

The Foundation of the “Fatrange” System within the “Sahafatra” Ethnic Sub-group in the District of Vondrozo

KOTO BESOA¹, Dr. Jean Raymond RAKOTONIRINA²

¹Doctorate Student in social Anthropology, Professor RUPHIN Solange,

²School: "Governance and Changing Societies, attached in the University of Fianarantsoa, Madagascar

***Corresponding Author:** KOTO BESOA, Doctorate Student in social Anthropology, Professor RUPHIN Solange

Abstract: The constitution of the family in Madagascar is marriage and filiations. Marriage is a contractual and ritual conjugal union recognized and celebrated publicly by the registrar, it is one of the events that installs family structures in a society. The form of the celebration varies from one society to another, and sometimes within the same society there are different ways. In the “Sahafatra” company, two systems are used. The first is the application of the republican system where there is the state administration represented by the district chief, the administrative delegate, the mayor and the head of the “fokontany”. In this organization, it is the registrar who is responsible for the marriage.

The second is the traditional regime of the “fatrange” system, led by: the “Kobontany”, the “troky” and the “lonaky”. Each clan has a “kobontany” which governs its territory. Traditional chiefs have ruled their people from the pre-colonial period with this “fatrange” system until today, a form of marriage practised from then on in these societies. Traditional Marriage is very important for the “sahafatra” because it represents the foundation of their society and of the “fatrange” system, this culture is very interesting, it will allow a good understanding of the “sahafatra” family. Through this custom, you will see that the “sahafatra” ethnic subgroup has already practiced “the protection of the rights of women and of the rights of the child until today.

Keywords: Bongary: traditional way of lending with interest, Debaky: traditional Sahafatra exchange system, Deboky: symbol of the alliance on traditional marriage, Fafy: Custom to do traditional blessings and sanctifications., Fafibotro: Rite which is applied between the two different clans within the “sahafatra”. Fafalakevo: purification of a couple considered impure by the taboo. Fafimaty: “Fafy” practised after the death of the woman. Fafivady: custom on the traditional blessing of the married couple. Fantana: hearth. Fatrangé: designates the grouping of families which is the basis of the “sahafatra” society. Fatora: sacred wood in the center of the village and east of the “Tranobe”. Fikitra: sacred stone in the center of the village at the same place of the “fatora”. Ito: a kind of traditional divorce. Lakevo: ash, kobontany: center or high hierarchy of a clan in “sahafatra” society. Tata: traditional prayer to their gods and ancestors, tranobe: house common to members of a lineage which physically symbolizes the seat of traditional political power. Velatry: traditional prayer to the ancestors, Vilanibe : group of tranobe governed by a leader

1. INTRODUCTION

The “fatrange” system in an extensive sense also concerns all areas of community life such as heritage (e), religion, identity, lineage, inheritance. This “fatrange” system involves governance in society and also becomes the secret of the functioning of the “sahafatra” community. An individual or person who does not respect this “fatrange” will be excluded from society and ignored by the community. When a person (has) is excommunicated from a single community, all the “sahafatra” do not accept him to be a member of their society. The “fatrange” system engenders the family structure which thus appears decisive when we say that a population is patrilineal, we are already stating one of its essential properties which is linked to the rules that distinguish the paternal side. By patrilineal lineage, we designate a group of filiations, that is to say a set of relatives united in agnatic line by a common ancestor. According to people whom I asked, they said the “sahafatra” practises the type of patrilineal filiation. Within “sahafatra” society, women and men from different clans can get married. In general, their children do not accept to inherit the clan’s name of their mother and they had no right to be a

member of their uncles' "fatrange". We are doing our research in the district of Vondrozo which is one of the districts of the southeast region. In this study, we try to deal with: THE FOUNDATION OF THE “FATRANGE” SYSTEM WITHIN THE “SAHAFATRA” SOCIETY. We investigate into the basis of the “fatrange” system. We do our study on individuals who are members of the system or on filial members of the family lineage.

2. OBJECTIVE OF THE STUDY

During our infield work, we saw a dead child who was not allowed to be buried in his father's grave. Another case is that of a man falling in love with a woman, and lives with her. After three months, the woman is recognized being pregnant, but she gets married with another man. Therefore, the baby to be borne becomes the child of the new husband.

After that, twenty years later, this child would be able to look for his biological father. Sometimes widows are not allowed to attend and participate in their husband's funeral ceremonies. According to the people we have interviewed, regarding some cases cited below, it is the custom that defines the place of someone in the membership of "fatrange". For this, we carry out our study research concerning the customs of "sahafatra" people, especially on the individual member of the "fatrange" system. There are customs practiced that a descent member of the family line becomes the member of "fatrange". We try to answer the previous question: what is the basis of the "fatrange" system, particularly for an individual to become a member of a community called "fatrange"?

The main idea of the research is to be able to set up sustainable development for this territory. The "fatrange" system is an important thing in the social life of the people of southeastern Madagascar as the "Sahafatra". The entire population of this region practices the “fatrange” system. Our starting question for this research is this: how the “fatrange” system practice within the “Sahafatra” ethnic sub-group can contribute to local development in the district of Vondrozo? We also take their customs as a kind of tool to develop their social life and environment. We do our research on the "fatrange" system used in the "sahafatra" society with its structures. This study will allow us to describe and interpret this system and the power of the traditional system.

Moreover, it will show us that the way of life, habits and customs as well as the social structures of the "sahafatra" are integrated into this "fatrange" system. According to this research presented in this article, traditional marriages are a foundation of the "fatrange" system.

3. PRESENTATION OF THE PLACE OF STUDY¹

The District of Vondrozo is located near the cliff of Bezavo, 68 km west of Farafangana, capital of the south-eastern region and 200 kms, east of Ihoisy. It is made up of eighteen municipalities (18). It is crossed by National Road Number 27 linking Ihoisy-Ivohibe – Vondrozo Farafangana. This road is inaccessible during the rainy season due to lack of maintenance.

Secondary roads connect various Communes within this District, but most of which are also inaccessible due to the worsening of the bridges. This district is made up of eighteen (18) rural communes. 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 farmers and ranchers .

Boundary: with an area of 2964 km². Vondrozo District is bounded by Ikongo District to the north, Vangaindrano District to the south, Farafangana District to the east; and the District of Ivohibe to the west.

4. RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

4.1. Methods and Materials

The methodology adopted is to work with groups of pastors and catechists to carry out surveys in each municipality with specific, open, neutral questionnaires in their hands. We limited our survey to 10 communes as a sample among the 18 existing communes and 56 households per commune were interviewed by adopting two forms of survey management, the 28 households on women and the other 28 on men.

¹Iotokarozy, Monographie de District de Vondrozo, 2019.

We visit about ten rural communes in the district of Vondrozo, series of questionnaires have been developed to animate the discussion. Most of the information obtained through the questions asked allows us to clarify or justify the statements made by the people interviewed. A few questions prepared and asked during the first trip on site, led us to formulate other questions that we must seek to answer. This allows us to gather ideas and ask more detailed questions to get more information about what was unclear on the first trip.

This field work was very useful in examining the practice of their custom and the widely accepted ideas concerning the basis of the “fatrange” system in their societies. In the ten chosen Communes, the following types of actors were targeted: traditional chiefs, peasant families, municipal leaders (elected or not), leaders of the Christian religion. We used specific questionnaires for young people, the middle aged, and the old.

Then, the combination of qualitative and quantitative methods was used, particularly on the collection and processing of data. First, the quantitative methods consist in collecting data through a survey conducted with 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 marriage situation within each municipality.

The rate or the number of people surveyed in each municipality is limited to 56 households, hence people for sampling. In addition, the results of the survey were verified and cross-checked by the method of participant observation of groups of pastors and catechists who live on site in each municipality. We continued our research on the research results of social scientists related to our research topic.

4.2. 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 Kalonys².

That shows us the limitations of this research but 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”.

5. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

5.1. Sahafatra

The inhabitants who live in Vondrozo are called Sahafatra, they are made up of 26 small clans which also have different origins and customs. This means that each clan brings the culture of the region it comes from. The term “sahafatra” does not indicate a single clear entity; because there is an evolution according to 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'?

²Kalonys are the local responsible for the security

In general, it appears that these inhabitants have together a geographical situation formed by clans of different origins. In general, the territory of the "Sahafatra" constitutes an identical royalty, a disparate collective work claiming diverse origins. They live together in a territory. Each clan is independent but they are united by a confederation. Traditional political power in the villages is exercised by the "family leaders" with the "fatrange" system. They command according to the decision of the clan. The name of the ethnic sub-group called “sahafatra” is the name of a confederation that lives in the district of Vondrozo.³

5.2. The Term “Fatrange” and the Role of the System

The term "fatrange" refers to the grouping of families (lineage), led by a "lonaky". In the lineage are the male-line descendants of a common ancestor. A tranobe, a box common to members of a lineage, physically symbolizes the seat of traditional political power. On the other hand, the term "fatrange" is used to protect their union and to describe the social order within the "Sahafatra". They use the term “fatrange” to indicate the native village which is marked by the presence of a sacred place where the sacred stone and the sacred wood (fikitra, fatora or hazomanga) are implanted. In the villages, there is a place located in the center which is reserved for the various traditional ceremonies. This public place called "fatrange", represents the symbol of the taking possession of the land by the ancestors to build their "tranobe" and the surrounding houses. The "tranobe" is a house of the head of the extended family which preserves the different elements, as well as the ancestral customs⁴.

The "fatrange" is a delimited, collective and indivisible ancestral heritage, the rights of use of which are transferable. Each male line in the line has the right to inherit the "fatrange". Heritage remains indivisible and available for future generations. The principle of "fatrange" was created so that the descendants of a line can on the one hand access land capital for their life, and on the other hand to keep the descendants united around the ancestral heritage and thus avoid the break-up.

The “fatrange” system will thus be the community identity, only male descendants recognized by the community are entitled to the “fatrange” Relays over several generations have made it possible to considerably reduce the available shares of common ancestral heritage. This regular levy is the indicator sign that each individual continues to be part of his lineage, remains a member of a family community called "fatrange" whose origin and most of the members are in the Southeast. So, the “fatrange” is a system of peasant organization in Vondrozo which still remains in force throughout their social and cultural life. .

The photo below is the image of "fatrange" as a place with the sacred stone and sacred wood (fikitra, fatora).



5.3. Fafivady

“Fafivady” is a wedding celebration following the traditional rite and custom within “sahafatra”. Marriage is a way to publicly present the mutual love between a man and a woman. This remains the only and true marriage. It is the formal union between a man and a woman, generally recognized by

³Desire Victor Gaius Ben Besoa, *Contribution al’Etude des Impacts Socio-Economique et Environementales de l’Exploitation D’Or dans le Corridor Ambositra –Vondrozo Cas de Commune rurale de Manambidala*(Fianarantsoa : Institut de Science et Techniques de l’Environnement, 2012-2013 .

⁴ZANAMASY ,*Ny FanandratanaMpanjakaamin’nyFiarahamoninaAntemoroAnteony, Tarafinaamin’nytananan’AndranovoloAtsinananaKaominin’iVohitrindryFaritr’iVatovavyFitovinany, ANTANANARIVO : Université Antananarivo, Mémoire de Fin d’études pour l’obtention du Certificat d’Aptitude Pédagogique de l’école Normale(capen).*2016.

the community of two “fatrange” within “sahafatra”, by which they become husband and wife. The small ethnic group “sahafatra” had its own rules and customs for marriage which (it) is called “fafivady”. Before practicing the “fafivady”, the parents of the boys should do the “fiboaha” which we think is the same as the “fisehoa” or “vodiondry” in the official Malagasy language.

The "fafivady" is not only a celebration, but at the same time is a blessing in the form of a prayer addressed to God and the ancestors for the couple. Malagasy religious anthropology recognizes that all life comes from God through the mediation of ancestors. The "fafivady" is the rite of an alliance between families or clans. It is a kind of social contract that involves two partners, but it also concerns both families. This is indeed an opportunity to attach, to strengthen, even to reconcile two different “fatrange” social groups. The offering made during the "fafivady" is considered as a coalition pact between the two families concerned. This newly founded alliance engenders a certain change in social status.

6. SEARCH RESULT

6.1. Traditional Wedding Steps

The use of “fafivady” in “sahafatra” society is the actual celebration of marriage according to traditional custom. The "Sahafatra" ethnic sub-group has their own rules, rites and customs on this subject. Before celebrating “fafivady”, doing three steps should be followed. To facilitate understanding of the course of a traditional marriage of "sahafatra", we will present an example below:

First step: the "fangatahana", the parents of the suitor send someone to the girl's family to ask for her hand. If the girl's parents accept, the two families organize the second "stage of the program."

Second stage: it is the "fialovana", it is difficult to translate "mialo", it is the boy's first visit to the girl's parents. His brother goes with him. And when the boy goes to sleep with his future wife, his brother will return during the night to their native village. The "fialovana" is therefore a test of union for the future spouses. The two families also want to know the love between their children. According to this custom, each of the two families should know their children well before this relationship.

Third stage, the “fiboahana” also called “fanateram-bodiondry” in the Merina and Betsileo societies. That's "the engagement". the "fiboaha" (fisehoana) is a rite which literally means appearance. This is the moment when the applicant presents himself, accompanied by a few people, to the parents of the young girl, to tell them that there is a relationship between him and their daughter. This must be done around three months after the “fangatahana”. At this time, the boy's family sends a delegate from "tranobe" to fetch the girl to be married with the boy in their "tranobe". The parents of the young boy go to the parents of the girl to make the "fiboaha", they bring, but according to the custom, it is only necessary to pay with money no more.⁵

All members of the women's "tranobe" must be present at this "fiboahana". When the members of the “tranobe” accept this, everyone who attends this ceremony must drink “toaka Gasy” or rum, this means that the members of the “tranobe” are celebrating the custom “fiboahana”. When the "fiboahana" is finished, the two "tranobe" discuss with the family of the boy on the program of the next stage of custom. They have to do the "fafy" quickly. Their intention is to take it in “fafivady”.⁶ It is the first presentation in front of the "fatrange" of the father of the girl, often appreciated by the parents, it is the beginning of the relationship between the two parents. It is only from this moment that the young man can visit the girl's parents of his own free will, as a future bride. He can also afford to provide services for the needs of his next in-laws. Lovers are freed from the constraints of sneaky clandestine encounters, they can rub shoulders everywhere, in full view of everyone. This new temporal space is variable and indeterminate than the first relations. It depends on the possibilities of the two lovers to concretize his "fafivady". Fourth step is the “fafivady”. The "fafivady" is important, very complicated, a rite to discover which is the basis of the traditional marriage of the society and the

⁵www.jenmansafaris.com/getting-married-in-madagascar

⁶RANDRIANANTOANDRO Pierre, La valeur de l'Alliance Matrimoniale Coutumière dans le Raffermissement du Mariage Chrétien a Madagascar (Mémoire de Master : SALT 2017),

"sahafatra" community. It is here that the parents decide to definitively authorize the prepared conjugal union. The two families meet for the final decision concerning the "fafivady". We will discuss the traditional custom which is the subject of this analysis.

6.2. Different Types of Fafivady

There are different names of "fafy"⁷ for the traditional wedding like fafivady, fafibotro, fafimaty. The "Fafimaty" is a "fafivady" practised after the death of the woman. (her burial.) Fafibotro: it is the fafivady between the different clans within the sahafatra or outside the clans. The "fafivady" is a custom to have blessing according to the traditional religion of "sahafatra", it is obligatory for the couple to do it.

In the beginning, the woman and the man are engaged or "vita fiboaha", the two families prepare together the "fafivady" which they discuss on the day and the place. Usually, they chose the middle of the distance between the villages of the woman and the man, when these two future spouses reside in different villages. Each village has a place to celebrate a wedding called "fafivady". When the time comes, the future spouses come together to the chosen place. Sometimes, there is a person in one of the families who does not accept this marriage, for example, the mother of the young girl. She does not come to attend it. But if the family on the father's side accepts, the marriage will take place. Before realizing the marriage, the eldest of the boy's family goes to the mother's family to negotiate and discuss this refusal. When it is over, then the celebration can be carried out. No one can oppose this marriage; it is forbidden for this small ethnic group "Sahafatra". Why is it prohibited? Because all the “sahafatra” are united by their confederation convention.

For this reason, the family of the girl to be married cannot refuse a marriage proposal. It is forbidden for the family of the woman, to ask to marry, it is special for the man. So the "fafivady" is special for men, it does not apply to women. Yet a man should have an ox, when he wants to get married.

6.3. The Fafivady Alliance Rite

A man shouts aloud like this: Ho! O! O! He does it three times. Everyone attending the celebration takes off their hats. The leader of the community begins the prayer and calls “tata” or “velatra”. He asks God to bless the newlyweds, he does it because the "sahafatra" believe in God. The Gods they believe in is the Lord of all human life; he asks God to give them all blessing and all their need during their life on earth, according to their belief they are the Gods of North and South and East and West the last. It is the zanaharibe who is the God of heaven. If the “tata” is over, the head of the community asks the Zanaharibe God to return to their place.⁸

Through the idea of alliance that it implies, the matrimonial union is part of a ritual that has a particular social and symbolic importance. The "sahafatra" use the symbol of union and sacrifice to kill the ox and they took the heart. Ox heart and blood are very important things. The community leader brings beef heart to prepare the “deboky”. He cuts it in half and gives each half to the bride and groom respectively. Husband and wife each hold their share of the beef heart and put their finger inside the blood. The bride will put her blood soaked finger at the starting point of the bride's neck. The bride is going to put her finger with blood on the groom's face. Sometimes, in the absence of the bride, her sister can take her place in this symbolic act, likewise for the groom's brother, he can also take her place to perform the "deboky". The ox blood that put in the face of the bride and in the neck of the bride represents the rings used in Western culture. Faith is also part of their covenant. Thus, the "fafivady" has a deep meaning. By the custom called “fafivady” of this ethnic group the marriage is made official. Therefore, ceremonies and rituals attest to this union and make it traditional legal.

7. CAUSE OF “FAFALAKEVO”

In this ethnic group, marriage is very important, it creates a relationship between two families even if there is separation between the spouses, the families remain united in particular for the children of the ex-husbands. For this reason, sometimes someone marries another woman even if he has an ex-wife.

⁷ Robert Dubois, Malagasy Aho(Antananarivo : Md Paoly 1998), 39-42.

⁸Razafintsalama Adolphe, *FinoanasynyFomba Malagasy*(Antananarivo : Md Paoly 2004) , p.65-85 et Ralibert Daniel, *MadagasikarasynyFiangonanaKristiana* (Antananarivo: EdisionaAmbozotany , 1992), p.73

We use an example to clarify the "fafalakevo". Rabe marries Tsabao. They have a child. After some time, they separated. Rabe marries again Vavitsara daughter of Tsabao's half-brother. Vavitsara is therefore Tsabao's daughter or niece. According to Sahafatra custom, Rabe cannot marry Vavitsara because she is also his daughter (niece). It's forbidden. But they are already married. Rabe will have to do the “fafaLakevo”. He will then have to do two “fafy”. The first is called the “fafalakevo” and the second is the “fafivady”. The meaning of “fafalakevo” is cleaning “fatana”. Tsabao had a kitchen when she was Rabe's wife, but Vavitsara who is Tsabao's daughter married her father so she is going to use this "fantana". The “sahafatra” society and the ancestor cannot accept this and their filiation in their “fatrange” is threatened. The "fafalakevo" will have to be done. This means that Vavitsara cannot touch the ashes of Tsabao's hearth. If Vavitsara touches them let her be impure. Mr. Rabe must do the “fafalakevo” to complete the cleaning of the “fantana”. After that, Vavitsara and Rabe can get married and Vavitsara can touch the "fatana" when the "fafalakevo" is performed.⁹ The rite of “fafalakevo” is not as simple as the “fafivady”.

The "fafivady" has the meaning of the celebration of marriage which also has an impact in parental societies. According to the custom of "sahafatra" the "fafivady" held an important role in the lineage of the child to their parent to be a member of "fatrange"¹⁰. therefore being married without "fafivady" is not really a marriage, so that the children cannot have a line with his father. This leads us to discover that the study and discussion of the agreement with the lineage and the "fafivady" in the ethnic sub-group "sahafatra" is especially necessary for being a member of the "fatrange" system.

8. DISCUSSION AND INTERPRETATION THE IMPORTANCE OF FAFIVADY IN THE “FATRANGE” SYSTEM

8.1. The Meaning of “Fafivady”

Fafivady: Equivalent of Marriage Certificate

The "fafivady" is the celebration of marriage according to traditional custom, but there are different ways of celebrating it. The witnesses are the two families who are both organizers. When the "fafivady" is over, the whole society accepts that the couple is legally married, they can enjoy their rights as husband and wife. Without the "fafivady" they are not called: husband and wife, even if they live in concubinage for a long time. This means that the "fafivady" is a kind of marriage certificate in the traditional custom of the "sahafatra" ethnic group.

The "fafivady" has an importance on the status of a married person. Before the "fafivady" society did not accept that the woman and man have the same right as a husband and his wife. After “fafivady”, the community accepts that they are entitled to all responsibility as husband and wife. When the society distributes something like rice, meat and so on, the realization of “fafivady” allows the couple to have the right for it. Even though a man and a woman live together and have several children, without "fafivady", the "sahafatra" society does not accept that they form a couple in front of the public.

Sometimes one of them will be dead before the "fafy", the widow has no right to attend and participate in any funeral ceremony. Therefore, the widow is unoccupied with regard to all the activities of the community, nor does she have the right to inheritance. The rule for man and woman regarding “fafivady” is equal.

For couples who have finished their "fafivady", when they argue and want to separate, the woman goes to return to her parents. If the man does not accept this separation, they are still husband and wife. If the two make the decision to separate permanently, they should tell their parents first. After that, the man must go to the community and tell the whole society about their decision to separate.

The man must tell his wife's family that she will be free to marry someone else because they have just separated. This is a kind of traditional divorce in this ethnic group which he calls "Ito". Before that,

⁹ Robert Dubois, Malagasy Aho(Antananarivo : Md Paoly 1998), 39-42

¹⁰ BebySehenoAndriamanalina, RivoAndrianirina-Ratsialonana, Rôle des Guichets Fonciers Communaux dans une Société où la Gestion Traditionnelle du Foncier reste encore importante ? [Http : //www.observatoire-foncier.mg/undex.php](http://www.observatoire-foncier.mg/undex.php)

the woman cannot marry another man. In other cases, when the husband is dead, his family performs "Ito" to the wife to end their relationship. This regulation is applied even to the husband if it is the wife who is deceased. Consequently, the “fafivady” is equivalent to a marriage certificate in the “sahafatra” ethnic sub-group. It is still used by this ethnic group until now. This brings us to a study on the meaning of recognizing “fafivady”.2.2. Fafivady: recognition of children.

A couple, woman and man, living in concubinage can give birth to a child. If the man wants to obtain this child, he must first make his "fafivady" because without being publicly recognized as husband and father. The woman is free to give her child to someone else. This means that the man who has not accomplished the "fafivady" does not have the right to be the father of his own child. That is to say that outside the "fafivady", children are not accepted to be a member of their biological father's "fatrange". We can accept them to be a member of "tranobe" without "fafivady", but not to be a member of "fatrange". This means that the “tranobe” and the “fatrange” are different.¹¹

Consequently, the couple who had not finished their "fafivady" do not have the right to circumcise their children in their father's "fatrange", even if the man is recognized as the biological father, is the rule for this ethnic subgroup. The "fafivady" is a custom that generates by right at a time. For example, it gives the right to have their father's inheritance. It also brings the right to be his father's child in all circumstances.

In other cases, when the child is dead without "fafivady" he cannot be buried in his father's tomb. On the father's side, he does not possess the right to be the father of the child, so he cannot bury him in the tomb of their ancestor. If this man wants to have the right to be the father, he must do the "fafivady". Even if the man does not want to marry the mother of the child, but he has a child with this woman, let him first make a "fafivady" to this woman. It is the same on what we see in article 22 of the law, law 63.022 in the Malagasy Memento. In the civil status on Memento, April 1998 on the marriage, there is a law dealing with the child and the lineage. This law said that “paternal filiation cannot be established by presumptions”.

Protection of Children's Rights

There are so many cases that occur in the society of “sahafatra”. If somebody doesn't have a child, and that man wants to have one. He can adopt a child for himself. But it is their parents who give this child to him. Sometimes there is also a woman who does not have a husband, but she already has a child outside the "fafivady", she can give her child to a man who wants to adopt him, and this man will do the "fafivady" to perform the custom, he must do so publicly. So much for the adoption of a child in the traditional custom and the child will have a family and will integrate with the "fatrange" father who adopts him¹².

In other, case, if someone has fallen in love with a woman, and after three months, this woman is recognized as pregnant but she is going to marry someone else and this man is going to do the "fafivady" to her. The baby to be born becomes the child of the new husband. After that, twenty years later, this child will be able to look for his biological father. When he meets his biological father, this father must do the “fafivady” to recognize this child. To avoid the problem, the sister of the child's mother takes the place of his biological mother during the rite of “fafivady”.

This shows us the meaning of “fafivady and its importance in the life of society. It has an important role in the parentage of the child to the "fatrange". It is a kind of celebration of marriage and certificate of recognition, and of the adoption of a family member and also a member of "fatrange". Surely, the "fafivady" has its importance on the rights of children in the "fatrange" system.

¹¹BebySehenoAndriamalina, RivoAndianirina, Ratsialonina Perrine Burnod, Régulations Coutumières du Foncier chez les Antemoro, Quelle place pour les Guichets foncier ? <http://www.observatoire-foncier.mg/article-104>.

¹²RASOAMALALAVAO Claire et Clarisse RASOAMAMPONONA, Processus d'Apprentissage innovants : La R.A.D appliquée au genre et foncier à Madagascar. Université de Fianarantsoa. Fiantso Madagascar,2001.

Protection of Women's Rights

The “Sahafatra” ethnic sub-group also protects the rights of women. The “fafivady” and all traditional marriage celebration activities have promoted the protection of women's rights. According to the previous custom of the ethnic group, the woman cannot go to the place where her fiancé lives, before the “fafivady”. When the man brings his future wife to his family before the “fafivady”, he should pay an ox to the father of this woman. After that, he must quickly do the “fafivady”.

When the man respects the rules of the “fafivady”, his wife has value in the families and also in front of all the members of their “fatrange”. She becomes a woman respected in the community or in any member of “fatrange”, and her husband gives her favor to his wealth. When the man is dead after the “fafivady”, his wife will be able to obtain her share of inheritance from of her husband's wealth¹³. The “fafivady” allows the integration of married women into the “fatrange” of their husbands. She belongs to her husband's new “fatrange” which has become her own. Malagasy articles 67 - 030 on 12/18/67 cites women's rights to inheritance. According to this article, the wife gets the part of the material goods of her husband. We know that the culture of “sahafatra” protected the right of women before the appearance of this Malagasy article quoted above.

8.2. Problem through "Fafivady"

Currently, we encounter problems on the “fafivady”. First, there is the insecurity that people cannot keep more oxen. Oxen are becoming more expensive. In this case, the “fafivady” will be difficult to accomplish. According to the people we interviewed, the “fafivady” still exists in the sahafatra society for couples and for children, but because of the current high cost of living, some couples cannot accomplish it in time. For the future of their children, they will have to do it during their lifetime.

As a result, many men, especially young people between 18-35 years old who want to get married, will not be able to buy oxen to do the “fafivady”. So there are couples who had many children, but who have not yet achieved their “fafivady”. For this case, the “sahafatra” society creates “fafimaty”, another form of “fafivady” practice after or at the time of the funeral if the woman is dead. The “sahafatra” society creates the “fafimaty” to protect the benefits of children in the “fatrange” of their father, and also so that the widowed man could carry out the funeral of the mother of his children in his family.

The “fafimaty” causes problems in the grieving family, because during the funeral their expenses will be doubled. The “fafimaty”, a solution created by the “sahafatra” people further multiplies their problems, some families who have practiced the “fafimaty” will do the “debaky” and the “bongary” during the funeral. They bought more than two oxen, one for the “fafimaty” and the other for the “lofopaty” and they also needed to supply people with a lot of rice during the time of funeral. The “sahafatra” community has a common tomb; and this tomb plays an important role in the personal life of each individual and of the whole community because it connects them to their “fatrange”. When we study the life of society, we see that it depends on the family tomb. Their organization, leadership, ethics, religion depend on the common grave. Since the breaking of tombs existed, the criminal attack on the tomb and the wearing of dry bones, families have been divided, the community is destroyed. This division of extended families postpones the separation of the common grave. Each person has their own tomb, but the “fatrange” system still exists.

Young people today do not practise traditional customs. They don't think that's already outdated, it's for undeveloped people. Young people live far from the “sahafatra” zone; some of them go to study and work in the big city. Many of them do not like to practice traditional culture because they want to apply western culture. But the “fatrange” system is used to this day. For this case, the system coming from the West is not compatible with the “fatrange” system. The children of people who only practice civil marriage at the commune office have a big problem for the inheritances of the “fatrange”, for example to be head of “fatrange”, for the funeral of the mother of the family.

¹³Razivelo Mariette, ed, Torolalanamikasikany Zon'ny Vehivavy (Antananarivo : TPFLM, 2002),

8.3. Suggestion with Interpretations: “Fatrange” and “Fafivady”

"Fatrange" is the communion of the local society of "sahafatra". The “fafivady” is a rite to integrate the woman and their children into the “fatrange” of the father of the family. First of all, the "fafivady" is a traditional wedding celebration rite within the "sahafatra" society that demonstrates respect for the rights of women in this culture. Men wanting to get married must do the “fafivady” and women cannot enter the men's house before the practice of the “fafivady”.

Secondly, the "sahafatra" do not use the rings as in western culture, but the "fafivady" has another way of making their alliance. They use ox blood which has a lot of meaning. The life of the creature is in the blood, so it signifies soul and life. Because of this, the bride put the finger with the blood at the starting point of the bride's neck and the bride put her finger on the blood and put in the groom's face have symbolic meaning of the covenant to life and to (the) death.

Thirdly, the "fafivady" is something that is established to protect the rights of children, especially for the right to inheritance. The culture of “sahafatra” respects the rights of women and children before the international declaration on the rights of women and children in 1967.

Fourthly, fafivady means a rite of passage. This movement transmits new life. If the Fafivady is accomplished, the spouses change their way of life. They start saying "our" and "we", it means that the bride and the groom leave their selfish rivalries. Mutual love reigns in their daily lives.

When we see the evolutionism theory which tells about the categorization of culture such as barbarian, savage and civilized. Above all, the theory of Henry (1822-1888) which suggested legal anthropology in primitive society. In the "sahafatra" culture, there is legal marriage according to their rule and traditional marriage law. The Problem is the Franzer theory which sows an idea justifying the superiority of Western culture. This idea says that Western culture is the most superior culture of the world. Some of us Malagasy people think that our culture is bad and inferior; this culture comes from the evil spirit called satanic. We should use the theory of Franz Boas and his disciple. We will study culture in three stages: the spirit of sharing and the spirit of listening and the spirit of brotherhood. We should also accept the culture of others. When we study the importance(s) of the culture, it respects the rights of women and children. We know the culture of “sahafatra” which protects the rights of women and children for a long time until now.

8.4. Proposed Solution

Currently, oxen are very expensive, so the number of couples who have performed “fafivady”, have been decreased. According to the household we interviewed, the "fafivady" is always applied, especially in its importance and in any entity of social life of sahafatra. It highlights the rights of women in the "fatrange" of their husband, there are also impacts in the husband's relationship with his wife's family. The man who does not do his “fafivady”, has no value in the “fatrange” of his father-in-law and his mother-in-law.

He also has negative consequences for their children, because their father has no rights to be their father and neither community accepts children to inherit their father's property. Brilliant that the child had no right to be a member of "fatrange". Fafivady is very important within "sahafatra" society, it is the foundation of the "fatrange" system. Indeed, we present proposals for solutions to "fafivady" problems:

- Keep the "fafivady" and its rite, but seek the cheapest way to practice it.
- To put an optional discipline to choose the way of realization of the “fafivady”, it depends on the standard of living of each couple.
- According to the people we interviewed, “sahafatra” uses “toakagasy” or rum in certain “fafy” such as “fafirano” and “fafiratra”. In my opinion, if he can't buy a beef, he can take the "toakagasy" or the rum to make their "fafivady" according to the traditional rite. Both families could give their blessing with this thing.
- The other thing is, the Christian Churches begin to multiply more and more in this territory, such as Catholic Church, FJKM, Lutheran, Adventist, Jehovah's Witness, Pentecostal, Apocalypse, and so on. Some of them want to demolish the traditional culture like the “Fafivady”, because the custom uses the traditional prayer “call of the ancestors”.

Almost all of them think that the traditional custom is a sin, because it is service to the evil spirit. Western missionaries had taught the early Christians in Madagascar to leave their culture and use Western culture because it is considered superior culture and Christianity culture. For this reason, part of the priest and pastor teaches their Christian members to put aside all their culture and practice western culture. But, according to the survey, civil marriage at the commune office and/or at the church is very rare compared to marriage practiced in the traditional custom. In my opinion, these priests and pastors will find another way to educate people in Christian marriage here in Vondrozo about the importance of "Fafivady"; it is necessary to acculturate or contextualize their liturgy and their Christian education.

8.5. The Importance of this Research

My research is inspired by the light of the concept of "use your talents" which we focus on developing the most isolated places in Madagascar. This concept calls “use your talent “has been by the Malagasy Lutheran church inspiration. For this concept, I focus on and consider the development of this region, which is one of the latest in Madagascar.

Each ethnic group in Madagascar has its own identity, especially in terms of its daily customs. For the “Sahafatra” society, there are two systems which use. The first is the application of the system from the colonization which become the practice of the Malagasy state such as administration represented by the district chief, the administrative delegate, the mayor, and the fokontany chief (it is a kind of small villages chief). The second is the traditional practice of leadership which is called here “the fatrange system,”. If the system of "Fatrange" did not contribute to all development activities, it was considered by the "sahafatra" as a pressure.

The system applied by the state regime is therefore foreign to them on their territory, they even do not oppose it directly but they see that it seems to destroy their system already strongly anchored in them. Traditional chiefs of their “fatrange” have governed their people since the pre-colonial period with this “fatrange” system until today. All members of the community respect the rules in force in the whole ethnic sub-group "Sahafatra".In the research we do, we reflect on the FLM project “using your talents”. We believe that the "fatrange" system and the traditional organization that connects it can contribute to local development. The Traditional Authority Applied Research Network (TAARN) has realized that local development cannot work without traditional leaders at the local government level¹⁴.

According to the theory of modernism, culture has been said to be a barrier to development. The desired development is not inconsistent with traditional culture; it is considered a justification for the rejection of the development of its non -traditional culture in a place. The development has become the spread of foreign cultures by the West. But Edward W Saïd has shown that these ancient cultures have good values in different places, even where they are considered¹⁵.

In this article, I show the necessity of the anthropological contribution to development in the face of innovations in information technology and globalization today. Therefore, anthropologists must be able to promote development interventions that are culturally appropriate and sustainable (both socially and environmentally), that is to say, acceptable and appropriated by the beneficiary populations or social categories. My research is initiatives to engage in the current development so that everyone can confront major challenges of poverty, inequality of human rights. The commitment has approached the concept of development from human and ecological respect in the context where it is interested in the primitive groups which constituted their custom which allowed us to clearly see this link between the mode of production and the relations which gives these groups the particularity of their society what we mean today by the notion of sustainable development¹⁶.

¹⁴ The traditional authority applied research network, <https://www.eldis.org>

¹⁵Gerald Liscia, Pour en finir avec la critique de l'aide au développement, esquisse de courant actuel ,(IFRI programme Afrique subsaharienne , Juillet 2010), p 8-10 .

¹⁶Jean-Pierre OLIVIER de SARDAN, Anthropologie et Développement Essai en Socio-Anthropologie du Changement Social ; <http://www.inheal.univ- pris 3>

My research must study development as constituting a "social phenomenon" like any other, in the same way as kinship or religion. This research was based on the understanding and analysis of a “sahafatra” people, through close and direct observation, in terms of structural and functional analysis of their culture. This approach led to a clear advance in the analysis of the cultural processes and values that were involved, gave a sense of their custom and ritual to the obligations of social status. My field study was further pushed to suggest the keep of traditional social structures.

The aim of the research was to determine the importance of the method in the life of the community. So, the goal is to emphasize the value of marriage which is the main basis on which a person's property is called "fatrange". Everything in life in a society in the midst of a “fatrange system comes from this marriage.

The purpose of the research is to determine the value of the method in the life of the community. As researchers on “the concept of use your talent”, We believe that these important methods and practices can be used as tools to shape development for this region, which is one of the most advanced in Madagascar. It is not meant to be a barrier but to be turned into a tool to develop them.

9. CONCLUSION

This study is based on the study of "fafy" particular the "Fafivady" which deals with the relationship between the Fafivady and the filiation within the family. There are a few different types of the "fafy" which has a different meaning. But we study the meaning of "fafy" as the celebration of marriage called "fafivady". The “fafivady” shows us the position of the rights of women in this culture, and the situation of the rights of children towards their parents. There are important roles in the community life function of 'sahafatra. The "fafivady" has three aspects in this article. The main idea of the three aspects of fafivady is as follows:

- ✓ Social aspect: to respect the rights of women and children. Marriage is not only the love relationship between man and woman, but it deals with the whole life of the society of "sahafatra".
- ✓ Religious aspect: blessing and traditional prayer such as "fafalakevo" which means the repair of the community. It is the repair of the relationship within families that has repercussions throughout society. And the "fafyBotro" used to respect the word of the ancestors who give the land where they live. The “fafyBotro” cleans the “tsiny” of the ancestors. If it is not finished, it creates problems for the whole life of the community. This means that the "fafivady" has an important meaning in the whole life of the community.
- ✓ Political aspect: the sahafatra uses the "fafivady" to manage their organization in the "sahafatra" society which is based on the "fatrange" system.

We are trying to answer precisely this question: What is the basis of the "fatrange" system, particularly for the individual and for being a member of the "fatrange" community? The lineage is not only for the parents and their children in the culture of this ethnic group, it is also able to reach the whole “sahafatra” community. When we say "Family lineage", it concerns the parents and the society of the whole "sahafatra". If someone has no lineage, he also has no filiation in the whole society of the "Sahafatra" ethnic group. When someone rejects a lineage in his family, he rejects the society of the whole ethnic group. The community uses the "Fafivady" for the integration of the woman in the "fatrange" of her husband and their children to be a member of the lineage called your "fatrange".

For this reason, the "Fafivady" is a foundation of the "fatrange" system, it has an important role in community life. "Fafivady" produces the family and community lineage, and able to reach the whole society of the "sahafatra" ethnic group. When someone is not connected to their family, maybe they are rejected by their bad actions or intentions. Society also cannot accept him to be a member of the whole society of 'sahafatra'.

Necessarily the "fafivady" is a foundation of the "fatrange" system used to integrate the woman, the wife, and also to protect the filiation of their future children in society. What is the practice of this system in the economic sector such as exchange goods within their company? This for the studies that we will produce the "Bongary" and the "Debaky" in the "fatrange" system that we will want to write in another next article.

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AUTHORS' BIOGRAPHY



KOTO BESOJA, Doctorate Student in Social Anthropology at the University of Fianarantsoa.

RUPHIN Solange Marie, Professor Researcher HDR, Historian, and Former Dean of the Faculty of Law, Management, and Social Science, University of Fianarantsoa. Director of my research.



Dr RAKOTONIRINA Jean Raymond, is an Anthropologist, Philosopher, Historian; chief of Staff to the Presidency of the University of Fianarantsoa; Researcher at the University of Fianarantsoa Co-Director of my Research.

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