

Groupe de Démographie Africaine

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**POPULATION SIZE
IN AFRICAN COUNTRIES :
AN EVALUATION**

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
Introduction by F. GENDREAU	I
Angola by C.A. DA COSTA CARVALHO	1
Cameroon by A. NKOUGOUROU EBONGUE and E. FOTSO	13
Chad by O.G. NASSOUR	33
Djibouti by A GUILLAUME	57
Egypt by F. DROSSO	67
Ethiopia by H. TEFAGHIORGHIS	89
Gambia by M.A. GIBRIL	105
Ivory Coast by F. BINET and C. PAULET	117
Kenya by Z.S. MUGANZI	127
Liberia by A.Z. MASSALEE	137
Madagascar by T. RABETSITONTA	149
Mali by H. SOW	183
Mauritius by E. VILQUIN	193
Mozambique by C.A. DA COSTA CARVALHO and M. FERREIRA DA SILVA	201
Namibia by by N.B. GOUWS	209
Niger by M. ROSET-CASENAVE	217
Nigeria by A. ADEPOJU and J.A. EBIGBOLA	233
Reunion by R. CLAIRIN	241
Rwanda by S. NIYIBIZI	267
Sierra Leone by A. THOMAS	279
Togo by T. LOCOH	293
Zaire by J. BOUTE and L. DE SAINT MOULIN	311
Zambia by M.S.C. MULENGA	335
 Contributors	 351
List of Tables	353
List of Charts	361
List of Maps	363

CHAD

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CHAD



C H A D

Contrary to the majority of African states which have carried out national censuses during the decade 1970-80, Chad, because of the Civil War which has lasted more than 13 years, has not been able to complete the general population census, for which the cartographic work that began in January 1975 has been suspended since 1977.

Apart from administrative census, the only scientific studies concerning the population of Chad have been the demographic sample survey of 1964 and the "improved" administrative census of March 1968. Based on the 1964 survey, demographic forecasts for Chad covering the period 1963-1985 were made by the Demographic Department of the U.N. Economic Commission for Africa (E.C.A.).

I. GENERAL BACKGROUND1) Geographical situation and administrative structures of the Republic of Chad

Situated in Central Africa, the Republic of Chad covers an area of 1 284 000 km², being the fifth largest country in Africa in terms of surface area. Between 8° and 24° North by latitude and 14° and 24° East by longitude, Chad is characterised by its remoteness from the sea, being around 1 500 km from the coast. The neighbouring countries are : the Republic of Sudan to the east, Libya to the north, the Republic of Niger, Nigeria and Cameroon to the west, and the Central African Republic to the south.

Three regions can be distinguished :

a) Regions of Sahara and Borkou-Ennedi-Tibesti (BET)

Between the 14th parallel and the Libyan frontier, this desert zone covers about 750 000 km². Rainfall is very low, less than 300 mm per annum. The very sparse vegetation is concentrated around the foot of the massifs of Tibesti and Ennedi. The population of this region, very unevenly distributed, is islamic and made up mainly of the Teda-Daza and Kanembou to the north-west and arabic groups to the south-east. Originally white, the population is now very mixed. The dispersion of the population is reinforced by a mobility due to the nature of the environment.

b) The Central Region and East Chad

Situated to the south of the preceding area, this region is bounded to the south-west by the Chari Basin and covers about 373 900 km². Rainfall is higher than to the north and more spread in time (400 to 900 mm per annum). The wadis only flow during a few months in the year.

This is a saharo-sudanian zone of scrubland steppes where livestock rearing is the most important activity. The cultivation of millet, cotton and groundnuts is carried out along the wadis. The population, which is made up of sedentary cultivators and semi-nomadic livestock rearers, is generally islamic, except in a few districts of Guera, and consists essentially of groups of nilotic origin: Ouadians, Baguirmians, Arabs, etc.

c) The region of South Chad

This is the most populated area of Chad. It is made up of the two basins of Ghari and Logone and extends over approximately 130 060 km². Rainfall exceeds 700 mm per annum and reaches 1200-1300 mm at Sarh. The sudano-guinean type vegetation takes the form of savannas with baobabs and karitas with grasslands in the flood areas. It is first and foremost a cotton area, but rice, groundnuts and other staple foods are also grown there.

The population, which is on the whole unevenly distributed, is made up of crop farmers or sedentary pastoral farmers for whom fishing often represents a substantial addition to their diet. This region is mainly inhabited by Saras who form the most important ethnic group in Chad and who live in the valleys of Chari and Logone and by the group in the west (Toubouris, Mondang, Marba, Moussei, etc.) in Mayo Kebbi.

The administrative organisation of Chad splits the country into 14 prefectures made up of sub-prefectures, administrative districts and cantons, with villages at the bottom end of the scale.

2) The frontiers of the Republic of Chad - an historical background [18]

Chad became a Republic in November 1958, and after being a member state of the Community, it obtained its independence on 11th August 1960. The new state has inherited from colonial times its present frontiers with its neighbours (Libya, Sudan, Niger, Nigeria, Cameroon, and the Central African Republic).

Two kinds of legacy must be mentioned :

- the frontiers with Libya, Sudan, Nigeria and Cameroon were the result of international agreements signed at the beginning of the century between France, which wanted at any price to launch her conquest of the Chad Basin with recognised "rights", and the two other imperial powers, Britain and Germany, with which French interests clashed.

- frontiers with Niger and the Central African Republic were simply the result of administrative decrees, issued much later, which divided French Africa into various colonies.
- in 1890, before the conquest, Chad was made up of kingdoms: the Ouaddai, the Baguirmi, the Bornou. This was also the time of "Chefferies" which were non-centralised village organisations where the elders regulated, according to custom, social and religious life.

a) Cameroon-Chad frontier 1894-1919

* 1894 : First frontier - "The Duck's Bill"

An agreement signed in Berlin on 15 March 1894 between France and Germany established the border between Cameroon and the French Congo : the border line follows the 15° E meridian, then forms a shape nicknamed "The Duck's Bill" and extends as far as Milton (Chad) on the Chari by the 10th parallel. The Chadian villages of Bongor, Milton, Mailo, Koundoul and Guelindeg therefore became Camerooneses.

* 1908 : Second frontier - The Duck's Bill is reduced

A treaty signed in Berlin on 18 April 1908 altered the 1894 frontier. "Chad gained the tip of the "Duck's Bill" but lost some ground around Lamé and the 10th parallel, and above all to the North-East of Baibokoum. Gains and losses made an even balance. Bongor, Guelinding, Koundoul still remained in Cameroon."

* 1911 - Third frontier - "Great Cameroon" as far as Lai and Gore

"In 1911, the Germans let France establish its "protectorate" over Morocco, but received "compensation" in the Congo. Cameroon gained 25 900 km² at the expense of Gabon, Middle-Congo, Oubangui-Chari and Chad. The present day sub-prefectures of Baibokoum, Bebedjia, Moundou, Benoyé, Bainmar, Kelo, Bere, Gounou-Gaya, Fianga, Lere and Pala became Cameroon's possessions. However, Chad gained what remained of the "Duck's Bill": Bongor, Guelendeng and Koundoul became Chadian."

* 1914 : Fourth frontier - The present day frontier

As a consequence of the Treaty of Versailles on 28 June 1919, the defeated Germany lost all its colonies "all that Chad had lost in 1911 was restored to it; it also kept what it had already gained (the tip of the "Duck's Bill")." The frontier line established in 1919 constitutes the present day frontier between the Republics of Chad and Cameroon.

b) Libya-Chad and Sudan-Chad frontiers

* 1919 - Libyan frontier line is defined

"The Franco-British Convention of 8 September 1919 defined the northern frontier. In 1899, the angle of the diagonal which comes down from the Tropic of Cancer was not agreed. The British and French maps did not correspond. There was talk of a vague "south-east direction". It was then decided that this diagonal would join the 24° meridian at a latitude of 19° 30' north".

* 1924 - The Sudanese frontier is defined

After the capture of Abéché (1906) and the British penetration at Dar-Four (1916), a provisional frontier between Ouaddai and Dar-Four was established. The 1919 Convention recognised a first frontier. From 1921 to 1923, a delimitation mission made a detailed outline which was ratified by the Declaration of 21 January 1924".

c) Nigeria-Chad frontiers 1898-1906

Wholly situated in the waters of Lake Chad, the border between Chad and Nigeria was definitively determined by the treaty signed in London on 29 May 1906.

d) Central Africa-Chad frontiers 1906-1936

"When it was constituted in 1900, the 'Military Territory of the Country and Protectorate of Chad' included much of the present day CAE". On 11 February 1906, the 'Military Territory of Chad' and the Oubangui-Chari were created. From 1910 onwards, the Oubangui frontier was very much the same as today, especially when Baibokoum was united to Chad (in 1920). However, from 1925 onwards, Middle-Chari and Middle-Logone came under the jurisdiction of the Oubangui-Chari. Up till 1936, changes were frequent". To summarise :

- 31 December 1925 to 18 November 1932: Middle-Chari and Middle-Logone (Tandjile and the two present day Logones) were attached to the Oubangui-Chari.
- From 18 November 1932 to 15 November 1934: Koumra, Fort-Archambault (Sarh), Maro, Kyabe returned to Chad; Massala and Middle-Logone remaining with Oubangui-Chari.
- From 15 November 1934 to 29 April 1936: Middle-Chari, Middle-Logone and the Mayo-Kebi became dependencies of Oubangui-Chari.
- From 29 April 1936 to 28 December 1936: Chad recovered Middle-Chari, Logone and Mayo-Kebi; in addition, it administered Birao.

After 28 December 1936, the border between Chad and Central Africa did not change. Birao was returned to Oubangui-Chari.

e) Niger-Chad frontier 1912-1930

- On 11 February 1912: "A convention between the two Commanders of the Military Territories of Niger and Chad established a border up to the 16° parallel. Kanem would belong to Chad".
- 1916: "After the French penetration in Borkou, Enedi and Tibesti (1913), the frontier was extended to the north : Bardai and Zouai and the greater part of Tibesti were to be in the territory of Niger."
- On 11 November 1929, the whole of Tibesti was incorporated in Chad. The new border between the two countries was established in an Order of 18 February 1930 of the Governor-General of the AEF and an Order of 4 February 1930 of the Lieutenant-Governor of Chad.

This historical outline of the setting-up of the State of Chad is essential to an appreciation of the figures which will appear in this report.

II. SOURCES OF DATA

1) Administrative censuses and other administrative sources

a) Administrative censuses

They constitute the main source of information of the size of the country's population. The information of a demographic nature is recorded in the annual reports of the Heads of territorial administration.

* Legal basis of administrative censuses

The General Order of 26 December 1936 (J.O. 1936 p. 110) on the organisation and regulations of local administration in the AEF stipulates in Article 12 that the Heads of cantons "should keep up-to-date an enumeration list, by village" of the sedentary and transient populations. In Article 6, it specifies that the village chief "should help the Head of canton, land or tribe, to draw up enumeration lists for his village".

In February 1952, Circular N° 62 (AG of the Lieutenant-Governor, Head of the Territory of Chad) drew the attention of all regional and district chiefs to the importance of population enumerations. It says : "...I have mentioned above enumeration operations; in a country like Chad, where 45% of the financial economy depends on capitation duty, it is obviously essential that the tax structure should be carefully determined; ... However, I would like to reiterate that censuses are acts of fiscal justice and that they also represent for territorial authorities a key basis for setting up and carrying out economic programmes which inevitably depend on population density ...

to establish this close contact with the population under your jurisdiction, you, first of all, have recourse to enumeration operations during which you should be able to gather a host of vital information, consolidate your own experience and sometimes even revise your previous opinions. Notwithstanding additions and subtractions recorded following the declarations of village chiefs or heads of household, it must be stated that, on principle, any census which is more than 5 years old must be redone entirely. Furthermore, until Civil Registration becomes common practice, this work, the difficulty of which I am aware and of the errors it must give rise to, must be pursued by the district chief himself or his deputy and should on no account be handed down to junior officers without authority or experience. Finally, I must add that in writing my end-of-year report and in the recommendations I shall be called upon to make, the results you obtain in this respect will greatly determine the way in which you will be assessed" - end of quotation.

* Funds placed at the disposal of Sub-Prefects and Heads of administrative posts to carry out these censuses

There is no provision for special funds to be placed at the disposal of these officers for enumeration purposes. Prefects receive funds to be allocated to Sub-Prefects for the running of general administrative departments.

b) Other administrative sources

There must also be mentioned another administrative source: the Department for Major Endemic Diseases in Chad, which, for the purposes of its tracing campaigns and vaccinations, produces an annual estimate of the population of the country by prefecture. These data are published in the "Report of Technical Activities of the Department for Major Endemic diseases in Chad". [1]

2) Statistical Census

So far Chad has only had one census which could be said to comply with the norms of statistical censuses. This was the "Improved Administrative Census" of March 1968. Indeed, breaking with the tradition of administrative censuses, whose organisation was left to the initiative of local authorities, the Administrative Census of March 1968 without doubt displayed innovations which gave it a different complexion.

- First, its short duration, 1 month (March 1968).
- Then, the special training given to enumeration agents who, more numerous than for a conventional operation, broke with the custom of gathering together the inhabitants in the village square by starting to visit them in their smallholdings in order to fill in the documents designed for this purpose.

-
- And finally, the fact that the collected data were more detailed and were no longer concerned only with tax liability; the question of liability, although it appeared on the general questionnaire in column II, was not asked; the enumeration agent had to determine this on the basis of other questions.

3) Population sample surveys

The only sample survey carried out in Chad was that of 1964, whose objective was to define in a precise manner the population figures covered by the survey, its structure by age, sex, ethnic group, activity, as well as the main data on movements in the population (fertility, mortality, migrations), and the evolutionary trends during the following years. This survey lasted 8 months in the field: from December 1963 to August 1964.

4) Other sample surveys

The following other sample surveys should be mentioned:

- the 1965 Socio-Economic Survey
- the 1972 Budget-Consumption Survey, which took place in the town of N'Djemena
- also, the rural census of 1972/73

These localised studies do not provide an overall figure for the population of Chad.

III. CRITICAL STUDY OF SOURCES

1) Administrative censuses

The data given in Table 13 concern the indigenous population. The non-indigenous population, whose size is negligible, has not been taken into account.

The criticism usually levelled against administrative censuses concerns their primarily tax-assessment role and their methods of enquiry which encourage under-evaluation of the total size of the population. This is shown clearly in Table 14 the data for which comes from the 1964 Population Survey in Chad. [14]

As the authors of the survey noted :

* The divergencies observed for the prefectures of Ouaddai and Biltine can be seen as the result of :

- Firstly, a very substantial emigration of the male population towards Sudan,
- secondly, parts of the nomad population are sometimes attached to some villages for administrative purposes when in fact they do not live there most of the time: they only come once a year to pay their taxes.

Table 13

CHAD - EVOLUTION OF THE POPULATION

YEAR	POPULATION in '000s	REMARKS AND SOURCES
1913	1 045.0	- Monthly Statistical Bulletin n° 4, December 1952, referring to the reports of regional and district chiefs
1914	1 050.0	- Statistical Bulletin mentioned above
1915	1 081.9	- Statistical Bulletin mentioned above
1916	1 186.8	- Statistical Bulletin mentioned above
1917	1 080.2	- Statistical Bulletin mentioned above
1918	1 103.9	- Statistical Bulletin mentioned above
1919	1 057.0	- Statistical Bulletin mentioned above
	1 057.1	- From the annual report of the Lieutenant-Governor of Chad
1920	1 162.7	- Statistical Bulletin mentioned above
	1 285.1	- From the annual report of the Lieutenant-Governor of Chad
1921	1 171.9	- Statistical Bulletin mentioned above
	1 300.0	- with 700 000 km ² , report of the Lieutenant-Governor
	1 429.5	- Annual report of the Lieutenant-Governor
1922	1 429.8	- Statistical Bulletin mentioned above
1923	1 425.4	- Statistical Bulletin mentioned above
1924	1 476.7	- Statistical Bulletin mentioned above
	1 476.4	- 1924 annual report of the Lieutenant-Governor
1925	1 432.0	- Statistical Bulletin mentioned above
	976.6	- Statistical Bulletin mentioned above
1926	1 293.0	- Annual report of the Lieutenant-Governor
	956.1	- with 1 091 600 km ² , report of the Lieutenant-Governor
1927	950.3	- Statistical Bulletin mentioned above
1928	977.1	- Statistical Bulletin mentioned above
1929	977.1	- Statistical Bulletin mentioned above
	1 287.1	- Statistical Bulletin mentioned above
1930	1 112.0	- with 1 035 140 km ² , annual report of the Lieutenant-Governor
1931	1 088.7	- with 1 187 000 km ² , report of the Lieutenant-Governor
	1 401.0	- Report of the Lieutenant-Governor
	1 226.3	- Statistical Bulletin mentioned above
1932	1 226.5	- Statistical Bulletin mentioned above
	1 091.2	- 1 178 200 km ² , report of the Lieutenant-Governor
1933	1 226.3	- Statistical Bulletin mentioned above
	863.6	- 1 202 400 km ² , report of the Lieutenant-Governor
1934	1 325.1	- Statistical Bulletin mentioned above
1935	1 167.6	- Statistical Bulletin mentioned above
1936	1 545.4	- Statistical Bulletin mentioned above
	1 432.0	- Report of the Lieutenant-Governor
1937	1 555.9	- Statistical Bulletin mentioned above
1938	1 575.0	- Statistical Bulletin mentioned above
1939	1 586.2	- Statistical Bulletin mentioned above
1940	1 552.2	- Statistical Bulletin mentioned above
1941	1 656.1	- Statistical Bulletin mentioned above
1942	1 683.3	- Statistical Bulletin mentioned above
1943	1 847.8	- Statistical Bulletin mentioned above
1944	1 840.9	- Statistical Bulletin mentioned above
1945	1 911.3	- Statistical Bulletin mentioned above
1946	2 010.6	- Statistical Bulletin mentioned above
1947	2 097.7	- Statistical Bulletin mentioned above
	2 010.0	- Annual report of the Lieutenant-Governor
1948	2 166.7	- Statistical Bulletin mentioned above
	2 168.5	- Annual report of the Lieutenant-Governor
1949	2 238.5	- Statistical Bulletin mentioned above
	2 238.3	- Annual report of the Lieutenant-Governor
1950	2 250.2	- Statistical Bulletin mentioned above
1951	2 249.4	- Statistical Bulletin mentioned above
1952	?	
1953	?	
1954	2 441.7	- Statistical Bulletin mentioned above
1955	2 516.1	- Statistical Bulletin mentioned above
1956	2 579.3	- Estimate of the Statistical Office (Monthly Statistical Bulletin) with a rate of 2% base year 1920
1957	2 574.6	- Monthly Statistical Bulletin, referring to the reports of regional and district chiefs
	2 571.4	
1958	?	
1959	?	
1960	2 750.0	- Estimate of the Statistical Office with an annual rate of 2%
	2 675.0	- Monthly Statistical Bulletin referred to above
1961	?	
1962	2 727.3	- Notes on the improved administrative census of March 1968, Sub-Division of the Statistical Office, referring to the Ministry of the Interior.

Table 14

CHAD - COMPARISON BETWEEN THE RESIDENT POPULATION OBSERVED
DURING THE SURVEY AND THE ADMINISTRIVE POPULATION

Prefectures	Administrative population	Resident population estimated by the survey	Divergence from administrative population
Biltine	91 798	68 940	- 24.9 %
Ouaiddaï	247 675	239 850	- 3.2 %
Salamat	65 858	83 870	+ 27.3 %
Batha	153 179	156 420	- 1.7 %
Chari-Baguirmi	214 438	301 840	+ 40.8 %
Guéra	155 826	159 220	+ 2.2 %
Middle-Chari	284 622	373 590	+ 31.3 %
East Logone	178 179	236 180	+ 32.6 %
West Logone	142 673	190 390	+ 33.4 %
Tandjilé	189 001	227 570	+ 20.4 %
Mayo-Kebbi	361 604	486 500	+ 34.5 %
TOTAL	2 090 853	2 524 370	+ 20.7 %
of which urban centres	107 950	173 210	+ 60.5 %

* Regarding the other regions, the divergence reflects the relative quality of the administrative census.

Frequently, a number of these enumerations are out of date. Though they are sometimes up-dated, they are rarely re-compiled entirely, which affects the prefectures whose boundaries have been altered during the past few years.

Another criticism which can be levelled at the population figures given by the authorities is that these figures are obtained by adding the results gathered over a certain number of years (see below the reproduction of a note N° 368T of 27 September 1955, concerning the census, addressed to the Governor of Chad by the regional Head of Mayo-Kebbi). "...an account showing clearly the situation regarding censuses in the region of Mayo-Kebbi as of 1st September 1955".

- District of Bongor - censuses date from :

1951 for	452 people
1952 for	4 793 people
1953 for	13 071 people
1954 for	43 146 people
1955 for	20 216 people

On 31 August 1955, the total population of the district amounted to 81 678 inhabitants compared with 80 047...on 31 December 1954.

- District of Pal - censuses date from :

1953 for	7 037 people
1954 for	27 648 people
1955 for	32 655 people

On 31 August 1955, the total population of the district amounted to 67 330 inhabitants compared with 68 178...on 31 December 1954.

- District of Lere - censuses date from :

1952 for	6 093 people
1953 for	11 456 people
1954 for	19 455 people
1955 for	29 591 people

On 31 August 1955, the total population of the district amounted to 66 595 inhabitants compared with 67 464...on 31 December 1954.

- District of Finaga - censuses date from :

1952 for	19 885 people
1953 for	19 411 people
1954 for	35 001 people
1955 for	44 945 people

On 31 December 1955, the total population of the district amounted to 119 242 inhabitants compared with 118 331...on 31 December 1954.

In total, 127 407 people have been enumerated in the region during the first 8 months of 1955. The demographic situation is stable".

Table 15

CHAD - SUMMARY RESULTS OF THE 1955 CENSUS
IN THE MAYO KEBBI REGION

DISTRICTS	Population enumerated in					TOTAL	LIABLE TO TAX
	1955	1954	1953	1952	1951		
Bongor	20 216	43 146	13 071	4 793	452	81 678	44 823
Pala	32 655	27 648	7 027	-	-	67 330	37 512
Léré	29 591	19 455	11 456	6 093	-	66 595	36 081
Fianaga	44 945	35 001	19 411	19 885	-	119 242	52 852
TOTAL	127 407	125 250	50 965	30 771	452	334 845	171 268

The case of Mayo Kebbi is only one illustrative example among many others as the method of calculating the size of the population is practically the same from one region to another.

It sometimes happened that from one year to another, administrative authorities simply reported the population figures of the previous year, in the absence of any census. These censuses, it must be noted, were not carried out without difficulties. In this respect, the Chief of the Salamat region said in a letter addressed to the Chief-Governor of Chad ... "Among the four districts of the region, Am-Timan is, because of the way of life of its inhabitants, by far the most difficult to enumerate as this can only be done effectively (except for Daguel) during the rainy season. Travelling is notoriously difficult during this season in the territory of Am-Timan, each stage meaning swimming across several rivers, walking many kilometers, thigh-deep in water...". The same regional Chief says... "If one summarises the situation on censuses in the region of Salamat, it can be observed that :

- Out of 93 102 people enumerated in the region, 58 792 have been enumerated in 1949, 1950 and 1951, 27 409 in 1947 and 1948, and 6 901 prior to 1947; the earliest censuses date back to 1940.

- During the past two years, the monthly count for each district Chief has been as follows :

. Melfi	878 people
. Aboudeia	870 people
. Haraze-Mangueigne	418 people
. Am-Timan	0 People

or as the Chief of the region of Ouaddai observed ... "low tax receipts are due to the anarchic spirit of the population. The natives manage to evade all forms of control, nomads scatter and tribes are disbanded, villagers disperse ... censuses no longer have any significance."

In another report can be read the following: "...the Mousseilles have paid their taxes for the first time. By that I mean they have paid in kind in the form of goats, the sums for which they were registered. But the Mousseilles did not want to be counted. When the Chief of the district attempted this, they made fun of him, giving him imaginary names such as 'catch me if you can' or 'look hard for me', etc...; the Chief of the district, hearing bursts of laughter at each declaration of identity, understood he was being fooled; he shut his register and merely proceeded to make estimates, on two occasions".

Such anecdotes are legion and one could well ask how much the demographic data published by the territorial administration, whether colonial or not, should be trusted. There is reproduced below a criticism of administrative censuses by a former adviser of the "Union Française" in a letter addressed to the High Commissioner of the Republic, Governor General of AEF, which read: ... "There has been no general census for about five years. Every year, district Chiefs base themselves on the previous census to fix the tax due from each village. In the meantime, there have been deaths, migrations abroad and death of livestock. This results in discontent which weighs heavily on the population. Certain individuals who change village for personal reasons, intending to live peacefully, are compelled by the Chief of their former village to which they have not belonged for two or three years, to pay taxes. This means that they pay tax twice : to the new village chief and the former, who claims that their names remain on the village register. Tax is even collected for the dead because their names have not been crossed off. As for those who have gone abroad, their taxes still continue to be paid by those who remain behind...".

The colonial administration was equally concerned with the problem of nomads. The documents which we have consulted however do not mention the numerical importance of this category of the population. Also, in a study on nomadisation in the Salamat region, dated 1948, the regional Chief at the time stated that the number of nomads was difficult to calculate.

2) Estimates by the Service for Endemic Diseases

The demographic data published by the Service for Major Endemic Diseases in Chad, in "Report of Technical Activities of the Service for Major Endemic Diseases in Chad" concerns the total population. Compared to other sources, these figures greatly under-estimate the population. The growth rate calculated on the basis of these figures varies from one year to another as indicated by the table below showing the evolution of population estimated by the Service.

Table 16

CHAD - EVOLUTION OF ESTIMATED POPULATION FROM 1975 TO 1978

Year	1975	1976	1977	1978
Population	3 375 00	3 442 000	3 537 771	3 687 918
Growth compared with preceding years	1.99	2.78	4.24	

The Population Projections for Chad, 1963-1985, presented by the E.C.A. [15], gives for the periods 1970-1975 and 1975-1980 annual growth rates of respectively 2.06% and 2.25%, and population figures estimated at :

4 030 000 inhabitants in 1975
 4 121 000 inhabitants in 1976
 4 213 000 inhabitants in 1977
 4 309 000 inhabitants in 1978

Comparison between these two series of figures gives the following divergences (compared with B. Gil's estimates) in absolute and relative terms :

1975	1976	1977	1978
-655 000	-679 000	-675 229	-621 082
- 16.3%	- 16.5%	- 16.0%	- 14.4%

3) Administrative Census of March 1968

The criticism which can be made of this census concerns its non-national character, for field operations did not entirely cover the fourteen prefectures comprising the country. The authors of the census resorted to estimates in order to complete their data. Seventy per cent of the total population was effectively enumerated; the remaining thirty per cent was covered by estimates as Table 17 below shows [16].

Table 17

CHAD - EVOLUTION OF THE POPULATION (a) BY PREFECTURES
FROM 1964 AND 1968 CENSUSES

PREFECTURE	1964 (b)	1966 (d)	1968	
			Enumerated(c)	Estimated(d)
Total	3 254 000	3 371 000	2 437 008	3 492 000
Batha	296 000	306 000	...	316 000
B.E.T.	75 000	77 000	...	79 000
Biltine	129 000	133 000	113 680	137 000
Chari-Baguirmi	402 000	414 000	359 554	426 000
Guéra	159 000	164 000	140 535	170 000
Kamen	170 000	176 000	163 978	182 000
Lac	115 000	119 000	94 738	123 000
Western Logone	190 000	210 000	231 385	231 000
Eastern Logone	236 000	246 000	257 023	257 000
Mayo-Kebbi	486 000	498 000	454 329	510 000
Middle Chari	374 000	383 000	370 960	392 000
Ouaddai	310 000	320 000	...	330 000
Salamat	84 000	86 000	...	88 000
Tandjilé	228 000	239 000	250 826	251 000

- (a) this concerns the resident population in Chad, excluding Chadians living abroad.
 (b) Population Survey of Chad 1964.
 (c) Administrative Census of March 1965.
 (d) Estimate on the basis of demographic data from the 1964 Survey with that of the March 1968 Census for the Prefectures of Western Logone, Eastern Logone and Tandjilé.

In the absence of any explanation of the approach adopted, it suffices to note the criticism made above. It should also be noted that this operation did not address the problem of the nomadisation of Chad.

4) Population Survey of Chad - 1964

This is the most trustworthy source for any demographic information. All the same it must be noted that this survey only covered eleven of the fourteen prefectures, four of which had been partly included in the domain reserved for the sedentary population of the prefectures concerned. This excludes the study of the nomadic population. According to the surveyors "the study of this zone (500 000 km²) of very low population density, inhabited mainly by nomads, would have presented serious difficulties, taking account of the distances to be covered and the dispersal and mobility of the population. It would nevertheless be of great interest to obtain, in the course of later surveys, worthwhile information on the nomadic population whose demographic structure we know nothing about." The authors of the survey did not fail to encounter a certain number of difficulties during the execution phase, as they state in their final report, notably :

"During the operation, a certain number of difficulties were experienced, of which the most important were as follows :

- the training and control during one year of a hundred young Chadians at eleven-plus level, whose near future was uncertain (they were only employed for the duration of the survey), was an increasingly perilous balancing-act the closer the survey drew towards its end. Furthermore, the very difficult living conditions for the managers and surveyors in the bush did not improve the atmosphere.
- the vast distances to cover (the domain of the survey included Massakory, Guereda, Am-Timan and Lere) despite the very tight schedule.
- the mobility of the population, the prevailing ignorance and the mistrust of the villagers. In the north, eighty per cent of the population of a village would very often be dispersed in ten or more little rural hamlets (Dankouch). Incidentally, it is for this last reason that the sub-prefecture of Iriba was not able to be enumerated."

The regional nature of this operation could only lead to an estimate of the total population of the country which is given in Table 18.

As this table indicates, all the demographic data on fertility, mortality, etc... of the 1964 survey on the whole of the country is based on 78% of the population (60% of the population for the northern region of Chad). One can certainly conclude therefore that an under-estimation of the total population of Chad is likely.

Table 18

CHAD - ESTIMATE OF THE TOTAL POPULATION IN 1964 BY PREFECTURE

Prefectures	Population estimated by the survey (rounded figures)	Estimate from other sources		Total (h)
		(a)	(g)	
B.E.T.	-	75 000	(b)	75 000
Kanem	-	170 000	(b)	170 000
Lac	-	115 000	(b)	115 000
Biltine	69 000	60 000	(c)	129 000
Ouaddai	240 000	70 000	(d)	310 000
Salamat	84 000	-		84 000
Batha	156 000	140 000	(e)	296 000
Chari-Baguirmi	302 000	100 000	(f)	402 000
Guéra	159 000	-		159 000
Middle Chari	374 000	-		374 000
Eastern Logone	236 000	-		236 000
Western Logone	190 000	-		190 000
Tandjilé	228 000	-		228 000
Mayo-Kebbi	486 000	-		486 000
Total	2 524 000	730 000		3 254 000
Percentage	77.6	22.4		100.0

Notes by the organisers of the survey

- (a) These figures related to the zones not enumerated in the course of survey. Taking the variable precision of these different estimates into account, the population of Chad can be estimated at around 3 300 000 inhabitants.
- (b) B.E.T. Kanem-Lac. These are total population figures for these prefectures corrected and rounded. The calculation was made on the basis of administrative figures available in 1962.
- (c) Biltine - the figure of 60 000 includes the population of the sub-prefectures of Arama and Iriba.
- (d) Ouaddai - the figure of 70 000 includes the nomads attached to the nomade sub-prefecture (about 53 000) and the nomad groups attached to the sub-prefectures of Am-Dam and Goz-Beida (about 17 000).

- (e) The figure of 140 000 represents the population of Ouaddi-Rime and the nomad population of the sub-prefecture of Oum-Hadjer.
- (f) The rounded figure of 100 000 represents the population of N'Djamena (formerly Fort-Lamy).
- (g) Apart from N'Djamena, the above estimates are very approximate and probably still below the true figures, based on the administrative censuses of 1962, corrected by the mean divergence of 20.7% shown by the survey.
- (h) This figure only represents the resident population in Chad, excluding Chadians resident abroad, principally in Cameroon and Nigeria, probably numbering between 250 000 and 500 000.

IV. CONCLUSIONS

1) Results

Taking account of the fluctuations described in the various frontier lines of Chad with its neighbouring countries, the evolution of the population of Chad which is proposed only holds for the period from 1937 (year when the colony of Chad established definitive frontiers) to 1985. Different population projects for Chad have been made among which should be mentioned :

- that of the French Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs [17]
- that of the authors of the Population Survey of Chad, 1964, covering the period 1964 to 1985
- that already mentioned, carried out by B. Gil, covering the period 1963 to 1985
- and that covering the period 1920-1970, carried out by the Statistical Bureau of Chad in May 1957.

These various projections give, for the middle of 1963, the population figures shown below :

Table 19

CHAD - VARIOUS ESTIMATES OF THE POPULATION IN 1963

Projection source	Population at 30 June, 1963 (in 1000s)	Annual Growth Rate
Statistical Bureau	2 934	2%
Population Survey	3 209	1.4%
E.C.A	3 213	Base year
S.E.A.E.	3 239	1.69%

The first projection, based on figures from administrative censuses, has been eliminated. The figure for 1963 given by the projections of the E.C.A. has been taken as the datum point in the re-evaluation of the total population. Therefore, for the figures relating to the years 1964 to 1985, the growth rates given by the E.C.A. projections have been applied to the 1963 figure.

For the years from 1936 to 1962, the growth rates from the projection of the S.E.A.E. have been applied to the 1963 figure.

2) Sources

These data, it must be noted, only represent an attempt at an estimate of the total population of Chad. What the country needs is a series of statistical censuses covering the whole of the territory, both for a better understanding of the total population and of the demographic characteristics of the nomad element of the population.

Utilisation of data on population change based on annual adjustment of the figure can only be possible with the development of Civil Registration, for in Chad the recording of vital statistics is far from accurate and must be improved. This is why the Statistical Department for Economic and Demographic Studies has incorporated in its demographic programme the improvement of the Civil Registration system; to this end a request has been made by the Chadian Government to the United Nations Fund for activities related to population (UNFPA). It will therefore be some time before one can use civil registration statistics in Chad.

Table 20 shows the evolution of the total population of Chad from 1937 to 1985.

Table 20

CHAD - EVOLUTION OF THE TOTAL POPULATION FROM 1937 TO 1985
(at 30 June each year)

Year	Population (in 1000s)	Annual Growth Rate (%)
1937	2 302	
1938	2 318	
1939	2 334	
1940	2 351	0.7 (1937-1940)
1941	2 378	
1942	2 406	
1943	2 434	
1944	2 463	
1945	2 491	
1946	2 521	
1947	2 550	
1948	2 580	
1949	2 610	
1950	2 641	1.17 (1940-1950)
1951	2 672	
1952	2 718	
1953	2 759	
1954	2 799	
1955	2 841	
1956	2 882	
1957	2 925	
1958	2 968	
1959	3 011	
1960	3 055	1.47 (1950-1960)
1961	3 107	
1962	3 160	
1963	3 213	1.69 (1960-1963)
1964	3 268	
1965	3 323	
1966	3 380	
1967	3 438	
1968	3 497	1.71 (1963-1968)
1969	3 567	2.02 (1968-1970)
1970	3 640	
1971	3 715	
1972	3 791	
1973	3 869	
1974	3 949	
1975 (1.1)	3 990	
(30.6)	4 030	2.06 (1970-1975)
1976	4 121	
1977	4 213	
1978	4 309	
1979	4 405	
1980	4 504	2.25 (1975-1980)
1981	4 611	
1982	4 720	
1983	4 831	
1984	4 945	
1985	5 061	2.36 (1980-1985)

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