« Les statistiques coloniales dans l'espace francophone XIX-XXIe, reflets des illusions impériales ? Une histoire connectée »

"Colonial statistics in Francophone territories between the 19th and the 21st centuries: a mirror of imperial illusions?"

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What data are we talking about?

Since the DATAWAR project is mainly concerned with the perceptions of data by contemporary practitioners: 'prediction', 'reactivity', 'objectivity', etc., I propose to approach these data from a cross-disciplinary historical perspective, focusing on statistical data.

The point of view proposed is that of a historian whose research focuses on public (statistics) and private (accounting) figures in the contemporary world. I began with a history thesis on INSEE from its origins to 1961, a monograph on the producer of public figures, its players and their relations with political, economic and social reality, based on the institution's archives. This research gave me the opportunity to meet and interview the pioneers of today's INSEE. This work was followed up by an Habilitation to direct research, still on figures, but this time on the figures of private players, the accounting figures. The aim of the work was to understand why, how and when French business leaders agreed to count with one voice, i.e. to apply uniform accounting rules imposed by the State to calculate their profits. I'll give you the answer: they never agreed, despite the regulations introduced late (1965), because the practice of double accounting is a reality...

That's where I'm coming from. Two research programmes that I coordinate, an ANR (COCOLE - "Counting in a colonial situation") and an International Research Network (COUNT) on the same theme and in collaboration with several universities and research centres in French-speaking Africa, focus my research on the history of figures in a colonial and post-colonial situation. I'll say more about this later.
A critical approach: the interplay of actors


Statistics are approached as constructs, conventions presupposing a minimum consensus between their sponsors, their producers and their users. It’s a three-way game, with respondents whose attitude towards the interviewer determines the results of the surveys.

It should be noted that these different players do not carry the same weight. Statistics (Stat. Etat) are conceived as tools of government; they are instruments at the service of the Prince, or more broadly the holders of political, social or economic power. The various stages in their production (designing, then enumerating, counting and classifying) aim to establish a hierarchy, to organise to govern - to direct, and possibly to forecast, in any case to know and to guide. This production has a cost that is borne collectively.

It should be noted that the affiliation of the statistics-producing department is not neutral: being attached to the Ministry of the Interior is not a guarantee of democracy, as there is a significant risk that the data will be used for repressive purposes...

I propose to analyse the interplay between the stakeholders in the production of data, looking first at the points of convergence and then at the tensions they generate, before looking at their uses.
Let's start with the convergences: we need to know to what extent participation in the production of figures serves a collective interest and creates or consolidates links. Are statistics not a universal language that enables dialogue between nations (see the rankings of international institutions that are criticised and criticised - Jerven, M. (2013) Poor Numbers: How We Are Misled by African Development Statistics and What to Do About It. Ithaca (NY): Cornell University Press. - for example)? This is open to discussion.

The tensions arising from the production and use of these statistics will also be highlighted to discuss their representativeness and clarify what - or whom - they reflect. The relationship between interviewer and interviewee and the question of statistical obligation, for example, or the definition of statistical categories and limits (young/old, active/inactive, rich/poor). The controversies to which they give rise, and the possible pressure exerted by the Prince on their production (cf. polemics over price indices, the measurement of unemployment, etc.) provide a measure of the depth of the consensus on figures.

We will also be looking at how these tools are used. Some questions will be asked, including: Do those involved in producing statistics use them and how? More generally, who are the users of statistics and what purpose do they serve? Don't they sometimes help to legitimise their position rather than enlighten their action? Can they serve interests other than those of the Prince, and under what conditions? I am thinking here of employees' unions that use the price index to demand higher wages, and of the alternatives to the Prince's statistics that may be produced by the same unions or by associations either because they consider the official figures to be inaccurate or manipulated, or to fill a gap (see the CGT price index from the 1970s-1980s or the poverty figures produced by the Observatoire des inégalités).

Finally, I propose to question the real capacity of these tools to inform, to point out the risks of blurring actual situations and manufacturing statistical illusions.
An historical perspective

At a time when the grip of figures on our societies is growing (some people talk about the empire of figures), we need to ask ourselves how such a grip came to be and look at the process, the methods and the consequences of putting contemporary societies into figures.

To achieve this objective, I propose to deconstruct certain statistics, detailing all the stages in their production, deconstructing them to make them tell us everything they can about the societies they are supposed to represent. The aim will be to decipher them, to point out their biases, to identify what they don't say, or say badly and what they hide and make invisible (domestic work, for example).

The aim is also to analyse the power relations that their production reveals, between those who commission them, as representatives of the authority of the Prince, and those who are called upon to carry out the orders and enforce them. The investigations put the solidity of the hierarchical chain to the test. They show its flaws and weaknesses. They also highlight the decisive role of unexpected players such as interpreters or village chiefs, who are often unaware of the objectives of the approach and whose remuneration or recognition can completely distort the results...

The question will be addressed in the colonial context, which offers a fine example of domination based on completely arbitrary and irrational criteria (racial superiority and civilising mission) in which the colonists' figures are brutally imposed.
A few points will be discussed, based on examples drawn from public archives consulted in Aix-en-Provence, Antananarivo, Brussels and Dakar:

+ What are the **specific features of colonial statistics**? Who and what are they used for?
+ To what extent did they have a **lasting impact on local perceptions** (racial classifications come to mind, creating oppositions and hierarchies, and even exclusion where there were only differences). The ability of statistics to classify and integrate or marginalise ("what is counted counts, what is not counted does not count") has lasting effects that will survive, for the most part, after independence.
+ Are the **interactions between statistical stakeholders specific to the colonial context**? One thinks of the fundamental role played by indigenous elites, or those presumed to be such by the colonialists - village chiefs, for example - in demographic censuses, etc.
+ Was there **local resistance** to the collection and use of data? We can think of the flight of men of working age when the census enumerator is announced and the unwillingness of settlers to accept statistical questionnaires... especially if they are producers.

**Let’s go to the archives** to shed some light on these issues.
Colonial statistics in action in a colonial context
Belgian Congo and French Empire

What they have in common is that their heritage has been erased. Colonial statistics have been grafted on without considering previous ways of counting and measuring.

Part 1) The Belgian Congo between the Two Worlds Wars

Source: Archives de l’Etat. Bruxelles (Belgique) RACCB 422/EQ-1 1903/ 1908-1912. Instructions for drafting the "Annual reports on the activities of the Belgian Congo colony presented by the Minister of Colonies to the Belgian legislative chambers"
The hierarchical chain

Political report, summary sent to the Minister of Colonies. Instructions 1927

To the District Commissioners of the Equateur Province Coquilhatville, 14 September 1928
Belgian Congo secretariat a.s/ transmission of the annual report to the Governor General

Dispatch by 1st April at the latest, for which you will have to instruct the territorial administrators to send you all the documentation by 1st March, which everyone can and must do.
The month of January should be devoted primarily to the annual report by the territorial administrators and the month of March by my district commissioners.
The annual reports must constitute complete documentation, which must above all be objective. Whenever possible, information of any kind of interest to the General Government should be summarised in tables or statistical statements.
Signed: Governor Duchesne

Becomes Circular N° 75 to Territorial Administrators and Heads of Post of the Equateur District, Boende 29 November 1928, for the District Commissioner absent the Assistant Commissioner
The use of figures as a means of controlling Territorial administrators

From Duchesne, transmitted to the Government of Ecuador, AIMO (Workforce) Department, Coquilhatville, 30 May 1927

... the workforce issues has developed considerably... This is why you must be as exact as you are brief in your report ... But above all you will have to inform me of the results obtained so that I can assess your methods, recognise your effects and at the same time judge the progress made or, if necessary, having noted a regression, discuss with you the measures to be taken to remedy the situation.

There is no need for long-winded phrases: figures will tell me more about the economic and fiscal situation than words.

What I do want to know is whether the increase in your administrative revenue in line with the increase in the resources of your constituents indicates real prosperity for the territories under your high management. If there is no correlation between the contribution required from the natives for administrative expenses and the possibility they must pay it, the tax is no longer a deduction from their resources but a heavy burden which sooner or later pushes the populations to discouragement and sometimes to reaction.

Similarly, if the work planned does not serve to encourage the natives to improve their economic situation, it runs the risk of provoking useless and sometimes dangerous resistance.

I would like to receive some personal information... on the yield per territory of the native tax during the six-month period and a comparison of this yield with those of the corresponding six-month periods of the 3 previous years, as well as a very succinct list of the work undertaken.

Much of the information requested can be recorded in the attached tables simply by entering figures ... wishes to receive the reports on the dates indicated in triplicate with attached tables, of which I am sending the models and a certified copy of the ethnographic or other studies carried out by your colleagues and yourself.
Counting to govern

Duchesne to the Provincial Governments. Province of Equateur. Belgian Congo to the District Commissioners of the Province, Boende 22 November 1926. Circular n°145

To provide the colony with a uniform system, please send a few copies of a "demographic survey" table to be completed and enclosed with the political report for the 2nd half of 1926.

It is important to take a more active part in the censuses, which must form the basis of all your work. Nothing can be done from a political or economic point of view unless we have a thorough knowledge of our indigenous populations.

My letter of 24 January last drew attention to the anomalies in the indigenous tax system. In some territories, only 56% of taxpayers had paid the indigenous tax. In others, up to 111 ½% had paid, which meant that more taxpayers had paid their tax than had been registered. This is a sign of negligence and carelessness...

Almost all of you have two assistants. It is very possible for you to deal more specifically with the censuses, leaving to your deputies the collection and control of taxes and any secondary tasks. The review of the census should be done as you go along... the administrator for his annual reviews of the census should require the presence of the entire population by village and hamlets without unnecessary fuss or too long a wait. Note the ages, the children per woman...

This revision must be carried out at least once a year and extended to your entire territory by 31 December 1927.
A very heavy task: counting population

Equateur District Bankutshu Territory. Demographic and census statistics, note for the district commissioner, Itoko 10 February 1927

I would have liked to complete the work for an entire chiefdom, but it was not possible; this work is extremely difficult and as it is rare for the entire population of a hamlet to be gathered, even with advance notice, it is necessary to return several times to see almost all the inhabitants to judge their age and obtain other necessary information. Many of these difficulties will disappear in the future, as the census forms will bear the years of birth, making demographic work easier.

To provide information that is as accurate as possible, the chiefdoms listed in the attached table were subject to a second check during January 27 by the auxiliary clerk Ekalo, who visited all the groups.

During this check, it was found that the general statistical figures collected during the revision were not strictly accurate everywhere. Some individuals had managed to hide while travelling or had escaped temporarily. The differences are not great, but I'm telling you about them to avoid any queries on the subject.

For the groups in which it has not been possible to complete the demographic work, I have drawn up a statement summarising the mutations: births, deaths, etc. collected during collection and revision in the year and which are approximately accurate; a copy of this statement is attached.

I am also enclosing the same statements drawn up for 1925.

Signed Territorial Administrator Molin
The lack of resources

Letter from the Governor dated 17 October 1929 requesting photographic documentation to support the annual report. Coquilhatville, 15 February 1930

Question in the margin: « will we be able to pay for these photos on one of our credits? »

Mbole Territory of the Luilaka Monkoto, 19 January 1930
To the District Commissioner
Further to circular 85 of 30 December 1929, please note that as I do not have a single camera in the territory, I regret that I am unable to provide you with the requested documentation.
Signed by the Territorial Administrator Delobbe
Confusion between demographic and fiscal censuses

For the Governor, Commissioner General Jorissen, to the District Commissioners, Coquilhatville 27 August 1928.

The outline sent by letter of 30 May 1927 with a view to standardising the headings to be dealt with in the political report includes a series of points on the subject of workforce and the movement of the population which must certainly have drawn your attention to the importance which these closely related questions currently have.

I was, however, led to note that only the district of Lulong gave complete information on the census by card in the political report for the 2nd half of 1927. I would ask you to inform me of the progress of this work and, if necessary, give details of the reasons why this work is not progressing.

I am aware that the territorial personnel are overloaded with work and that this census work by individual card and in the villages requires an enormous amount of time and that often even the equipment is lacking. To obviate these inconveniences, local staff will be reinforced as far as possible and forms have been requisitioned urgently in Brussels.

Several administrators expressed regret at having had to abandon the system of census registers. If the Government had adopted the index card method, it was above all to obviate the tendency to carry out a census that was more fiscal than demographic; taxpayers were counted instead, resulting in a census that was inevitably incomplete.

It was necessary to avoid drawing up only the files of the men, and to request methodical registration of the entire population.
Using intermediaries

Coquilhatville for the Governor, 22 February 1929

Request for a census of all the chiefdoms: it is more a question of a count than a methodical census based on a form, given the need to have the essential elements to establish a comparison between workforce requirements and availability.
I am aware that it is impossible to require the administrators and their assistants to visit every village in the territory to draw up and update their manpower tables, but it seems certain to me that an enormous amount of time would be saved if they managed to obtain information from the indigenous authorities.

.. Successfully put into practice in several places
The administrators warned the chiefs to count the inhabitants of their chiefdom by category of person and by village. Ideally, the list should be drawn up by a literate chief or one of his natives who could write. Unfortunately, this is rarely the case and it will be necessary to make up for it by using batônets, knots or notches according to the system in use in the region.

On a given day and at a given place, the chiefs and notables will report to the administrator on the figures obtained.
A quick check will be carried out and notification of changes, births, deaths, etc. will be required.
Complexity and slippage

Coquilhatville, 12 July 1929

District Commissioner Van Reeth. The table of available workforce in certain territories shows an abnormally exaggerated proportion of invalids or unfit men. One administrator goes so far as to report 56% of unfit men in one chiefdom.

As I mentioned earlier, the term "invalid" does not mean that the men are unfit for any work in connection with the European occupation, in particular food crops, gathering, etc. In principle, they should be considered as "disabled".

In principle, any taxpayer subject to the capitation tax, as well as the... except by virtue of the decree on the indigenous tax, must be considered as good to go.
Labour Inquiry. Signed for the Governor absent the Commissioner to the Government of the Province of Ecuador to the District Commissioners, Coquilhatville July 10, 1926.

The Head of Government has decided to arrange for a new survey to provide as accurate information as possible on the employment of native workers in 1926 and on the availability for 1927.
Responds to the need to standardise data between provinces. Standard forms are sent with this letter
Instructions from the Governor:
« I leave it to your competence to determine by territory or district men that may be required for such or such work. … what is important is that native life should not be disturbed by our trade and industry and that there should remain in the villages a minimum of 22.5 adult able-bodied men for every 75 individuals who do not fall into their category.
Since the labour commission accepts that there is one able-bodied adult male for every 4 inhabitants, this will enable us to recruit 2.5% of the total population, i.e. 10% of able-bodied adults, for work that will take the black away from his chiefdom.
According to the principles accepted by the same commission, half of this 10% could be recruited for work at a great distance and the other half for work at a short distance from the workers' residence.
It will be necessary to deduct from the 10% available for 27 the natives occupied with the portage, the militiamen and the workers already working more than 2 days from their usual residence.
The results of this survey will be easily obtained from the transfer passports issued by the authorities and from the employers' declarations for the personal tax.
Drift

Examination of the workforce status tables received by the Governor General for 1927 and 1928 has revealed errors and anomalies due to an erroneous interpretation of the conclusions of the workforce Commission which met in Brussels in 1925. Coquilhatville 23 April 1928. AIMO Service. To the District Commissioners.

The main error consists in the strict application of the formula of % recruitable based on ¼ of the total population counted and assessed as representing the proportion of able-bodied adult men in a normal community. However, the Report of the 1925 Commission clearly indicated that this formula should only have the value of a general indication and that its application could in no case legitimise commitments which, due to special circumstances, would be likely to compromise the economic, political or social balance of the indigenous groups. ... it is up to each provincial governor, after studying the indigenous communities within his jurisdiction, to determine the percentage that each community can safely give to work.

The illogicality of some of the results should have attracted the attention of the authorities. Thus, in various territories where the number of women and children counted and assessed exceeded three times the number of men, the application of the suggested formula produced a figure for valid adult men which exceeded the total number of men counted and assessed.

The only imperative decision indicated by the committee was the maximum limit of 5%, which could not be exceeded under any circumstances.
Part 2) French colonies
A very heavy load?

P. The Chief of Région pi, po l'adjoint signed Janssen to all District Heads. Telegram official - letter 2885-T, Tananarive, 11th December 1933

The annual report includes: 1 political report, 1 economic report, 1 financial report, 1 report on the workforce and 8 duplicates statistical tables (arbitration boards, Industrial production, prices ...).
In addition:
14 tables of demographic statistics and 6 of statistics on culture and colonisation.
They must reach the General Government by March 1st.

Refusal to respond

Presidency of the Paris Council, commission of enquiry into the Overseas Territories. Survey n° 5 on industry among companies with more than 10 employees

Questions : Company name/date of foundation/legal structure/object/manager and staff (origin)/number of workers years 1937/year of maximum production before the crisis/ethnic group to which the workers belong/nominal salary/origin of the raw material ... etc.

Interviewers surprised by the refusal to answer:
City of Tananarive administrative and judicial police. 3rd arrondissement police station, report dated 25 June 1938 for central commissioner Jalabert :
"I have the honour of reporting to the Police Commissioner of the 3rd arrondissement that, in accordance with his instructions, I went to the Wilson Rice Mill in order to request information concerning investigation n° 5 on the industry.
The European employee of the rice mill told me that Mr Wilson, a Frenchman from Mauritius, categorically refused to provide the information requested."
Signed Alerti, police inspector, Tananarive, 27 June 1938
The inspector asks what means he must obtain an answer, and the answer is none...

A bulimia of information

The demands varied depending on the governor. At the end of the 19th century, Gallieni in Madagascar and Doumer in Indochina were very demanding.

Nominative state of merchants, commercial employees, settlers' farmers or agricultural workers, industrial workers established in the commune of Nossi-Bé on 1st January 1905:
Name, nationality, date and place of birth, last domicile, family composition, previous profession, resources, date of arrival in the colony, province place where the establishment is located, nature of the business or profession, observation distinguished French, English, German, Russian, Dutch, Anjouanese, Comorians, Zanzibarites, Chinese, Indians.

Province of Ambatondrazaka. Report by Administrator on the economic situation of the province, 1st half of 1901.
Tables
I State of settlers or companies present or represented in the province 1st semester 1901
II Statement of settlers having left the province, cause of departure and abandonment of the enterprise transfer of the enterprise
III Industrial forestry farms undertaken by Europeans and assimilated persons
III State of industrial forestry farms run by natives and assimilated people

ANM. Economic statistics 180/2 Nossi-Bé.
Insubordination?

Hanoi City Hall fonds 742 Survey of Europeans and assimilated persons in Hanoi carried out by the commission of enquiry in the overseas territories for the establishment of general statistics for France (1938)

Senior Resident to Administrator-Mayor, 19 May 1938

Questionnaire drawn up by the commission of enquiry in the overseas territories concerning Europeans and assimilated persons request return by 10 June next imperative date. Information provided by the city's registry office and by a survey that you would like to have carried out among Europeans and people of similar status living in Hanoi. In pencil margin "it's making a mockery of the world or else wanting to make do with fanciful information".

Source. AN Vietnam Centre n° 1 Hanoi
H. Virgitti To the Senior Resident of Tonkin, 20th May 1938

I regret to inform you that it is absolutely impossible to provide you with the statistical statement requested by the Commission within 20 days. The required information is nowhere to be found. No other survey system can be employed than the individual form to be deposited in the home of each individual. The ¾ will not agree to answer. I judge it according to the statistics of the population. Now, if for an ordinary stat we can compensate for the "gaps" by reasoning, the same cannot be said for the state that is being asked. Will we have to waste our time mobilising part of the police force, which has better things to do and does not have enough of them, for two months, no doubt, to submit and withdraw 6000 forms that will have to be printed? I take the liberty of asking you this because I can assure you in advance that, despite the enormity of the work and the expense, the report that I will submit to you will probably be false.

The Governor General of Indochina to the heads of local administration. A.S. requested by the commission of enquiry

Informs you that the results of the European census of January 1937 have just been communicated.... These results answer to a sufficient extent the questions asked by the Commission of Enquiry and there is no need for you to carry out further investigations.

P.O. the Secretary General of the Governor General of Indochina Nouailhetas
Cancels the request made on 27 May 1937 to the Administrator-Mayor of Hanoi, sending a copy of the Governor General's letter.
Ignorance of demographic situations

+ Underpopulation and undermanagement

Source. ANOM « Statistiques » nouvelle série. 17 recensements en AOF (1902-1951)

1902, Ivory Coast Colony. *Bureau des affaires indigènes, état numérique de la population au 30 avril* par cercles ou régions européens et assimilés (troupes: 142; administrations: 116; colons: 120)
indigènes total: 1 930 773, dont 378 européens,

Bingerville le 1er mai 1902 p. le chef du bureau des affaires indigènes, feuille manuscrite
Population census of the French West Indies in 1933

The Governor General (Directorate of Political and Administrative Affairs) to the Minister of Colonies, 8 October 1934.

Summary tables:
total population 14,404,142, a decrease of 82,445 on last year's figures. The decrease affects the three colonies of French Guinea, Niger and French Sudan. This deficit must be attributed much more to the care taken in the enumeration operations and to the improvement in the methods applied since the new census programme was implemented than to a real reduction in the number of our constituents....
On the whole, the European element remains stable at 27,331 instead of 27,286 in 1932

Each year, the district chiefs transmit the census data and for the Dakar or Rufisque district, the information is provided at the communal level.
**Madagascar 1945**

Source. ANM Province of Diego Suarez. IV D. 31 Economic statistics by district (1936-1948)


Colonial Statistics Service

"The study of demographic phenomena in the colonies can at present only be based on rudimentary statistical material, even if it sometimes gives the illusion of being large or apparently precise; its heterogeneity is such that the most elementary comparisons between the various populations of the Empire cannot be made."

This state is easily explained: the measurement of phenomena in the Colonies comes up against many more theoretical and practical difficulties than in advanced countries, and on the contrary, the means available are much more limited. The difficulties have no doubt not always been clearly perceived, since up to now we have been obliged to draw up annual statistics, whereas better-equipped countries make do with five-yearly censuses.

The latest population estimates date from the pre-war period, with a few exceptions; it is only natural that we should try to gather more up-to-date data, and some of you have consequently had new estimates made. However, as I explained in my circular a minimum of uniformity must be ensured in the documentation of the Empire, and local initiatives must be coordinated and integrated into an overall action which should also aim to achieve serious progress in demographic statistics.
Such progress can only be slow in the case of indigenous populations...

The instructions will therefore be as follows

1) If this has not already been done, **to make a general estimate of the size of the population** by applying the usual procedures **during 1945**. The aim will be to simplify rather than to expand, by rounding off numbers to the hundreds and thousands, for example, and by restricting oneself to very broad categories such as age or profession. **The results should be accompanied by a detailed explanation of the procedures adopted to carry out the estimate and the precise meaning of the terms used (e.g. children).** The main difficulties that taint the results with uncertainty and the degree of confidence that can be placed in them.

2) **Annual estimates have been abolished** and will, in principle, become quinquennial. The broad outlines of the demographic research to be undertaken by the **local statistics departments** over the next **5 years** will be determined later.
As far as Europeans are concerned, an immediate effort is unavoidable due to their small number. **The total number of Europeans is not well known and is generally underestimated; too many Europeans tend to avoid being counted in the name of who knows what privilege** and do not imagine that by doing so they are failing in one of the duties imposed on them by their colonial title.

Moreover, it is not enough to know their total number; **we also need to know exactly what their demographic characteristics are.**

In the current state of documentation, it is impossible to establish a breakdown of Europeans by age group, profession or even nationality for all the colonies.

France, the second largest colonial country in the world, is currently incapable of knowing with any degree of accuracy where the colonials it sends to its possessions come from, what kind of training they have and what occupations they will be doing there. The extreme ages at which colonial life takes place and the extent to which it affects family life (fertility, dispersion, education, etc.), morbidity and mortality...
As a colonising country, France could not deal with the problem of colonisation. Its small population meant that it could not rely on domestic demographic pressure to ensure the spontaneous recruitment and selection of colonials. No other colonial country needed to be as well informed in this area as France.

It follows that a census of Europeans in the colonies is urgently needed; it has also been requested by the Governor to complete the general census of the French population planned for March 1946. It will be limited to French and foreigners, not only because the main aim is to study colonisation, but also to take account of present difficulties and reduce this initial effort to a minimum. Subsequent censuses may be extended progressively (...)

The enclosed instructions may surprise you by their detail, which is necessary to ensure maximum uniformity in the results and because some colonies do not yet have statisticians whose technical training can exempt them from specifying certain procedures or formulating certain recommendations.

The count will be centralised in Paris and carried out using the mechanographic equipment of the Statistical service.
Local surveyors. The socio-economic survey in Sudan 1957.

Source. ANOM « Statistiques » nouvelle série.
The 1946 Census: an inappropriate document?

Number of room, kitchen...

Comment remplir le tableau ci-dessus.

On entend par pièces principales d'habitation tout compartiment d'une maison, séparé des autres par des cloisons allant jusqu'au plafond et mesurant à peu près régulièrement un mètre de largeur ou y jumeler ou y prendre ses repas, salon à manger ou salle commune sans appareil de cuisine, chambre à coucher, etc. A la fin, on doit indiquer des pièces destinées à un usage particulier (cabinets, salons, dîner, cuisine, douches, lavabos, salles de bains, etc.). Les maisons de demeure et les maisons habitables ainsi que les maisons secondaires, même non identifiées à l'accueil, sont comptées comme pièces principales d'habitation.

Les pièces, qui n'ont pas le garniture qu'exigent normalement des pièces principales ou secondaires principalement de l'habitation, elles ne sont pas à négliger.

On entend par cabinets sanitaires ceux où le ménage peut prendre normalement ses repas (en particulier les salles communes où se trouvent les appareils de cuisine) par opposition à la pièce cuisine, trop petite pour que le ménage puisse y prendre normalement ses repas.

La salle commune avec la cuisine en abceuse en en rendez-vous considérée comme pièce principale parce que elle existe. Les salles communes qui contiennent, entre autres appareils de cuisine, un encastré (cuisine des lieux) des pièces réservées à l'habitation, cabinets d'appoint, on entend par ligne, releve procédure dûment complétée et à ruiner directement les réseaux. Pas de dérangement.

On entend par ménage une unité économique, imposable, taxes diverses, à rendre à l'état public.
Census in AOF (1956)

+ Targeted operations
FEUILLE DE MÉNAGE

INSTRUCTIONS SUR LA MANIÈRE DE REMPLIR LA FEUILLE DE MÉNAGE

Comment est remplie la feuille de ménage ? — Il est établi une feuille de ménage pour chaque chef de ménage (qui soit présent ou temporairement absent le jour du recensement), dont le domicile habituel est dans la localité recensée.

Sont en outre inscrits sur la même feuille de ménage à la suite :

1° Les membres de son ménage (présents ou temporairement absents) qui résident habituellement avec lui ;
2° Les personnes d’âge échelonné de plus de 30 ans qui résident habituellement avec eux.

Par contre, les membres de son ménage (conjoint et enfants majeurs) qui ne résident pas habituellement avec lui ne doivent pas être inscrits à sa suite. Ils seraient simplement mentionnés dans l’enquête privée si-contre.

Autrement dit, les membres absents d’un ménage seront inscrits :
— soit à la suite du chef de ménage (avec indication A à la colonne 2) s’ils demeurent habituellement avec lui,
— soit dans l’enquête spéciale s’ils ne demeurent pas habituellement avec lui et seules des personnes au nombre de enfants, s’il s’agit du conjoint ou d’un enfant mineur.

BUT DU RECENSEMENT

Le recensement de la population a pour but l’établissement des principales statistiques démographiques et d’ordre économique et social de la France.

Les informations collectées et classées selon le sexe, l’âge, l’état matrimonial, la nationalité, la profession, la formation professionnelle, la dépendance, la situation sociale, etc., sont utilisées pour la documentation de base sur laquelle les pouvoirs publics, les organismes professionnels et les chefs d’entreprises doivent se référer.

AVIS IMPORTANT

Les renseignements recueillis lors de ce recensement ne peuvent être utilisés qu’après accord des intéressés. Ils ne sont pas destinés à être communiqués aux institutions extérieures ou à être utilisés à d’autres fins que celles déterminées par la loi. (Loi du 24 juillet 1958, art. 1er.)
### TOUTES LES PERSONNES RÉPONDENT AUX QUESTIONS 1 A 10

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NOM ET PRÉNOM</th>
<th>LIEN DE PARENTE</th>
<th>SEXE</th>
<th>RÉSIDENCE</th>
<th>DATE DE NAISSANCE</th>
<th>LIEU DE NAISSANCE</th>
<th>PREMIÈRE ARRIVÉE</th>
<th>NATIONALITÉ</th>
<th>SOUCHE D'ORIGINE</th>
<th>ETAT ACTUEL MONAL</th>
<th>INSTRUCTION POUR UN CÔTÉ</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Zain Kahl</td>
<td>C.M. MP</td>
<td></td>
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</table>

**Les membres du ménage dans l'ordre suivant :**
- Chef de ménage
- Épouse
- Époux non marié (sa résidence est la même que celle de son époux)
- Enfants

**Les personnes qui ne sont pas proches du ménage habitant dans les appartements de même numérotation.**

**Instructions :**
- Inscrivez le nom et le prénom de chaque membre du ménage.
- Inscrivez les liens de parenté avec le chef du ménage.
- Indiquez le sexe et la résidence.
- Indiquez la date et le lieu de naissance.
- Indiquez le pays de l'Union Française (pour les Réunionnais et les Français d'outre-mer). Pour les autres, indiquez le pays d'origine.
- Indiquez le lieu de naissance ou la nationalité.
- Indiquez le pays et la nationalité du premier arrivé.
- Indiquez le sexe suivant la nationalité.
- Les Français de nationalité française peuvent acquérir la nationalité française par naturalisation ou par acquisition.
- Les étrangers sont précités les pays d'origine.
Définition du ménage. — Le ménage-type est constitué par l'ensemble des personnes qui vivent d'ordinaire dans un même logement et dont les ressources sont communes. Les célibataires, veufs ou divorcés vivant isolement, les maris vivant seuls, séparés des autres membres du ménage, constituent à chaque fois un ménage distinct.

Généralités.

1. Un ménage peut être « coupé » si certaines membres résidant normalement en France, par exemple, alors que d'autres demeurent dans un territoire d'outre-mer.

2. Les personnes séquestrées (amis ou parents), les domestiques non salariées qui sont logées chez leurs patrons doivent être rattachées au chef de ménage dont ils dépendent. Dans le cas de plusieurs ménages vivant ensemble, ils seront au besoin rattachés arbitrairement au chef de ménage le plus âgé.

3. Les personnes absentes de leur domicile habituel le jour du recensement seront recensées en même temps à leur domicile (avec l'indication A [absents]) dans la colonne 1. Si elles se trouvent sur le même territoire, elles seront en outre inscrites (avec l'indication V [de passage]) dans la colonne 4, sur la feuille du chef de ménage où elles auront passé la nuit ayant précédé le recensement.

4. Hôtels. — Pour les personnes logées à l'hôtel au moment du recensement, la procédure sera distincte selon qu'il s'agit de personnes simplement de passage ou bien de personnes en résidence habituelle dans l'établissement. À ce dernier cas se rattacheront ceux des personnes logées à l'hôtel en attendant l'attribution d'un logement dans le territoire intéressé.

Les personnes simplement de passage (touristes, résidents de moins de six mois) seront inscrites sur la même feuille de ménage (ou même série de feuilles et plusieurs sont nécessaires) à la suite des deux autres et sans distinction de sexe. Une ligne blanche sera cependant inscrite en tête de chaque feuille de ménage. L'inscription de ces personnes (qui seront toutes marquées V à la colonne 4) ne commencera par conséquent qu'à la ligne 2.

Les personnes en résidence habituelle à l'hôtel (ou en instance d'allocation dans un logement du territoire considéré) seront inscrites normalement à raison d'une feuille de ménage par ménage, le conjoint et les enfants absents étant évolutivement inscrits dans l'encre réservé à leur intention (colonnes 20, 21, 22).

5. Personnes vivant en communauté (militaires logés à la caserne, pensionnaires établissements d'enseignement, communautés religieuses, etc.). L'ensemble des personnes vivant dans un même établissement sera inscrit sur la même feuille de ménage à l'adresse de l'établissement (notamment détenus). L'ensemble des personnes vivant dans un même établissement sera inscrit sur la même feuille de ménage (ou même série de feuilles si besoin est), la ligne n° 1 étant réservée pour le chef de ménage ou la même année de feuilles et la colonne 4 correspond à l'unité de logement (séparément) pour elle. L'inscription de ces personnes sera réalisée sur la colonne 4 de la feuille V, en même temps que l'inscription de tous les autres détenus. Les détenus seront dans tous les cas marqués V.

Le personnel d'établissements sera toutefois inscrit séparément ou bien à la suite des deux autres et sans distinction de sexe. L'inscription de ces personnes (qui seront toutes marquées V à la colonne 4) ne commencera par conséquent que la ligne 2.

La distribution et la centralisation des bulletins se feront à la diligence des chefs de communauté.

6. L'inscription des membres d'un même ménage peut nécessiter l'utilisation d'une feuille de passage ou bien de personnes en résidence habituelle dans l'établissement. À ce dernier cas se rattachera celui des personnes logées à l'hôtel en attendant l'attribution d'un logement dans le territoire intéressé.

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RÉSERVE À L'ADMINISTRATION

Récapitulatif des pages 2 et 3

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>INDICATION</th>
<th>SEXE MASCULIN</th>
<th>SEXE FÉMININ</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>20 ans et plus</td>
<td>20 ans et plus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V</td>
<td>20 ans et plus</td>
<td>20 ans et plus</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>P</th>
<th>20 ans et plus</th>
<th>20 ans et plus</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

| 674         | 58 ans       | 12/156 |

P. Faure
Hameau St-Saturnin
Tullac
Bole'
Experimental census in Guinea (1955)
Land mapping

Reconnaissance Village Lianoumou

2 principaux quartiers:

1er Tankondelle
2e Sotah

Hameaux quartiers Lianoumou

1er Laranke à 10 km
2e Soufidera à 11 km
3e Puisse à 13 km
4e Balin à 13 km
5e

Le 27 décembre 1951
Le maire
Lessons: very high death rates

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Column 1</th>
<th>Column 2</th>
<th>Column 3</th>
<th>Column 4</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Value</td>
<td>Value</td>
<td>Value</td>
<td>Value</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Additional notes:
- Infant mortality: 58.2/1000
- Child mortality: 26.2/1000
- Mortality in the first 10 years: 184/1000
- Mortality in the first 4 years: 7/1000
- Infant mortality: 23.1/1000
Demographic sample survey (1954-1955)
Not to conclude – it is an opening keynote...

The stages in the production of statistics (designing, counting, classifying and ranking) have their own particularities in a colonial situation. As a result, it seems that colonial statistics are largely based on the accumulation of errors and misunderstandings.

The situations to be included in the figures were conceived exclusively from the colonists' mental universe and for their own need. Most of the categories (household, village, property, etc.) were inappropriate.

The meaning of the figures and the measurement practices of the colonised populations were not considered, and this heritage was wasted.

Surveys took no account of local characteristics, traditions, hierarchies and rivalries, the remoteness of the metropolis and the small number of administrators.

Colonial statistics were used more to report to the metropolis, to legitimise colonial domination, to ensure the selective exploitation of resources and to attract settlers than to manage the territories. They depict a very partial reality, giving the illusion of enlightenment. The weight of administrative statistics from Customs attests to forced extraversion...

For French Empire, their only advantage is that they do not weigh too heavily on territorial budgets, which must be balanced, but even this balance is debated (See: Marseille/Cogneau).
The weakness of the demographic and production statistics contrasts with the importance of the data available on prisons, hospitals, hygiene conditions and education, which "attest" to the civilising mission.

The mediocrity of the other statistics explains why neither famines, nor the damaging effects of the exploitation of local resources, nor political and social crises, nor the strength of anti-colonial and nationalist movements were anticipated.

The changes introduced after 1945, the organisation of local statistical services, which reflected a new awareness of the territory, were not enough to reverse the trend.

In the absence of demographic knowledge and the inclusion of small-scale or family activities, territories remained uncontrollable, their boundaries artificial...

One of the ambitions of the independent states was to equip themselves with statistical services... to avoid repeating the mistakes made by the colonists... But they will often do so without changing the previous frameworks of thought that cooperation promotes...

Thank you very much for your kind attention.
All comments and questions are welcome
I wish you a very good conference
Indicative bibliography


Ittman K., Cordell D.D, Maddox G (2010), The demographics of empire. The colonial order and the Creation of Knowledge, Ohio Univ. Press book.


