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SOCIO ECONOMIC FACTORS IN ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT IN MADAGASCAR

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

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THE SOCIO ECONOMIC DIMENSIONS OF DEVELOPMENT IN MADAGASCAR

The understanding of the national culture of Madagascar, consisting of the traditions, policies, goals, resources, and characteristic procedures of the Malagasy nation, compels us to pay attention to local level peasant and urban strategies, which vary according to ecological but also according to cultural parameters. Because of the general assumption of the unity of Malagasy civilisation the planners from the capital have often dispensed with the study of regional aspects even though there is already much existing material at our disposal.

Moreover, many of these reports have been written from the viewpoint of the culture of the planners., Today association with the same international organizations and studies creates a subculture that develops its own analysis and decision-making procedures.

In spite of the uneven qualities of the materials involved, I feel that if is necessary to evaluate them in appendix I (Survey of previous attitudes and fieldwork studies in relation with the socio cultural situation).

The history of the attempts made in Madagascar to deal with economic adjustment and change, will help us to draw lessons from these previous experiences but it will undoubtedly oblige us to take into account the permanent trend of Malagasy cultures to reject any project suspected to be contrary to the interests of the inhabitants as they evaluate them.

I. SOCIO-CULTURAL DIMENSION OF DEVELOPMENT

1. Village organization and rural society.

The Malagasy society is basically a rural society. When asked about his origin, a Tananarivian will always indicate the name of his *tanindrazana*, his ancestral land, where he will be buried after his death. People who might indicate they are "from Antananarivo" are immediately thought to be from slave origin. Slavery was not systematically associated with racial features but with the interruption of linkage with an ancestral land where the family tomb is. When they attend burials the Tananarivians identify the social origin of their friends and these tomb locations may also be mentioned in the case of marriage negociations between two families.

Since the abolition of slavery (1897), the descendants of the ex slaves have built up tombs of their own, whose importance brings them a new social recognition.

Similarly provincial people from regional towns will be buried in the *tanindrazana* of their clan, usually on their fatherside. Merina have a choice between their father's side or their mother's side because their social structure is ambilineal.

The rural territory is under control of descent groups of various kinds : patriclans in the West and in the South (*tariha*) but ambilineal lineages in the Highlands whose names often start with the word *Teraka* (born from). These lineages may acknowledge their participation in larger descent groups such as *foko* (called *deme* by BLOCH) whom king ANDRIANAMPOINIMERINA classified as nobles or commoners.

But contrarily to Burundi or Rwanda where scattered hamlets are common settlement patterns, Malagasy live ordinarily in villages called *tanana* or sometimes *vohitra* (meaning also hill).

However, slash and burn agriculture activities or simply work in distant ricefields and herding in remote pasture lands may force the inhabitants to live in isolated homesteads.

Link with *tanindrazana* marked by the relation to ancestral tombs means involment in village life. Descendants of former slaves and commoners or nobles inhabit sometimes separate areas and this is also the case in multiethnical villages recently built in the West but, everywhere all agree to participate in the collective activities.

In the past, a village included one or several ceremonial centers. The houses which surrounded these centers belonged to residence units' of descent group. Ancestral cult was revolving around a foundation stone or by the lineage post (called *hazomanga* in the South, *fisokina* in the East). Sacrifices of cattle were performed there by elders (*mpisoro* in the South, *tangalamena* in the East). Among the Vezo fishermen descent sublineages were organized in clusters around ancestors images called *raza*. Except at funerals where tombs received special care, ancestors ceremonies always took place near the stone uprights or wooden post located in the village central "square".

This ceremonial arrangement was also on economic organization. Decisions were issued for village activities such as land clearing and canals... Among the Christian groups the communal house (*tranompokonolona*) was the appropriate place for public announcement of collective decisions.

In the Highlands where ethnical descent group distinctions are no longer relevant categories neighbourhood with good mutal relations have fostered strong ties... *Fihavanana*, the malagasy expression of mutual solidarity characterizes the frame which justifies the village organization.

It implies obedience to ancestors customs and respect of elders predominance. Now, it is not so much operational. Young people question this elders predominance and may choose to leave. Population pressure and environment deterioration have reduced the field of elders decisions since there is less collective land available (for slash and burn agriculture) or herding activities.

The dwindling role of government in rural areas is also a cause of lack of authority at the local level. *Fokontany* people now often ignore *fanjakana* (administration) requests which are deemed ideological or even pointless.

There is a tendency for village organizations to lose its economic content because of the disappearance of state hierarchy or simply because of the collapse of social values, but as cattle raiding or lawlessness increase, villages develop a new collective impetus to resist and organize themselves. Young people under the supervision of responsible elders or parish authorities run defense group who protect cattle and watch the villages at night. Until recently, government people have objected against these spontaneous defense group. In the future these groups may replace the elders organization who are less and less reliable. Such a change modifies the settlement patterns. Temporary or small villages are abandoned and their inhabitants have moved to larger villages (or even to towns when situation appeared to be hopeless).

2. Land tenure

Since colonial time, cadastral surveying has established an apparently clear cut distinction between government land (*domaine*), traditional native land (*reserves indigènes*) and registred plots of titles (*immatriculations*). Superiority is recognized to registered land with titles but on outsiders concessions belonging to distant owners (either foreign or local) encroachment has taken place. Wherever people considered land in the realm of their *tanindrazana* they superbly ignore the distinction between government land and traditional land.

They estimate that forest clearing or pasture territory is granted by community authority. Wet rice cultivation plots and coffee plantations, whether they were registred or not, are part of family rights. The Malagasy need not to farm their land in order to maintain their rights ; however the linkage to ancestral land by the marking of family tombs remains everywhere a reality. In Imerina the burial ground is kept undivided but plots of land and houses are clearly attributed to nominal descendants in the inheritance system. Difficulties arise when rice fields remain undivided. Town people demand a share of the harvest which may be already insufficient for those who have stayed on the spot.

Relations may become a source for conflicts when urban people, who are working for government or private enterprises in towns, return to ancestral territory where houses and lands are occupied by the descendents of the ex-slave groups who previously were simply guardians of tombs (*valala miandry fasana*, grasshoppers watching tombs). The descendants of ex-slaves may refuse the continuation of old dependency This severing of links originating from slavery was a major tenet of the Parti Social Democrate program in Tsiranana time but it has not been mentioned in the socialist red book. Demographic pressure will probably lead the descendants of ex slaves to confiscate completely the lands of their former masters. This process is already underway in many areas, especially in Betsileo.

Whenever government land regulations appear to be unclear, land tenure tends to become more insecure and this is now the case with the breakdown of domestic authority. In many areas, the tensions between family rights and community rights have left many people landless. In the sixties, this proportion seemed to be 10 per cent of the rural population. It has risen now in many villages to one fourth of the population. At the same time, in the Highlands and in Alaotra lake

area, land accumulation has increased at the expenses of impoverished peasants although there are very few data available on this subject.

3. Organization of production.

There is a great diversity in the organization of production thoughout Madagascar. Cash crops such as coffee, cloves, vanilla and tobacco are grown by "part time planters" on plots which rarely exceed one hectare. Production on the larger lands of former settlers attributed to "fermes d'état" and cooperatives has turned to be a complete failure. The stagnation of export of these primary products is due to the poor quality of roads but also to the fact that many owners of coffee trees behave now more as collectors and gathers than as true planters.

In the Highlands, rice cultivation is by far the most important activity both in evaluation of the people and because of the amount of work it requires. It involves cooperative work called *valin-tanana* with sophisticated accounts.
On the other hand secondary crops require very little cooperation. Some crops introduced in colonial times like tomatoes and onions are not for local consumption but are cash crops. The others like manioc and peanuts are eaten by peasants but may be sold when a surplus exists. The word *ambim-bava* (beyond mouth) connotes the Malagasy idea of surplus which, in more prosperous times, used to represent the extra quantities or simply rice left in the granary before a new harvest. This situation seldom occurs nowadays.

The Kobama project in Antsirabe region is a success because the introduced cultivation of wheat does not compete with tradition of rice growing. Rice terraces are occupied by wheat after the harvest of rice has been done and when the irrigation possibilities are minimal. Furthermore, in order to improve the fields of wheat, peasants have accepted in many cases to use fertilizers, the effect of which is also beneficial to the following rice crop.

This type of management could certainly be extended in other areas of the Highlands such as Sambaina and Fandriana if more lands suitable for agriculture were available.

Many villagers think that extension of surfaces seems possible only for dry cultivation. The lack of money to buy the necessary inputs such as fertilizers but also disastrous sharecropping practices among descendants (see above land tenure) prevent them to adopt more modern ways of running their agricultural business.

Since rice prices were kept to a rather low level until 1984, peasants have found little incentive to organize their cultivation in a more productive way. At the same time, demographic pressure has caused a reduction of surface lands available to the household whose number in rural areas is already 4.5 persons as an average.

The increase cost of collective work *valin-tanana* (which implies buying meat for the meals of the helpers) and the difficulties of having access to legal rice markets had led some peasants to develop, around 1985, a strategy of selling their production on the black market (*risoriso*). They figured out that the yield of smaller surfaces with higher price for their crop was more rewarding whatever the risk involved.

As a consequence of a voluntary limitation of surface providing food financial results was prefered to an extension implying more help and less returns under a government controlled trade.

Contraints of similar type, due to overcontrol by the government has led to similar attitude from vanilla planters who have found government prices insufficient. Since vanilla may be stored for several years "preparateurs" (conditioners) have kept away from legal trade important quantities and even succeeded to export some of them to the Comoros where prices are higher. As a consequence, the vanilla market has become particularly hectic.

In the West where more lands seemed to be available, migrants from the South-East, Betsileo and even urban people from Tulear have become involved into cotton growing. As we shall see below, the financial results may be wasted instead of contributing to the rising of a more prosperous peasantry, probably because production is organized outside of the customary norms.

4. Work allocation among household members

Sexual division of labour is the rule in traditional contexts of economic activities, but in Madagascar, this division varies greatly according to region, ethny, class, rural versus urban areas. In rice production, men are responsible for clearing and preparation of fields and the upkeep of irrigation ; women for transplanting seedlings, and pounding the husk. Cattle herding is normally under the responsibility of men especially in the Extreme South but ownership of zebu is everywhere recognized to both sexes.

Collective tasks which involve the cooperation of larger groups such as rice transplanting (*manetsa*) or cattle escorting are performed with free labor, even though *valintanana* implies feeding the helpers. Young boys and girls are associated to these collective duties as from the age of 8 or 10 years.

Everywhere women try to supplement family budgets in selling handicrafts such as basketry and weaving and use the money they draw out of it. In rural areas of the Highlands, there are very little opportunities for hired labor ; because of the stagnation of rice production no labor innovation can be introduced contrarily to what has been observed by HUTASERAMI and ROUMESSET in Thailand. Elsewhere, such as in Marovoay, Alaotra and Tsiribihina, there are potentialities for modifications of this work allocation within the household if the hydraulic systems and accessibility of roads are improved. Grown up children whose force remains unemployed seek jobs in towns but social mobility may be also sought through education.

5. Education

It is universally admitted in Madagascar one must send children to school. Half a century ago, herders kept the most intelligent children to keep watch over cattle and sent the disabled to school. This no longer happens. Inquiries show that parents want to send their children to school, mainly if it helps them to escape poverty. Formerly, one knew that the best pupils were going to be civil-servants, which made the future of the children better. Today, in towns, one finds such a position less interesting, but parents still think school's mission is to promote social and economic conditions.

Unfortunately, the inferior quality of public education has led to a rejection of this school system.

Malagasy people are all aware of the Highland dwellers getting ahead of the others for historical reasons mainly since regional universities were left financially unaided.

The yearning for secondary school is a leading motive to account for town immigration. This desire to send children to school by all means, justifies parents' efforts. Even the poorer in towns and countryside make efforts to pay their children's school tuition, mainly in private schools, either protestant or catholic. In towns, 30% of the family income is given to education.

6 Attitudes about money and wealth.

In the highlands, the capitalistic money-making tradition goes back to officers : they governed provinces unpaid but organized their business. ox-herd (just like that of the Prime Minister - 12000 oxen) represented such wealth, huge ones for the period.

In colonial times, the French and foreign traders became richer than those Merina families who had benefited from state capitalism and slavery hands.

Some bourgeois (middle class) colonial assimilation had become an ideal for some Malagasy bourgeois. They used the French language, they became French citizens and even became free-masons. They became important businessmen. Others waited for nationalizations during the socialist period to try to become capitalists, but they were not very efficient. Civil-servants who became businessmen, in 1975, first managed to slacken economy. A class of efficient undertakers such as the one that the Indian community developed is today lacking but it may appear in a non socialist context.

In most coastal areas, wealth is accepted only when it is considered to fit the social values. Owning many oxen yet is accepted since it is thought to be a possible way to social promotion accepted by ancestral system. On the contrary, one who builds a store house in a village where only ordinary people live is said to be a conceited person who wants to show off.

As far as money is concerned, most Malagasy people think that the family system (*fihavanana*) has to be privileged rather than an unpersonal network necessiting exchanges.

A well-known and often referred to saying goes this way. Rather lose a little money than endanger the *fihavanana*. (*Aleo very tsikalakalam-bola toy izay very tsikalakalam-pihavanana*

This accounts for traders getting bankrupted, because of the family buying things on credit. Members of the same family sometimes do not clearly perceive what is meant by credit, though money-lenders obviously exist.

Even money sometimes convey its own origin. Thus, food may not be bought with the money earned through the sale of a dog.

In the west, the money earned through cotton sale is considered as "hot money" that must be spent on ceremonies (see below Hasyma cotton growers).

The traditional habit of keeping extra money for ceremonies can lead people to invent new rites of money spending when there is money available

One can understand why for the last 15 years, monetary surplus is recycled in alcohol expenses. Socialist principles have made the creation of firms impossible, but the insecurity which stops the raising of large ox-herds has made cattle hoarding an insecure way of wealth accumulation.

7. Individual entrepreneurship.

The spirit of entrepreneurship is found among Malagasy people who know how to keep themselves away from the paralyzing sides of ancestral values, mostly the leveling aspects of *fihavanana* ideology and the desire of non contradiction with the everpresent ancestors (fear of *tsiny*).

This system of values will widely account for the strategies adopted by people in the highlands and on the coast, strategies that will be dealt with in the following paragraphs on regional profiles- Both things can make people richer. The former not belonging to the Ancestor's system, the latter because it does belong to it.

As a first approximation, we consider that the highlands show a more modern attitude than the country groups, mainly those belonging to the coasts.

However, many businessmen from the Highlands have so far prefered to invest in house building or in usury rather than in company shares. The domination of foreign companies in colonial and Tsiranana times[1] then the socialist system had left them few opportunities. The attitude of the Malagasy government may help to favor foreign investments and even joint ventures with business from abroad.

For a long time, the Malagasy have considered the part played by economic partners and foreigners as a consequence of colonization depriving Madagascar of its money. The nationalizations of foreign firms, the sending back home the Reunion people from Babetville, the confiscation of coffee plants, were thought to be a fair restitution of their stolen property. Nobody realized how wealth could be created, except for vineyards which were not asked for.

Malagasy country people would willingly accept foreign investments creating employment in agriculture-food, mines and tourism. After such a dreadful

[1] GENDARME, an economist, noticed in the 60's, that 90% of companies were ruled by foreigners. Such a fact noticed by the intelligentia led to an appetite for nationalizations.

experience, a time for foreigners has come as a golden age and economic xenophobia has stopped, Indians excerted.
Only a few Antananarivo people, or people belonging to the former political personel in the regional capitals are ready to take part in actions with foreigners simply because they are interested in capitalism and can draw financial potentialities.

To finish with, informal trade in the 80's with La Réunion and Mauritius opened the way to some trade attempts which developed import-export business which was up to now a field for Indians and Chinese only.

About this antagonism tradition versus modernity, there is a possible reconciliation between attitudes in which ancestral values going back to society on one side and the trend towards techniques for getting richer on the other. Thus, Antananarivo firm-owner, efficient all the week through, will pay traditional visits on saturdays and will start building a house on the very day suggested by a diviner.

One should also mention the fact that protestant education which favors religious questioning may play some role in the individual dynamism of the members of Christian elite of the Highlands. Similar observations have been made in this respect about the rise of capitalism in Western countries during the XIXth century. But besides this "protestant incentive for progress" a Malagasy has always to compromise with ancestors.

8. Ancestors worship and attitudes toward medicine.

When the Highland civilization adopted the values of Christianity, it did not mean that they abandoned their close connection with their Ancestors. Christ and the Forefathers were seen as a whole and joined to secure everyday life's security of any Malagasy Christian and his future after death. Merina and Betsileo civilization even remained very much dependent on the *vintana* system, that is to say, the part played by divination, as a Norwegian missionary put it in 1886.

Planners should never forget that diviner (called *mpanandro*) relies on astrology to define favorable and unfavorable days. Other specialists see the cause of disorders and evils which happen in lives of individuals.

In ancestral culture, illness is attributed to a sin against the ancestors (*tsiny* in the highlands, *havoa* in the west).
Sikidy (seed divination) helps to identify such metaphysical diseases and to find solutions or remedies. *Fanafody*, a modern term for medecine, is based on the word *ody* meaning talisman.

—Using traditional remedies against ancestral diseases is still common. But for other diseases, modern medecine is thought to be better[1]

Yet, difficulties in finding medecines, the absence of doctors in isolated places have ruined the medical network. The only possible alternative is using ancestral remedies even if Malagasy people know too well they are useless for such diseases as mange and malaria.

Whenever Malagasy suffer of illness, interprete female infertility, face some unexpected calamity or want to undertake certain activities, they have to account for the all-important role of ancestors.

For the non-Christians who represent the 55% of the population, no supreme god may enforce sanction against the forbidden action or taboo. This duty is performed by the ever-present ancestors who linger around the individual.

In coastal areas, communication with the supernatural is ensured by sacrifices at ceremonial posts (*hazomanga*) or by possession cults.

In the Christian Highlands reburial ceremonies of *famadihana* are also directed to satisfy the needs of ancestors sublineages.

9. Attitudes towards technology innovation.

Technology innovation in Madagascar does not automatically result from a compromise between the ancestor system of thought and the acceptance of new techniques from the West.

When innovations brought forth by Christianity reached Merina society, it was ready to accept benefit of progress. Rice-growing was intensive and sophisticated, the *ombiasy* manuscript collected by A. Grandidier in 1869 testified to the use of fertilizers.

Malagasy culture may welcome new technologies when their implementation will be compatible with the traditional needs and strategies of local people. Over-inovation may be damaging in Madagascar as it has been already experienced in a

[1]In urban hospitals, doctors' qualification cannot be doubted for the problem is rather a question of organization. Health specialists flee to foreign countries more and more.
Colonization and missions had developed a satisfactory system of free medicine. The Malagasy asked for its being reestablished but they do not want to abandon their traditional medicine adapted to ancestral diseases related to their culture and whose part is deeply homeopathic.

series of unsuccesful attempts either fostered by colonial administration (collectivités rurales in the fifties) or initiated by planners during the first Republic (such as "Grandes opérations de développement").

The cooperative attempts of socialist officials between 1975 and 1985 fall into the same category of inappropria : strategies which regard traditional organizations as a hindrance because of their so called "backwardness".

The Christian elite from urban, centers is prepared to go much beyond a mere acceptance of innovations which may fix the needs of their culture bequeathed by their forefathers.

They will react positively to any possibility of being richer. This attitude is strengthened in the Highlands by the importance of women whose role in the household is central and sometimes predominant. In this respect, it is important to notice that the parental ideology expressed by the highlands dwellers is ambilineal, i.e. : people till they die and even after death get involved both in father and mother sides.

On the contrary, in most coastal systems, such an ideology is essentially agnatic ad patrilineal. Wives are lent to men and go back home if their husband dies. It is in the light of such ethnolological diversity that the problem of the economic independence of women must be dealt with (see below page 33, the role of Malagasy women).

10. Other assets.

The ownership or simply the access to land combined to a complex network of relations with members of the descent group and with the ancestors, are essential assets to prosper along traditional lines.

There is no bartering system in the exchanges, for money obtained from cash crops and other sources of income circulates constantly even for ceremonial gifts of *addy* type. In the rural areas, cattle is the normal way of saving or hoarding. The growing independence of women and insecurity have arisen interest for other precious belongings such as gold jewels, copper jars (*sajoa*) and even cash stored in bottles which are buried in houses. Rural Malagasy instead of selling part of their subsistence crops to outsiders, might be interested by other ways of saving money. Green banks will never work as long as they are considered as part of the *fanjakana* (government power).

II. ETHNIC DIVERSITY.

French ethnographers have distinguished 42 ethnic groups but statistics specify only 18. These denominations such as Tsimihety, Sakalava, Betsileo have a historical and geographical meaning rather than a tribal significance. Provincial limits between Fianarantsoa and Antananarivo *faritany*, put Betsileo on one side and Merina on the other although this border territory is occupied by Vakinankaratra.

The Tandroy have a strong feeling of ethnicity. The Merina on the contrary are more interested in family ties and village networks but when they emigrate in groups to the coast they may feel a common ethnicity versus the other groups all considered as "côtiers" including the inland Bara and even certain Betsileo.

Procedures to favor ethnic relations exist permanently in Malagasy cultures. The language differences are manageable even though they may sometimes work as a negative factor. For many Merina, Malagasy language "par excellence" is their own language which has an official status. Every other dialect is a debased form of Malagasy, a patois the use of which (*miroky*) put you into an inferior status.

In spite of the effort of intellectuals to build up a common language (*malagasy iombonana*) the possibility of change in this domain is limited and may even work against the necessity of Malagasy unity.

Ethnic consciousness exists rather at the lineage level and it is a decisive factor in the case of migrations.

It is important to insist upon the fact that Malagasy workers will move not only for economic and financial reasons but also because they have members of their group of friends to pave the way where they may go. The settlement of Tandroy family has always been antedated by other Tandroy. There are family traditions in certain professional categories (smiths, woodcutters, who know they are on demand everywhere in the island) but they will move to areas where members of their descent group have already been.

In rural areas outside of the highlands people looking for work will use certain preliminary procedures such as blood oath (*fatidra*) before contact. Similarly Antaisaka travelling among the Betsileo, will benefit of joking relationship (*ziva*) to obtain preference.

Ethnicity diversity is of course linked with the traditional attachment to ancestral land (*tanindrazana*). To be considered as a *tompontany* (master of the land)

is essential and entails privileges not recognized to the *vahiny* (stranger). This is why in coasted areas Merina or Betsileo who own land and have gone through the integrating procedures of bloodoath may call themselves sakalava in census.

Between the regional terms of ethnic groups and the lineage terms (KOTTAK found 272 in Betsileo) there is necessity for an inventory of more accurate denominations. Vakinankaratra should be substituted to Merina or Betsileo for the group in the Antsirabe area. The Tanosy of Fort Dauphin (Taolagnaro) area specify they are Tatsimo, Tavaratra or Tambolo. Mahafaly of the coast is surely a misnomer (as EGGERT has expressed it). People call themselves by lineage names such Tanalana or Temafaitse but know very well the limits of their territory with the Tandroy.

Although ethnic diversity may be used sometimes as a political gear (for federalism), it is under a merging process. There are so many intermarriages in certain areas of the West or the Northwest that the use of ethnic tags in a census would be meaningless.

Finally outgroups people are now very rare and tend to become an ethnographer curiosity (Antevolo, Tamby). The consequences of slavery, (the situation of having no *tanindrazana*) are getting erased because the descendants of slaves build up tombs on lands they have acquired or intermarry with other people.

III. SURVIVAL STRATEGIES OF THE HOUSEHOLDS

A. General strategy.

1. Subsistence, auto-consumption and surplus.

Malagasy people in rural areas traditionally produce crops or make handicrafts in order to :

- meet subsistence needs
- pay rents, school fees and sometimes taxes
- contribute to social obligations (*adidy*, a general term)
- hoard cattle or jewels, save money for building house in *tanindrazana* (or houses for rent among the richer classes)

Cattle is the valuable item to fullfil the most important social obligations, the ceremonial ones, especially among people, such as Tandroy, Mahafaly, and Sakalava where herding is (or was) dominant.

Until the seventies the situation of many households in rural areas fit well in the pattern of a dualistic description. Subsistence agriculture and the sale of handicrafts provided everyday needs. Cash crops, salaries cattle obtained from outside or coming from the increase of the herd were used for investments, or ceremonial obligations including tombs. In rural mentality, there is no contradiction between social and economic expenses. They must be viewed all as an investment in social respectability which goes before prosperity in the Western sense.

Disruption occurred only in time of calamities such as typhoons, droughts or (as in 1964 among the Zafimaniry) rat invasion.

Adjustment procedures would be used then : Mahafaly and Sakalava went gathering wild roots and collect honey or game in the forest, Tandroy sold cattle to butchers, Eastern or Highland peasants ran into temporary indebtedness with local shopkeepers.

If the situation worsened, highland peasants looked for jobs in towns and Southern people and Betsileo left to work on sisal or sugar cane plantations.

The situation is now quite different. Demographic pressure causes an increase toward auto-consumption of rice. In Alaotra area it used to amount 25 per cent of the

crop ; it is now beyond 70% even though peasants have increased the surface of dry cultivations. In the Highlands, it is now frequent to spend a day without eating rice and survival is ensured mostly by manioc. The sale of rice is used to meet a. situation of indebtedness in the Highlands. In many areas of the East coast, coffee and cloves also contribute to reimbursement of sums spent throughout year to satisfy hand to mouth needs.

The deterioration of environment prevents landless people to use community forests for slash and burn agriculture which provided essential items for auto-consumption.

Traditionally, surplus sold for cash, (mostly rice) or cash crops was used for improving houses in buying corrugated iron, sewing machines and house utensils. Obviously, the deterioration of "modern" roofs shows that this necessity is not satisfied any longer. Luxury items like radiocassettes are bought with money of salaries of privileged relatives from town or abroad.

The difficulties of town people bear some consequence on the life of their peasants' relatives of the highlands.

The recent liberalization has made private trade of rice easier. The possibility for many urban people to fetch rice in their ancestral land and transport it themselves will alleviate certain town shortage. But because of the stagnation of the production in the country, sufficient paddy is not always available for local consumption and shares for town people raise a problem. These shares are now sometimes paid in cash whenever division of land has occurred but free gifts of fruit, such as oranges are provided and acknowledge the ties with *tanindrazana*. When division of rice fields exists, peasants have to stand a disguised sharecropping imposed by their kin.

In the West, the sales in cash of Hasyma cotton growers had little effect on capital accumulation since it was mostly wasted in possession or prestige ceremonies.

2. Money used for rents and school fees and social obligations.

The costs of rent and education are the main items which place a strain on the budgets of urban people. They may amount up to 40% with the social fees, the different *adidy* which are to be given in the social network in case of sudden death or illness. They are never itemized in budget by social workers just because people think that *adidy* concerns unpredictable events which must not be talked about

ahead (for the same reason, baby clothes will not be made before birth). In rural areas, protestant and catholic missions have adjusted the cost of school fees to the growing poverty of peasants. The cost of life is 5 times higher than 20 years ago but the fees are only twice more than previously.

In urban areas where salaries are common, social obligations are even more important than in rural areas. Moreover they are to be paid always in cash even when town people have to contribute to ceremonies performed in the contryside, for their rural relatives expect money.

Other types of *adidy* entailing heavy investments exist, such as the building of tomb or the reburial ceremonies of *famadihana*.

These especially costly reburial *famadihana*, will involve the entire participation of the descendants, who have their residence outside, generally in towns. During the feast, these *zanakampielezana* (dispersed children) are clearly identifiable (specially by their dress) and will sometimes eat separately from the *tompontanana* (village masters). Nevertheless, the ritual superiority of village masters is acknowledged but respectability goes along with the importance of financial participations.

In the South and the West ceremonial obligations are more important that social ones. They can be paid almost entirely in cattle.

Even for groups where agriculture appear to be the main occupation, cattle is also necessary to meet the ceremonial expenses (essentially funeral).

Prestige or hoarding aspects of cattle ownership are now becoming less important in all the areas where insecurity or zebu stealing have become an everyday scourge.

3. Adjustment of the households to difficult times

The previous household strategies of developing resources for everyday diet and keeping the sale of cash crops and cattle for investments, ceremonies or simply extras- are no longer operational. Everything is lumped together to ensure day to day survival. The development of wheat as a cash crop on rice terraces in Antsirabe area by Kobama has not improved the situation of local peasants who could only reimburse their debts to rice collectors.

Facing difficulties people cope by different ways

a) Selling cattle or other belongings available.

Cattle is sold in case of severe food shortage but its sale is obligatory for social investment. We have seen that for insecurity reasons but also because of impoverishment this situation occurs more frequently. The price of an ox ranges approximately from 150 000 to 200 000 Malagasy francs but in time of dearth speculators may buy cattle for one third of its value, or worse, exchange it for manioc.

b) Increasing indebtedness.

As the situation is very similar to what has been described about poverty in the Philippines, growing indebtedness is an answer to day to day problems.

For coffee planters of the East coast or lima beans growers credit is provided by shopkeepers but rice peasants are dependent upon rice collectors or richer owners who develop individual strategies. Landlessness may become a consequence of indebtedness but rice collectors prefer to oblige the peasants to accept sharecropping.

c) Cut down social expenses or medical expenses and eat less

Adidy fees of visits are kept to minimal rate (500 to 1000 malagasy francs but richer people give more). Twenty-five years ago, the rate was uniform.

Exceptional *adidy* contributions (for reburial ceremonies) are indefinitely postponed which arises tensions in the extended family.

Regrettably the reduction of medical expenses concerns malaria drugs. Nivaquine, formerly of free access in dispensaries is now a luxury.

Undernutrition is becoming a key problem especially in the capital and in towns (see below, p. 32). Many Masikoro in the West eke out a miserable life in forest uprooting wild taros 4 months each year. In the Eastern part, the forest does not offer much possibilities and food theft is becoming common. People state that 25 years ago, gathering and collecting happened only under exceptional conditions.

d) Migrating to jobs

The demographic pressure in rural areas, the lack of suitable lands for agriculture compel more young people to look for jobs in towns. But the prospects are bleak in Antananarivo and in regional capitals where more than 50% of labor force is already unemployed.

Young people who move to towns develop hand to mouth strategies of survival or informal trade (see below, p. 31). The hospitality of relatives is of course a key necessity.

Conversely, townpeople are reluctant to work in rural areas of the coasts where they have neither relatives nor friends. They will generally give reasons of insalubrity but it is often an affair of mistrust.

Because of shortage of jobs, flexibility of unemployed workers is extreme, especially to accept jobs who downgrade them.

c) Evading toward false paradises :

Each area has its psychological responses to the growing anxiety due to the deterioration of the economic situation : alcoholic beverages in the center (a scourge hitting even school teachers or doctors), *bilo* ceremonies in the west, sorcery paranoia in the east...

These attitudes of refusal to cope with sound economic alternative is not exceptional anymore and has been observed among Tanala peasants and cotton planters. Banditism is not praticed by outlaws living in remote areas but is now a strategy which may be developed inside lineage territory by some of its members.

B. Profiles and strategies

Merina and Betsileo rice farmers of the Highlands.

The peasant life of Imerina and Betsileo is well known from the numerous accounts written by geographers and anthropologists. Merina and Betsiileo live in villages or hamlets initially standing on hills (*vohitra* the word for hill means also village). Fields of manioc, beans, peanuts and oranges orchard and sometimes arabica coffee surround the clusters of houses. Ricefields stretch below in the valley and are an important "raison d'être" for the highland peasants. Landlessness means first a lack of rice fields, owned or rented.

Wherever demographic pressure increases population density (about 30h/Km2) houses are regularly built on the edge of ricefields. This tends to be the norm in Antananarivo plain.

Family budgets of peasant people from the highlands include survival expenses already mentioned for other areas but except in Southern Betsileo and Western Imerina, cattle hoarding is rarely possible, because of the scarcity of vast

pasture lands. In dense areas, oxen are used to plow rice-fields and this utilisation is a part of the cooperative *valin-tanana*. A few oxen here kept in pens and fed in Central Imerina.

Merina and Betsileo lay a great emphasis on the necessity of expenses for education and contributions to churches. Combined with the addition of social expenses which are implied by *adidy*, they total more that 40 % of family budgets.

The social obligations consist largely in visits (at the occasion of which sums are given) and financial contributions to larger projects, often the building of prestigious tombs.

Contrary to the norms in many coastal areas, these social obligations have never been administrated by lineage elders. Although Merina ethnic units are known and seen as significant, one can say that collective decisions are more often made at the village level. But except for the building of tombs which involves resident or non resident members of the descent group, social obligations connected with life cycle events are affairs of the households. Records of these financial contributions are kept in books so that it will be possible to reciprocate for the same amount. It is true that this system alleviates financial problems when misfortune happens[1] but it keeps the participants of the network under constant pressure.

These social obligations are justified by the ethics of *fihavanana*., a principle of solidarity formerly reserved for members of the descent group and their neighbours living on the territory. It now involves relatives, neighbours and friends. It seems that contrarily to the Sakalava and Tanala, Merina and Betsileo have bridged the situation between ethnicity and modern systems of establishing relations with friends, colleagues and neighbours.

But as far as the production of rice, secondary crops and handicrafts are concerned, Highlands people face the same problems as the other groups and the increasing expense of imported goods and services is far greater than the money they are able to draw from their salaries or from the products of their crops.

[1] The author of this report has himself experienced this traditional soldering when he had to stay 3 weeks at the Ravoahangy hospital in 1989 after an accident. Visitors brought *ronakoho* (chicken broth, in fact money supposed to buy this delicacy reserved for sick people) for an amount corresponding to the contributions he had donated before. As any malagasy would do, I have kept a careful record of the sums received.

People from Mahasoabe in Betsileo explained to me in January 1992 that they had borrowed already twice the value of the rice crops which they were by then harvesting.

In order to cope with the situation, peasants try several alternatives:

1) they have extended the surfaces of dry cultivation on the hills. In Maneva where I had made observations 25 years before, I discovered that this newly cultivated land had been multiplied by 2.3, an increase hardly sufficient to meet the needs of the populations twice as numerous as with 1967.

2) In Maneva many of the men have gone to provincial towns to look for jobs but as remarked about Ambalavao, peasants living far from town have little chance to find temporary employment when they move to urban areas unless they have influential relatives who are willing to provide hospitality during a rather long period.

3) Money which was spent on modern drugs (nivaquine, aspirine) has been drastically suppressed. Social obligations are also getting reduced or simplified. Sometimes cattle is not slaughtered at funerals and *famadihana* but meat is bought from butchers and distributed, a new custom which contradicts all the principles of sacrifice for ancestors.

4) New sources of income, sometimes whatever they may be, are eagerly looked for : growing "undeclared tobacco" distillating *toaka gasy*, the local alcohol.

2.Antandroy cattle herders of the South

The Tandroy inhabit the southern end of Madagascar, between the Menarandra and Mandrare Rivers in an area of 20,000 km2 where rainfall, often irregular, never exceeds 500 mn per year.

We can discern five natural zones within Androy. In the center, "useful Androy" is a line of calcaire bed rock running east-west, covered in xerophytic forest. Then the cristalline based north-central savannah is unfavorable and sparsely populated. Third is the alluvial plain of the Mandrare Valley. Fourth are the pockets of well watered areas to the far north, suitable for rice production, although immigrants of other ethnies, (Betsileo, Tanosy) have usually exploited these areas. The fifth zone is a line of quaternary sand dunes which stretch along the sea.

In spite of this diversity, the ways of life are fairly similar among the 300,000 Tandroy, who still enjoy a strong feeling of ethnicity. Gardening provides the base for subsistence, while cattle herding is a kind of prestige economy, cattle serving for sacrifices, bridewealth, paying indemnities and "banking" money. Forest products

are also exploited for subsistence and the manufacture of material goods. Although there is roughly 200 km of coastline, fishing is conspicuously absent and was even taboo in early times.

Clans inhabit well-defined territories, within which pasture land is held communally, but fields are owned and worked individually. The only collective tasks are planting (2 people) and weeding (3-4 people) which are done immediately following substantial rains. Women cannot own or inherit land, but always have usufruct rights to father's or husband's fields. It is usually women who choose which crops to plant, and who harvest and control distribution. For daily subsistence, the Tandroy cultivate corn, manioc and sweet potatoes. They also grow millet, sorgho, various beans, melons and squashes. In october and november planting follows after the village patriarch has determined the rainfall to be sufficient. In unfavourable years, drought may prevent this first crop from reaching maturity, as well as the second crop which is planted in May. The diet remains essentially vegetarian because meat is eaten only at funerals or sacrifices and following cattle theft. The Tandroy nevertheless ordinarily enjoy good health because malaria is not widespread and also because of the inclusion of curdled milk (*abobo*) in the diet.

In dry years and/or the dry season (October-December), when crops are insufficient, the Tandroy supplement or replace their ordinary staples by collecting forest products (berries, honey and small games). Prickly pear becomes a mainstay.

Men and women participate in gardening, but cattle is the concern of men only, although young girls may herd the calves and goats. It is absolutely forbidden for women to milk cows, but they control the distribution of curdled milk, and any surplus is theirs to sell at market. The average herd of a Tandroy man numbers between ten and fifty cattle with a dozen or so sheep and goats (herds over 100 head are not common). Herding involves milking the cattle daily, driving the animals to pasture lands and to water holes. Herders must also castrate, cut the ears to mark property, but vaccination is much less frequent than it used to be. In the dry season, fodder is provided by cutting branches, burning cactus or even taking the animals to transhumance camps (*kialo*), sometimes over 100 km away. Often, these camps evolve into permanent settlements, with houses and fields. Such Tandroy "colonies are to be found throughout the south.

With little to offer in natural resources and little agricultural potential, Androy has seen minimal transformation in its production systems. The hoe remains the primary tool; ox-drawn plows are still rare, fertilizer inexistant. The ox-drawn cart, however, rejected by the Tandroy for many years, is today a much sought-after item. French colonists introduced and placed quotas for cash crops (peanuts, lima

beans) and natural products (castor oil, rubber,cattle hides, algae) but harvests were always mediocre and was practically abandoned at independence. Sisal concessions (Amboasary), salt extraction (Ihodo) and mika mines (Bekily) are the only large scale "industry" in Androy. The once flourishing (and well received) mohair rug "cooperative" in Beloha collapsed after 1974. In 1969, not one merchant in Androy was Tandroy. Today Indian and Merina merchants still dominate commerce (buying products and selling manufactured goods), although there are now a few Tandroy shop owners, and a number of Tandroy women have married into the merchant groups (including the usually closed Indian community).

The greatest transformation in Tandroy economic attitudes and practices result from their absorption into a money economy. Formerly during bad years, the people relied exclusively on wild foods, bartered their livestock, and in the most desperate situation, offered themselves as slaves to the wealthy. Today, produce is sold year round at markets, trucked in by Indian merchants, and so people are now accustomed to buying provisions at market when they are in need. Cattle may be sold when drought hits, but prices then fall so much that it doesn't enable survival. People prefer to engage in a wide variety of small activities, or sell their silver bracelets and household goods, to buy food for the day or week, activities which are usually abandoned as soon as the drought passes.

In past years of famine (1930,1934,1943) from 15% to 50% of the population fled the territory. Most of these refugees returned, but a tradition of emigration developed and an estimated 30% of the Tandroy today live outside Androy. Until 1950, 95% of the people worked as agricultural laborers on concessions (sugar cane, rice). Today, the most common occupations of men are as guardians of homes and shops in Antananarivo, as rickshaw pullers in Tulear, growing peanuts and other crops near Majunga and as middlemen in the sale of cattle near Tsiroamandidy and Mahitsy. Wives usually accompany their husbands, and conduct their own money making activities (usually selling at market).
Savings after a 4-5 stay "up north" are still used to buy cattle, although a number of luxury goods such as cassette players and radios are indispensable, and presents for all family members who have remained in the natal village.

The dynamic interaction between the natal village, permanent transhumance camps and immigrant colonies has yet to be seriously studied. However, it appears that the patriarch in the village still controls who may leave and who must stay (at least one adult son). Children of immigrants are also often left in the village to aid

older family members. Immigrants are still tied to the village *tanindraza*[1] by the presence of the *hazomanga*, clan sacrificial post, and will still travel from Diego Suarez (Anstirana) for funerals.

The self-sufficiency of the individual and lineage is the greatest virtue for the Tandroy. Working for others is viewed as a source of servitude and to be avoided at all costs. Perhaps this is why the Tandroy prefer activities (reselling cattle, *mibalibalike*,) which allow them to be their own bosses. They will go to even such lengths as to fetch water from the Mandrare, 20 km away, to resell it. In certain areas, women have entered monetarization by producing woven cloth for wrapping the dead. This handicraft was introduced by Betsileo women around 1920. All this shows that when opportunities they judge amenable exist, Tandroy will seize them.

Tandroy as well as Mahafaly societies will undoubtely meet increasing difficulties as the population continues to expand into territories where resources are limited. Moreover, the increasing number of cattle purchased with the proceeds of savings from emigration "up north", combined with increasing demographic pressure, may prove too great a strain for the fragile environment.

3. The Western Slash and burn or/and baiboho farmers.

Socio-economic surveys of Morondava area, have been made during the last twenty-five years by various anthropologists such as FAUROUX, CHAZAN, LOMBARD and RAKOTOMALALA. Their discoveries are of great interest to us because they describe in great detail the on-going changes.

It is generally assumed that the Morondava area was originally entirely Sakalava with Vezo fishermen along the coast. The term Sakalava designates a multiplicity of clans (*raza*) where herding was the dominate activity.

These clans are subdivided into patrilineages (*tariha*) who control recognized and well defined territory. Until the 70's, studies could be made at the *tariha* level because land control and the ceremonies involving expenses were coherent and directed by the chiefs of lineages (*mpitoka*). They organised the religious as well as the economic activities.

The economy could be then described as follows :

slash and burn agriculture was the ordinary way for providing the items of every day diet : corn, manioc, and *lojy* beans. Only temporary usage rights were

[1] The tandroy version of tanindrazana, ancestors land.

granted to the tillers of these plots (*hatsake*). The rotation of the cultivated plots occurred inside the territory of the *raza* to whom the members of the *tariha* belong.

flooded banks of rivers called *baiboho* were planted at the beginning of the dry season with lima beans which were introduced into the area by emigrants from Betsileo and the south east (Korao) mostly Antaisaka. They were granted permission to stay by the Sakalava after they had performed blood covenant (*fatidra*) with the *mpitoka*, the patrilineage chief.

Rice fields were established in the 20's in imitation of the Betsileo know-how. But rice was not part of the ordinary diet. It was usually sold for the acquisition of zebus belonging to the members of the *tariha*. Like personal house belongings, cattle could be owned by individuals.

cattle herding was held as the most prestigious activity. Immigrants had to grow rice and peanuts to make money in order to buy oxen. The Sakalava *tariha* controled large pasture lands (*taninaombe*) but in the 70's the herders could not expand into the unlimited territories as their ancestors had. Immigrants had established permanent field in these previously undisputed lands. By that time, the surface of the forests was already drastically reduced by *hatsake* burning.

As a consequence of these dwindling ecological potentialities, cattle herds belonging to members of *tariha* fell to a number of 15 to 20 units (60 formerly). The chiefs of lineages began to lose part of their power to enforce rituals involving the slaughter of oxen. Owners of cattle started to develop individual strategies to acquire ricefields and register land. For the most impoverished people, access to honey and game became difficult with the disappearance of forests. They could not complete their daily diet or supplement it in time of drought.

The present situation shows even more signs of degradation of the economic condition and households. Rather than breaking off, lineages are facing a severe problem of existence.

Among the worsening factors of the present situation one may indicate :

- the deterioration of the Ecosystem : the practice of *hatsake*, slash and burn agriculture, has reduced the forest to such an extent that rivers are becoming eratic and their floods impossible to control. Climate changes are also obvious and droughts seem to be more frequent than in the past
- the reputation that the west of Madagascar offers land for immigrants is still widespread even though the milieu provides many fewer opportunities. Although

reliable statistics are not available, there is an indication that the number of human settlements has increased, a sign of a demographic expansion. However, because of insecurity problems larger villages develop at the expense of scattered settlements.
- Government services are becoming non existent. Roads are not kept in good state of repair. Schools are deserted. Gendarm posts do very little to cope with the intrusion of cattle raiders (*malaso*). When bandits are caught by the population, they are frequently executed on the spot.

In this state of deterioration of ethnic and moral values, possession ceremonies (*tromba*) are common and have become accepted means of communication, social control and healing.

For future policy makers and project planners, we must bring attention to the following points :

- the power of patrilineages is nearing low ebb
- the protection once afforded by ethnic groups is now in the hands of multiethnical villages which have been turned into defense units
- economic advancement is now accomplished by the appropriation of ricefields by individuals. Since the lineage chiefs no longer control the use of cattle by their members, some individuals succeed in building up fortunes by the ranching method with armed protection
- villages complain that agricultural technicians do not provide enough assistance maintaining hydraulic systems.

4. Western Vezo fishermen.

This way of life is widespread along the Western coast line of Madagascar but the ethnic groups who participate to it have different names. Antalaotse in the Majunga area, Antavelo near Soalala and Maintirano, Vezo South of Morondava down to the Mahafaly country.

Antatsimo west of Fort-Dauphin (Tolagnaro) do not sail in the open but fish along the coast. Because of unfavorable conditions, Eastern people obtain sea resources in the lagoons and at the mouths of river.

Some of these fishermen of the North and from Morondava are engaged into profitable sea transportation activities on their own or for local Indian shop owners.

"Goelettes" or dhows (boutres) but not outrigger canoes are used for this purpose. The deterioration of the road system has stimulated these activities of Antalaotse and Northern Vezo but there is no study available on this subject since 1958.

The coastal Vezo have so far maintained their independent way of life. The exploitation of sea resources with harpoons, nets and fish traps has not been damaging the environment. *Lamatse*, a sort of tuna fish is followed during their winter migrations and dried in temporary camps established on sand dunes.

Vezo use very little land (only to grow a few sweet potatoes, squashes and *lojy* beans) but they trade with their inland neighbours for vegetables and rice. Sufficient cash for everyday life is obtained through the sale of dry fish. There are no precise studies which could tell us how the household deals with surpluses. Permanent villages have increased in size, more houses are covered with corrugated iron roofs. But the Vezo also complain about banditism which prevents them from increasing their cattle which used to be herded by their inland neighbours. They also criticize the way that lobsters are collected along their shores by outsiders coming from town. There are strong possibilities that Vezo might be interested in joint ventures with foreign companies which will specialize in the gathering of lobsters and deep sea fishing. No one knows, however, whether the Vezo would accept to modernizing their techniques and build up savings to become modern capitalists.

The Vezo lineage organization has not been disrupted so far. Some members of christianized lineages have reverted to *tromba* cults who establish their possession cults in front of churches.

Among the Western people, the Vezo have shown an interest to send their children to school. There are more Vezo students than Sakalava or Tandroy students at the University of Tulear. They maintain strong ties with their villages of origin (Sarodrano, Mahavatse).

5. The North East vanilla producers.

Vanilla is grown in the most humid parts of the island mostly around Antalaha. People acknowledge their membership to the Sambarivo clan of the Betsimisaraka but in fact they are of mixed ethnicity : Tsimihety, as well as people from the Highlands have already entered this profitable cash crop which is grown on family owned plots.

The distinction between cash crop and subsistence crop is significant there. Slash and burn agriculture is still practiced and because of low density of people, many lands are available. But since no socio-economic study has ever been made on this area, we do not know whose native authority is responsible for attributing the permissions to use the forest. The power of local chiefs *loholona* is very weak and the "elected" officials of socialist time did not get involved into land rights problems.

The consequence of the disappearance of forest could be more drastic than elsewhere because vanilla needs the wet environment of trees.

Very little also is known about the complex network which ties up the vanilla peasants with Chinese or Creole conditioners and sellers but we may suspect that indebtedness has been increasing. Vanilla producers buy on credit all year round at the Chinese store what they need. Surplus are spent in corrugated iron for houses and some luxury goods such as radiocassettes. Cattle hoarding is minimal because of unfavorable climatic conditions. It is acquired before traditional ceremonies of *tsikafara* which demand ox slaughtering. Some Tsimihety who sell cattle have compelled Betsimisaraka to mortgage their estates and may obtain share cropping profits in this way.

The interference of government with the vanilla buyers has disrupted trade but owners of dry vanilla own important stocks, the quantity of which might cause prices to fall suddenly.

6. Plantation workers of the East and South East (Betsimisaraka, Antenoro, Tanala).

In 1972 Bernard CHANDON-MOET described carefully the resources of the villagers in Vohimasina, a village of small coffee planters, in the Antemoro country of the south east.

The production items directly used for subsistence were rice, a little breadfruit and plantain bananas. When difficulties arose, women ordinarily sold poultry, eggs and mats. In case of emergency they would also sell some of their belongings like kettles. Cash crops such as coffee, oranges and a little sugarcane as well as money sent by emigrants to their family were reserved for house equipment, cattle acquisition, and social obligations.

In time of dearth, the more important sources of cash were of course tapped to make ends meet. Cattle or even plots of land might be sold then.

The Zafimaniry (Northern Tanala) whom I studied in the 70's made their daily living on rice, from slash and burn fields and taro (*saonjo*) from cultivated terraces.

But such expenses as clothes, fees and taxes, social obligations were paid by two sources of cash :

- the sale of carved artefacts in the neighbouring town of Ambositra
- money sent by men who had hired themselves as woodcutters throughout all Madagascar
- When Zafimaniry art became well known (after exhibition organized by the University Museum in Antananarivo), the sale of art objects increased and rice from slash and burn fields was no longer grown. Of course, the money from these emigrants was also welcome in case of emergencies or simply for survival.

The southern Tanala belonged to little kingdoms whose membership involved them in complex network of social and ceremonial obligations including the building and maintenance of royal houses (*tranobe*).

In 1991, a visitor may note that collective houses are no longer kept in good shape. The power of petty kings has not been replaced by the elected chiefs of *fokontany*.

The impoverishment which has taken place during the last ten years has contributed to disruption of the complex, involved reciprocal donations, especially at funerals.

The demographic pressure has increased slash and burn agriculture (*tavy*) on the hills and the forest is now destroyed. The *tavy* cultivation involved collective exploitation, but this is not the case for wet ricefields in the villages where ownership is individual as it is the case for coffee plots which were planted during colonial time on registered land.

As a consequence serious problems for landless households have appeared. Theft has developed in a culture where it was totally unknown 20 years ago. House belongings, but also crops, such as coffee and manioc, have become the targets of robbers.

As a consequence of the social changes and the decreasing of resources, a situation of aggressivity is arising including an obvious fear of sorcery. Tanala do not have *tromba* ceremonies as an outlet as people from the west have. Emigration is not yet so common among the Southern Tanala but people state that they would move to any other part of Madagascar where relatives might help them to settle.

The plantations of the former settlers from French or Creole origin which were nationalized had been turned into "Fermes d'Etat" or socialist cooperatives. They are now squattered by people of the vicinity who practice a gathering economy at the expenses of the aging coffee trees.

However, when coffee beans are ripe, a certain monetarization occurs and wages are provided for 15 or 20 days.

The situation of ceremonial leaders (*tangelamena*) is still kept in areas where forest is available for community needs but wherever the environment has been destroyed the collapse of society already described among the Tanda also happens.

7. The Hasyma cotton growers.

The problems of economic ajustment of the Masikoro between Mangoky and Tulear are rather similar to those of the Morondava area. We encounter again the competition for land between herders and tillers, the increase of cattle ralding, and the collapse of lineage authority.

A new introduction in the Morondava area is the development of cotton. In the 80's, a gouvernment company HASYMA, encouraged peasants to plant cotton. Money was loaned but few returns were obtained. It has been concluded out that at least 10 hectares were necessary to repay the technical assistance which was provided by HASYMA.

Since insecurity prevents peasants from increasing their cattle herds which would not find easily more pasture land, the money obtained by sales has been often spent in costly ceremonies (cotton *bilo*), the purpose of which is merely to show off that you have earned much money. Many households have not really benefited by this "hot money" obtained during the cotton boom. The possibilities of earning money quickly has been a powerful incentive to people from the town of Tulear to plant cotton also. Local Masikoro have pleaded for limitation of facilities of HASYMA to these newcomers.

One must therefore realize that cotton development did not generate either local growth or domestic savings. Moreover, subsistance problems increased because women had to plant more vegetables and men who had borrowed money for cotton, tried to reimburse their loans with the sales of... manioc.

8. The urban business community, mainly Antananarivo (Tana). Secondarily the regional capitals.

According to RAMARISON (Aspects géo-démographiques de la population tananarivienne 1984) the demography increase of the capital has been 2.5 percent each year since 1943. But probably because of the numerous young migrants from rural areas looking for jobs a serious acceleration must be considered. The urban increase in Tana, Diego, Tamatave and Tulear which has doubled the population in less than 20 years is one of the most remarkable facts of Madagascar recent history. In the seventies the urban population amounted to 16% of the island population. It now totals 27% (according to Lopez ESCARTIN 1991). The old centers, early royal or colonial towns, are now surrounded by evergrowing suburbs which are not always controlled by town authorities. Except for the civil servant category, a majority of migrants (90%) come from the *faritany* surrounding the town. For the last 30 years, universities have strengthened this migratory trend of young people but besides the lack of jobs, other factors such as rural banditism have also compelled people to move to towns. The suburbs of Fianarantsoa have welcomed people from Solila and Andoharanomaitso (Solila, formerly a large village is deserted and burnt. In Andoharanomaitso, armed peasants organize their own protection). The hunting guns and other fire arms have reached summits in towns.

Contrarily to what described in the case of certain African towns, Antananarivo is not a kaleidoscope of ethnic quarters which would reproduce the heterogeneity of surrounding Imerina and provinces where migrants from further distant provinces have tried to establish inside the capital territories of their own. This pattern exists however in some regional towns, such as Tulear (Toliary) where patrilinear groups of Vezo and Tandroy have their recognized quarter.

Because of the importance of young people who have come from rural area to look for jobs, the labor force is more numerous in Tana (71% out of a population of 650.000 inhabitants inside the urban perimeter). The rate of unemployment is not precisely known but only estimated to 43% of the labor force. 92% of the demands for jobs at CNAPS (Social Security Service) are not satisfied. The lower degree of qualification is reached by rural migrants and this worsens their prospects.

66% of the active population is employed in the Tertiary sector (domesticity 45%, government and education : 24%, trade : 25%, transportations 10%).

As one could expect, the proportion of women in domesticity is overwhelming (79%). The secondary sector of activities includes industry and artisanat (handicrafts but also independent workers such as carpenters). Industries have been constantly

receding but "artisanat" which includes many survival techniques amounts for 76% of the total.

Primary sector, mostly agriculture is active and concerns market gardening produce. From the figures overtable, it is obvious that government services have reached a high degree of saturation and that jobs in industry are in a state of stagnation.

No data on family budgets are available since 1975 INSRE study. Since then devaluation upsets the accuracy of any calculations in "real" francs.

As everyone knows, since prices have gone up faster than salaries, urban households experience tremendous difficulties in buying food and clothes. A bus driver who earned 17 000 malagasy francs in 1973 and had to spend 4 000 francs for a pair of tennis shoes or only 15 francs for a kilo of rice, has now to pay 40 000 for shoes, and 900 francs for a kilo of rice. But in the meantime, his salary is less than 45 000. A room to let could be found for 1 500 francs in 1973 but nothing less than 12 000 is now available.

From these figures we can infer that the incomes have been approximately divided by five in less than 15 years.

Assistant professors of the University who earned 150 000 francs in 1972 earn now 250 000 francs but must take a second job : supplementary teaching, ironwork, cheese making or even the supervision of charcoal making.

Everyone's first response has been to reduce food expenses. School teachers have noticed that 60 per cent of their pupils eat absolutely no lunch (95% in suburbs).

Theft, formerly an urban phenomenon, is now common in suburbs and in banlieue. Manioc is uprooted at night and passers-by can be attacked and deprived of everything including their clothes (*manendaka*).

Informal trade is also very widespread but no serious estimates on its importance can be given. The last available study of the active Tana population specifies 10 categories of households with the following occupations : managerial staff (47%), intermediate managers (6,64%) clerks (21,03%), laborers (23,51%), independent traders (11,06%), craftsmen (6,14%) odd jobs (10,14%), peasants (3,26%), no activity (13,16%).

Food expenses amount to 50% of expenses except for the highest category (managerial staff : 34%). Rice consumption varies from 120g to 80g. per person and per day. Meat or fish is eaten 3 times a week by all categories the income of which is superior to 100.000 FMG per month.

Fuel expenses have been drastically reduced. Gas for cooking food is now used only in families who have an income superior to 300.000 FMG per month. Health expenses have pratically disappeared from most budgets except for managerial staff category. Education and social fees vary between 7% up to 45% according to the level of income. Since 1975, there is an important reduction for house expenses which have fallen from 25% to 10% for the budgets.

Food and house remain priorities and it seems that education fees,. social obligations, health, fuel and even clothes expenses vary according to the available surplus of the moment.

Saving money which has always been an urban virtue among the former well off classes, is not much practiced. Bourgeois prefer to send their children abroad and their money orders are apparent in the foreign exchange currencies statistics[1].

Fortunately, since liberalization rice trade is not much controlled and many urban people have reestablished networks with their relatives in the district in order to obtain rice, a phenomenon which is an essential subject of the linkage between towns and country.

C. Role of Malagasy women

It may be cliché today to say that the consideration of women's socio-economic roles is essential for the success of develoment programs, but we should say a few words as to the particularities of this reality in Madagascar.

Madagascar has signed the major international accords guaranteeing the equality of the sexes in the family and the workplace. A number of state laws and traditional views of the sexes, however, do not correspond to western ideas of "equality." Law #67-030 article 40, for example, enforces the traditional Merina rule that a husband receive 2/3 of the communal property, and a wife 1/3 following divorce (the *kitay telo an-dalana*)[2]. Boys are more likely to be encouraged to continue their school studies than girls, who are encouraged to prepare for the role of wife and mother. In many rural areas, bearing children is often the woman's primary

[1]Essentially those who have house to let to foreigners and those involved into illicit trading or corrupt pratices.
[2] The new government has decided to abolish this rule of inequal division.

link to the ancestors (the maifestation of her *hasina*) and her only guarantee of security in her old age. By the latest survey, 71% of women are illiterate compared to 50% of men.

In the highlands, the proportion of women literacy is often higher and this is of course related to their social and economic status, including their access to land rights.

Merina and Betsileo women can inherit land (rice fields) and houses and bequeath these on their descendants. Women who marry out, however often forfeit these rights. It has been noted that Merina women often contract second marriages with men of lesser means who reside uxorilocally and work their wive's lands, which she controls and manages. Women land owners, however, often do not have the necessary authority to command the labor pool and must compete with men for help in collective tasks during peak seasons. Also, although women and junior men tend to perform the bulk of physical agricultural labor, the patriarch controls the astrological knowledge, supplications to the ancestors and the charms which are believed to be the crucial element in the success or failure of crops; he is thus considered the owner of the crops. In the pastoral societies, women are associated with agricultural production (rice, corn, manioc and sweet potatoes) and men with livestock herding (cattle, goats and sheep), although there is some overlap. Among the Bara and Sakalava, women can and do own important herds of cattle. Tandroy and Mahafaly women, however, are strictly forbidden from owning land or livestock. One early French development project (1960) attempted to provide Tandroy women with donkeys for water portage. The fathers and husbands, not a little outraged, quickly confiscated the women's beasts and added them to their herds. Ironically today, water portage in the arid south, formerly the most onerous task of women, is increasingly the task of men (boys) with cattle cart. (note: the US AID cooking oil, rice and powdered milk currently distributed to "women with children" are considered luxury items and are consumed almost uniquely by the husbands).

Everywhere in Madagascar, rural women engage in small scale money making activities. In fact, women are the primary sellers at markets. Women raise and sell comestibles, and poultry (and eggs), sell cooked food (fried breads, meals, coffee) and illegal alcohol, and firewood, as a few examples. Traditional female handicrafts, woven cloth and basketry (baskets and mats), sold at local markets, form an important source of income for rural women. For at least one hundred years, in some Betsileo and Merina regions, women have raised silk worms and woven funerary shrouds which their men sell far and wide, and is the base of family income. Since they were first in demand, women have been very active in the production of cash crops

(coffee, tobacco,cotton) helping husbands and fathers, but also cultivating their own plots, and also in collecting (rubber, orseille, etc). Women, however, tend to lack access to plows, fertilizer, irrigation and other resources which are crucial to their production. Finally women dominate a system in the south called *mibalibalike* in which they walk (up to 50 km) or ride the *taxi brousse* to buy in bulk goods (for example, reeds or tobacco) which are scarce in their own area, and which they resell in small unities at their local market. Women are generally entitled to keep the revenue from these activities.

Rural women usually control the granaries (hence distribution of food) and family budget for small items, although the male head always decides for large purchases. It has been noted in many areas that women with children tend to use their property and savings to assure the future of their children, whereas childless women do not pool their sources with their husband, but invest it in their natal village.

The sexual division of labor is less rigid when work is not associated with land and cattle (ancestrally sanctioned work). In remunerated work, as example, men can be cooks and women can make bricks.

An instructive incident of the changing relations between the sexes and sexual division of labor is the HASYMA cotton growing concessions of the southwest which mentioned earlier (FIELOUX). Formerly, pastoralists, many people have recently become full time growers of cotton. From its beginning, women have accounted for at least 30% of the parcel owners. Women growers face a number of obstacles. If married they must first work their husband's plot; they often are given small plots of less fertile soil; they cannot command the intensive labor necessary for various tasks and often must let out their parcel to share croppers. Many girls defer marriage, seeing it as a hinderance, and the divorce rate is such that marriage payments are now often delayed. Conflicts are frequent between husband and wife over her share of the harvest revenue; formerly, 10% was accorded to the wife, but women now demand half, and increasingly leave their husbands if the demands are not met... If a husband acquiesces, his family suspects the wife of sorcery. Marriage and marital disputes were formerly marked by the exchange of livestock between the husband and the wife's father. Today, women demand that the payments be made directly to them in jewelry and household goods. Within the lineage, women have begun to demand their inherited share of land, or the proceeds from its harvest, which was formerly held in trust by their brothers; they now challenge their brothers and fathers, and bypass the authority of the local council of male elders by taking their complaints to the state court. Instead of coverting their savings into cattle, which

their male kin often appropriate, women tend to buy jewelry, sewing machines and build houses in their natal villages in view of possible definitive divorce. Unmarried (widowed, divorced, single) women are more likely to diversify and expand their commercial activities, for example, open small shops, than married women. Increasingly, the sexual services of women, both rural and "urban", require monetary transactions, the woman demanding payment beforehand (in 1988, 1,000FMG per night in rural Androy). Mothers explicitly advise their daughters to profit financially from relations with men. Many women in the west coast towns prefer to live from "gifts" from lovers, than the poorly remunerated or unstable salaried tasks

The tensions between husbands and wives and women's changing economic roles are often expressed in spirit possession: *tromba* and *bilo*. In the former, women are possessed by the (mostly male) spirits of deceased royalty, who command from their husbands the same items the woman request in daily life.

In conclusion, women have responded well to past development projects (*rapis mohair*, weaving cloth, cash crops). Future projects might target widows and childless women, who are often most deprived of resources and in need of monetary income.

Finally, in the rural context, economic independence of either men *or* women is contrary to collective good. Conflicts between generations (father and son) appear more marked than between the sexes.

IV. THE SOCIO-ECONOMIC DYNAMICS.

1. Impoverishment.

If we accept Abrera's definition of absolute poverty (a minimum nutritionally adequate diet for household of six) the minimum annual income threshold should be 500.000 Malagasy francs a year. The production assets and the low returns from their use force members to rely on a strategy of survival which is difficult to evaluate but we can estimate that at least 50% of the urban population is below this threshold. In rural areas, inaccessibility to land (ownership or use) brings poverty. The reduction of the possibilities of obtaining land is of course a direct consequence of the demography pressure.

These effects of demography pressure are of course combined with those of the stagnation of production : paddy yields do not increase and new fields tilled all over the former pasture grounds are not sufficient.

There are still empty areas getting occupied as Victor RAHARIJAONA has shown it from a comparison of air photographs in the Manandona zone south of Antsirabe, but the lack of secondary roads (and sometimes the aggressivity of cattle raiders) discourage the peasants to carry a pig from these isolated settlements to the market, distant from 20 kms, for it has to be paid by half of the animal value. At the same time more money is necessary to obtain goods from the outside.

The fall of export of agriculture products from the primary sector, such as rice and lima beans, already noted by PRYOR, is certainly to be attributed to the increase of consumption more than to a decrease of production.

The fall of cattle exports can be explained by a diminution of pasture lands in certain areas, especially in the North and the East where the competition between agriculture and herding raises problems, but FAUROUX who has also observed the same phenomenon among the Masikoro in the west, remarks that the putting banditism under control would reopen new pasture grounds. The decrease of available space is reflected by the increase of price of land (100 000 F for one hectare in the west). Impoverishment of rural areas has effects on malnutrition which increases not only during years of normal rainfall but wherever land is becoming scarce for the growing population. The increase of slash and burn rotations is causing the forest to disappear but damages to the ecosystems are also made by charcoal makers coming from both urban and rural areas. It seems that eucalyptus

regeneration will not take place in many places because of this excess of charcoal making.

2. Breakdown of social organization and values.

When going through the survival strategies of households throughout Madagascar, we have already noticed the effects of the breaking off of lineages and the results of the collapse of the power of the elders. Community tasks are no longer performed and the personal ownership of rice and cash crops is not evenly distributed. Hungry poor begin to steal in villages where social control has disappeared. In towns social obligations which are essential to the Malagasy solidarity system are drastically reduced and in the countryside the ordinary ceremonial obligations are getting simplified.

At the same time consumption of alcohol, sorcery and possession dances are spreading wherever parish authorities are not in a position to counteract.

As the demographic pressure in rural areas oblige people to develop new strategies outside of the frame of lineage, family life is not becoming a refuge.

Temporary marriages have always existed (*moletry, vady ranto*) or for longer time the union was realized with a minimum of formalities (the token gift of *vody ondry*) without government registration. In these cases, wives, temporary or not, live at the family husband residence.

Now many women prefer to keep their independence and men have to live at their residence. This custom called *jaloko* in the north and the east enables the wife to have men working on her land. She dismisses them easily and keeps the profits. OTTINO and WAAST have calculated that this new type of woman entrepreneurship involves 6 and 7 marriages throughout life. Elders deplore this custom and state that children of this women will not so easily comply with village duties.

3. Competition among resource users.

In the sixties, poor people were under the impression that migration to free lands of the West or access to jobs in towns might improve their situation. Lineage solidarity in coastal areas or the network of the extended family and village relationship in Imerina provided security. Forest offered facilities to slash and burn on the territory of the descent units.

Changes in the environment have restricted the possibilities of a population who has doubled in 24 years. The collapse of lineage authorities and of political control is a source of difficulties which foster individualistic attitudes.

Owners of ricefields and small plantations cannot share the produce outside of the family and their strategy is to increase their plot, whatever the situation of the neighbour may be. In the West, cattle owners try to acquire the ricefiedls of indebted peasants. Hungry townpeople harass their country relatives to force them to share some rice from the undivided ancestral land. Pasture lands at the limit of Androy and bara territory is subject to harsh competition.

4. Landlessness.

This problem of growing importance deserve a special study.

In Alaotra area, OTTINO stated that in 1968, 55% of the peasants were landless. This proportion has not fallen down and from the difficulties of SOMALAC, we may infer that landless people are also jobless people except when seasonal work opportunities arise.

In the Highlands, landlessness is a consequence of division of land. The extension of dry cultivations does not go with an increase of ricefields. One may wonder why, on the remaining forest tracks, people of the East coast do not plant new coffee trees. Lineage authorities may grant forest land for temporary uses but it is not sure that they can authorize private ownership. If coffee becomes again a profitable crop many individuals may take a chance and question the elders.

5. Lawlessness.

It is not automatically a direct consequence of poverty. Theft of harvest is becoming common but banditism results from the collapse of state authority and probably in many cases from corruption. In a recent past, stolen cattle has been found by angry cattle herders on ship leaving from Tulear for the Comoros. Rural malagasy culture has been involved with cattle raiding since its inception many centuries ago. Procedures of outlawing the bandits (*dahalo, malaso*) exist and can be put into action provided that villages and lineage elders have the backing of political authorities. No doubt that the suppressions of banditism would reopen new lands for migrations.

6. Rural, urban migration.

The urban rural linkages as well as the retained ties with emigrants working in other rural areas, are historical consequences of a complex pattern of migration systems, which must be explained in some details.

A The heterogeneity of the migration pattern

When the French took over, each "tribe" or ethnic group was living on its well defined territories and unoccupied areas were available even though Merina domination had already stimulated agricultural colonization of neighboring zones of Sihanaka, Vakinankaratra and even Betsileo.

Slave emancipation gave an impetus to the movement of occupation towards empty territories such as the Betsiboka valley. Forced labor for public works or settlers "concessions" created also population movements and people who had learned now to travel looked for employment in mines and agro-business.

Seasonal jobs interested Merina and Betsileo from areas which were already overpopulated at the beginning of the XXth century. But temporary migrations also became common, especially from the part of Tandroy and Antesaka, (called Korao) who accepted to hire themselves in the North and the West for several years, so that they could accumulate enough cash to buy cattle to be brought to their *tanindrazana*.

In the meantime, the empty no man's lands surrounding the tribe territories were gradually getting occupied. Tsimihety moved westward of Betsiboka, Merina and Betsileo created rice fields all over the Middle west and Tandroy and Bara extended their pasture lands around their original "tribal" territory. The "pax gallica" which prevailed then was a factor of acceleration of the movements.

Contrarily to what is written in CINAM reports (1962) population pressure was not the sole motivation of migrations. Tandroy and Korao-Taisaka were interested in raising funds to bring back cattle to their ancestral lands, Merina slaves going to Betsiboka wanted to break off the old dependency with their masters. Among Merina and Betsileo descent groups family discrepancies on the distribution of ancestral lands and especially the domination of elders seem to have been a strong motivation to colonize newlands or force people to earn a living elsewhere.

Demographic pressure as well as social changes within ethnic groups, has considerably altered this initial pattern. Travels are more expensive, temporary

migrations tend to become permanent settlements and Betsileo or Antesaka tombs have now been erected all over the west. Insecurity as well as transport problems due to the deterioration of communication network are often reasons which are given to explain this trend towards stability.

B. Urban-Rural relations and demographic pressure.

The growing pressure on country lands which takes several aspects (subdivision of available rice fields among the descendants, permanent settlements of the migrants in the areas where they moved in) has also an impact on the linkage of urban/rural areas. Towns are not only the places were one hopes to find access to better education, health, services and jobs; they are also the outlet of the growing discontent of younger people against the elders who retain much authority in the countryside and stick to their own values.

These migrations concern initially young men : 65 per cent of town migrants to town are now less than 30 years old. The ratio of male is 120 for 100 female in the town settlements.

In the past urban migrants were generally rather uneducated. More than 50% of them now have had primary education. The stagnation of agriculture and the precarity of living conditions in the country stimulate these young people to look for jobs in towns. It is to be remembered that agricultural work within the descent group is often not liable to payment in cash even though these services are returned in labor ; young educated men are conscious that new labor force has to be integrated into town systems.

The settlement of rural people in towns has been increased by the necessities of entering secondary schools. Young people who have studied at this level and lived in towns never contemplate the idea of a return to their ancestral land in order to stay permanently there.

They prefer to accept the very difficult conditions of urban life : poor and crowded lodgings, temporary jobs, domesticity tasks, and even for girls prostitution. Informal trade and theft are part of this strategy which concerns also new educated young people.

At university, rooms originally devised for one or two students are occupied by 6 or 7 persons, most of them not enrolled. Schoolrooms are squattered by "institutional students".

These changes in migration patterns bear also consequences on values and social behaviour. Marriage which takes place between 15 and 19 years for 55 per cent

of girls in rural context is postponed in towns and replaced by temporary marital association.

One of the main consequences of the development of this young populaiton from rural origin in towns is a tendency toward an absence of financial returns for the inhabitants who are staying in ancestral lands. Just because young people have problems of survival but also because they rebel against the authority of their parents. For instance they begin to question the traditional Malagasy value pertaining to descendence : "*ny anambadian-kiterahana*" (the reason for marriage is to have children). Social fieldworkers have discovered that 60 per cent of them have stated to be in favour of family planning.

So far economic liberalization has not contributed to an increase of new jobs, but there is a strong hope that employment opportunities among the strata of population will be fulfilled by a realistic policy which should rely on the creation of plants or services (and not the artificial nomination of jobs holders, a current practice in the eighties).

7. Concentration of power in hands of bureaucrats and landowners.

In colonial times, rural people who had government salaries developped a strategy of registering land in their *tanindrazana* or outside. School teachers who had worked in the coastal areas had coffee plots registered. In fact registration of land benefited to educated Malagasy who knew about the procedures.

In Tsiranana time money surplus saved by private and official individuals was invested mostly in houses for rent but rarely in shares of companies (except for members of the Indian communities). The author of this report confesses that he has no idea about the possibilities for some well-off Malagasy to invest in privatisation nor does he know whether much funds have been transfered abroad. Buyers of shares will probably try to obtain credit facilities from banks as did extensively Merina house builders in the sixties.

V. IMPLICATION FOR DEVELOPMENT.

The recent political crisis which has recently shaken Madagascar, springs out from a consciousness which people have developed about the inefficiency of the political system to cope with poverty problems which burden the country.

Socialism, but also ideologies, are rejected and, in their state of dereliction, planners and foreign agencies have to find out new principles for guiding their action. In this perspective, we may suggest :

- Restore physical communications.

Many areas of small holders production remain inaccessible and there is no paved road connecting Tulear and Diego to the capital, Telephone is outdated. The railway system is obsolete and incomplete. The rehabilitation of secondary roads will undoubtedly bear effect to enhance the value of produce. At the moment rice collectors fix up prices with peasants because they take the risk of using impassable roads.

- Increase small holders profitability.

Besides the conditions of accessibility discussed above, an emphasis should be laid upon all the inputs increasing the value of crops such as fertilizers. Better prices and better yields will stimulate the creation of seasonal jobs.

- Take into account the ongoing changes concerning ownership.

Since many more Malagasy shift from use rights toward individual ownership. A study of the land system in its legal aspects and customary practices seems necessary. Cadastral surveys are necessary to provide security to the peasants.

- Remedy to the isolation of peasants.

Everyone complains that technicians of hydraulic, doctors, school teachers... never visit them any more. Any project should pay attention to these necessities for decent life.

- Restore rather than protect the environment by integrated projects, for indigenous villages of the area with newcomers who have performed the Malagasy procedures of integration.

-Study traditional fishing methods as well as sea transportation with the idea of identifying projects which would improve fish consumption in Madagascar and sales of fish outside.

- Integrate the value of cultural dimension in projects, avoiding exagerate stress on technical and financial factors at the expenses of social issues.

- Beware of any overinnovation which would contribute to the prior rejection of projects if local people estimate that it is conflicting with their own values.

APPENDIX

SURVEY OF PREVIOUS ATTITUDES AND FIELDWORK STUDIES IN RELATION WITH THE SOCIO CULTURAL SITUATION,

Thanks to the success of the effort made by the missionaries throughout the 19th century and to the rising of a generation of learned people, the Highlands of Madagascar have been particularly well studied. From 1820 onwards appears a new dimension being essential to culture, Christianity. But protestant missionaries amongst whom William Ellis was obviously the leading character, thought that such things as religion, teaching and the learning of new techniques and new ways of life _believed to be_civilization par excellence_ were to be but one thing[1].

Such innovations brought forth by Christianity reached a new society which was ready to accept benefit and was openly hierarchized, a society in which rice-growing was intensive and sophisticated (The *ombiasy* manuscript collected by A. Grandidier in 1869 testified to the use of fertilizers).

However even though this Highland civilisation adopted the values of Christianity, it did not mean that they abandoned their close connection with their Ancestors. Christ and the Forefathers were seen as a whole and joined to secure everyday life's security of any Malagasy Christian and his future after death. Merina and Betsileo civilization even remained very much dependent on the *vintana* system, that is to say, the part played by divination, as the Norwegian writer put it round 1900[2].

The first French general Governor, Gallieni, who ruled the country from 1897 until 1906, meant to turn Madagascar into a French country. In his own brain, the French republican values were the only way to progress and they were the image of civilization itself. For him, developing the country consisted in making work compulsory to Malagasy people, notably by making use of what he described as *the "Impôt éducateur"* which came as an extra one adding to the former royal labour). Yet, meantime, he made it necessary for his civil servants to improve their knowledge of the country in which they worked. The result of their discoveries were published in magazines such as *Notes, Recherches et Explorations, la Revue de Madagascar* and *Le Bulletin économique de Madagascar*. Such writings mainly dealt with the historical ethnic and political situation of the people but existing and potential ressources were not forgotten. Even at the time being, studies dealing with specific areas make use of those former data.

After Galliéni came the Académie Malgache which played a stimulating part. The Academie somewhat underated the socio-economic dimension. Yet, during

[1]That is the reason why the prayer said to the God of the Christians must by all means be said only by people decently dressed.

[2]His observations written in Norwegian had escaped notice until they were recently translated into French by Dahl in 1977.

the colonial period, very useful monographs were written such as those published by Defourt and Decary about the Androy, Deschamps on the Antaisaka, Dubois on the Betsileo, Birkeli on the west Vazimba, Cotte on the Betsimisaraka, Molet on the Tsimihety.

At that time, the time when the myth relied on the vision of a happy and underpopulated island[3], one could do without thinking seriously about survival strategies, which is not the case today[4].

Still, the French very early realized how much degraded the fore: environment had become. Slash and burn agriculture was restricted and from 1956 onwards, eight large and full-scale reservations were created. Yet, one can notice that the leading idea was protecting wild fauna and flora for scientific research rather than promoting environment in general. It was in the colonial period that Gautier put the problem about how far the original forest spread. Perrier de la Bathie, a botanist, put the stress on the main part played by man in the backward movement of forests on the Highlands, an episode that is now said to have spread on uninterruptedly for the last eight centuries according to archaeologists. Louis Chevalier, a demographer, was the first man to warn people in 1952 in his book *Madagascar, populations et ressources*. He attracted public attention on to the large Malagasy demographic increase partly due to the battle won against malaria.
Despite the lack of statistical data for the period, he anticipated the doubling of the Malagasy population every 25 years. He considered that such a large potential increase in population needed that new migrations towards new lands had to be organized. In case such measures were not taken, Chevalier predicted that rice-grown areas of central highlands would soon be over populated. In 1960, René Dumont, an agronomist, agreed with the idea that it was high time to go into a rural development. On their own side, the political power developed local rural and modernized collectivities which took advantage of the mechanization of material.

One must notice that a part of the financial means lent to rural collectivities in the fifties were used by country people to build tombs such as those that can be seen today a little south to Ambatolampy. However, for the first time, the political power privileged the auchtotons as far as the economic effort was concerned whereas the leading part had been played by colonization in terms of *mise en valeur* before then. Colonial philosophy about development pretended that Malagasy people would imitate European settlers to promote their own interests. However such imitation only happened as far as coffee-plantations were concerned because only those plantations found enough room in the village areas from 1935 onwards.

Tsiranana's period, during the first Malagasy Republic, was characterised by a permanent obsession about what the president declared to be "the policy of the stomach". After the "journées du développement" in 1961, societies specialized in researches such as the CINAM were asked to organize an economic diagnosis by the Ministre du Plan. Unfortunately, the reports made by often incompetent subcontractors are rather useless. One will obtain much more from the reports made by the University of Madagascar or ORSTOM, amongst which one can notice:

3 3 million inhabitants round 1960.

4 The study written by Rotival, in 1954, about the possibilities concerning the development of the island is nothing but a luxurious atlas presenting technical projects but not taking into account whether they could be realised on the human side.

-The Atlas of Madagascar, still useful as far as a general rough and national estimate.

-Monographs by geographers, mainly by Battistini about the South of the island, by Raison, Marchal and Bonnemaison about the Highlands, by Petit about Maroantsetra.

-The remarkable works written by anthropologists such as Condominas about the Imerina, Ottino and Lavondes on the Mangoky, Althabe and Chandon-Moët on the east coast. The Mangoky project implying the developing of a huge agriculture complex was the result of careful studies. Yet, the promises made to countrymen were not kept. Their lands liable to flooding (*baiboho*) were exproprieted by the State society in order to grow cotton.
However it was the first time that professional anthropologists were being used on the field in Madagascar.
One drew the right conclusions about the failure concerning the Taheza valley project. The irrigation canals which were dug right through the tombs were obviously never used by the inhabitants.

-The works written by Lombard, Baré, Schlemmer, Harnik were focused on the Sakalava kingdoms, but the discoveries made by those researchers dealt with politics and ritual and could not be useful here.

To those local researches can be added others of great value by English or American anthropologists: Bloch on the Imerina, Kottak on the Betsileo, Huntington on the Bara. Their investigations deal with social structures and their connections with everyday life. They have continued their work up to now; the depth and length of their investigations will be a fundamental basis on which one has to rely on to make an appraised of the traditonal life of the Malagasy people.

When the 1972 disorder broke out, a certain number of French and Malagasy sociologists (Althabe, Roy, Manandafy) developed among intellectuals the conviction that towns oppressed the countryside. Every later measure taken to decentralize, to abolish the control of the state and the fiscal system over the rural society were inspired by such a research.It was the very same "economic Maoism" which also inspired the ideologists who emptied towns in Cambodia in 1976 and persecuted persons of distinction in the Comoros in 1977. But in Madagascar President Ratsiraka stopped such an attempt to create a country power and substituted his own urban machinery for it. It did remain the ideology of the MFM party until 1985.

As the Red Book socialism and the socialist firm charter developed, no further socio-cultural research was allowed for many years, since ideology had already established the rules of administration implying that everything was subjected to the state. No anthropological advice was asked for about that down the hill investment period. Its poorly studied and overestimated projects did not have any impact on country people. It may be regretted that those who made the decisions did not take into account the works of the Malagasy anthropologist Fanony who, as early as 1975, made it clear that the traditional mutual aid (*valintanana*) had nothing to do with the way socialist collectivities were administered.

The inadequate strategy which ran the country into debt was pertinently analysed by Frank Martin in his article *Whither Madagascar*. We will not expatiate on this subject. We will simply note that the recession of the road work and schooling programs have continued to make country people's life more difficult, whose existence was already precarious before socialism. The impoverishment of the

country, which can be estimated through the rise of the infant mortality rates or the decrease of gross national product, is even more discernible when one considers how much environment has been damaged. Remote-sensing shows us that forests gets 3% smaller every year (Glen Green and R. Sussman, 1990). So, if it continues at such a rate, the whole of the primary original forest will have disappeared around the year 2010. We must also note that the socialist power has neglected collecting all reliable statistics about agriculture and breeding production. As soon as 1965, the study of color aerial photos had made it possible for the geographers of the University to show that the rice production statistics were overestimated. The first shortage of food happened in 1968 when the money paid for a paddy kilo (12 FMG) was not enough to pay the mutual aid. The situation was made still worse by the State's control (SINPA) over the commerce. Rice collectors now profit from the country people's running into debt as they grow poorer and poorer.

Among the recent socio-economic field works, it will be possible to make use of the observations by Fauroux, Fiéloux and Lombard about the West and which were collected thanks to the *AOMBE program*. About the very South, Heurtebize's and Fee's works can be used. The situation in the highlands, which in the 60's was almost overstudied, is now quite unknown. As for the towns, the observations by Camacho about the human scavangers of the rubbish dumps obliterated the fact that the urban poverty that is spreading is hardly known. To end with, cash crop regions either in the East or in the North desperately require new studies because the former strategical schemes are no longer operational there.

The list of surviving strategies which apply to families has naturally been deeply affected by the gaps in documentation. As a consequence, we must identify and correct the data gaps before forthcoming programs may take place.

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