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Keywords
Senegal, Serer, Africa, tropical Africa, family size, family structure, households, household composition, domestic group, developing countries, surveys, censuses, kin networks, collective households, compounds, residential mobility, residential patterns, household dynamics, household structure

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African Demography Working Papers

Working Paper No. 5

SIZE OF HOUSEHOLDS IN TROPICAL AFRICA

Michel Garenne

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POPULATION STUDIES CENTER
UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA
SIZE OF HOUSEHOLDS IN TROPICAL AFRICA

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African Demography Program
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University of Pennsylvania

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I wish to express my appreciation to several persons at the Population Studies Center, for their invaluable keep in the preparation of this paper. In particular I am indebted to Professor Etienne van de Walle who not only suggested and encouraged me to undertake this study, but also provided many useful comments. I also benefited greatly from the enlightened discussions with my colleagues at the Center especially from Emmanuel Sekatawa. Special thanks are due to Wariara Mbugua for her help in revising the first draft. Finally, I would like to acknowledge the Editors, Professor Samuel H. Preston, Edward Brown and Wariara Mbugua for their effort.
ABSTRACT

The paper starts with a discussion of the concepts of household and family in historical and contemporary populations and summarizes the debate about size of households. A study of the average size of households and compounds recorded by censuses and surveys in tropical Africa is done followed by a discussion of the various definitions of households. Finally an illustration is given using data collected on the Serer, an ethnic group in Senegal.

Key words: family size, family structure, households, domestic group, tropical Africa, developing countries.
Sociologists often use the word "family" as a network of kins, what Burch (1967) for instance calls the "family of interaction." Demographers on the other hand refer always to the family as a set of people living together in the same dwelling unit, what Burch (1967) calls the "family of residence." This latter concept is often confused with the household. Indeed demographers use the household as a unit for censuses and surveys. One first identifies dwelling units, then households in which one studies individuals one by one. In this article reference is made only to the demographic approach, i.e., to the "residential domestic group" (Laslett, 1972).

I. THE CONCEPT OF HOUSEHOLD

1.1 Household and Family

There is no clear distinction in the common language between household and family in English or between "ménage" and "famille" in French. Both are strongly related to the dwelling unit, to the house. Webster gives, among several other meanings of household: "those who dwell under the same roof and compose a family"... (i.e., living together in the same dwelling place) and for family: "a group of individuals living under one roof: household" (i.e., share a common dwelling and table). The French "ménage" comes from Old French "maisnie", meaning "famille", a word derived from the Latin word "mansio" meaning house (Le petit Robert). In both cases, household and menage have the same radix and are the equivalent of family in the modern language, though household and menage should include those persons living alone.

In the old language both forms are synonymous. In his study of the history of the family, Peter Laslett (1972) gives as a definition of family: "a group of persons living together, a household, what we shall call a coresident domestic group" (p. 1). Flandrin (1976) did a complete review of the concepts of family and famille in old English and French dictionaries (pp. 10-15). Flandrin shows that in both languages the first meaning given to both words in the 17th-18th century dictionaries refers to people living in the same dwelling unit, often with a reference to the authority of the head of household or family. This included the servants and other non-relatives living in the house. The family could also mean persons closely related by blood, sometimes only parents and children. But in the 19th century dictionaries, this latter sense, i.e., the restriction to the nuclear family, appears as the first meaning because, due to the process of industrialization, the nuclear family became the norm of the domestic group. In other words, the meaning of household or family has changed with modernization.

1.2 Demographic Definitions

Censuses and surveys distinguish between private and collective households (in French: ménages individuels et collectifs). Here, only private households are dealt with, i.e., the cases of collective living quarters such as military barracks, penal institutions, college dormitories, etc. are not considered. The enumerator needs an accurate definition to be able to identify households. But several definitions exist that do not allow accurate comparisons across countries.

Goody (1972) proposes to distinguish first two levels in the concept of household. Level 1 is the "dwelling unit," i.e., a set of people living in the same dwelling. This is the household as a "houseful" (in French: maisonnée) relevant as a specific
concept for historical Western populations as well as for certain contemporary populations of the so-called developing countries. Level 2 refers more explicitly to the modern restricted sense of household. It can be defined as a production unit (persons jointly engaged in the process of production), the reproduction unit (spouses, children and others living with them) or the consumption unit (persons sharing their resources). Goody argues that this distinction between the two levels is not important in modern industrialized societies since they almost coincide but has a very strong impact on average size of household in developing countries, in Africa for instance, where the dwelling unit is much larger than either the production or reproduction or consumption units. He shows in one example from Ghana how one can distinguish smaller domestic groups inside a dwelling unit and recommends the use of the production unit for agricultural societies.

In summary one can say that the word "household" is somewhat confusing since it covers two different concepts. The old "houseful" which is a common arrangement for living in non-industrialized societies and the new "household" which refers to new patterns of living. The French usage is somewhat less confusing since the old meaning of "menage" is lost and the word refers almost exclusively to either consumption or reproduction units. Indeed French scholars tend to refer to other words such as "maisonée" (Flandrin) "communautés familiales" (Sicard, though this refers also to the family of interaction) or "concessions" in the case of Africa when talking about the "houseful." Obviously the definitions of production, consumption and reproduction units do not coincide exactly, but Goody argues that they are relatively close. In other words whoever the people inside the dwelling unit are, one can identify small domestic units, usually kin based (reproduction) who share the tasks of production and the resources (consumption).

In this respect the UN definition (see Appendix 2) is extremely confusing since it includes all the criteria mentioned above, from the nuclear family to the extended family spread in several dwelling units. The U.S. definition is much more accurate and uses the housing unit, i.e., separate living quarters. The French definition (INSEE) uses the criterion of "eating together" within the unit.

To clarify this complex set of definitions one can summarize them as follows:

Family of interaction (sociologists)
Family of residence (demographers)
  Household as houseful = dwelling unit, often with reference to the authority of the head

Household in the modern, restricted sense
  - Housing unit (separate living quarters, common life)
  - Consumption unit (share resources, eat together)
  - Reproduction unit (nuclear family and others)
  - Production unit (share tasks of production)
  - Other criteria

N.B. The French "ménage" refers exclusively to the modern sense whereas the household covers both senses.
1.3 The Debate About Household Size

Many scholars have discussed the household size in the past two decades. The first challenging work was that of Levy (1965) who argues that the actual size of households, as opposed to ideal size, has never been as large as it is often assumed, that is, it ranges from about 3 to 6 whatever the country and the time period. In other words, the so called extended family has never been widely prevalent. Burch (1967) gives statistical proof of this argument using data from censuses collected by the U.N. Hsu (1943) and Lang (1946) argue the same in the case of China. An important conference held in Cambridge (1969) reviews the subject and gives many examples from historical and contemporary populations (Laslett, 1972). Among these authors Goody, studying the evolution of the family concludes that:

Units of production were everywhere relatively small, kin-based units; differences in size and content are important in the comparative study of the family but they should never obscure the basic similarities in the way that domestic groups are organized throughout the whole range of human societies.

Flandrin (1976) discusses also this point but goes further, analyzing the distribution of households by size. Taking data studied by Laslett from an English village he argues that one has to distinguish between sizes of upper-status and lower-status households. In terms of distribution of households one finds that 53% are small lower-status households (average size 6.2). But in terms of individuals, among 277 persons living in this village 65% were living in the large upper-status households and only 35% in the small lower-status households. There are several reasons for this. The upper-status households include servants, have higher fertility and lower infant and child mortality than the others. Lower-status households have lower fertility probably because of longer breastfeeding (including wet nursing) and in certain cases higher age at marriage. Furthermore single-person households or young couples have always existed. Shorter (1977) discusses this argument in the same way.

In retrospect one finds that the nuclear family alone as well as the single-person households were prevalent in historical Europe. In terms of the distribution of households, large non-nuclear households represent usually less than half of all households, though there are regional differences. Flandrin cites figures of about 30% in northern Europe and 50% in southern Europe. This explains the small average size of households, say around 5 in Europe in the past. But one has to remember that even in the case of northern Europe where large non-nuclear households were least prevalent the proportionate share of the population living in such households was over 50 percent.

2. Households in Tropical Africa

2.1 Data and Definitions

Many censuses and surveys have been conducted in tropical Africa over the past 25 years, with the collaboration of British advisers in English-speaking countries and demographers from the INSEE in French-speaking countries. A list of censuses and surveys with data on size of households is given in Appendix 1.
Except in Kenya and Liberia, English censuses do not distinguish the two levels of household, what is here called the houseful and the modern restricted household. In contrast however, the French surveys distinguish whenever possible between compounds (concession) which is the dwelling unit and household (ménage) which is supposed to be the second level.

The most common definition of the "concession" is a set of huts generally enclosed with a kind of fence, where people live under the authority of the same head (see Appendix 2 and Table 1 for details). Raulin (1967) has done an extensive analysis of the concept of compound in Africa and distinguished the two cases of rural and urban places. In the countryside the compound always has a name in the local language and is really a traditional domestic unit, though in some cases (Upper Volta, Benin) it seems less easy to define. In urban places or in colonization centers however the compound was first an administrative unit. The colonial administration granted (concéder in French) a piece of land to new in-migrants, which was then enclosed. The word "concession" was extended later to the rural areas. Sometimes the colonial administration "rearranged" the villages to create compounds. It seems that this type of arrangement is widespread in tropical Africa, except in the forest zones where there are no boundaries between huts. A major difference between urban and rural compounds is that the latter usually include people related by blood (part of the extended family) whereas the urban compounds often do not. Raulin (1967) shows examples of how the compound can differ from the production unit or from the family, and how they can coincide in certain cases. Note that French demographers do not always agree on the use of the word "concession." They can call it "carré" (Senegal), "clotine" (Congo), "vestibule" or "maison" (Togo), "rudo" (Rwanda-Burundi), "sare" (Cameroon) and even "famille" (Gabon). Some of them argue that one has to distinguish between different countries because the local words cover different concepts (sare, soukala). This distinction seems to be particularly important with regard to nomads in Mauritania.

If there is a common definition for the compounds, even when covering various situations, there is no agreement on the definition of the household in the modern-restricted sense. A list of definitions by country is given in Appendix 2. Some types of definitions are more common than others, as well as some criteria (see Table 2). French and English demographers also differ in their choice of a definition (see Table 3). In French-speaking countries the most frequent is reference to the nuclear family and others living with them. Then come the housing unit and the consumption unit. In English-speaking countries on the other hand, the housing and consumption units come first. This is to be related to the other meanings of the French "ménage." This polysemic word is often used for a live-in couple (se mettre en ménage) or even more than two people (ménage a trois...). In English the word household refers more exclusively to the dwelling unit or the housekeeping arrangements. Note that "ménage" also has this meaning (tenir son ménage). The production unit is rarely used, despite Goody's recommendations, because it seems to be too difficult to identify in Africa.

Authors often mention shortcomings when using these definitions in Tropical Africa, and the most important is the constant mobility of individuals. For instance women often live outside their husband's compound for certain periods of time, after a birth or between marriage and nubility, in the case of an early marriage. An important shortcoming arises from the fact that units of reproduction or consumption are not always included in the residential unit. This is the case of the wives of a
the husband visits his wife several times a week and she cooks for him everyday. Where is the household asks Goody? Raulin (1967) also gives several similar examples. Another shortcoming comes from the difficulty of identifying consumption units. Because of the extended family system of interaction, almost no one has a separate budget. Raulin proposes to distinguish between permanent solidarity (extended family) and partial solidarity (for households) and concludes that the household (ménage) should be considered as an economic unit.

To sum up, demographers working in tropical Africa often distinguish two levels of domestic units. First the compound (concession) and second the household in its modern-restricted sense (ménage). The compound is easy to demarcate but there is no standard definition for the household. The application of Western definitions or criteria such as production, reproduction or consumption units always raises problems in Africa. But whatever the extreme cases it seems possible to identify, inside large compounds, smaller domestic units having a large economic autonomy. This point is illustrated later on with reference to the Serer of Senegal.

2.2 Household Size in Tropical Africa

Tables 4 and 5 give the average size of households recorded in censuses and surveys in tropical Africa. A distinction is made between compounds and households in the modern-restricted sense, giving an idea of the variance among regions and ethnic groups.

As far as compounds are concerned the average size varies widely from country to country. It ranges from 4.55 (Gabon) to 12.22 (Benin). The average size varies also from urban to rural places, where it is usually larger, and from region to region. A very large size (17.6) is found in Guinea-forestiere (forest part of Guinea), but it is evident that compounds do not exist clearly in this case because huts are not enclosed. However average sizes as large as 13.8 (Benin) or 14.4 (Senegal) do exist in certain regions. In more than half the countries where data are available the average size is relatively small. It ranges from 4.55 to 6.64 in 7 out of 12 countries, which is not far from historical European household sizes. Laslett (1972) gives a range of 3.69 to 7.22 in 100 English parishes, between 1574 and 1821.

Goody (1972) contests this concept of household--houseful, arguing that the turnover in African compounds is too large to have any meaning. He proposes the use of the production unit as the most relevant definition. Using data from several parts of Africa and Asia he found a smaller range for the average size of the production unit, with figures as low as 3.57 (Sri Lanka) and 3.40 (Tibet). But he also obtains figures as high as 11.1 (Lo Wiili, Ghana), 11.9 (Katsina), 9.7 and 9.8 (Yoruba-Oyo and Oudo in Nigeria), all of which are far from the average size in Europe.

According to definitions of households in the modern-restricted sense chosen for censuses and surveys one finds a much smaller range for the average size (see Table 5). Mean size of households ranges from 3.3 (Mauritius) to 5.64 (Liberia), with an unweighted average of 4.5, which is very close to 4.77 given by Laslett for the 100 English parishes. The variance among regions or ethnic groups is also small and the average size never exceeds 6.2 (ethnic group in Cameroon).
Size of compounds and households are often relatively close (Table 6). The mean number of households per compound is smaller than 1.6 in 8 out of 12 cases and exceeds 2 only in Benin and Guinea. Compounds of one household are always the most frequent, the proportion ranges from 41.3% of all compounds in Benin up to 92.9% in Chad.

Table 7 gives the distribution of households by size, the unweighted average of 21 countries. Households of size 5 or less constitute 70.5% of all households and only 6.1% exceed or equal 10 persons. Size 2 is the overall mode, though the most frequent size ranges from 1 to 3, except in Togo and Sudan where it equals 4. There are important differences among countries. The proportion of single-person households varies from 3.2% in Togo, 4.7% in Malagasy, 5.3% in Sudan to 25.2% in Cameroon, 23.8% in Mauritius and 21.8% in Kenya. It is difficult at this point to know what is due to differences in definition and what is due to differences among countries. Cameroon, Mauritius and Kenya have different types of definitions, as do Malagasy and Togo. The proportion of households with 10 or more persons ranges from 1.1% in Mauritius, 2.3% in Mauritania, 2.6% in Ethiopia and Mali up to 15.4% in Liberia, 14.6% in Togo and 10.5% in Congo. Here also no clear pattern emerges but it is likely that the definition has had an impact. At least the three last countries have the same definition, i.e. live and eat together, whereas Mauritania and Mali refer explicitly to the nuclear family. However the definition used in Ethiopia included all people living together and one would have expected a higher proportion.

The proportion of small size households (size 1 to 5) is always very high, ranging from 57.4% (Togo, 1961), 58.3% (Liberia) to 84.9% (Mauritius 1962) and 83.7% (Ethiopia). The unweighted average is 70.5 (see Table 7). In terms of persons this means that only 45.8% of individuals live in small size households (1 to 5); 16.7% live in households of 10 persons or more, which account for only 6.1% of all households. The proportion of individuals living in small size households ranges from 30.8 (Liberia) to 66.2 (Mauritius), which gives probably a better idea of differences among countries than the average size of household.

2.3 Influence of Definition

A classification of countries by broad group of definitions (nuclear family and others, housing unit and common life, sharing resources and eating together) has failed to show any significant differences. This indicates that variance among countries is much stronger than variance among definitions. However the highest values of average size (Congo, Liberia, Malagasy) are found using the consumption unit criteria (sharing resources, eating together). The case of Mauritius is exemplary since it gives two censuses of good quality with two different definitions for the household. The average size in 1952 was 4.6 when the definition emphasized kinship (relatives socially dependent on the head). It was only 3.3 in 1962 when the definition insisted on the common life concept (common housekeeping arrangements). There is no other explanation for so drastic a change but the change in definition. The average household size tends to decline only slowly with the industrialization process. Furthermore Mauritius became independent only in 1968 and no historical event could explain an important change in the social structure. The change in definition affected mostly the households of size 1 and 2. The proportion of households with less than 3 persons was 3.04% in 1952 but 44.9 in 1962. Almost 50% more single persons or couples were isolated the second time when no reference was made to the nuclear family. It affected also large households. With the reproduction unit definition one finds 4.1% of households size 10 or more but only 1.1% with the
"common housekeeping arrangements" definition. Note also that several countries using the reproduction unit definition ignore the single-person households.

2.4 Household Composition

Some surveys give the household composition in terms of nuclear unit (monogamous, polygamous, incomplete i.e., with one spouse non-resident) and nuclear unit and others living with them. Table 8 summarizes the findings for 9 cases. The nuclear monogamous family is always the most common domestic group. If one includes the case of polygynous households and incomplete families (generally wife and children, husband absent) one has a large majority of households, ranging from 57.1% in Mauritania or 55.4% in Gabon up to 72.4% in Upper Volta or 77.5% in C.A.R. The high prevalence of families with no other individual is not necessarily associated with small average size of households (case of Upper Volta). Coale (1965) and Burch (1972) have shown the limits to the average family size when mortality is high. Taking \( e_0 = 40 \) years and GRR = 3.0, which are reasonable values for tropical Africa, one finds in the case of nuclear family as defined by Burch's model, an average family size of 4.2. Even including 40% of households with an average of 1.5 extra members this gives only 4.8 for the average household size, assuming that the cases of polygyny and incomplete families tend to compensate. And this neglects the large turnover of African families, especially with respect to absent children. So given these constraints the average household size of 4.5 is perfectly understandable.

2.5 Conclusion

The above discussion has distinguished two levels in the concept of household, i.e., the dwelling unit and the smaller domestic group. Results from censuses and surveys undertaken in tropical Africa show that the household taken in its modern restricted sense (usually reproduction, consumption or housing unit) has a small average size, 4.50, which is close to values found in historical European populations. Indeed the household composition shows that the most common type is the nuclear monogamous family. The most frequent size is 2 and 70.5% of households are of size 5 or less. Approximately 46% of the population in countries where data are available live in small-size households (1 to 5). This small average size is due to the definition of households and to the demographic constraints of high fertility and mortality. However when one considers the dwelling unit, called compound in Africa, one finds much larger units and a much wider range among countries. Average values greater than 10 persons per compound are not rare in some regions of Africa, though an average of 12 countries gave 7.43 persons per compound.

3. AN ILLUSTRATIVE EXAMPLE

3.1 The Serer of Senegal

R.P. Martin (1969 and 1970) did an extensive study of the Serer and the Wolof of Senegal using data from the 1960 sample survey. The area covered by the study consisted of 37,320 inhabitants, among them 8,475 lived in urban places. Only the Serer are studied here.

One can distinguish three levels in the social structure of the Serer. The compound (mbind in Serer, cané in French) often divided into several sections (foulang in Serer, com intérieure in French) when the compound is large. Then the
"Ngak," which Martin considers close to the concept of household. This smaller domestic group is largely economically autonomous from the head of the compound whatever the kin ties with him are. Martin does not consider the "Ngak" as a household but singles out several households inside the same "Ngak" when there are several nuclear families. In other words Martin does not consider that the "Ngak" should be a unit for study but takes it as a definition of the household in the sense of a reproduction unit and disregards single-person households (only 2% of cases according to his definition). He does not give a precise definition of the household (ménage). Furthermore it seems he has taken the "Foulang" instead of the "Mbind" as the compound whenever the "Mbind" was too large. He cites examples of "Mbinds" with 200 inhabitants. Despite these reductions of the African reality his study gives very interesting results.

3.2 Size and Structure of Compounds

The Serer compound has an average of 14.4 persons in rural places, 9.1 in urban and 9.5 in semi-urban places (escales). The distribution of compounds by size is given in Table 10. Of rural compounds, 67.4% have more than 10 persons, but the proportion is only 35.5% in urban places and 38.6% in semi-urban places, which shows the dramatic difference of social structure in the two places of residence. In rural places, 90.2% of individuals live in compounds with 10 or more persons but only 60% in urban places. The large size of rural compounds is due to the system of marriage and the social organization of the Serer. It is very common that the head of the compound lives with his nephews (Ndokor), the sons of his sisters. The nephew marries one of the head's daughters and often but not always gets the inheritance at the death of the head. Indeed nephews of the head are present in 67% of rural compounds. Often the sons of the head stay at home as well as the head's brothers. In rural compounds when the head is more than 60 years old nephews are present in 72% of the cases, sons in 70% and brothers in 43%. In 73% of rural compounds the head of the family lives with other kin nuclear families which consist of 90% of the individuals in such compounds and in only 25% of cases is his family alone. These percentages are inversed in urban places: 46% of households contain only the head's family, 35% other kin families and 19% other non-kin families.

3.3 Size and Structure of Households

The average size of Serer households is 5.3. Table 11 gives the distribution by size. In rural areas, 74.1% of households have 6 persons or less, 82.5% in urban places and 70.2% in semi-urban. There are very few differences between places of residence for the average size (4.8 to 5.4). Around half of the population lives in households of 7 persons or more. The average Serer household contains 1 head, 1.2 spouses (because of polygyny), 2.5 children of the head and 0.6 others. Fifty-five percent of heads of households are monogamous and only 31.6% of households contain other persons not belonging to the nuclear family. Once again one is close to the case of Burch's model (1972). With GRR = 3.5 and e₁₀ = 30, which are very clear to observed values in this part of Senegal, the nuclear family model gives 4.3 as an average family size. If one adds 0.6 for other members, 0.2 for second or additional wives and 0.2 for children of these spouses one reaches the figure of 5.3.
3.4 Some Aspects of Household Dynamics

Cross-sectional indexes are known to be imperfect and sometimes misleading in demography. For instance the average number of children per woman does not allow comparisons as the completed family size does since it depends on several parameters: age structure, pattern of marriage, etc. The same is true for households. If one considers the building of a household as a process (see for instance Hammel, 1972) one has to compare not only average sizes but also sizes with respect to the age of the head. And in this case differences become more dramatic. Table 12 gives this information for the Serer households. At age 50-59 the average household size is 6.6 and the average compound size is 20.0 in rural. The household size is 5.4 for monogamous heads but 8.3 when the head is polygamous. This structure of the household is likely to be far from any European experience.

3.5 Summary

This example of the Serer of Senegal, gives an idea of the complexity of household structures in tropical Africa and of the attempts of demographers to reduce it. The size of compounds has a very wide range even in a small region, something from 1 to 200, even if the extremes are rare. It seems to have a greater variety of situations than the Zadruga (Hammel, 1972) or the Gesind cited by Shorter (1977, p. 35). Furthermore even taking the household as a reproduction unit which gives a small range of possibilities because of the demographic constraints, one finds that the African case is more complex than the average size would seem to indicate, mostly because of polygyny.

4. DISCUSSION

Goody (1972) argues that in any society one can find a small domestic group, usually kin based, that serves as the basis of the social structure. Dwelling units can include one or more of these households. More than half of the population usually live in such small-size households occupying a whole dwelling unit. Indeed this seems to be the case as well in tropical Africa if one takes the household as defined by censuses and surveys. This proportion needs several comments. First of all as Flandrin mentions, if half of the population and even more in certain cases live in extended family households this is a rather nice confirmation of the extended family pattern. This is especially so, if one takes into account that there have always been households of one person, of young couples with no or few children and poor, small-size households, therefore an average size of 4.5 has to be considered as rather large.

Second, any comparison of household size requires a common definition, as Goody points out. If one takes the dwelling unit under the authority of the same head, the size of the households appears much larger in Africa than in historical Europe and with a much wider range. Even the production unit recommended by Goody gives still an average size greater than 7 or 8 in many cases in tropical Africa. When one takes the reproduction unit one obtains obviously smaller size, but only because of demographic constraints and the result is rather trivial. Even a major difference with the European case, polygyny, disappears in the average size because of demographic constraints, i.e. because only a small percentage of husbands can by polygamists. The consumption unit contains a large portion of arbitrariness. For instance the European household includes servants even though they do not share their meals with
the head's family, have their own living quarters and their own budget, yet two African nuclear families living in the same compound, working in the same fields and sharing the grains of the same granary, are considered separate households.

The housing unit also raises problems when applied to the case of tropical Africa because turnover is high, since members of the reproduction or consumption units sometimes live in different huts and even in different compounds.

A kind of anthropological approach, i.e., trying to measure and incorporate local concepts such as "Mbínd, "Foulang," and "Ngak" of the Serer will certainly be closer to the reality, i.e., to the real arrangements for living people have. On the other hand this will raise numerous problems for the enumerator. But is it not the price for identifying these small domestic units without "demographic reductionism," as Goody calls it?

1 Note: There are still several studies that could be done. One can distinguish in some cases three instead of two units: Mbínd, Foulang, Ngak in Senegal or Soukala, Vestibule, Ménage in Togo. In certain cases censuses refer to the "de facto" concept of residence instead of the "de jure." This may introduce some bias. An analysis of households by number of huts they occupy would certainly be interesting. In C.A.R. for instance 90% of households live in one hut only.
TABLE 1: CRITERIA USED FOR DEFINING A COMPOUND

(11) Authority of the same head  
(10) Set of huts generally enclosed by a kind of fence  
(8) Dwelling unit (no reference to a fence)  
(1) People sharing resources  
(1) Eating together  
(1) Production unit  

(X) = number of cases (not mutually exclusive)

TABLE 2: CRITERIA USED FOR DEFINING A HOUSEHOLD

(15) Nuclear family and others living with them  
(13) Housing unit, separate living quarters, sleep in same quarters  
(11) Eating together or from the same kitchen  
(8) Common life, common housekeeping arrangements  
(5) Sharing their resources, their living expenses or same budget  
(2) Economic autonomy  
(1) Authority of the head  
(1) Sharing tasks of production  

(X) = number of cases (not mutually exclusive)

TABLE 3: CRITERIA USED IN THE DEFINITION OF HOUSEHOLD, BY OFFICIAL LANGUAGE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Criteria</th>
<th>French</th>
<th>English</th>
<th>All</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nuclear family + others</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Housing unit</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eating together</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Common life</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>3</td>
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Number of cases 51 10 61
### TABLE 4: AVERAGE SIZE OF HOUSEHOLDS IN TROPICAL AFRICA

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<tr>
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<th>Regions Maximum</th>
<th>Minimum</th>
<th>Ethnic Group Maximum</th>
<th>Minimum</th>
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Unweighted Average   4.50  5.9  2.8  6.2  2.3

<sup>1</sup>Urban only.

<sup>2</sup>Rural region.
### TABLE 5: AVERAGE SIZE OF COMPOUNDS IN TROPICAL AFRICA

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Average Size</th>
<th>Regions</th>
<th>Ethnic Group</th>
<th>Average number of households per compound</th>
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<td></td>
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<td>Maximum</td>
<td>Minimum</td>
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<td>10.0</td>
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<td>Burundi</td>
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<td>Chad</td>
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<td>-</td>
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</tr>
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<td>Gabon (1961)</td>
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</tr>
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</tr>
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<td>Kenya</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Liberia</td>
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<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
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Unweighted Average 7.43 17.6 3.3 18.3 3.9 1.62

### TABLE 6: DISTRIBUTION OF COMPOUNDS BY NUMBER OF HOUSEHOLDS

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<td>131</td>
<td>126</td>
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Unweighted average 122 173 160 137 113 90 68 48 32 61 1000 4.50 70.6 46.3
### TABLE 8: DISTRIBUTION OF COMPOUNDS BY SIZE AND SELECTED COUNTRIES

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<th>8</th>
<th>9</th>
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<th>15-19</th>
<th>20+</th>
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<td>144</td>
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### TABLE 9: DISTRIBUTION OF HOUSEHOLDS BY STRUCTURE AND SELECTED COUNTRIES

<table>
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<th>Country</th>
<th>Nuclear Unit (No Other)</th>
<th>Nuclear + Others</th>
<th>Other cases</th>
<th>All Households</th>
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<td>Incomplete</td>
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<td>?</td>
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<td>122</td>
<td>104</td>
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<td>143</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>531</td>
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</table>
### TABLE 11: DISTRIBUTION OF HOUSEHOLD BY SIZE AND PLACE OF RESIDENCE, SERER (SENEGAL)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Residence</th>
<th>1-9</th>
<th>10-19</th>
<th>20-39</th>
<th>40+</th>
<th>All</th>
<th>Average size</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Rural</td>
<td>326</td>
<td>312</td>
<td>248</td>
<td>114</td>
<td>1000</td>
<td>19.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Semi-urban</td>
<td>614</td>
<td>296</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>1000</td>
<td>9.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urban</td>
<td>645</td>
<td>312</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>1000</td>
<td>9.1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### TABLE 12: AVERAGE HOUSEHOLD SIZE AND COMPOUND BY AGE OF (MALE) HEAD (SERER, RURAL) AND TYPE OF MARRIAGE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Household/Age</th>
<th>29-</th>
<th>30-39</th>
<th>40-49</th>
<th>50-59</th>
<th>60-69</th>
<th>70+</th>
<th>All</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Head, monogamous</td>
<td>3.6</td>
<td>4.4</td>
<td>5.2</td>
<td>5.4</td>
<td>4.7</td>
<td>3.7</td>
<td>4.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Head, polygamous</td>
<td>4.3</td>
<td>6.9</td>
<td>8.3</td>
<td>8.3</td>
<td>7.2</td>
<td>6.8</td>
<td>7.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All (include others)</td>
<td>3.6</td>
<td>4.8</td>
<td>6.0</td>
<td>6.6</td>
<td>5.5</td>
<td>4.9</td>
<td>5.2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Compound      | 6.2 | 9.4   | 12.2  | 20.0  | 19.5  | 32.1| 19.1 |

## Appendix 1

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Note</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>BENIN</td>
<td>1961</td>
<td>Enquête démographique au Dahomey, résultats définitifs, INSEE 1964 (sample survey)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| CAMEROUN     | 1964   | a) Enquête démographique sur les zones centre et est, résultats principaux, service de la statistique et de la mécanographie, Yaounde 1963  
b) Enquête démographique de la région nord et sud-est : résultats définitifs, INSEE 1968  
c) La population du Cameroun occidental, principaux résultats de l'enquête démographique du Cameroun occidental de 1964, direction de la statistique, Yaounde 1965. (sample surveys in three regions) |
| TCHAD        | 1964   | Enquête démographique du tchad, résultats définitifs INSEE, PARIS 1966 (sample survey, non nomadic population) |
| CONGO        | 1961   | Enquête démographique 1960-61, résultats provisoires, mission démographique du Congo. (sample survey, preliminary results) |
| CONGO        | 1974   | Recensement général de la population, Brazzaville 1978 (census) |
| ETHIOPIA     | 1961   | Census of the population (urban only) |
| GUINEA       | 1955   | Enquête démographique 1954-55, INSEE, PARIS (sample survey) |
| IVORY COAST  | 1957   | Recensements des centres urbains d'Abengourou, Agboville, Dimbokoro et Man (1956-57), INSEE, PARIS (census of 4 urban places) |
| LIBERIA      | 1974   | Population and housing census |
| MALAGASY     | 1960   | Recensements urbains de Tananarive, Majunga, Tamatave, Diogo Suarez, Fianarantony et Tulea (Censuses of 6 urban places) |
| MALAGASY     | 1966   | Enquête démographique, INSRE, Tananarive, 1967 (sample survey) |
| MALI         | 1961   | Enquête démographique au Mali, INSEE, PARIS (sample survey) |
| MALI         | 1958   | Enquête démographique dans le delta central Nigérien 1956-58, INSEE, PARIS. |

MAURITIUS, 1952 : Census of Mauritius and its dependencies, Port Louis 1952.


TOGO, 1961 : Enquête démographique, INSEE, PARIS (sample survey).

UPPER VOLTA, 1961 : Enquête démographique, INSEE, PARIS (sample survey).


Appendix 2: List of definitions

U.N.
A household may be either: (a) a one-person household, that is, a person who makes provision for his own food or other essentials for living without combining with any other person to form part of a multi-person household or (b) a multi-person household, that is, a group of two or more persons who make common provision for food or other essentials for living. The persons in the group may pool their incomes and have a common budget to a greater or lesser extent; they may be related or unrelated persons, or a combination of both. Households usually occupy the whole, part of, or more than one housing unit but they may also be found living in camps, in boarding houses or hotels, or as administrative personnel in institutions, or they may be homeless. Households consisting of extended families which make common provision for food, or of potentially separate households with a common head, resulting from polygamous unions, may occupy more than one housing unit.

U.S. (1960 census)
A household consists of all the persons who occupy a housing unit. A house, an apartment or other group of rooms or a single room, is regarded as a housing unit when it is occupied or intended for occupancy as separate living quarters. Separate living quarters are those in which the occupants do not live and eat with any other persons in the structure and in which there is either (1) direct access from the outside or through a common hall, or (2) a kitchen or cooking equipment for the exclusive use of the occupants.

BENIN (DAHOMEY), 1961
There is no clear definition of the compound, but rather a long and interesting discussion of the concept (p31-35). We cite only what we consider the most important.
...La concession semble être en général une compromis entre une organisation traditionnelle et une habitude administrative. Dans le premier cas, il s'agit, vraisemblablement, de la traduction en langage administratif d'une entité sociologique, la grande famille, le "hellone" des gouris;... dans le second cas, il s'agit de la formalisation administrative de cette entité mais qui se limite souvent, par commodité, à la fraction de la grande famille qui cohabite dans un même enclos dans une même "concession" de terrain, en particulier dans les villages qui ont été à un moment quelconque réaménagés par voie autoritaire... Ses membres reconnaissant l'autorité du "chef de concession"
Criteria: administrative-dwelling unit; authority of the same head.
Authors comment the difficulties to demarcate compounds in certain cases (p31)
Household: ils représentent, en principe, l'unité collective élémentaire, la plus petite cellule collective disposant d'une certaine autonomie. Ils se définissent par une combinaison de dense caractères: légerement séparé de celui des autres ménages de la concession; autonomie économique. Il s'agit donc en général de ce que l'on appelle en Europe la famille: l'homme marié, veuf ou divorcé, ses femmes, ses enfants et les personnes qui sont à sa charge et qui vivent avec lui. Mais le célibataire, le veuf, vivant seul dans leur logement et disposant de leurs propres sources de revenu peuvent constituer des ménages ( à une personne ou isolé). (p31).

Criteria: Separate living quarters, economic autonomy.

BURUNDI, 1970
Compound: les "rugo" sont composés d'une ou plusieurs cases d'habitation et éventuellement d'un grenier, d'une étable, d'une cuisine, d'une case de passage...et sont entourés d'une ou plusieurs clotures le plus souvent circulaires (p8)
Criteria: dwelling unit, enclosed by one or several fences.(head is mentioned later)

Household: On s'apercevra que les differences entre rugo et famille sont assez nettes alors que les répartitons suivant les cases habitées et suivant les familles sont très proches...La famille (le père, la mère, les enfants et les personnes à charge vivant ensemble) p9
Criteria: nuclear family plus other living with them(includes singles)

CAMEROON, 1964
(3 surveys with 3 definitions)
Nord: Compound: La cellule de base dont l'observation est pratiquement immediate est le "Sare", qui est concrétisé sur le terrain par un ensemble de cases enfermées généralement dans un enclos plus ou moins visible. Pour reprendre une terminologie moderne c'est le ménage, c'est-à-dire l'ensemble des gens qui mènent une vie plus ou moins communautaire dont la caractéristique essentielle est la reconnaissance de l'autorité d'un chef et la prise en commun des repas (mais ce n'est pas une règle générale) p112
Criteria: huts enclosed, authority of head, eat together(but not always)
Nord: Household: le sare peut comprendre une ou plusieurs familles (au sens conjugal du terme) p 112
Criteria: reproductive unit.

Cameroun occidental
Compound: par contre, le logemnt,ensemble des des personnes qui ont généralement des liens familiaux entre elles, reconnaissent l'autorité d'un même chef et vivent dans une meme unité d'habitation, regroupe eventuellement plusieurs ménages et se rapproche d'avantage de l'unité de vie traditionnelle (p 52)
Criteria: dwelling unit, generally kins, authority of head.
Household: Le ménage est un ensemble de personnes ayant des liens d'inteédissance économiques étroits et mettant en commun une partie importante de leurs ressources. Cette cellule, composée des parents et, quand ils habitent ensemble,de leurs enfants non mariés, est assez proche de la famille de type occidental moderne et peut permettre de mesurer
la diffusion à travers le pays des concepts d'individualisation et d'indépendance économique (p 52).

Criteria: sharing resources, nuclear family.

Centre Sud:
Compound and households:
L'unite "Sare" ou concession qui avait été retenue pour le nord et l'amadaoua n'existe pratiquement pas dans le centre-Sud, sauf dans les zones septentrionales des départements du Mbam et du Lom et Kadei qui représentent une infime part de l'échantillon. C'est donc le logement qui constitue l'unité immédiatement observable et qui sera étudié en premier. On examinera ensuite la structure des ménages, qui occupent en général seuls un logement mais qui sont parfois groupés (p 119)

Compound: housing unit
Household: not defined, probably same as above.

C.A.R. 1960
No compound.
Household: Notons qu'en RCA, le ménage correspond à l'unité familiale élémentaire, la vie quotidienne des villages se déroule à cet échelon. Il est aux antres très proche de la conception moderne (ou européenne) malgré l'existence de la polygamie. Il se compose du mari, de sa (ou ses) femme(s), de leurs enfants, auxquels s'ajoutent parfois d'autre personnes (ascendants, collatéraux, etc...)
Le ménage type centrafricain possède donc, en tant qu'unité familiale une autonomie complète et s'intègre rarement à une concession.
De ce fait les notins de ménage et d'exploitation agricole mettent en relief ce caractère puisque 99,7% des chefs d'exploitation correspondent à des chefs de ménage. (p 15)
Criteria: nuclear family + sometimes others; autonomy; productive unit.

TSHAP (1954)
Compound: La concession se compose de l'ensemble des personnes qui reconnaissent l'autorité d'un même chef de famille ou chef de concession et qui vivent dans une unité d'habitat collectif le plus souvent entouré d'un enclos (p 30).
Criteria: authority of the head, dwelling unit generally enclosed.
Household: Le ménage est le groupe de personnes formé par les conjoints, leurs ascendants non mariés, leurs serviteurs ou personnes à charge lorsqu'elles vivent dans un même logement.
Toutefois les célibataires ou les veufs vivant seuls dans leur propre logement peuvent constituer des ménages d'une personne (isolés). Une concession peut donc comprendre un ou plusieurs ménages acceptant l'autorité d'un chef de concession mais ayant une certaine autonomie économique (p 30).
Criteria: nuclear family + others living there, economic autonomy, (includes singles).

CONGO 1961
No compound (l'absence de parenté, presque générale entre les ménages d'une même "clôture" (ou concession) et l'absence d'autorité commune a ce groupement de ménages a fait abandonner toutes études des structures par concession. La "clôture" ne peut être retenue que comme unité géographique) p 37.
Household: On entend par ménage le groupe social vivant et prenant ses repas ensemble et partageant les mêmes locaux d’habitation. Aucune difficulté sur la définition du ménage ne s’est présentée au cours de l’enquête sur le terrain, p 37
Criteria: housing unit, live and eat together.

CONGO 1974
No compound
Household: Un ménage est un groupe de personnes apparentées ou non, qui vivent ensemble et qui éventuellement mangent ensemble et ont en commun d’autres dépenses ou ressources (Tome 2 p 163)
Criteria: Common life, eventually eat together and share expenses.

ETHIOPIA 1961
Household: Group of people who sleep in the same or related quarters and who have common arrangements for meals.
Unmarried people sharing the same premises but making separate arrangements for meals were treated as separate households. A large group of individuals living in a compound and eating commonly would be treated as a single household.
Criteria: Dwelling unit + eating together (common arrangements for meals)

GABON 1961
Compound: D’autre part, plusieurs ménages peuvent se grouper au sein d’un même concession, celle-ci étant caractérisée par une certaine cohabitation, la mise en commun au moins partielle des ressources de la collectivité et surtout l’assujettissement à une autorité commune (p 69)
Criteria: Authority of the head, sharing of at least partly the resources, living together at least partly
Household: Le groupe le plus élémentaire est constitué par le ménage, dont la composition type comprend le mari, sa ou ses femmes et leurs enfants; à ce noyau peuvent s’ajouter quelques personnes suplementaires telles que parents, amis ou domestiques; l’un des conjoints peut en être aussi absent et à la limite le ménage peut correspondre à une seule personne.
Criteria: Nuclear family + others (include singles)

GUINEA 1955
Compound: La concession peut être définie comme l’ensemble des personnes qui reconnaissent l’autorité d’un même chef de famille et vivent dans une unité d’habitat collectif bien déterminé au sein de chaque agglomération, p 19
Criteria: Authority of the head, dwelling unit (well defined)
Household: Tandis que le ménage correspond à une notion voisine de ce qui représente la famille ausens européen du terme, puisqu’il comprend en principe les conjoints (mono ou polygames) ainsi que leurs enfants non mariés auxquels se joindre éventuellement d’autres personnes telle que neveux ou nièces, oncles ou tantes ou même amis ou serviteurs (p 19)
Criteria: Nuclear family + others kin or non kin (does not include singles)
IVORY COAST 1957 (urban only) ~ 23
Household (called famille) differents ménages habitent la concession. L'unité d'habitation est le logement (une ou plusieurs pièces réparties dans une ou plusieurs constructions dans lesquelles vivent une ou plusieurs personnes ayant entre elles une certaine communauté de vie; celle-ci peut être caractérisée par des liens de parenté, d'amitié ou de dépendance)
Abengourou p 7
Criteria: Kind of common life in kinship or friendship or dependence inside a housing unit.

KENYA 1962
Household: Group of people living together whether or not they occupy the entire house and sharing the principal meals (including servants or other members sleeping in separate quarters)
Criteria: Common life, housing unit, eat together.

LIBERIA 1974
Compound: The structure is the basic unit for the enumerator.
Household: A household consisted of one or more persons who usually share their living quarters and who usually shared their principal meals. Residence in the same quarters and sharing of principal meals were the two necessary conditions for persons to be members of the same household.
Criteria: Same living quarters + share of principal meals.

MALI 1958
Compound: La famille se compose des personnes qui reconnaissent l'autorité d'un même chef de famille et vivant dans une unité d'habitat collectif bien déterminé et le plus souvent entouré d'un enclos au sein de chaque agglomération rurale ou urbaine (2 fascicule p 167)
Criteria: Authority of the head, dwelling unit generally enclosed.
Household: Le ménage est un groupe de personnes, formé par les conjoints (monogames ou polygames) leurs descendants, non mariés et eventuellement d'autres personnes parentes (neveux, nièces, oncles, tantes) ou non parentes (serviteurs, enfants adoptés, etc...)
Compte tenu de cette définition, une personne vivant seule ne constitue pas un ménage (fascicule 2 p 167)
Criteria: Nuclear family + others kin or not kins (does not include singles)

MALI 1961
Compound: On entend par concession l'ensemble des personnes groupées en un ou plusieurs ménages, vivant en une unité d'habitation et placées sous la dependance d'un chef commun, le chef de concession p 59
Criteria: Dwelling unit; authority of the head.
Household: Le ménage est le groupe qui se rapproche le plus de ce que l'on désigne en France par le terme famille biologique. Il comprend généralement le mari, sa ou ses femmes et leurs enfants non mariés, ensemble auquel peuvent s'ajoindre parents, amis ou domestiques vivant sous le même toit. A la limite le ménage peut se réduire à une personne (célibataire, veuf vivant seul). Cependant ce cas a été éliminé ici et l'on ne trouve comme "isolés" que des hommes ou des femmes seuls logés dans un même logement.
Il n'y a donc pas de ménages d'une personne (p 84)
Criteria: Nuclear family and others living under the same roof, (does not include singles)
IVORY COAST 1957 (urban only)
Household (called famille)...differents ménages habitent la concession.
L'unité d'habitation est le logement (une ou plusieurs pièces réparties dans une ou plusieurs constructions dans lesquelles vivent une ou plusieurs personnes ayant entre elles une certaine communauté de vie; celle-ci peut être caractérisée par des liens de parenté, d'amitié ou de dépendance)
Abengourou p 7
Criteria: Kind of common life in kinship or friendship or dependance inside a housing unit.

KENYA 1962
Household: Group of people living together whether or not they occupy the entire house and sharing the principal meals (including servants or other members sleeping in separate quarters)
Criteria: Common life, housing unit, eat together.

LIBERIA 1974
Compound: The structure is the basic unit for the enumerator.
Household: A household consisted of one or more persons who usually shared their living quarters and who usually shared their principal meals.
Residence in the same quarters and sharing of principal meals were the two necessary conditions for persons to be members of the same household.
Criteria: Same living quarters + share of principal meals.

MALI 1958
Compound: La famille se compose des personnes qui reconnaissent l'autorité d'un même chef de famille et vivant dans une unité d'habitat collectif bien déterminé et le plus souvent entouré d'un enclos au sein de chaque agglomération rurale ou urbaine (2 fascicule p 167)
Criteria: Authority of the head, dwelling unit generally enclosed.
Household: Le ménage est un groupe de personnes, formé par les conjoints (monogames ou polygames) leurs descendants, non mariés et eventuellement d'autres personnes parentes (neveux, nièces, oncles, tantes) ou non parentes (serviteurs, enfants adoptes, etc...)
Compte tenu de cette définition, une personne vivant seule ne constitue pas un ménage (fascicule 2 p 167)
Criteria: Nuclear family + others kin or not kins (does not include singles)

MALI 1961
Compound: On entend par concession l'ensemble des personnes groupées en un ou plusieurs ménages, vivant en une unité d'habitation et placés sous la dépendance d'un chef commun, le chef de concession p 59
Criteria: Dwelling unit; authority of the head.
Household: Le ménage est le groupe qui se rapproche le plus de ce que l'on désigne en France par le terme famille biologique. Il comprend généralement le mari, sa ou ses femmes et leurs enfants non mariés, ensemble auquel peuvent s'adjoindre parents, amis ou domestiques vivant sous le même toit. À la limite le ménage peut se réduire à une personne (célibataire, veuf vivant seul). Cependant ce cas a été éliminé ici et l'on ne trouve comme 'isolés' que des hommes ou des femmes seuls logés dans un même logement. Il n'y a donc pas de ménages d'une personne (p 84)
Criteria: Nuclear family and others living under the same roof.
(does not include singles)
MALAGASY: 1960 (urban only)
Household: Ensemble des personnes, généralement unies par des liens de parenté, qui vivent dans un même logement, ont des ressources communes et prennent en commun leurs principaux repas. Du fait de ces deux derniers critères il se peut que dans un même logement, on ait compté plusieurs ménages. (p 98)
Criteria: Housing unit, share resources, eat together (generally kins)

MALAGASY: 1966
Household: La définition du menage retenue pour l’enquête est la suivante: ensemble de personnes qui se sont associées pour pouvoir en commun à leurs besoins vitaux: logement, nourriture, etc... (p 98)
Criteria: Share housing, food etc..(vital needs)

MAURITANIA: 1965
Compound: Le terme de concession est surtout employé en zone sédentaire ou il représente l'unité d'habitat collectif comprenant généralement plusieurs ménages vivant ensemble à l'intérieur d'une même enceinte souvent matérialisée par une clôture en branche d'épineux ou en tige de mât tressé. En pays maure, il n'y a pas d'équivalent exact de la concession. La notion la plus proche est celle de l'Aflat, la grande tente qui peut comprendre plusieurs khayma, c'est-à-dire plusieurs ménages: familles élargies, bergers, serviteurs de même que la concession sédentaire comprendra souvent plusieurs cases occupées par des ménages différents d'une même famille (p 55)
Criteria: Among sedentaries: dwelling unit generally enclosed (generally kins). Among nomads: "aflat", a group of tents (generally kins)
Household: Le ménage constitue l'unité familiale élémentaire et en pays maure tout au moins correspond assez bien à la notion occidentale du ménage: l'homme, la femme, les enfants et éventuellement un parent. Un ménage est un ensemble de personnes vivant en commun; ce ménage pouvant soit être un ménage familial, comme c'est le cas le plus fréquent, soit un ménage d'isoles, comme cela se rencontre surtout dans les agglomérations. On sait en effet qu'à la limite, un ménage peut ne se composer que d'une seule personne (p 55)
Criteria: Common life. Usually nuclear family + others (kins), especially among nomads. Includes singles (towns)

MAURITIUS: 1952
Household: Persons living under the roof of the head of the household and socially dependent on him. Dependent meaning brother, sister, nephew, niece, cousin, son and daughter, step son and step daughter or adopted children.
Criteria: Same roof, nuclear family + Kins

MAURITIUS: 1962
Household: Persons living together with common house keeping arrangements
Criteria: Common house keeping arrangements.
niger 1960
compound: the concession comprises the ensemble of persons recognizing the authority of a single chief and living within a defined habitat unit. thus, a concession may consist of a single household; it may also include two or more distinct households. (p19)
criteria: authority of the head; dwelling unit well delineated.

household: the household is the group of people who share a common household, whether or not related. (husbands, wives, and their children) and may include additional persons such as nephews, nieces, uncles, aunts, cousins, or servants. the household corresponds to the notion of a household as understood in europe (p19)
criteria: nuclear family + others, kins or not kins.

reunion 1961
household: a household is a group of people related or unrelated who live in a common dwelling and have a certain degree of shared existence: meals taken together, budget shared totally or partially.
criteria: housing unit + kind of common life (eating, budget totally or partially common).

rwanda 1970
compound=household: the correspondence between "l'unité traditionnelle d'habitat", the rugo and the menage is almost perfect. on a local basis, these two terms are most often used to designate either one or the other (tome 1, p64)
criteria: dwelling unit.

seychelles 1960
household: group of persons who ordinarily reside together and eat together. but it excludes those who may take food together but reside at different places.
criteria: housing unit and eating together.

sudan 1956
household: the concept of a household as understood in western countries (ie as a dwelling unit) cannot be applied in the sudan owing to the nomadic nature of much of the population and the fact that families in the south may live in more than one rugo scattered in the bush. a household was defined, therefore, as a group of persons who shared their main meals the same cooking pot. including temporarily absent members of the household. the precise definition of "main meal" created difficulties; the term had to cover households run by young housewives who were still in the process of having separate households from their mothers, or mothers-in-law, cases where individuals moved from one household to another, and communal eating which is a custom in many parts of the sudan (method report, p10)
criteria: same cooking pot for main meals.
TANZANIA 1967
Household: A household is a group of persons who live together and share their living expenses. Usually, this will be the husband, wife and children. Other relatives, boarders, visitors and servants should be included as members of the household if they were present in the household on census night. Persons living alone should be considered as a separate household (vol 5 p 85).
Criteria: live together, share living expenses (usually nuclear family plus others).

TOGO 1957 (rural only)
Compound: La notion de "vestibule" est particulière au pays habré. Chaque Soukala se compose d'une ou plusieurs agglomérations d'unités d'habitation (cases). Ces agglomérations disposées côte à côte à la manière de secteurs circulaires sont séparées par des murettes de terre et elles sont totalement indépendantes. Elles possèdent une seule voie d'accès située à la périphérie de la circonférence commune qui constitue le périmètre de la Soukala. Le cette disposition particulière est issu le nom de "vestibule" communément conné dans le pays à ce groupe de cases qui, à l'image de sa situation, possède sa vie propre. On voit que la notion de vestibule est très voisine de celle de la concession, classique en Afrique, généralement enclose par une tapade ou un mur et qui ne communique avec l'intérieur que par une ouverture (porte) ou une cuisine. Dans la concession le vestibule possède un chef qui correspond souvent à un des chefs de ménage du groupe (p 46).
Criteria: Huts enclosed, authority of the head (local concept).
Household: A l'intérieur de la communauté constituée par le vestibule existe une cellule plus petite: le ménage. Le ménage se compose d'un certain nombre de personnes unies par des liens familiaux étroits: époux, épouses, enfants, ascendants ou collatéraux; autour de ce noyau peuvent s'agglomerer des personnes n'appartenant pas à cette famille restreinte: amis, visiteurs devenant sédentaires. Le ménage peut être réduit à une seule personne vivant isolément (célibataire, veuf...). Placés sous l'autorité du chef de ménage les membres de cette communauté éloignée résident, en général, sous le même toit, prennent leurs repas en commun et exercent leur activité sous la responsabilité du chef de ménage. Il est fréquent que quelques uns d'entre eux travaillent ensemble dans une exploitation agricole par exemple, chacun étant chargé d'une parcelle; il arrive toutefois que certains membres du ménage travaillent pour leur propre compte (p 56-57).
Criteria: Nuclear family + others (includes singles) Authority of the head of household; usually eat together; work often together but not always.

TOGO 1959
Compound: Dans cette maison (concession) généralement entourée d'un mur ou d'une clôture se trouvent plusieurs bâtiments ou constructions (p 22).
Criteria: Set of buildings, generally enclosed.
Household: Le ménage étant défini comme le groupe de personnes qui ont une vie en commun, c'est à dire rassemblés normalement sous le même toit et prenant leurs repas à la même cuisine. Dans les instructions aux enquêteurs on a été obligé d'intervenir les définitions des termes ménage et famille, couramment retenus, pour faciliter la tâche de compréhension des recenseurs et éviter par là les erreurs (p 13).
Criteria: Common life in same roof and eat from the same kitchen.
**TOGO 1961**

**Compound**: C'est l'ensemble des constructions entourées en général d'un mur ou d'une clôture qui constitue une concession (souvent désignée au Togo par le mot 'maison'). Généralement il n'y a qu'une seule ouverture dans l'enceinte. (p 53)

**Criteria**: Building, generally enclosed.

**Household**: Nous appellerons menage un groupe de personnes, en général apparentées, qui ont une vie en commun et en particulier prennent des repas préparés à la même cuisine. (p 62)

**Criteria**: Common life, eat from the same kitchen.

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**UPPER VOLTA 1961**

**Compound**: Personnes qui habitent ensemble et prennent leurs repas ensemble. C'est plus souvent également une unité économique et, chez les cultivateurs, correspond généralement à une exploitation agricole (p 191)

**Criteria**: Dwelling unit + eat together (usually economic units and among farmers production unit)

**Household**: Si la définition de la concession peut n'être pas toujours aisée et varie suivant le critère adopté, la cellule familiale élémentaire au sens qu'on lui a donnée dans la présente enquête est une unité objective fondée sur le mariage. Une telle cellule est normalement composée d'un homme, de son épouse ou de ses épouses et des enfants non mariés vivant avec eux. Il peut s'y joindre d'autres personnes isolées participant à leur existence, enfants adoptifs, ascendants ou collatéraux etc. Un veuf ou une veuve, un divorce ou une divorcée avec des enfants non mariés constituent également des cellules familiales élémentaires (p 200)

**Criteria**: Nuclear family + others living with them (includes singles)

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**ZAIRE (rural) 1975**

**Household**: Le menage est l'ensemble des personnes qui occupent un même logement et participent au même budget. Si un logement contient en général un menage, il peut parfois en rassembler plusieurs (la distinction est alors faite entre menage principal et menages secondaires)

**Criteria**: Housing unit, common budget.


