In the mid-1990s, a schism took place in an administrative village in Western Niger and a new administrative village was created. This thesis is an ethnographic study of this event, aiming to describe the "morals" of modern West African society.

Introduction Discourses

Normally, the schism/creation of administrative villages is nothing more than an marginal change of governmental structure. However, the discussion among past researchers following Balandier's dynamic sociology takes the perspective that such an event should be viewed as part of a historical process, which includes the influx of external nomads in the 18th-19th centuries, the colonization of the 19th-20th centuries and the changes in rural development policies in the 1970s-1990s. This section, however, uses a reading of past studies to demonstrate that the actor-analysis methods employed by past researchers are not really appropriate to modern-day Western Niger, where national-level political and economic changes are linked to individual schisms through the restructuring of the cooperative
system. In place of these methods, this thesis uses an ethnographic framework based on Majima's intermediate group theory. This perspective outlines the need to examine the imagination of group identity held by people living in society, that is to say their "morals."

Chapter 1 Kinship

The main subject of this chapter is the concept of "dumi" as a category of kinship.

Part 1 identifies the typical concept of dumí and clarifies the difference between this and other similar concepts. Dumí are ancestor-centric (cognatic), as indicated in the fixed expression "one ancestor". This is distinct from the social category of "borey (relative)", as they do not include the fictive kinship. However, dumí cannot be viewed as "biological" categories, since the idea that "slaves have no ancestors" is contradictory to the concept of "one ancestor". Based on the idea that dumí allude to a belly, this thesis defines the structural principle of dumí as the "belly principle".

Part 2 attempts a specific description of the dumí in Gaarokoyre. There are said to be four or five kinships in the same village; however, in reality it is more diverse, with unclear boundaries in between. Nevertheless, the people there spoke of these dumí as countable/substantive entities. Furthermore, this description implicitly excludes some people from the main kinships. Why do the people describe it thus?

Part 3 addresses the questions posed in the preceding chapter and examines another principle that is inconsistent with the dumí: the so-called arriving earlier principle, which justifies the predominance of those arriving earlier over those arriving later. Those arriving later are guests who were freely welcomed by the original villagers. The settled guests (and their descendants) are sometimes viewed as a threat to those arriving earlier, and the initial warm welcome transitions into a principle of exclusion. However, there is no fixed boundary; describing someone as one of those arriving later is a political act to belittle someone identified as one of those arriving later. This thesis calls this phenomenon the "foot principle", focusing on the implication that the newcomers are the "ce (foot)" of the body.
Chapter 2 Chieftainship

This chapter examines the establishment of chieftainship during the French colonial period and the Kountché regime (1974-87) and discusses how the "colonial construct" of traditional chieftainship was justified by society.

Part 1 discusses the legend of the establishment of the chieftaincy of canton during the colonial period. A tradition exists that when the chieftaincy of canton was introduced to Gaarokoyre in the colonial period, the ancestor of a family of chiefs in the villages passed on the leadership to his son-in-law, the ancestor of the present family of Chefs de Canton. Thus, the "one ancestor" idea was upheld from the fact that the two heads were part of "one dum." This section focuses on the legend from the assertion that the two come from "different ancestors". There are two opposite views regarding violence during the colonial period: there are stories that say the "belly principle" prevented violence in the colonial period and stories that say that it instigated violence.

Part 2 discusses the legend of the establishment of Chefs de Village under the Kountché regime. New administrative villages were established, Gaarokoyre having undergone a schism; specifically, these villages are settlements on the west bank of the Niger River. The two administrative villages coexist there to this day. When pressed on the details of the administrative villages, most people invariably refer to the forced settlement disturbance of the mid-1980s. This thesis describes and summarizes the accounts of people on both sides of this event.

Part 3 attempts to discuss the ideal chief. The position of Chef de Village was founded on the power of those arriving earlier, who had granted land to those arriving later. Villagers who had inherited that land from generation to generation were consequently indebted to the chiefly families. The system of cantons, meanwhile, like the regions, departments and the state, are viewed as being part of a world in which those arriving later are driving out those arriving earlier.
Chapter 3 Land

This chapter attempts to examine the relationships between people through land matters from a linguistic perspective.

Based on research data, Part 1 points out that it is difficult to prove the structure of land ownership as found in previous studies, namely, that of landowners being those arriving earlier, such as chiefly families, while slaves and those arriving later had only usufructuary rights. Furthermore, since the increase in millet farming in the late 1960s, island dwellers began to cultivate this crop on the west banks of the Niger River. As a result, the situation had changed to the point where the chiefly families became non-owners of land, while the traditional non-owners, such as those arriving later and slaves, became landowners.

Part 2 presents a theoretical consideration of the system of land ownership in Songhai society. The word “no (giving)”, used for the giving land, is used not only for the conferral or donation of land, but also in the sense of lending land. The distinction between donating and lending is intentionally vague; by contrast, it is acceptable for the lender to require the compulsory return “ta:yo:j (receiving)” of the land. This claim can still be valid after several generations have passed. The distinguishing characteristic of the land ownership system shown here is that the cultivator of the land can become the owner of the land despite only being a usufructuary for the time being; however, to become the owner, he must build a close relationship with the one who “gave” the land and avoid the land being “received” back again. This is a subservient relationship which is also considered as a “relative” relationship. The typical people in this subservient position are those arriving later and slaves.

Part 3 discusses the distinguishing characteristics of the system created with the establishment of Aménagement Hydro-Agricole (AHA). The AHA established a different land ownership system from non-AHA land. The power to “receive” and “give” the land was centralized through a délégué whose position was justified as the “hari (water)” superintendent. The holder of this position could arbitrarily “receive” land from someone outside their own “relatives” and “give” it to someone of their “relatives”. By contrast, not
only could someone excluded from being a “relative” not be “given” land, but could also have land “received” arbitrarily. In other words, the AHA land ownership system was inherent with complications between the délégué and his “relatives”/persons excluded from being a “relative”.

Final Chapter Revolt

The Délegué Dismissal Disturbance took place in 1995 when a unionist (anti-délégué faction) demanded the resignation of a délégué and re-examination of the redistribution of AHA land. It was the people of the anti-délégué faction (however, only some of them) that created a new administrative village.

Part 1 examines the details of the disturbance. In this disturbance, a new group took shape that would turn the tables in the conflict surrounding the AHA land ownership system. The people who formed the anti-délégué faction recognized that the délégué at the time was a “relative” of the Chef de Village, and that they had been excluded. They pointed out that the délégué had confiscated and redistributed land and they wanted to “receive” the land in question back from the délégué. Specifically, they had been plowing on the land in question, and they wanted to use this fact to prove that the délégué had confiscated/redistributed the land. Some people called the anti-délégué faction “rebels” and their actions a “coup d’état”. It certainly was considered a rebellion or coup from the perspective of those who were having land violently stolen (“received”) from them by self-justified “rebels.”

Part 2 examines the course of action from the conclusion of the disturbance to the schism/creation of the new administrative village. Following the mediation of the commandants, the anti-délégué faction began to establish a new administrative village believing that the Chef de Village had backed the délégué. However, the anti-délégué faction banded together over the AHA land ownership issue: by drawing away from the AHA, it lost its cohesive power and fell into discord over non-AHA land ownership issues.

Part 3 discusses how the author, in the process of this field study, aiming to complete the ethnographic description in this thesis, became caught up in the conflict between the “receivers of land/those whose land is received” in
this community as a mere one arriving later, yet eventually came to be viewed on par with the “commandants” who mediated in the Délégué Dismissal Disturbance.

The conclusion is a counterpart to Part 3. The Délégué Dismissal Disturbance at the heart of the administrative village schism/creation and the land problems at the core of this disturbance continued to be closed to the author. Opposed to this, there was one person who spoke the truth for himself. The repetition of adverbs highlighting denial, scarcity and non-ownership from an individual who has faced the harsh reality of the distorted land ownership system in this community shows that the principles upholding the land ownership system in the 21st century Songhai society – the belly principle, the foot principle, and the water principle – cannot be reduced and that these morals are unconvincing.