

The case of Khartoum, Sudan

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Source: CIA factbook

I. INTRODUCTION: THE CITY

A. URBAN CONTEXT

1. National Overview

Rapid, unorganised, sometimes unauthorised urban growth (urban sprawl) has become a prominent feature of developing countries, and the Sudan is no exception. This urban growth is generally measured by increases in area and density more than by functional development. Rural mass exodus to Sudanese urban centres is attributed mainly to geographically and socially uneven development and the concomitant depression of rural ecosystems and communities, the long civil war and armed conflicts, natural disasters like drought and famine, and the failure of government economic policies. The number of displaced people has been estimated by the Commission for Relief and Rehabilitation at 4,104,970 of whom 1.8 million are in Greater Khartoum (El Battahani et al, 1998: 42-3) and about 2 million others are in other urban centres.

National governments adopted, to varying degrees, a policy of self-reliance. Weak infrastructure development encouraged the concentration of industries, services and administration in already existing towns. The urban process gained momentum thereafter. **Table 1** shows that the urban population in 1993 was more than 7 times its size in 1955 and will be more than 12 times that size by the end of 2002, while the total population in 1993 was less than 3 times its 1955 size.

In terms of general socio-economic development, the vast area of the country and transport difficulties have encouraged the emergence and subsequent growth of regional and local urban centres. **Table 2** shows how differently the various major urban centres have grown, and how the rate of growth varied over time for each of them. Variations in the rate of growth reflect the general urbanisation trend and, more importantly, the regional and local factors pertaining to population displacement, eg natural hazards in the east and west, famine in the

Table 1: Total and Urban Populations (000s), Sudan, 1955-2002

| | 1955 | 1973 | 1983 | 1993 | 2002 |
|-------------------------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|
| Total population | 10,300 | 14,500 | 21,590 | 42,900 | 31,341 |
| Urban population | 854 | 2,606 | 4,154 | 6,275 | 1,074 |
| Urban % | 8.8 | 18.5 | 20.5 | 25.2 | 33.1 |

Source: Population censuses and estimates for 2002

east, south and west, and war and armed tribal conflicts in the south and west.

In their quest to achieve socio-economic development, national governments have since independence resorted to short-term planning. The various plans aimed at the expansion and intensification of agriculture, import-substitution industrialisation, building of the infrastructure and provision of basic services. Only limited success was achieved. The present regime has striven for the reorganisation of economy and society on Islamic principles and values, and the general situation has worsened.

The current socio-economic situation is affected mainly by the globalisation process and the liberalisation policies now adopted. The major impacts of these external and internal factors may be summarised as follows (Eltayeb, 2001: 2-3):

- The economic embargo has sharply reduced the inflow of aid and loans.
- Indebtedness and the burden of debt services and repayment of loans.
- The Islamist, totalitarian regime has given birth to political instability not conducive to development.

- Natural disasters, eg drought and desertification, have reduced productivity.
- The long-lived civil war depletes the already meagre assets and resources.
- The civil service has been significantly weakened because appointment and promotion have become political commitments and are not made on the basis of qualifications and competence.
- Decentralisation without adequate resources has significantly increased taxes and fees levied by regional governments on already poor communities.
- The collapse of many enterprises because of their weak competitiveness.
- Increasing gaps between imports and exports due to heavy dependence on primary exports.
- Galloping inflation rates (101 per cent in 1995) result in lower real incomes.
- Privatisation has increased unemployment.
- Government has seriously cut back public expenditure on basic services.
- The discovery and export of oil have improved transport but not the living conditions of the people.

2. The History of the City

Tuti Island is regarded as the origin of Greater Khartoum as *sheikhs* (religious leaders) from the *Mahas* tribe moved out of the island during the 17th and 18th centuries to establish three villages which later grew to form the three Khartoum towns (Abu-Saleem, 1991:14). Turkish rule (1821-1885) chose Khartoum as its capital which gradually became the main administrative, commercial and religious centre, and its population grew to 30,000 by 1830.

During *Mahdist* rule (1885–1898) Omdurman became the capital and the main commercial and religious centre with a population of 150,000 in 1886. The condominium (British and Egyptian) rule (1898-1956) re-established Khartoum as the capital and the main commercial and cultural centre, with a population of 25,000 in 1902. Omdurman became a residential town, and Khartoum North the main industrial and railway centre. The construction of the Blue Nile Bridge in 1909 and the White Nile Bridge in 1928 connected the three towns to form the actively interacting Greater Khartoum. The pre-independence urbanisation trend has been prevalent till now.

The horizontal expansion of Greater Khartoum has been quite remarkable. **Table 3** shows that its area in 1998 was 48 times as large as in 1955. The greatest expansion occurred during the last 30 years (**Figure 1**). The average annual rate of increase skyrocketed to 66.1 per cent between 1970 and 1980 while it was only 5.2 per cent between 1955 and 1970, but then dropped to 14.6 per cent during the period 1980-1998. The three towns have grown differentially, with Khartoum constituting 43 per cent of the total area of Greater Khartoum.

Table 2. Average Annual Rate of Urban Growth (%) of Main Urban Centres, 1956-1993

| Urban centre | 1956-64 | 1965-73 | 1974-83 | 1984-93 |
|------------------|---------|---------|---------|---------|
| Greater Khartoum | 8.7 | 7.2 | 8.3 | 8.0 |
| Nyala | 6.2 | 10.3 | 5.9 | 7.3 |
| Kosti | 5.6 | 5.4 | 3.9 | 6.8 |
| En-Nahud | 2.9 | 3.8 | 1.2 | 5.8 |
| El-Fasher | 4.2 | 3.4 | 4.5 | 5.3 |
| El-Gineina | 6.8 | 7.2 | 3.7 | 5.3 |
| El-Obeid | 3.2 | 4.4 | 4.1 | 5.2 |
| Kassala | 5.2 | 4.4 | 3.4 | 5.2 |
| Port Sudan | 5.9 | 6.2 | 4.2 | 5.1 |
| El-Gedaref | 7.7 | 4.4 | 5.8 | 5.1 |
| Wad Medani | 5.2 | 7.1 | 2.1 | 3.9 |
| Atbara | 3.2 | 3.2 | 1.3 | 1.9 |
| Juba | 9.7 | 12.4 | 3.7 | - |
| Wau | 5.2 | 1.6 | 5.5 | - |
| Malakal | 7.7 | 8.4 | 1.5 | - |

Major reasons for this expansion include (in addition to those mentioned already) the high rate of population growth, abundance of flat land, availability of cheap building material (clay), the government policy of allocating a plot to every family, and natural and socio-cultural reasons (eg sleeping in the open air because of hot weather, separate compartments for males and females, the extended family, and high frequency of guests).

People tend to acquire as large an area as possible (when buying land or occupying it illegally). Most of the expansion is residential. **Table 4** shows the chronological expansion of residential areas, with high rates in the middle and peripheral parts. The core and middle sections have been expanding outwards.

Despite the formal commitment of the present rule to Islamic principles and values, the urbanisation process reflects western urban morphology and functions, classification of residence on socio-economic bases (**Table 5**), increasing roles of urban women, and constitutes a melting pot for different religious, ethnic and tribal communities.

Table 3. Spatial Expansion of Greater Khartoum in km², 1955-98

| Town | 1955 | 1970 | 1980 | 1998 |
|------------------|------|------|-------|-------|
| Khartoum | 7.9 | 13.3 | 101.3 | 343.8 |
| Omdurman | 5.4 | 10.4 | 81.1 | 253.8 |
| Khartoum North | 4.5 | 6.3 | 46.0 | 204.9 |
| Greater Khartoum | 16.8 | 30.0 | 228.4 | 802.5 |

Source: Ministry of Engineering Affairs, 1998

Table 4. Chronological Expansion of Residence (%)

| Period | Core | Middle | Periphery | Total |
|-------------|------|--------|-----------|-------|
| Before 1940 | 15.1 | 5.6 | — | 5.1 |
| 1940-50 | 32.1 | 1.4 | — | 7.0 |
| 1951-60 | 9.4 | 1.3 | 5.3 | 4.7 |
| 1961-70 | 5.7 | 25.0 | 12.2 | 14.5 |
| 1971-80 | 9.4 | 29.2 | 28.2 | 24.6 |
| 1981-90 | 13.2 | 25.0 | 34.4 | 27.3 |
| After 1990 | 15.1 | 12.5 | 19.8 | 16.8 |

Source: Ali, 1999: 73

Figure 1: Chronological Development of Greater Khartoum 1885-1985

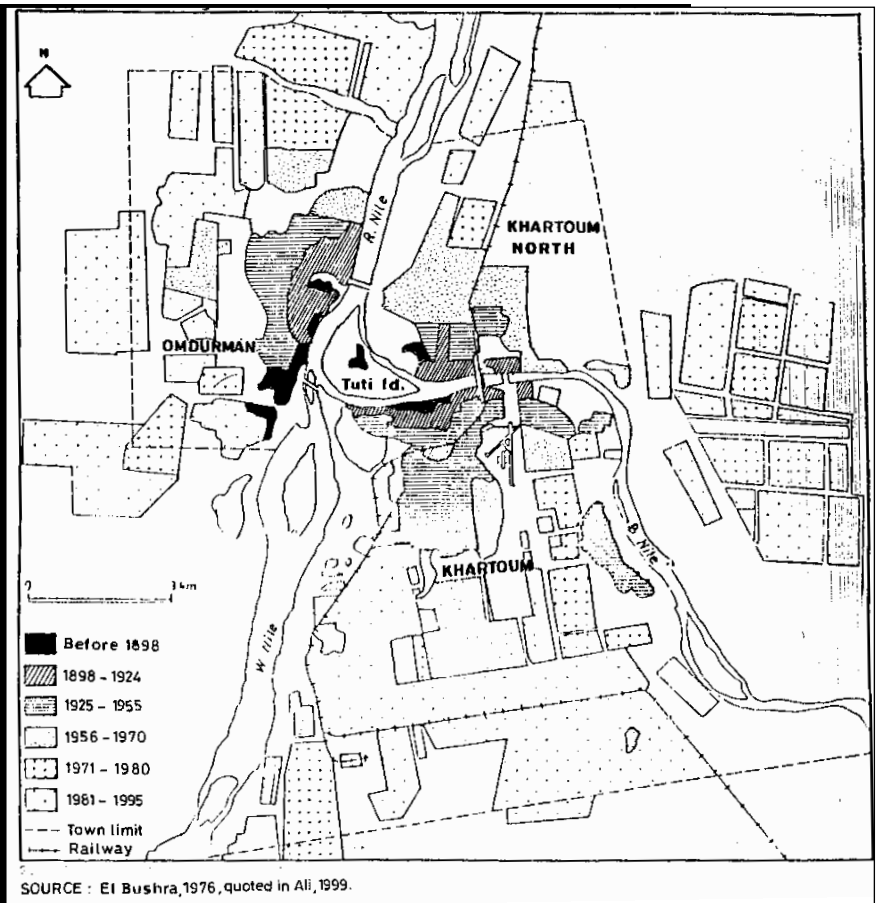


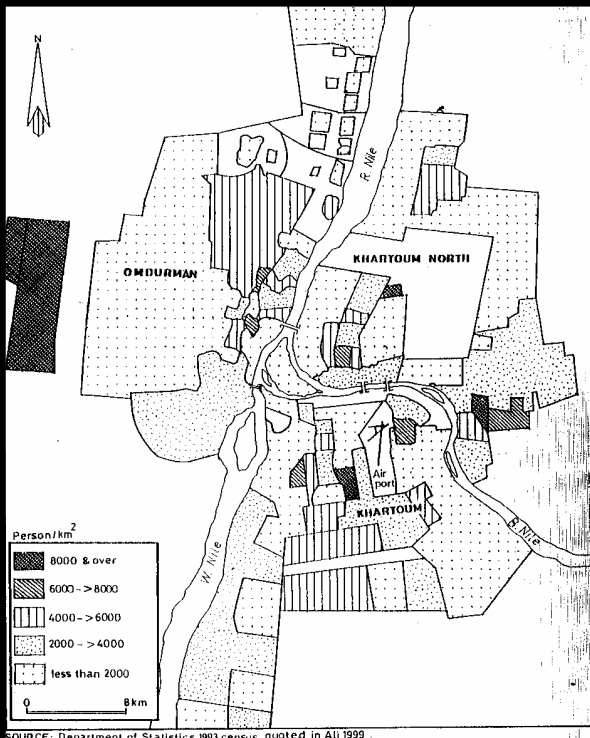
Table 5. Classification of Residential Area (%) 1989

| Class | Khartoum | Omdurman | Khart. North | Total |
|---------------|----------|----------|--------------|-------|
| 1st. & 2nd | 4 | 1.8 | 0.2 | 6 |
| Third | 17 | 12 | 11 | 40 |
| Newly planned | 2 | 1 | 7 | 10 |
| Squatter | 10 | 18 | 16 | 44 |
| Total | 33 | 32.8 | 34.2 | 100 |

View of slum dwellings



Figure 2: Population Density, Khartoum Urban Areas 1993



3. The Physical City

Greater Khartoum is located between latitudes 15°26' and 15°45' N and longitudes 32°25' and 32°40' E, at an altitude of 405.6 m above sea level. The terrain is generally flat or gently sloping, only interrupted by occasional hills of rocky outcrops while sand dunes provide a gently undulating topography. This flat landscape is also broken by the floors and terraces of the Nile valleys and *wadis*. The White Nile has a much lower gradient than the Blue Nile and consequently its terraces rise far more gently (Shakesby, 1991:11). The hydrological system, although dominated by the three Niles, possesses local drainage systems of ephemeral *khors* and *wadis* (dry riverbeds) which flow following the occasional rainstorms and which are more prominent west than east of the Niles. Some of those in the west manage to reach the Nile while in the east they are disorganised, little more than broad washes and most of them fail to reach the rivers because the terrain is more gently sloping and covered by sand formations (Walsh and Musa, 1991: 47). At the heart of Greater Khartoum lies Tuti Island, formed of depositional silt, clay and sand.

The main climatic conditions of Greater Khartoum are conditioned by its location on the southern fringes of the Sahara. The city experiences four climatic seasons (Perry, 1991: 39-40). The winter season extends from mid-November to March, with clear skies, cool and dry air from the north-east, a minimum temperature ranging between 8°C and 10°C which falls to 5°C during night, and maximum temperatures varying from 23°C to 25°C, and a relative humidity which may sometime be as low as 20 per cent. The hot, dry summer season is well in place by the end of March. The maximum temperatures may exceed 45°C by the end of May. Weather instability is indicated by the recurrence of dust storms. The rainy season covers the period from July to September, with August being the rainiest month. Generally, annual rainfall ranges between 110 and 200 mm, but a minimum of only 4 mm was recorded in 1984 and an exceptional maximum of 420 mm in 1988. A short, hot (about 40°C) transitional season occurs between mid-September and the beginning of winter. This changeover season from south-westerly to north-easterly winds is accompanied by dust storms.

The geographical expansion of Greater Khartoum (Tables 3 and 4) has a generally inverse relationship with population density which was 14,583 people/km² in 1955 and 22,667 in 1970 but declined to 4,815 in 1980 rising slightly to 6,013 in 1998. This declining trend is indicative of the large areas progressively occupied, legally as a result of planning, replanning and resettlement programmes, and in an unauthorised way by new migrants and land speculators, **Figure 2** shows population densities in 1993.

Bricks and mud constitute the building materials for about 73 per cent of all residences, and for 82.5 per cent of peripheral residential areas (Table 6). Most of the concrete buildings in the peripheries belong to those working abroad, and former residents of the middle zone or core who sold their houses/land and moved outwards making use of land price differentials.

Table 7 shows that about 90 per cent of buildings consist of a ground floor only. However, there is a growing trend for vertical expansion especially in the commercial parts and the first and second class residential areas, and main roads.

4. Demographics

The city's population grew from 245,000 in 1955/56 to 784,000 in 1973, 1,343,000 in 1983 and almost 3 million at the last (1993) census. Table 8 shows that 54 per cent of the population is male, reflecting the male dominated migration process. It also shows that about 61 per cent of the population is aged 15–64 years indicating that it is the more productive groups who migrate to Greater Khartoum. Omdurman is the most populous part of the city, housing 43.5 per cent of total population, but with the lowest numbers of people per household (6.1) while the figure is 6.5 for Khartoum North, 6.4 for Khartoum and 6.3 for Greater Khartoum. Foreigners constitute only 1.4 per cent of the total population (Table 9), but more have been coming since the discovery of oil, and the development of an export business. Classification of the population by religion shows a predominance of Islam (88.6 per cent) with 11.2 per cent of Christians, a proportion which must have increased as a result of the massive influx of displaced and refugee groups from southern Sudan and the Naba area.

The health situation is depressing and deteriorating. Although the infant mortality rate has declined, it is still quite high (Table 10), and the ratios of health facilities and personnel have decreased (Table 11).

The illiteracy rate in 1993 was 26.4 per cent for both sexes, 18.9 per cent for males and 35 per cent for females according to UNFPA, but Ali (1999:51) put it at only 4.1 per cent in 1998 (Table 12).

Table 14 shows the state of gross poverty of the population. 76.2 per cent of the city's families have a monthly income of not more than SD 40,000 (US\$156) and 92.8 per cent an income not more than SD 60,000 (US \$ 234).

5. The Urban Economy

The shape of the city has been conditioned by the general external and domestic factors mentioned previously, together with the internal dynamics of the city itself, which have all given the city its urban primacy. In 1990 the percentage share of Greater Khartoum in the national totals were as follows: 73 per cent of industries;

Table 6: Permanent Building Materials(%) 1998

| Materials | Core | Middle | Periphery | Total |
|--------------|------|--------|-----------|-------|
| Concrete | 22 | 26.7 | 13 | 20.8 |
| Bricks | 37 | 42 | 36.2 | 36.3 |
| Bricks & mud | 5.7 | 5.7 | 11.3 | 6.2 |
| Mud | 22.8 | 13 | 35 | 30.2 |
| Others | 12.5 | 13 | 4.5 | 6.2 |

Table 7: Number of Storeys (%) 1998

| No. of floors | Core | Middle | Periphery | Total |
|---------------|------|--------|-----------|-------|
| Ground floors | 88.3 | 82.0 | 95.0 | 89.5 |
| Two floors | 4.7 | 6.0 | 2.5 | 4.3 |
| Three floors | 4.0 | 8.0 | 1.4 | 4.5 |
| Four | 2.0 | 3.0 | 1.1 | 1.4 |
| Over 4 floors | 1.0 | 1.0 | — | 0.3 |

Table 8: Age Structure by Sex, 1993

| Age group | Both sexes | Males | Females |
|------------|------------|-----------|-----------|
| < 5 | 364,641 | 188,011 | 176,630 |
| 5-9 | 372,766 | 189,942 | 182,824 |
| 10-14 | 333,874 | 173,421 | 160,453 |
| 15-19 | 326,427 | 175,162 | 151,265 |
| 20-24 | 347,408 | 193,977 | 153,431 |
| 25-29 | 300,767 | 159,615 | 141,152 |
| 30-34 | 216,505 | 129,856 | 86,649 |
| 35-39 | 191,356 | 107,494 | 83,862 |
| 40-44 | 114,341 | 66,339 | 48,002 |
| 45-49 | 104,697 | 58,257 | 46,440 |
| 50-54 | 74,703 | 41,525 | 33,178 |
| 55-59 | 48,854 | 27,268 | 21,586 |
| 60-64 | 43,852 | 24,457 | 19,395 |
| 65-69 | 28,350 | 15,609 | 12,741 |
| 70-74 | 21,883 | 11,377 | 10,506 |
| > 75 | 25,143 | 12,919 | 12,224 |
| Not stated | 2,206 | 1,378 | 829 |
| Total | 2,919,773 | 1,576,607 | 1,343,166 |

Table 9: Population by Nationality, 1993

| Nationality | Both sexes | Males | Females |
|---------------------|------------|-----------|-----------|
| Sudanese | 2,879,362 | 1,556,330 | 1,323,032 |
| Other Arabs | 21,264 | 10,208 | 11,056 |
| Other Africans | 15,630 | 8,118 | 7,512 |
| Other nationalities | 2,865 | 1,613 | 1,252 |
| Not stated | 652 | 338 | 314 |
| Total | 2,919,773 | 1,576,607 | 1,343,166 |

Table 10: Infant Mortality Rate per 1,000 Live Births

| Year | Both sexes | Males | Females |
|------|------------|-------|---------|
| 1993 | 94 | 100 | 87 |
| 1999 | 92 | 98 | 85 |

75 per cent of the industrial labour force; 67 per cent of electrical power from the national grid; 85 per cent of commercial enterprises; 80 per cent of banking services; 85 per cent of industrial bank loans; 71 per cent of real estate bank loans; 65 per cent of currency exchanges; 70 per cent of tax payers; 81 per cent of taxes collected; 70 per cent of hospitals and health centres; 65 per cent of medical doctors; and 80 per cent of nurses (Ali, 1990: 82 and Ahmed, 1997:6).

Table 15 shows that the informal sector absorbs almost two thirds of those employed. The informal sector is expanding because it requires no or very little capital, and because public sector employees are increasingly joining it because it is more rewarding financially after the serious deterioration of their real incomes. For example, the minimum pay in the civil service in 1995 represented only 28 and 52 per cent of its value in 1990 for class I and class XIV, respectively (Eltayeb, 2001:8).

The primary sector is mainly agricultural: fruits and vegetables, dairy and poultry farms (**Figure 3**), but it is decreasing because farms engulfed by city growth are being converted into residential and commercial land. Agriculture is also practised on the Nile terraces and islands. In 1993, 11 per cent of households had agricultural plots, but some of them are absentee landlords owning agricultural schemes in other states.

The proportion of economically active population in 1999 was 9.3 per cent for women and 30.2 per cent for both sexes. Women are employed in all sectors, with a marked concentration in the informal sector and menial services.

The city is well connected with the global economy. Being the national capital, it is the seat of diplomatic missions, UN organisations, foreign firms and agents. The export of oil has strengthened these relations (eg with China and Malaysia). Khartoum State Government has signed many agreements and protocols, and foreign investment started to flow into the city, especially from Arab countries. Khartoum airport is the main outlet for fruit and vegetable exports to Arab countries, especially Saudi Arabia, and European markets like Holland, Belgium and Germany.

Table 11: Health Facilities and Personnel per 100,000 Population

| Year | No. of hospitals | No. of health centres | P.H.C Units | Specialists | General doctors | Medical assistants | Nurses |
|------|------------------|-----------------------|-------------|-------------|-----------------|--------------------|--------|
| 1993 | 1.1 | 2.1 | 1.7 | 8.4 | 26.0 | 36.9 | 96.9 |
| 2000 | 0.6 | 2.2 | 1.5 | 6.6 | 13.5 | 30.0 | 74.4 |

Table 12: Education Level of Household Heads (%), 1998

| Illiterate | Khalwa | Elementary | Intermediate | Secondary | University | Higher |
|------------|--------|------------|--------------|-----------|------------|--------|
| 4.1 | 15.5 | 15.8 | 11.4 | 26.4 | 24.3 | 2.3 |

Table 13: Classification of Household Heads by Occupation (%), 1998

| Employee (public) | Employee (private) | Merchant/trader | Unskilled worker | Skilled worker | Technician | Farmer | Abroad |
|-------------------|--------------------|-----------------|------------------|----------------|------------|--------|--------|
| 17.6 | 5.2 | 32.1 | 15.4 | 12.3 | 9.9 | 1.2 | 6.2 |

Table 14: Family Monthly Income (in SD '000s), 1998

| Income | < 10 | 11-20 | 21-30 | 31-40 | 41-50 | 51-60 | 61-80 | 81-100 | >100 |
|----------|------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|--------|------|
| Family % | 26.5 | 18.2 | 16.3 | 15.2 | 8.9 | 7.7 | 3.0 | 3.0 | 1.2 |

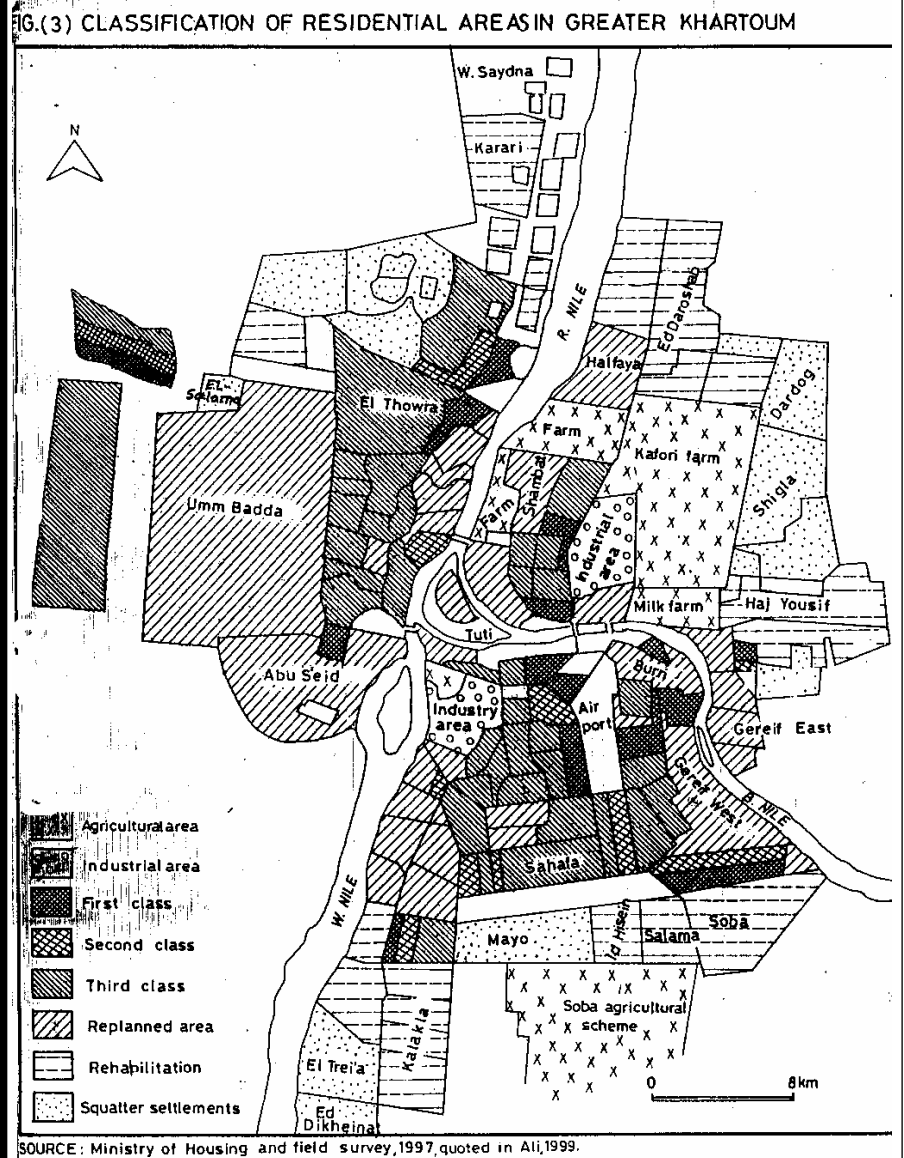
Table 15. Sectoral Distribution of Labour Force (%), 1996

| Primary sector | Secondary | Informal sector | Unemployed |
|----------------|-----------|-----------------|------------|
| 4 | 19 | 65 | 12 |

6. Governance

Under the umbrella of the federal institutions and laws, Khartoum State Government operates at two levels: the state and the local levels. At the first level is the Wali (governor), his small cabinet, and the legislative council. The governor and his cabinet have political, executive, legislative and supervisory roles. Sometimes conflicts over jurisdiction arise

Figure 3: Classification of Residential Areas in Greater Khartoum



between the state and federal governments because the dividing line is blurred.

At the local level are the five *muhafaza* (provinces), the 25 local government councils, and the people's administrative committees in all localities. The role of the *muhafaza* is to keep security, provide services, and co-ordinate between the *Wilaya* and the local councils. The local authorities have the power to issue some local orders, and this power decreases down the ladder. The basic function of local government councils and people's administrative committees is executive and supportive of the political regime.

The financial resources of the state are: value added on commercial transactions (10 per cent); the profits of the state's enterprises; the proceeds of licenses; taxes and fees; aid loans and credit facilities; federal financial support; and miscellaneous local resources. The 2002 state budget amounts to SD 36.7 billion (US \$ 143 million).

The degree of supposed autonomy is quite reasonable and decentralisation is the declared official policy, but domination from the federal authorities is not uncommon, and the grassroots committees have almost no power. Another problem is that the financial resources at the disposal of the state government and the local government councils are too meagre to meet their responsibilities, especially the provision of basic services or even to pay the salaries of their civil servants, eg teachers.

The ruling party is the Islamic National Front (without Turabi's faction), with small southern parties, the Muslim Brothers, a small faction of the Democratic Unionist party. In the opposition are the main Sudanese parties: the Umma Party, the Democratic Unionist Party, the Sudan People's Liberation Front, the Communist Party and the Baath Party. There are more than 10 other small parties with or against the ruling party.

II SLUMS AND POVERTY

B. TYPES OF SLUM IN THE CITY

1. Slum Types

The typology of slums is rather diffuse, but in broad terms they can be categorised as follows:

1.1 Inner-city slum areas

These are either engulfed or annexed by urban expansion. The residents of some, such as Fallata village (of Nigerian origin), have been moved further out and the area redeveloped and planned. Others have been replanned and residents were allowed to stay, for example Diyoum.

1.2 Outer slums

These are areas planned by the authorities and distributed to the landless. Living conditions are worse than in the first group.

1.3 Squatter settlements

These are settlements built on land illegally occupied by newcomers. Conditions here are the worst in all the slums. Temporary shelters are built of cardboard, tin and sacks.

The second category is the most dominant, and the last occupies a considerable area.

2. Location

The locational trend is one of outward expansion of each type of slum, because the high land prices in the core area encourage inner city slum residents to sell their land and move outwards. Similarly the inner part of the outer slums become part of the inner city slums while expanding outwards and the squatter settlements gradually become part of the outer slums, while new squatter settlements spring up. Naturally this locational pattern is not geometrical.

In **Figure 3** we can see most of the third class areas representing inner city slums, the replanned area (completely replanned) and rehabilitated area (partially replanned) as outer slums, and then the squatter settlements. Compare **Figure 1** and **Figure 3**.

3. Age

During the first twenty years of the condominium rule Tuti Island was the only inner city slum, lying between the first and second class buildings along the Blue Nile in Khartoum and those west of the River Nile in Omdurman. To the south of these buildings in Khartoum and to the west in Omdurman were the outer slums. Between then and independence, each of the three towns developed its commercial core, which expanded

over the outer slums which, in turn expanded outwards. The first squatter settlement appeared in 1921 in Khartoum North (now third class) and spread then around the industrial areas (now removed). National governments continued to distribute plots of land and many first and second class quarters sprang beyond the former outer slums, such as Amarat, Riyadh, Safia and Muhandiseen.

Squatter settlements grew gradually due to rural-urban disparities, but the exceptionally high rate of expansion occurred during 1984 - 86 because of the outbreak of the civil war and the severe drought and famine. Surveys of squatter settlement continued from 1973 to 1977 and then in 1985/86 and during the 1990s. As a result resettlement programmes were reactivated. Since 1989 12 major squatter settlements were removed to 12 planned settlements on the fringes and beyond the boundaries of Greater Khartoum. Now five squatter settlements await action, their residents numbering about 265,000.

4. Population Size and Characteristics

There are no reliable data on the population of the slum areas. However, Ahmed (1997: 80) estimates that the displaced in 1977 constituted 35 per cent of the population of Khartoum, 27 per cent of Omdurman and 16 per cent of Khartoum North. In a recent social survey conducted by the Government of Khartoum State, the number of southerners was estimated at 2 million.

With a modest assumption that 90% of these southerners live in slum areas together with 1.7 million from other parts of the country, particularly the famine-stricken western areas, the population of slum areas total now 3.5 million people in Greater Khartoum. With reference to **Tables 5** and **6**, one could estimate that 1.3 million people (22.5 per cent of the total) live in squatter settlements, 1.6 million (27.6 per cent) live in outer slums, and 0.6 million (10.3 per cent) in inner city slums.

The tribal structure in squatter settlements and other slums shows a predominance of southern tribes (mainly Dinka, Nuer and Shuluk) and western Sudanese tribes (mainly Fur, Zaghawa, Miseiriya, Baggara, Riseigat, Barno, and Nuba). Those in the inner city slums are mainly from central and northern Sudan. Some population characteristics will be given in the two sample cases later in the report.



A view of the slum houses in Mayo

C. OFFICIAL DEFINITIONS OF SLUMS

1. Definitions and their Predominant Use

The official term used as an umbrella term for all types of illegal residence is "squatter settlement". Within this broad category, there are a number of particular categories. These are:

- *Carton* (cardboard) and *safeeh* (tin) camps; these are the poorest slums on public or private land.
- Large fenced areas with or without housing, reserved by land speculators (for sale or rent) who claim that it is theirs through inheritance.
- Old villages incorporated into the urban centre, occupied by people who have customary rights. These are now being replanned and residents given ownership rights.
- Planned squatter settlements. These emerge when authorities resettle squatter or displaced populations, and give them ownership rights.
- Luxurious squatter settlements erected by dignitaries on public land.

Policy concerns hinge upon the legality of land acquisition and not the type of residence. Slums are tackled within the wider context of poverty.

D. UNOFFICIAL DEFINITIONS OF SLUMS

1. Popular Understandings of Slums

For a student a slum is an environmentally depressed area. For a businessman it is a place unacceptable to humans. For a civil servant it is an area occupied by a non-owners in need and poverty, while a worker perceives it as a simple dwelling occupied by simple and poor people.

The main local language terms used are:

- *Carton* cardboard villages.
- *Safeih* tin villages.
- *Ishash* huts.
- *Galoos* mud buildings.
- *Shamma* people living in the sun.

For the purposes of this study, a sample survey of 20 households was carried out. In this survey only three men and one woman could say what slum meant to them. For the men it is a place of sub-human standards, illegal and subject to demolition any time. The lady perceived it as an area occupied by people who are not recognised as citizens.

E. OFFICIAL DEFINITIONS OF POVERTY

1. Definitions and their Predominant Use

Formerly the World Bank defined poor people in Sudan as those owning agricultural land of less than 5 *feddans* (2.1 hectares) or living in a third class residence (Ahmed, 1997:8). In 1990 the poverty line was quantified monetarily at US\$7.23 per person per month or SD 1,807.

But the value of the national currency now is 0.006 of its dollar value in 1990 (Ali, 1999: 83). Now researchers put the poverty line at one dollar per person per day, or US\$189 (SD 48,573) per family per month (household size of 6.3 people).

Poverty definitions have moved away from the use of the third class residence because other types of residence have appeared, and also because many third class residents have become rich. Another reason is that a defini-



The road through the settlement

tion based on income is more appropriate to measure the family's purchasing power, can easily be adjusted to changes in inflation rate, and is used world wide.

F. UNOFFICIAL DEFINITIONS OF POVERTY

1. Popular Understandings of Poverty

A businessman commented on the conception of poverty by saying that if there were no poverty there would not be rich people, while for a civil servant poverty is from God and content is a treasure although one should work to improve his conditions. Poverty, for a student, is the inability to realise the minimum standard of living or a remarkably low income or both. For a worker, a poor person is a person without property, who is needy and who would send his sons to work in brick kilns.

2. The Poor's Perception of their own Poverty

65 per cent of the residents surveyed in slums attempted to define poverty. About half described it as a difficult situation in which one has to depend on himself and on the co-operation of the family. Other definitions were that it is a state of continuous search for survival; it is an indecent way of life; it is mere survival.

G. ORIGINS OF SLUMS

1. Social, Economic and Political Forces that have Formed the Slums

The number of slum residents has been affected by natural factors such as desertification and resultant famine, political factors giving rise to the civil war, and

government policy which enhances regional disparities. The government also welcomes the displaced from southern Sudan in order to claim that southerners prefer the government in Khartoum to the 'rebels' in the south, and prefer a united Sudan. Section B.3. showed how the types of slum have evolved and changed. Now residents of all but five squatter settlements have been resettled in planned neighbourhoods which have attained the status of outer slums. Tribal clustering is a common feature in squatter settlements and outer slums since residents want to preserve their culture, and generate mutual support in such harsh conditions. The evolution of these slums and their residents is also affected by the Islamic and Christian charity organisations providing services to them.

2. Advantages of the Slums to the City

- The city derives a number of advantages from the slums, which can be summarised as follows:
- The informal sector developed by slum residents absorbs about two thirds of the city's labour force and has reduced the unemployment rate and associated problems. The slum dwellers engage in menial jobs which may not be accepted by others. Labour wages have also been depressed.
- Slum areas have developed large markets, e.g. Suq Libya, which provide a wide range of goods at lower prices.
- Positive effects have extended to other sectors, for example transport.
- Crowding has been reduced in the city centre.
- Cultural effects, e.g. tribal festivals and dances.
- Social cohesion and integration since all major tribes are represented.
- The ruling party draws political support when needed since these people are easily manipulated by local authorities.

H. DATA AVAILABLE ON THE CITY'S SLUMS

1. Maps

Slum types identified in section B.1 are shown in **Figure 3**, together with the urban agglomeration. No maps are available on the spread of slum areas over time, but **Figure 1** shows the chronological development of the city including the slums. **Figure 4** shows main resettled areas and the remaining squatter settlements.

2. Census and Sample Survey, 2002 Data

Data in this section will be presented in terms of percentages for each of the three broad areas of housing previously identified, namely the inner city slums, the outer slums and the squatter settlements.

a) Permanent Structures

- Inner city slums: 99 per cent
- Outer slums (Dar El-Salam): 75 per cent
- Squatter settlements (Mayo Camp): 55 per cent

b) Households with Water

- Inner city slums (home pipes) 99 per cent
- Outer slums 100 per cent buy from water vendors
- Squatter settlements 40 per cent fetch it, the rest buy it

c) Households with Latrines

- Inner city slums: 100 per cent
- Outer slums: 85 per cent
- Squatter settlements 45 per cent

d) Households with Electricity

- Inner city slums: 100 per cent
- Outer slums: 40 per cent
- Squatter settlements: 0 per cent

e) Streets Passable for Small Trucks

- Inner city slums: 85 per cent
- Outer slums: 95 per cent
- Squatter settlements: No defined streets

f) People per Health Unit

- Inner city slums: 110,000 people/hospital, 61,400/Health centre
- Outer slums: 1,750 people/health centre, 2,617/Dispensary
- Squatter settlements: 30,640 people/hospital, 61,285/health centre

g) Education: Schools per 1,000 School-Aged Children and Average Fees

- Inner city slums: 19; annual fees SD 2,600
- Outer slums: 11; annual fees free
- Squatter settlements: 1; annual fees free

Table 16: Gender Activity Profile

| Activity | Who | Where | Time /hr | Remarks |
|--------------------|-----|------------|----------|--|
| Child care | F | Camp | All day | (1) Women work longer hours than men. |
| Water collection | F | Camp | 1 hr | |
| Cleaning & washing | F | Camp | 1 hr | (2) Women are responsible for all household work except maintenance. |
| Maintenance | M | House | 1 hr | |
| Food preparation | F | House | 2 hr | |
| Brick making | M | Camp | 4 hr | (3) Working in the informal sector is dominant. |
| Metal work | M | Camp & out | 4 hr | |
| Carpentry | M | Camp & out | 4 hr | |
| Clothes | M&F | Camp | 4 hr | (4) Women dominate the service sector while men are more in the production of goods. |
| Domestic labouric | M&F | Camp & out | 6–8 hr | |
| Selling goods | M&F | Camp | 5 hr | |
| Food & tea vending | F | Camp & out | 9 | |
| Care of animals | F | Camp | 2 | |

Source: El-Battahani, et al, 1998:80

h) Crime Rate

The leading three criminal activities and their rates (%) are:

- Outer slums: drunkenness 37 per cent; theft 21 per cent; prostitution 17 per cent
- Squatter settlements: drunkenness 40 per cent; theft 15 per cent; prostitution 22 per cent

k) Under 5 Mortality Rate: Deaths per 1,000 Live Births

- Inner city slums 85
- Outer slums 280
- Squatter settlements 300

i) Population Density

- Inner city slums: 6,100 people per km²
- Outer slums: 2,900 people per km²
- Squatter settlements: 4,100 people per km²

j) Secure Tenure

- Inner city slums: 80 per cent
- Outer slums: 60 per cent
- Squatter settlements: 10 per cent

I. DATA AVAILABLE ON POVERTY IN THE CITY

1. Maps

Figure 3 is the most recent map the urban agglomeration. There are no maps showing the geographical spread of poverty, but Tables 5 and 6 and Fig. 3 reflect the geographical distribution of poor areas.

2. Census Data on Poverty Levels

Family monthly income levels are given in Table 14. Using the US\$1 per person per month as the poverty line, the poverty rate can be calculated at 85 per cent. Using the World Bank criterion of poverty based on class of residence, the rate rises to 94 per cent (Table 5). Permanent building material is also indicative of the rate of poverty since 79 per cent of permanent buildings are of mud and bricks (Table 6). Purchasing power of civil servants is a relevant indicator because the government is the largest employer. The minimum pay for grades 1-17 in the service in 1995 represented only 28-52 per cent of its value in 1990 (Elteyeb, 2001:8). Over 3 million highly qualified professionals, civil servants and skilled workers have migrated since 1986 in search of a better living.

There are many poverty indicators. For example, 70 per cent and 65 per cent of the population's water and electricity needs, respectively are covered; nutritional deficiency is 21.1 per cent; only 48.6 of the population has access to sanitation; the illiteracy rate is 26.4 per cent, and the drop-out rate by school children is about 17 per cent; unemployment rose from 11 per cent in 1992 to 22.3 per cent by the turn of the century. Diagnosed AIDS cases up to 1999 numbered about 1,500 of whom 71 per cent are males and 93 per cent

are in the age group 15-49 years. Increasing numbers of female street children have been reported, who, as they are being subject to sexual abuse, are prone to the disease.

J. THE INHABITANTS OF THE SLUMS

1. Short Case Histories of Typical Slum Dwellers

Male Case History

Abdalla Khamees, from the Riseigat tribe, is 57 years old and married, He has 8 children aged between 2 and 14 years, and the oldest 3 of them go to school. He was a trader in Nyala Market. Deteriorating trade compelled him to migrate with his family to Khartoum in a quest for better living conditions. He worked for the Islamic Daawa, but he left, and is now unemployed except for casual manual work. His house is composed of 3 mud rooms, with no bathroom and no latrine. The family lives on one meal a day, sometimes two.

He thinks of the squatter settlement of Mayo as a community of thieves and alcoholics, and accuses members of the popular committees of being biased, helping only their tribesmen. He is looking for somebody to lend him some money to start a business, and for a charity organisation to meet the needs of his schooling children. His wife will also look for work. As a last resort his elder two sons may drop school for work, or work in the afternoons.

Female Case History

Asha Mohamed is 35 years old, a widow and has 3 children of 4-9 years of age. She is from the Barno tribe. Her husband died last year. The family came to Khartoum looking for a better livelihood. During his seven-month stay before his death, her husband remained unemployed. She works in Omdurman hospital for a wage of SD 11,000 per month, which is insufficient because she has to send remittances to her old parents in Darfur.

She is looking for work in a private clinic in the evenings. She may think of marrying a man who can help improve their living conditions. If things come to the worst, she may go back to live with her parents and get support from relatives.

She thinks of the community as simple, good and co-operative. In her opinion charity organisations are doing more than the government in the provision of services.



Water point and vendors in Mayo

2. Aspirations, Plans and Barriers

The aspirations of the surveyed heads of households are listed in **Table 17**. Their common barrier is lack of finance.

K. HOUSEHOLD INDICATORS

1. Materials Used

- Inner city slums: 75 per cent burnt bricks, 20 per cent unburnt bricks and 5 per cent mud.
- Outer slums: 90 per cent mud and 10 per cent unburnt bricks.
- Squatter settlements settlements: 70 per cent of mud and 30 per cent huts of wood, straw and sacks.

2. Income

- Inner city slums: no data
- Outer slums: SD 50,000 (US \$ 195), Female-headed SD 55,000 (US\$ 214), Male-headed SD 39,000 (US\$152)
- Squatter settlements: Female-headed SD 31,000 (US\$ 121), Male-headed SD 42,000 (US\$ 163)

3. Household Size

- Inner city slums: 5.9 people, sex ratio 110
- Outer slums: 5.9, sex ratio 107
- Squatter settlements: 5.8, sex ratio 104

4. Birth/Fertility Rates

- Whole city 4.5
- Dar El-Salam 5.1
- Mayo 5.4

5. Tenure

- Inner city slums: 75 per cent owners occupiers, 25 renters
- Outer slums: 100 per cent owner occupiers
- Squatter settlements: Public land 70 per cent owners and 30 per cent renters.

6. Literacy Rates

See **Table 18**

7. Occupancy Ratios

See **Table 19**

8. Length of Residency (Years)

- Inner city slums: 3->40
- Outer slums: 8-13
- Squatter settlements: 5-19

Table 17. Aspirations of Heads of Households (%)

| Aspiration | Dar El-Salam | | Mayo | |
|-----------------------------|--------------|----|------|----|
| | M | F | M | F |
| Work abroad | 20 | 10 | 10 | — |
| Go back to original village | 10 | 10 | — | 10 |
| Establish trade | 10 | — | 20 | — |
| Build a house | — | — | 10 | — |
| No answer | 40 | — | 20 | 30 |



Huts made of straw and sacks in Mayo

Table 18 Literacy Rates (%)

| Slum type | Male | Female | All |
|----------------------|------|--------|-----|
| Inner city | 92 | 48 | 72 |
| Outer | 86 | 63 | 74 |
| Squatter settlements | 75 | 62 | 71 |

Table 19. Occupancy Ratios (%)

| Slum type | People/ household | People/ room | Floor area/ person |
|----------------------|-------------------|--------------|--------------------|
| Inner city | 4.8 | 2.3 | 3.5 m ² |
| Outer | 5.6 | 2.5 | 2.8 m ² |
| Squatter settlements | 5.7 | 2.9 | 1.6 m ² |

L. COSTS OF LIVING IN SLUMS

1. Commuting to Work

See Table 20

2. Price of Water and Main Services

See Table 21

3. Rental Rates (SD/month)

See Table 22

4. Availability of Housing Finance (% of Households)

See Table 23

5. Health Problems

The incidences of leading diseases in an outer slum (Dar EL-Salam) and squatter settlement (Mayo) in 2002 are shown in Table 24

6. Discrimination

None of the female heads of household surveyed reported discrimination. Discrimination was reported by one male head of household. He is from the Zaghawa tribe of western Sudan.

7. Victimization and Insecurity

Evictions are confined to newcomers only. No incidents of rape have been reported. In Mayo Camp the rate of murder is about 2 per week. Property and personal security is threatened by drunk people and thieves from within and outside the camp. Security has considerably improved after the introduction of the comprehensive security system in Dar El Salam.

8. Psychological Trauma

Limited suicide attempts by both sexes (15-35 years old) have been reported, but depression is widespread. About 50 per cent of surveyed women reported assault by their husbands. Sexual abuse of children was timidly mentioned. Violent behaviour is commonplace among drunk people.

9. Expenditure

See Table 25 and Table 26

Table 20: Commuting Method, Time and Cost

| Slum type | Transport type | | Time | | Cost (SD per month) | |
|----------------------|----------------|-----------|-------|-------|---------------------|-------|
| | M | F | M | F | M | F |
| Inter-city | Bus; foot | Bus; foot | - | - | 2,400 | 2,400 |
| Outer slums | Bus; foot | Bus | 27 mn | 16 mn | 4,500 | 4,000 |
| Squatter settlements | Bus | Bus; foot | 39 mn | 26 mn | 4,300 | 3,500 |

Table 21: Cost of Water and Main Services (SD/month)

| Slum type | Water | | Electricity | | Medical | | Education | |
|----------------------|-------|-------|-------------|-------|---------|-------|-----------|-------|
| | M | F | M | F | M | F | M | F |
| Inter-city | 1,300 | 1,300 | 3,900 | 3,900 | 2,000 | - | 2,600 | 2,600 |
| Outer | 4,500 | 7,500 | 750 | 750 | 3,000 | 2,000 | 4,800 | 3,000 |
| Squatter settlements | 2,800 | 3,600 | Zero | Zero | 2,700 | 1,500 | 2,000 | 1,100 |

Table 22: Rental Rates (SD/month)

| Inner city slum | Outer slum | Squatter settlements | City average |
|-----------------|------------|----------------------|--------------|
| 20000 | 4500 | 2500 | 30000 |

Table 23: Housing Finance (Availability, %)

| Inner city slums | Majority | No data | No data | No data |
|----------------------|----------|---------|---------|---------|
| Outer slums | 100 | Zero | Zero | Zero |
| Squatter settlements | 100 | Zero | Zero | Zero |

Table 24: Leading Diseases

| Disease | Outer slum | Squatter settlement |
|---------------------|------------|---------------------|
| Malnutrition | 50% | 55% |
| Malaria | 20% | 20% |
| Diarrhoea | 15% | 17% |
| Respiratory disease | 10% | 5% |
| Ege | 5% | 55% |

Table 25: Expenditure on Main Items(SD '000s/Month)

| | Rent | Food | Medical | Education | Water | Electricity | Transport | Total |
|----------------------------|------|------|---------|-----------|-------|-------------|-----------|-------|
| Whole City | 30 | 39 | 7 | 11 | 1.9 | 6.5 | 2.6 | 98 |
| Outer Slum (Dar El Salam) | - | 4.5 | 2.5 | 3 | 5.5 | 0.8 | 4 | 20.5 |
| Squatter Settlement (Mayo) | 2.5 | 2.8 | 1.9 | 2 | 3.6 | - | 3.5 | 16.3 |

Source: Field work

Table 26: Household Equipment (% of households)

| | Stove | TV | Radio | Refrigerator |
|--------------|-------|----|-------|--------------|
| Whole city | 60 | - | 100 | 55 |
| Dar El-Salam | - | 70 | 100 | - |
| Mayo | - | 20 | 60 | - |

Source: field work

M. ASSETS AVAILABLE TO SLUM DWELLERS

1. Social Capital

In Dar El-Salam, the people's committee (the lowest local government level) has been elected with 24 members representing different tribal groups and includes 3 women. The community is very supportive and co-operative with the committee which derives its financial resources almost entirely from the community. It has built a school and is trying to provide homes with piped water and electricity. It has good working relations with many NGOs working in the area. Teachers and students are planning to form other community-based organisations to work in fields like adult education, night surveillance against thieves, promotion of environmental awareness, tree planting and maintenance of public buildings.

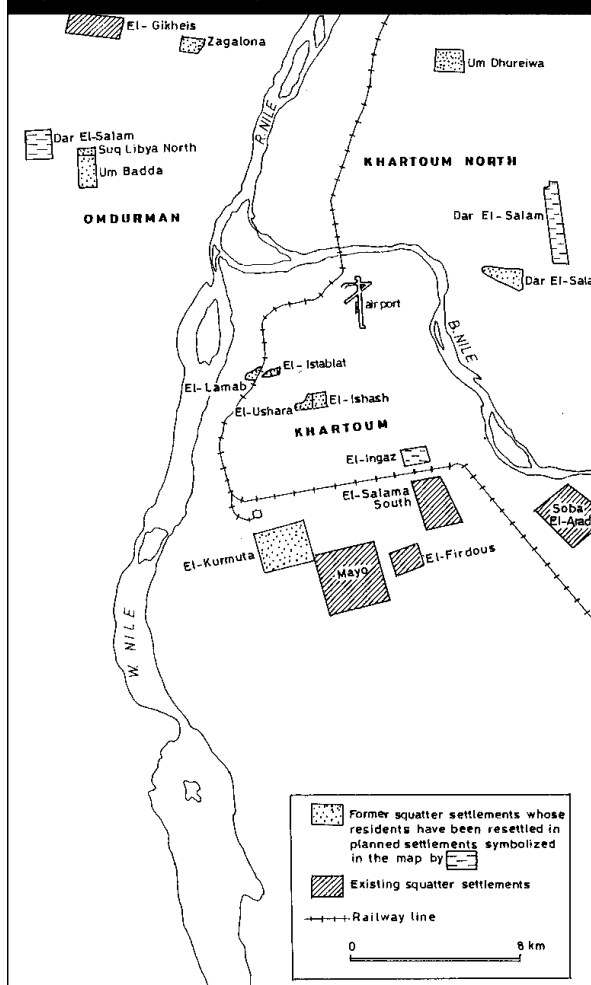
2. Financial Capital

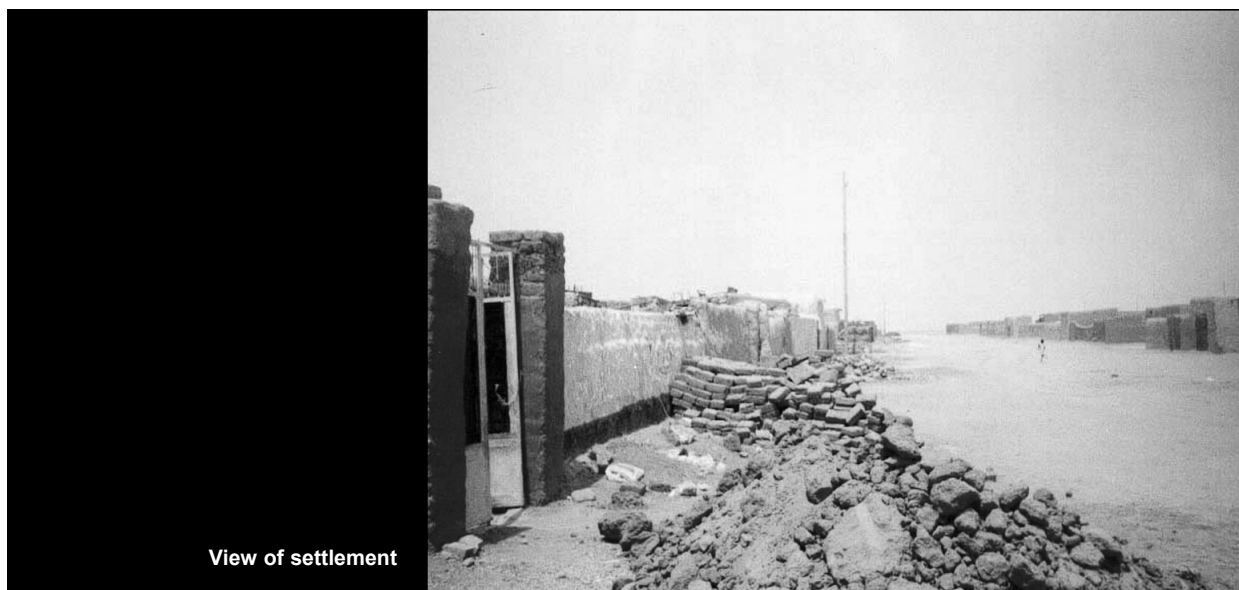
None of the heads of households surveyed in the Mayo squatter settlement reported any financial assets. In the Dar El-Salam slum area two men keep some cash to run their trading activities and one of them plans to buy a second-hand bus. One woman reported that she saves some money to meet the needs of her children at the beginning of the school year. Another woman occasionally borrows from a male relative. There are no other sources of finance except for one man who has a photography service at home.

3. Human capital

Human development is lowest in the slum areas. Although the literacy rate is high, most of it is at the level of reading and writing only. To encourage schooling,

Fig. 4: Former and existing squatter settlements





View of settlement

pupils in Dar El-Salam are provided with free meals and free education, and the drop-out rate is 14 per cent now, but about 22 per cent of pupils work in the afternoons, while child labour city-wide involves 15.1 per cent of all children.

The health and nutritional status of the population is poor, but improving as a result of serious activities by organisations in the provision of safe water, sanitation, raising awareness, establishing health points, and distributing food sometimes, and providing skill and vocational training, and capacity building.

4. Physical Capital

A discussion has already been given of materials used in house construction, tenure and services. Table 26 shows the poverty of slum areas in cooking and electrical equipment except for entertainment equipment.

5. Supportive Public Policy

The government's role in the provision of infrastructure and basic services is poor and deteriorating city-wide, let alone slum areas. Here the basic role of government is to resettle squatter residents in planned neighbourhoods. The attitude of almost all these residents toward public policy is quite negative. They think that they are neglected and considered second class citizens.

IV. SLUMS AND POVERTY, THE POLICIES

N. POLICIES AND ACTIONS TAKEN

1. Locational Targeting

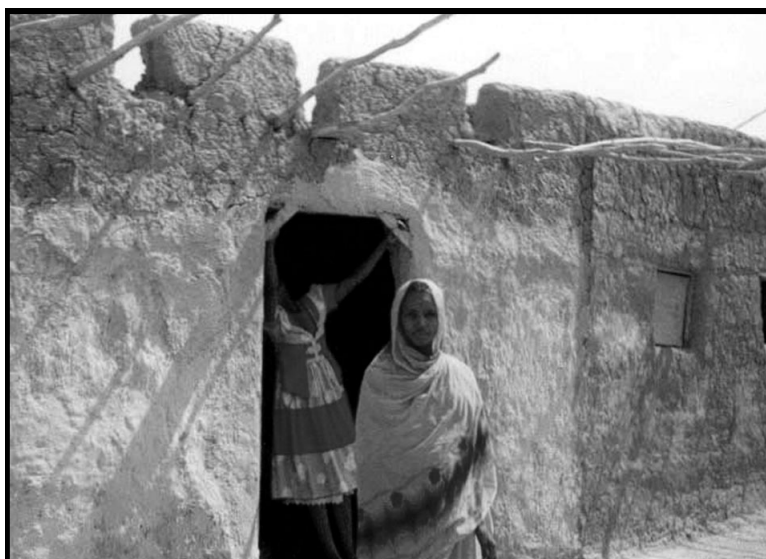
National, regional and city policies for slums are the same. The policy since the mid-seventies has been to plan squatter settlements and resettle residents. The Squatter Settlement Unit, in the Ministry of Engineering Affairs, has:

1. replanned squatter settlements established before 1983,
2. given plots in other areas to squatter residents who settled during 1983-89 (compensation scheme)
3. resettled post 1989 squatter residents in Dar El-Salam. The military government adopted a resolution in 1990 of immediately demolishing all illegal buildings erected after May 20, 1990, without compensation.

The current urban agenda aims at the replanning of 10 slum neighbourhoods, the promotion of 6 new squatter settlements and 4 camps for displaced persons, the construction of 2,000 low income housing units, land preparation on 8 settlement sites, and supporting self-housing. There are no bi- or multilateral agreements in this respect.

2. Socio-Economic Targeting

Following the shift to a free market, liberalised economy one of the policy objectives has been the maintenance of social balance by protecting the poor during the adjustment period; its means include the introduc-



A female headed household

tion of a widespread solidarity system to cater for the low-income groups (Government of Sudan, 1991).

The implementation of the liberalisation programme has had adverse impacts through the freezing of salaries and wages, removal of state subsidies, reduction of public expenditure, laying off of workers and employees (El-Battahani et al, 1998:25) and high rates of inflation. The solidarity system (the Zakat, the Solidarity Fund, and the Sharia Implementation Support Fund) is entrusted with helping the poor by grants, subsidies, interest-free loans, and project finance.

The Khartoum State 3 Year Plan is targeting 300,000 families. It strives at supporting income-generating activities for over 200,000 families, rehabilitating existing water stations and installing new ones, providing more primary health care units and health insurance for 1,000 families, building 40 basic schools, 12 vocational centres, 40 high schools and literacy campaigns for half a million people.

3. NGO Interventions

Mention has been made in section of areas of intervention by foreign and local NGOs in addition to the UN organisations (especially UNDP, UNICEF, WHO, UNFPA and WFP) in collaboration with relevant ministries. The role of these organisations is invaluable in view of the limited role of government, and the limited, inexperienced and resource-less community organisations.

Their programmes cover a wide area, but 3 areas are of particular importance: NGOs and UN interventions have had remarkable impacts on health standards through the construction of health points with free treatment and subsidised medicines, health insurance programmes, construction of latrines, provision of safe water, and environmental sanitation and awareness raising. Incentives to teachers and pupils have

increased enrolment rates and reduced dropout rates by about 10 and 15 per cent, respectively. Capacity building for staff and target groups is an important intervention by NGOs through general education and skills, vocational, management and leadership training. Women's activities have been given special concern, especially in nutrition, health and income-generating activities.

O. IMPACTS OF THESE INTERVENTIONS

1. Successful Projects

Projects meeting the urgent and essential needs of ordinary people, especially those related to food, shelter, water and health, have great chances of success if properly designed and carried out, and residents can be very responsive. The construction of a health point in Dar El-Salam is a case in point in which residents provided all the necessary manual labour and women prepared meals for them.

A simple rotating fund project may be useful to mention here. A local NGO gathered about 100 heads of households and after introducing the project, residents chose a poor family head to operate it. The NGO bought him a cart and a donkey for about SD 200,000 (US\$778) to transport household garbage daily to collection sites. Each household would pay SD 400 (US\$1.5) per month to the operator who would repay the cost of cart and donkey to the NGO in monthly instalments of SD 10,000 each. After transporting the garbage (in about 4 hours), he is free to use the cart commercially, for transporting goods and people. His average monthly income is about SD 90,000(US\$350).

2. Main Reasons for Success

1. The project must be regarded as high priority by the community
2. It must be feasible especially in terms of finance
3. Different tribes involved must have mutual respect and understanding
4. Project committees must represent all tribes and both sexes
5. Community participation in form of labour, cash or kind to make them feel that the project is theirs.
6. Sustainability by building the community's leadership, managerial ability, and financial resources needed by the project.

A project may fail when it lacks one or more of the above requisites. For example, the educational project to build 92 schools and enrol 500,000 people in literacy classes is beyond the financial ability of the state. The low-income housing project attracted only a limited number of residents because the instalments are too high for most residents. The employment of graduates project had limited support because of their limited numbers.

3. Lessons Learned

- Officials give concern only to the legal and political aspects of programmes because of the nature of the existing type of government. Local NGOs stress the importance of placing the question of slums and poverty within the local context.
- All agree on the significance of enablement. But in practice the most important official tool (zakat) concentrates on giving the poor cash and food, and state efforts focus on building institutions. Foreign and local NGOs give the question of empowerment most of their efforts.
- The importance of local leadership is stressed by all, but in practice officials tend to dominate and subordinate those local leaders using their official status. NGOs are working hard in capacity building and training of local leaders with special emphasis on accepted tribal leaders.
- All agree that the development of various types of capital is intertwined with the improvement of slums and their residents and for the sustainability of projects. But emphasis may vary. For example, officials emphasise physical capital while most NGOs regard them as a package and mutually effective.
- Proper targeting is problematic. Citywide, and indeed countrywide, improper targeting by government has widened the gap between regions and between the rich and the poor. NGOs and other organisations have targeted the poor, but differentially: most activities are

concentrated in planned slums while squatter settlements are rather neglected; and some planned slums have attracted most of the activities at the expense of other. This is due to lack of co-ordination.

P. MONITORING, FEEDBACK AND ADJUSTMENT

1. Budget Commitments

Official project documents show budget commitments, which are often far in excess of what is actually available. Programme coverage, components and execution periods are commonly revised, but not the policy. For example, the Khartoum State 3 Year Plan for Slums and the Poor is budgeted for SD 46.8 billion (US\$ 182.1 million) to be covered by the federal and state governments, the private sector and the public. All have failed to pay their full shares. SOURCE

The main official mechanism, *zakat* (religious dues collected from the people) sets no detailed commitments because its programmes are implemented after the collection of the dues which vary from year to year.

2. Policy Commitments

Official policy was revised and adjusted to be more concerned with poverty alleviation because of mounting public pressure, but no real improvement has occurred. Top-down planning adopted by government does not allow for feedback. Other adjustments are almost always necessitated by financial constraints.

3. NGO Commitments to Monitoring Slum Conditions

Most NGOs adhere to principles of project design, execution, monitoring and evaluation, and involve local communities/leaders to the greatest possible extent.

4. Commitment of International Agencies

UN organisations and European agencies are the bodies most committed to policy and programme monitoring, feedback and adjustment, except when sometimes constrained by the movement authorities. ■

GLOSSARY

| | |
|------------------|-----------------------------|
| <i>Sheikh</i> | Religious leader |
| <i>Khors</i> | Dry riverbeds |
| <i>Wadis</i> | Dry riverbeds |
| <i>Wali</i> | Governor |
| <i>Muhafaza</i> | Province |
| <i>Carton</i> | Cardboard |
| <i>Safeeh</i> | Tin |
| <i>Ishash</i> | Huts |
| <i>Galoos</i> | Mud buildings |
| <i>Shammaasa</i> | People living in the sun |
| <i>Zakat</i> | Solidarity Fund |
| <i>Sharia</i> | Implementation Support Fund |

ANNEX

Example of Broad Based Partnership

1. Date of Establishment: 1998

2. Processes/Steps of Establishment:

Some women used to occasionally attend seminars and workshops organised by Agency for Co-operation and Research in Development (ACORD). Women complained about poverty and energy resources in El-Salam Camp. ACORD promised to help, and conducted a socio-economic survey by a private consultant, and training programme for these women to make improved stoves. More women joined and ACORD sponsored their training in the making of flower pots and water containers of burnt mud. The women formed and registered their society, and ACORD provided premises, tools, and starter material. The local council granted them a piece of land in the market place to market their products. The society started networking with the Sudanese Environment Conservation Society which helped them with marketing. The society bought a horsedrawn cart to transport their products. The society's committee is composed of 23 women and two men and its board is constituted by 4 women and one man.

3. Partners, Roles and Contributions:

1. Training centre and individual trainers. They provided the training services.
2. Public: The local council. It provided land.
3. Civil Society:
 - a. ACORD (Sudan Office). It provided funding, co-ordination and networking.
 - b. Sudanese Environment Conservation Society. It helped in marketing and environmental awareness.

4. Goals: The main Goals Are:

1. Raising general awareness among women in El-Salam Camp
2. Contribution to environmental conservation efforts.
3. Diversification of women's skills in the camp.
4. Increase women's income

5. Outcomes:

1. A well trained group of women who make improved stoves.
2. A group of women trained in making flower pots and water pots.
3. Possessing a marketing place in Elqadisiya market in Omdurman.
4. Improved household conditions through more income and awareness.
5. Promotion of marketing skills and co-operative spirit among members.
6. Setting a model which other women are trying to follow.

6. Problems/Limitations:

1. Improved (energy saving) stoves are not durable.
2. Income for some was too low to continue.
3. ACORD, as international NGO, could not continue its funding of other organisations.

7. Lessons Learned:

1. These poor people are very responsive to income-generating programmes/activities.
2. Partnerships between community based organisations, civil society (NGOs) government, and the private sector can work quite smoothly if efforts are well co-ordinated.
3. Networking and securing more than one source of finance seem important.

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