bongary." In the beginning, that is used to help people who are living in crisis or famine. If one of the families has (a) food problem, their member of "fatrange" should help them with the practice of that. For this people use "rice" or cow as a loan, but evolution over time allows for the use of something else now. It is a traditional exchange system in "Sahafatra" Society. Its purpose is to save each other within "fatrange" members.

Therefore, they should not be performed outside the member of "fatrange" according to the rule. The «bongary» is a traditional way of lending which is without guarantee. In the "debaky" is the loan with the guarantee, and that the rice fields or other heritages are placed as pledge in the hands of the creditor (owner of the rice or of the money or of a cow) during a time determined by both parties which creditor and debtor or lender. However, "anti-social" and "dahalo" violence reigned in Vondrozo district due to the jealousy of the later troubled generation because of the "bongary" and "debaky". That means, the generation hear the history of their property which got for someone who practiced this "debaky" at that time, especially the bongary .

Therefore, many acts of murder are due to this jealousy. The bad consequence of "bongary" and "debaky" is one of the bases of insecurity in the "Sahafatra" community. We should look for a solution for this problem of society.

Keywords: **Antsiva:** Traditional Southeastern Trumpet, **Bongary:** traditional loan method with interest, **Debaky:** traditional loan system with mortgage, **Fatrange:** refers to the reunification of families which is the basis of Sahafatra society, **Fafy:** custom for making traditional blessings and sanctifications, **Fafivady:** custom on the traditional blessing of the married couple, **Fatrange:** refers to the reunification of families which is the basis of Sahafatra society, **Sandratrampanjaka:** crowning of traditional leader, **Doboky:** it is a community custom to practice during the time of a dead body is always in a village which literally means "to rest", **Lofopaty:** A custom of "sahafatra" which is used as a sacrifice for a dead person, **Takombato:** stone to make the "tsangambato", **Tsangambato:** memorial stone for a person who has died., **Fahasivy:** important mythical figure, that is to say ninth figure as lord savior of the country and who protects the family., **Very Faty:** No one dead, but he doesn't bury in their family tomb., **Fasan-drazana:** family tomb

1. INTRODUCTION

Groups of researchers have worked hard on land tenure reform, discussing the importance of the "fatrange" system in the Vatovavy –Fitovinany region. These researchers noticed that this system is used throughout the great South-East of Madagascar and more particularly in the two regions such as "Atsimo Atsinanana" and Vatovavy Fitovinany. Lucien Ramiandrisoa wrote an article concerning the "fatrange" system within the "Antanala" and "Antemoro" Society¹.

¹ Lucien RAMIANDRISOA. Les Chefs Coutumiers ont-ils un Rôle dans la Gestion Foncière ? L'exemple des sociétés Antemoro et Antañala, District de Manakara, Région de Vatovavy-Fitovinany, MADAGASCAR, Doctorant en Géographie, Laboratoire Espaces et Sociétés École Doctorale Sciences Humaines et Sociales, Université d'Antananarivo, MADAGASCAR

The "fatrange" system is very important in the social life of the population of the South-east of Madagascar. In other words, all the people who live practisethere the "fatrange" system occasionally called "Lera" or "antindera", but the most often and very popular it is the word "fatrange".

We carried out our research inthe district of Vondrozo which is one of the five districts of the south-eastern region. In the "fatrange" system, rules or disciplines is reigningover society for exchange and fraternity. From the time of barter until today, "sahafatra" uses "bongary" and "debaky" to make exchanges, in other words, these two forms are practiced within "sahafatra" society. These methods rapidly increased poverty in the Vondrozo district.

Our research focuses on these problems that we try to find solutions because it represents a brake on development in this place. Through that, we adopt the following plan: First, the research introduction, which concerns the presentation of the study environment and the research methodology adopted.

The first part concerns the theoretical framework of this research and in the second part we will present the research results which relate to the causes of "debaky" and "bongary". The third part represents the discussions and reflections on the hypotheses of the problems and solutions.

1.2. Goal of the Study

During our descent on the ground, we saw the problems of the people in particular the impact of "debaky" and "bongary". Some people do not have land to plant rice. When we asked them, they said it was the impact of "debaky" and "bongary". On the other hand, we found people owning several rice fields and many people worked for them every day, more precisely thepeoplewhoworked daily for a rich man numbered about fifty (50) people. The "bongary" and the "debaky" are functional in the traditional custom of the "sahafatra" ethnic subgroup and it is also the custom of their ancestors. Because of their belief, they think it's not changeable. They are afraid to change it, for them it has to do with the "fatrange"system which is the basis of the community in this area.

For us, this economic system creates a big difference between people living in the same community. The others become slaves by the way of working every day in the rice fields of few people who become wealthy for this system of exchange which call "debaky" and "bongary". This leads us to do research on this fatrange system which practices this "debaky" and this "bongary". We try to answer the previous question: how to improve the "bongary" and the "debaky" which are practiced legitimately and everyday use for the exchange of goods within society « Sahafatra ».

1.3. Study Environment Presentation

Research Field Located Presentation

The District of Vondrozo is located near the cliff of Bezavo, 68 km west of Farafangana, capital of the south-eastern region and 200 km east of Ihosy. It is made up of eighteen (18) rural municipalities. It is crossed by the National Road Number 27 connecting Ihosy-Ivohibe - Vondrozo - Farafangana. This road is inaccessible during the rainy season due to lack of maintenance. Secondary roads connect various towns within the district, most of which are also inaccessible due to deteriorating bridges. This district is shaped like a potato tuber, the south-eastern part of which widens towards the north. The "Sahafatra" make up the majority of the population of the District of Vondrozo, there are also Zafimananga, Antefasy, Antemoro, Zafisoro, Betsileo, etc. The population is both agricultural and pastoral. Boundary: having an area of 2,964 km², the district of Vondrozo is bounded by the district of Ikongo in the north, the district of Vangaindrano in the south, the district of Farafangana in the east; and the district of Ivohibe in the west².

² Désire -Victor Gaius Ben Besoa,(2013) *Contribution a l'Etude des Impacts Socio-économique et Environnementales de l'Exploitation D'Or dans le Corridor Ambositra –Vondrozo Cas de Commune rurale de Manambidala*(Mémoire de DTS Université de Fianarantsoa : Institut de Science et Techniques de l'Environnement, Fianarantsoa , 2013.

1.4. List of Administrative within the District³

N°	Territory Administrative	communes component	Number of the Fokontany
01	VONDROZO	Vondrozo	04
		Anandravy	04
		Manambidala	12
02	VOHIMARY	Vohimary	07
		Antokonala	07
03	MAHATSINJO	Mahatsinjo	05
		Adoharano	07
		Ambodirano	05
		Iamonta	06
04	MAHAZOARIVO	Mahazoarivo	11
		Ambohimana	09
05	IVATO	Ivato	09
		Moroteza	07
06	MAHAVELO	Mahavelo	07
		Vohiboreka	04
07	KARIANGA	Karianga	09
		Andakana	06
		Manato	08
TOTAL..... 07		18	127

Population:

N°	COMMUNES	POPULATION	OBSERVATIONS
01	Ambohimana	8 315,00	
02	Anandravy	6 436,00	
03	Andakana	7 512,00	
04	Antokonala	6 935,00	
05	Iamonta	7 644,00	
06	Ivato	9 500,00	
07	Karianga	10 550,00	
08	Mahatsinjo	4 710,00	
09	Andoharano	5 090,00	
10	Ambodirano	5 915,00	
11	Mahavelo	8 783,00	
12	Mahazoarivo	10 185,00	
13	Manambidala	14 953,00	
14	Manato	8 888,00	
15	Moroteza	15 658,00	
16	Vohimary	7 097,00	
17	Vohiboreka	6 786,00	
18	Vondrozo	17 044,00	
	TOTAL.....	153 479,00	

There is no industry in the Vondrozo district. People practice traditional agriculture; food crops are the most dominant. In addition, a few commercial channels are present.

We distinguish:⁴

Food crops: rice, cassava, sweet potato, maize, sorghum, yam Cash crops and industrial crops: coffee, pepper, rose bath, cloves, vanilla, sugar cane, pineapple. Cultivation of fruit trees: mango, orange, banana, papaya, sour soup, avocado. Rice and cash crops are widespread throughout the District; they occupy 30% and 35% of cultivated areas respectively. However, rice production remains insufficient, modern SRI/SRA techniques are still not widely used.

³Iotokarozy, Monographie de District de Vondrozo, 2019.

⁴Iotokarozy, ibid.

Agricultural yield remains low even though all agricultural areas have water resources that can be used as an irrigation dam for irrigable areas, but hydro-agricultural infrastructure is insufficient. Land use: the low slopes (the plains) are used for food crops while the lowlands (the valleys) for rice cultivation and the hills are reserved for cash crops and fruit trees.

2. RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

2.1. Methods and Materials

The methodology adopted is to work with groups of Pastors and catechists to make inquiries in each municipality with specific, open, neutral questionnaires in their hands. We limited our survey to 10 municipalities as a sample among the 18 existing municipalities and 1800 people per municipality were interviewed by adopting two forms of survey management, people who practice the Creditor and others who were victims of "bongary" and "Debaky".

We are visiting around ten rural communities in the district of Vondrozo, series of questionnaires have been developed to stimulate the discussion. Most of the information obtained through the questions asked allows us to clarify or justify the statements made by the people questioned. A few questions prepared and asked during the first trip there led us to formulate other questions that we must seek to answer. This allows us to bundle ideas and ask more detailed questions to get more information about what was not clear on the first trip.

This fieldwork was very useful in examining the practice of their custom and the widely accepted ideas concerning the "debaky" and "bongary" in the "fatrange" system within the "sahafatra" ethnic subgroup. The following types of actors were targeted: traditional leaders, peasant families, municipal officials (elected or not), Christian leaders. We used specific questionnaires for the young, the middle aged, and the old.

Then, the combination of qualitative and quantitative methods was used, in particular on the collection and processing of data. First, the quantitative methods consist in collecting data through a survey carried out among each household on the basis of an open questionnaire, at the level of the ten rural communes in the district of Vondrozo.

The qualitative interview phase, carried out at the level of the various officials, provides a general idea of the situation in each municipality. The rate or number of people surveyed in each municipality is limited to 1,800 people for sampling. In addition, the results of the survey were verified and cross-checked by the method of participatory observation of groups of Pastors and catechists who live in each municipality. We continued our research on the research results of social science researchers related to our research topic.

2.2. Limit of this Study

The research conducted is incomplete and completely unsatisfactory. Oliver Woolley, who is a man from London is known to have done an etude on Sahafatra. He is the only author who conducts academic research on the history and population of "Sahafatra" in Vondrozo. We continue to do that research ourselves nowadays. Therefore, there is a serious lack of literature to conduct research on this area. There are also bad roads that result in a lack of communication and lack of time to talk to many peoples and a lack of access to all 18 rural communes.

From the point of view of the difficulties encountered

- communication channel: bad road condition.
- tremendous insecurity
- the target people are not able to explain the meaning and value of their custom.
- Due to insufficient literature on this district and its population, research is very difficult Resolution to take
- Only the ten municipalities were chosen as sample titles
- Designations of the members mentioned above to facilitate the work.
- Collaborative work with local security officials such as the gendarmerie and the Kalonys.

That shows us the limitations of this research but I hope this article can help us to know a little bit about the people and their customs, especially to lead researchers to go deep into the research in this ethnic subgroup "sahafatra".

3. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

3.1. The "Sahafatra" Sub -Ethnic Group

The inhabitants who live in Vondrozo are called "Sahafatra", they are made up of 26 small clans who also have different origins and customs. This means that each clan brings the culture of the region they come from. The term "sahafatra" does not denote a single clear entity; because there is an evolution following each period. It is important to understand the historical development of the term in order to fully appreciate the current meanings of "sahafatra. So, who are the "Sahafatra"?

In general, it appears that these inhabitants together have a geographical situation made up of clans of different origins. Each municipality of the "Sahafatra" constitutes an identical small clan royalty live in different place, a small disparate clan; have their history claiming various origins. But they live together in a territory within the district of Vondrozo. Each clan is independent, but they are united by a confederation call "sahafatra". Traditional political power in each village is exercised by the "family leader" with applying the "fatrange" system. They have a rule or custom according to the clan's decision⁵.

The name of the ethnic subgroup called "sahafatra" is the name of a confederation of those small clans which lives in the district of Vondrozo. In this ethnic sub-group sahafatra, an exchange system is applied: the "debaky" and the "bongary" which we try to explain in this article.

3.2. The "Bongary" and the "Debaky":

In the "fatrange" system, rules or disciplines are reigning over society for exchange and fraternity within their community. From the time of barter until today, "sahafatra" uses "bongary" and "debaky" to make exchanges, in other words, these two forms are practiced within "sahafatra" society. According to the people questioned, the "debaky" and the "bongary" are used to help each other between the same family called "fatrange raiky", this same family or "fatrange raiky" must respect traditional social law to save people. Same family has to solve their daily problems within their community. That is why; they use to practice this "dabaky" and "bongary".

3.3. The "Bongary"

According to people who I was interviewees, "bongary" is a traditional form of loan in Vondrozo are accepted by the society of the entire "Sahafatra" ethnic subgroup. Before, the "bongary" was used to help people who were living in crisis or famine. If one of the families had a food problem, their "fatrange" should help them with the practice of "bongary". For this people used "rice" or beef as a loan at that time, but evolution over time allows for the use of something else now, for example, they can use the money for a "bongary". Colonization favors the cultivation of export plants and encouraged people to do it such as coffee and cloves, pepper in this territory. It people's daily lives and transformed the use of the term "bongary". People with food problems can make loans, but the owner of the rice or the money can wait for the coffee harvest for repayment. It was not only rice and beef that could be loaned after colonization, but also money can be loaned. After the coffee harvest the planters have money from the collectors who buy their produce, but for reimbursement they would have to pay in rice, even if they have lent the money. As a convention, payment is based on the value of the rice at the time of harvest.

They use the rice to repay even if they take the money for the loan because it is the traditional custom of "bongary" and since then their ancestors used rice for "bongary". They must follow this to respect the rules of the ancestors. The "bongary" should be done between people of the same family called "fatrange raiky". The "sahafatra" do not have the right to take the form of "bongary" for someone outside their "fatrange" According to the people we interviewed the "bongary" has its

⁵Oliver Woolley(1998), *Earth-Shakers of Sahafatra : Authority, Fertility, and the Cult of Nature in Southeast Madagascar*, Thesis submitted for the Degree of Ph.D. Department of Anthropology ,London School of Economics and Political Science University of London, 1998.

mode of payment following traditional custom, the borrower (mpitrosa) must repay 200% of the loan. For example, if he loaned 12kg of rice, he would have to pay double, that means, 24kg to repay.

3.4. The “Debaky”

The "Debaky" is a traditional exchange system in "Sahafatra" Sub-ethnic group. It is a form of traditional loan practiced in the South-east region, consisting of mortgaging or pledging property, rice fields in general. In other words, the "debaky" is the loan with guarantees, and that the rice fields or other heritages are placed as pledge in the hands of the lender (owner of the rice or of the money or of a cow) during a time determined by both parties (borrower and lender). For instance, A: Have no rights on all productions of the rice fields he gave to B according to the contract. The "debaky" can last for tens of years and can end with full ownership of the paddy fields if A fails to repay the full amount he has borrowed. This practice is very common among the "Sahafatra": in the event of illness or death of a loved one or other costly event, if the financial are lacking, the rice fields go into a "debaky".⁶

The "Debaky": it is a contract between two people. Suppose these people are A and B. A: borrow money from B. B: uses all or part of A's paddy fields (depending on the amount borrowed) until A repays the total amount borrowed. When the lender says that the rice paddy or the coffee field is placed as guarantee; the owner's acceptance of the money or the rice or the beef, known as the borrower, depends on the length of their agreement so that he can put that land to good use. In Vondrozo too, the guarantee, the patrimony such as the rice field and the coffee fields or others, must be left to the lender. He can use it during the time of the agreement of the both parties. Sometimes the borrower cannot repay on time, so the traditional custom is applied, the pledge still remains until the day of payment and according to his possibility but he does not have the right to use these lands placed as a pledge itself. If the previously determined time has gone, the lender will be able to continue to use these lands until the can borrower repay its debt even until their fourth generation.

It is forbidden to increase the loan value according to the rule of the ancestors, it is not possible to increase the value of money, livestock or rice, it must remain static. Sometimes there are people who use the "debaky" without defining a guarantee time. So the lender will be able to use this guarantee according to the possibility to repay back of someone who used “debaky” to him. This is practiced for people who have good relationships within their "fatrange."

4. RESULT

4.1. Data Processing

Board N ° 1 below CAUSE OF DEBAKY AND BONGARY DEPENDING on the number of households interviewed

Children born	Marriage custom	Circumcision custom	custom Funeral	Traditional fine	Police fine	Illness	Famine
500	750	1200	2500	800	1250	3000	3200
3600	3600	3600	3600	3600	3600	3600	3600

According to the people we interviewed, in this society, people with problems go to the lender (mpampitrosa) to resolve them with the “debaky” or / and the “bongary” Almost all the lender (mpampitrosa) more prefers the “bongary "than the" debaky ". the borrower has no choice; it all depends on the decision of the lender.

Tableau N° 2 Les DEBAKY ET LE BONGARY suivant le choix des créanciers traditionnels selon le ménage interrogé = Board No 2 : the « debaky » and “bongary” following the choice of traditional creditors according to the household interviews. :Selon le choix de Débiteurs = According to the choice of Debtors

⁶ RARIVO Andriamahery Ravoatra, *Caractérisation des itinéraires Techniques en Riziculture aquatique et analyse des Déterminants de leur, Variabilité Cas des 2 Régions Vatovavy Fitovinany et Atsimo Atsinanana*, Mémoire de Fin d'étude en vue de l'Obtention d'un Diplôme d'Ingénieur en Agronomie/Spécialité AGRICULTURE, Université d'Antananarvo, Juin 2010.

	lender (mpampitrosa)
BONGARY	1250
DEBAKY	550
	1800

Selon le choix de Débiteurs

Tableau N° 3 Les DEBAKY ET LE BONGARY suivant le choix du endetter selon le ménage interrogé = Board N° 3 The DEBAKY AND LE BONGARY according to the choice of indebtedted according to the household interrogates.

	Borrowers (mpitrosa)
BONGARY	200
DEBAKY	1600
	1800

4.2. Cause of Debaky and Bongary

There are so many causes to push the people of Vondrozo to take a loan which it calls “Bongary” and “debaky.” According to their customs, all of the people "sahafatra" have to pay every social aid, have to pay duties or obligations, if someone cannot pay that, the community would kick him out according to the rule of society. On the other hand, there are also customs such as the ritual of the birth of a baby, circumcision, marriage and funeral. Sometimes problems arise in family life such as disease, starvation, and attack by thieves. Sometimes, too, someone has legal problems which lead them to court or even to jail; they have to hire a lawyer to protect them. These are the reasons on which the "sahafatra" practice "bongary" and "debaky".

Obligation and Customs in the Community

There are rites whose practice is compulsory for all “sahafatra” such as “fafivady”, circumcision, coronation, funerals, and others. When the time of celebration according to their custom comes, each family would have to spend a lot of money and kill oxen. For marriage also, all of them should be followed step in the “fatrange“ system: “fangatahana” it means the first contact of the both families, fialovana it also means the first visit of the future husband. “fiboaha” it means the both who will be to get married are show to the whole family of the girl doing with the custom call “fanaterambodiondry” which means to give the sheep to the father of the girl, fafivady it is the high degree of the custom. Through "fiboaha" and "fafivady" families have to spend money and kill oxen for "fafy."

For circumcision in the “sahafatra” community, the families who are concerned must also spend money and oxen.

There is also an event known as. Traditional to put crowning of the leader for “sahafatra” It is a very popular event where all the surrounding groups and clans celebrate together it.

Once this arrangement is carried out acceptably, a cow donated by the "mpanjaka" is to be defeated on behalf of the group, this cow is known as a pointed cow (aomby lahy miranitra). For each time of celebration which is «putting the crown of the traditional leader, the person wearing a crown offers an ox or two that will be the food of the people.

For funerals, there are three customs regarding burial of the "Sahafatra" ethnic group. Burial of small children: concerning newborns, it is children under the age of four months who have died; they don't spend on that. Burial of men in general, including children over six months, young people, women and men; for this class of people, you have to pay the almost two oxen ("Iofopatry") for the funeral and the "doboky", it will last two or three successive days. The "Doboky" is a funeral rite during which the family of the deceased must kill at least one Zebu and offer a meal consisting of rice accompanied by beef and local alcohol to all relatives and relatives: this constitutes a huge expense for the family who has gone so far as to borrow money with the rice fields as guarantee or sell the rice fields directly⁷. Burial of head

⁷.RARIVO Andriamahery Ravoatra, *Caractérisation des itinéraires Techniques en Riziculture aquatique et analyse des Déterminants de leur, Variabilité Cas des 2 Régions Vatovavy Fitovinany et Atsimo Atsinanana*, Mémoire de Fin d'étude en vue de l'Obtention d'un Diplôme d'Ingénieur en Agronomie/Spécialité AGRICULTURE, Université d'Antananarvo, Juin 2010.

of household: when it is a head of household who had died, the custom have to be different from the ordinary funeral; the number of oxen slaughtered was six to twelve, and we blew the "antsiva". The duration would be around five days, probably a week, it depended on the family and at the same time, they have to build the "tsangambato", for that they have to do the "Takombato" which take time which depends on the place of the stone. They have to do it for memory of this deceased person. The "sahafatra" respect their custom because they are afraid of being punished by their dead ancestors called "fahasivy". They believe that these ancestors can punish people who are still alive. They communicate with their living descendant through dreams by haunting them. According to the belief of "sahafatra", ancestors do not separate with living people, they look over to keep the relationship, to give help and blessing to their descendant⁸. People buried in other places other than "fasan-drazana", and especially far from their families are said to be "very Faty" which means lost body. Therefore, the "sahafatra" have to bring the remains of deceased to families away from their "fasan-drazana", they will have to spend for the transport and burial of the remains. It is the customs which are practiced that lead to additional expenses in the "fatrange" system. Because of these practices, the family becomes increasingly poor. According to those we interviewed, this custom favors "debaky" and "bongary" in this territory. The "bongary" and the "debaky" are local exchange systems that are practiced within the "sahafatra".

Traditional Belief and Religion

The "Sahafatra" believes in ancestors, relatives or deceased family members continue to have a caring relationship with life. According to their belief, the deceased are credible with special abilities. The people of Vondrozo are same as the all Malagasy who believe that the spirit of the dead is not dead. Religion is the support for the human community to obtain positive help (Spirit world: ancestors, deities, symbolic word, blessing, curse, and zanahary which means god). The harmony between life and death must be permanent. Religion is therefore seen as a support to repair any break in life. It removes the negative consequence and heals suffering in life through reconciliation.

For this reason, the people of Vondrozo accept the curse when they do harm against their religion. They believe four different causes of illness that bring unhappiness (fahavoazana) are the consequences of behavior opposing the rule of traditional religion:

First, disease is considered a misfortune, the causes of which can be observed directly by ordinary observers. Second, there are direct "unobservable" causes, which are usually attributed by witchcraft. Like most Malagasy people, they believe in the destructive effectiveness of witchcraft which is affected by the use of charm or by possession of the spirit (homeopathic magic). These two forms of witchcraft are fearful, they can inflict great damage on people, both physical and mental.⁹ Third, there are indirect unobservable causes. They are revealed by the traditional divination, this is from "Tsiny" and "Tody". "Tsiny" and "tody" means the blame of the offenders. This is the goal of the mystical cosmos which suffers from injustice. This sadness turns into a negative force until justice is served. People living in Vondrozo, in general, are troubled by the fear of "Tsiny" and "tody". Some are so terrified and paralyzed in inaction for this fear. This fear comes from the conviction which has no protection. Their whole life is full of fear because of the "tsiny" and the "tody".¹⁰

Fourth, the society which still practices traditional religion, the traditional healer (ombiasa) plays an indispensable role in the community. Numerous people accept them to know the reason for all misfortune, poverty and other damage. For them "ombiasa" protects ideologies and social leadership which must never be separated from the traditional faith. In this part, we find that religion, and also fear, is important in the whole life of the society¹¹. The "ombiasa" is their counselor regarding this fear in everyday life. People want to know the misfortune which frightens or threatens them arising from "Tsiny" and "Tody", that is why they use "Sikidy" to find out and solve the whole problem with the help of "Zanahary" and the ancestors. The "Sahafatra" peoples consider that illnesses and

⁸ Philippe Beaujard, La Place et les pratiques des Devins- Guerisseurs dans le Sud-Est de Madagascar, <http://halshs.archives-ouvertes.fr/halshs-00707911>, 13 Jun 2012. p 12-16

⁹ Peri Rasolondraibe, Healing Ministry in Madagascar (MN Luther Seminary: Word & World, 1989.) 330-334

¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹ Ibid.

deaths are not natural incidents, for them. Those are punishments caused by divine offenses and by violations of religious prohibitions or by faults towards morality and neglect of the cult in the ancestors. They will have to bring and do their own sacrifice to their god and their ancestors to ask for forgiveness. It will be a cow or a alcohol for the sacrifice. When a member of their family is sick, they will have to make sacrifices according to the advice of the "mpisikidy" or "Ombiasa". This urges her to resort to a "debaky" or a "bongary" to be able to accomplish this sacrifice to their god and their ancestors. He must bring the sick person to the "fatrange" because it is the place where the ancestor will give the blessing and make forgiveness.

For this reason, people who usually have disease problems have to do the "debaky" or "bongary", this is the traditional way of solving their problems.

4.3. Discipline of "Bongary" and "Debaky" within "Sahafatra"

The "bongary" and "debaky" do not apply between the outside the community called "fatrange raiky." When a their community cannot solve their problems, they should ask the other one who is closest to them. These are the rules and regulations accepted by the community that govern the whole "fatrange" system. Its purpose is to save each other within "fatrange" members. "Bongary" and "debaky" must not be performed outside the member of "fatrange", if not, you must go to a niece who is a mother from this "fatrange" to ask for help with the "debaky" or "bongary". It is also a law of endogamy. Soil, rice paddies or fields of the coffee and cassava cannot to be a "debaky" especially it is to be "unmolded" apart from the "fatrange" member. It is forbidden by the "fatrange" society, if there are people who disagree with this rule, they could be punished, excommunicated for example.

Members of "Fatrange" can also prevent anyone who is not a member from touching for a "debaky" this heritage. In the case of the "fatrange" system, all traditional heritages were of equal value, they are very important and cannot be sold to other outsiders. The "Fatrange" is also attached to the fear of the "tsiny" and the "tody" at the same time so they afraid to sell their heritage from their ancestors.

5. DISCUSSION

Reflection on the Hypothesis of Problems and Solutions

5.1. Problems to be Solved

Growth of Poor People in the "Sahafatra" Society

According to the people interrogated, the basis of the practice of "bongary" is rice in the paddy. So, to know the problem created by the "bongary", one must first study the way of repayment in the paddy. For the "bongary", each time there is a harvest (rice), we pay double what we loaned because the interest is 100% (1 daba which is about 12 kg times 2 in a first harvest after the debt). But in Vondrozo, the harvests are done twice a year. In this case, in a year, 12 kg of rice comes back to 48 kg, 4 daba approximately. In two years, the amount of rice to be repaid will regain 16 daba which is about 96 kg, which is why the number of poor people is increasing more and more.

The person who made the "bongary" had nothing in their house, and this practice continued over and over again. You have to make "bongary" about 5 daba at a minimum. 5 daba times 12 is 60 kg. The 60-kg times 2 is 120 kg times 2. It is 240 kg to pay in one year; 240 kg times 2 is 480 kg. This weight is doubled again for the second harvest, in two years so it will be 960 kg almost a ton. As a result, since 1995,

- the so call "samby mana" appeared in the region of Vondrozo which is very low wages. It is a daily wage for the people who worked in the fields for one day. It is around one dollar for one day.

- A family's rice field has been transferred to another person because of the "bongary." The family who had a bongary or a "debaky" is in trouble because the fortune is in the hands of a minority of the "Sahafatra" people.

Consequence of "Debaky" and "Bongary" in the Society "Sahafatra"

The "bongary" and the "debaky" have become a source of insecurity in the territory. "Debaky" and "bongary" are types of practice to draw attention to "fihavanana", a term deemed untranslatable as it includes different sides that constitute the common ethics of "sahafatra". The "fihavanana" is an ideal

of harmony and social understanding; this is art of living in the community; which is social tact, the art of living together. On the other hand, "debaky" and "bongary" also creates conflict in "sahafatra" society, there is also the risk of arousing jealousy (fialonana).

Sometimes, for jealousy, in this territory, there is a very real victim of witchcraft (mosavy) using deadly poison, which would constitute an element of violence. However, "anti-social" and "dahalo" or thieves violence reigned in the Vondrozo district due to the jealousy of the later troubled of the generation. When the youth generation hear the history of their parent richness which gotten by someone who practiced the "bongary" and "debaky" at that time, it create many acts of murder are due to this jealousy.

As a result, the criminals of these acts are often close families who have been implicated in oppressions and conflict, according to the same impression. In my opinion, the consequence of "bongary" and "debaky" is one of the origin of conflict in the "sahafatra" community.

5.2. Solutions for Sustainable Development

Solution for the "Debaky"

The history of Israel in the Bible should be model loan solution. There are what are called year sabbaticals which represent a period for settling loan. Thus, the loan is turned into a gift and is forfeited completely.

The people sahafatra have to think that loan is like a chain around the neck of a borrower until the time of repayment. While a family's assets were in the hands of the lender, they could never pay their loan.

So, they should have to ask for the cancellation of the loan, and that should apply to the "debaky" and the "bongary" which leave the family to live in the loan everlasting. If not, the loan go up every six months, so how can he get out of it?

In my opinion, the loan should be converted into a lease, so that both parties have benefit. The amount or value to be borrowed is estimated and determined relative to how long the property will remain with the lender, whether it be cash or livestock, or rice or whatever. When the account of the money is right and following a lease, the owner's property is returned. Although this is not the case in this area, we see rental as the solution. The person's property is used at a time consistent with the value. The property can be returned to the owner after the expiry of the period set by the regulations.

Solution for "Bongary"

The increase in debt in this way is too high. In my opinion, the solution for the "bongary" is like a proposition to solve the problem of "debaky" too. The good idea is to get rid of it. It is also difficult for the people in rural areas to use the percentage of professional investors such as banks and micro-finance in the city. According to our experience in the peasant community, it is too easy to make mobilization and persuasion as the only rule compared to a lot of solution. In this way, all ideas come together and the "debaky" and "bongary" exchange system turns into a lease in the rural area or in "sahafatra" society.

Application of Solutions

a) Application in the "fatrange", "kobontany" and rural commune and district.

This area should have an NGO which work with that traditional organization to change mind following the new context. It must be an organization that does development work in the "sahafatra" community.

This organization overcomes the obstacles to the development of this area and works out solution proposals for each "fatrange" as the traditional leader discusses and persuades people to move forward in their lives and in the community. He will also have to make a recommendation to the municipal council on this improvement of the "debaky" and "bongary" methods. Perhaps this recommendation should also submit to the Local District Development Committees (CLD).

b) Animation and follow-up: There are community development agents in each small clan within the "Sahafatra" ethnic sub-group. As this is a fixed method and practice, it is very clear that the job awaiting NGO which will work of the desired change is very difficult. In short, we believe that we need to adopt a small three-year project concerning the rental of land to promote it to the local

development comity(LDC), which it should appoints facilitator agents in each municipality. This person, in turn, monitors the implementation of this project for three years. After three years, an evaluation will show the results. The facilitator in each community can follow its implementation, as it is the closest community.

We hope that this will have good results if the animators of each community work well. We think that it would be easier for people to see their benefits by this projects' they are well understood that: the rental will be done better instead of the "debaky" and the "bongary". Leasing brings advantages for both sides involved in "debaky" and "bongary". The time the creditor spends on the mortgage like land or paddy is well proportioned to the value of the money or livestock taken from him. The asset is returned at the end of the period corresponding to the value of the debt.

6. CONCLUSION

The method used by the "fatrange" system for exchange in their community is "debaky" and "bongary". It is a condition of protection of their possession and inheritance for each fatrange" community and it is also the participation in the measurement system which is closely linked to ancestral beliefs and to the fear of guilt (tsiny) and punishment (tody).All " Sahafatra" believe in it. In the local ancestral 's education each "fatrange" which have be related to the policy of the philosophy of reciprocal sharing and mutual aid one. Ancestral belief is being the one of the foundations on which "debaky" and "bongary" are built.

In the primitive "sahafatra" society, the practice in the "debaky" and "bongary" which emphasis was on mutual love to protect their heritage. There were also the protections of heritage according to the endogamy method. The "debaky" and the "bongary"cannot apply for all thepeople who are only rich according their will and even it wish of the borrower. It have to follow the rule of members of "fatrange". It is currently observed that through the impact of "bongary" and "debaky" the number of poor people is increasing in the region. Formerly, the ancestors who had practiced "debaky" and "bongary", considered them as mutual care without reason of profit, but at this moment, their consequence increases so much jealousy which leads to the murderous attack, up a double insecurity. It will therefore have to be reviewed and modified in the future for a rental. The rental practice allows both parties to have advantages. It really isa way of practicing mutual aid for each other. After all, their property will be returned to the owner when the term of the lease expires.

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