KHARTOUM URBAN AREA

A STUDY ON URBAN PLANNING

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A B S T R A C T

At the end of the last century, the British colonial administration imposed a new trend of urbanization in the Sudan. A new system of towns was also created. These new towns have become different from the indigenous ones in their functions and spatial organization. The colonial urban policy was, of course, a reflection to the ideology of colonialism itself. Therefore, it was not surprising that it had favoured productive areas and created regional disparities at the national scale.

Similarly, on the town scale, colonialist-capitalist principles of town planning were imposed. Through a problem-solving and restrictive planning approach, the British administration created in Khartoum urban area a socio-spatial structure built upon socio-economic segregation; a feature which did not exist in indigenous towns.

After independence, the successive national governments have preserved the colonial urban policy at the national scale. Also, the adoption of town planning has remained as a legal and administrative inheritance combined with foreign consultancy and the same economics of social policy of the colonial era. As a result, urban planning has not become a deliberate political decision to solve the problems of urbanization and to distribute

social services on equal bases. This policy has been associated with disjointed incremental strategy, and hence, pernicious urban disparities in Khartoum urban area are seen in the expansion of squatter housing, bad housing conditions and maldistribution of basic urban services. These features are the physical expression of preservation of the colonial social policy as manifested in planning concepts and laws, and as associated with national urban policy and the national space-economy.

Because of acceptance of conventional approaches to urban and planning policies, no efforts have been made to deal with the problems of urbanization and urban planning comperhensively. It follows that there has been no change in the ideological, legal, institutional and politico-administrative frameworks of urban planning in Khartoum urban area.

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differentiation of territory with respect to the well-being of those who inhabit it."(1)

In addition, equality has a strong emotive appeal associated with democracy, egalitarian ideals of Western philosophy and ethics of religions. However, the application of equality which is based on the acceptance of equal rights for all people and satisfying human needs in a just manner, should regard, first of all, the patterns of socio-spatial distribution of sources of well-being and ultimately, this is the task of a positive planning system.

In Khartoum urban area the complex nature of urbanization and urban planning processes have increasingly posed very challenging problems to the authorities, the scholars, and the general populace, as well. However, the magnitude of such problems has weighed on some obstacles and inefficiencies, like uncontrolled rural-urban migration and meagre finances. This understanding of the problem is mere casual observation that ignores the fact that the economic, ideological, conceptual and institutional frameworks of planning are producing the spatial and social structures of urban areas.

(1) David M. Smith, Human Geography: a welfare approach, London, Edward Arnold, 1977, PP. 361 - 363.

In what follows, this introductory chapter aims at two points :

1. a brief description of the evolution of the Greater Khartoum town-plan, and the functional structure of its spatial organization, and

2. the identification of the research problem and its treatment.

1.1. Khartoum Urban Area : Evolution and type of town-plan

Khartoum urban area, comprising the three towns of Khartoum, Omdurman and Khartoum North, is located at the confluence of the White and Blue Niles between latitudes $15^\circ 30'$ and $15^\circ 45'$ N and longitudes $32^\circ 25'$ and $32^\circ 40'$E. (Fig.1.1.). Covering an area more than 200 sq. kms, Khartoum urban area was populated by 1.3 million in 1983.

Before and during the Turko-Egyptian rule (1821 - 1885) which marked the beginning of modern history in the Sudan, urban growth in the country had not taken place in any of the Three Towns – Khartoum, Omdurman and Khartoum North. During the sixteenth and the seventeenth centuries small agricultural villages emerged at the present site of Khartoum urban area. The functions of these villages during their growth were confined to agriculture and teaching Islam.(2) Although Khartoum town became the capital of the country in the Turko-Egyptian period, it

(2) C.E.J. Walkley, 'The story of Khartoum Part 1' Sudan Notes and Records, Vol. 18, 1935, PP. 221 - 229.

FIG. 1.1   LOCATION   OF KHARTOUM URBAN AREA

EGYPT

Red Sea

—20°

CHAD

—16°

The Three
Towns

—12°

ETHIOPIA

—8°

CENTRAL AFRICA

400 Km.
—4° 0

UGANDA

22°   26°   30°   34°   38°
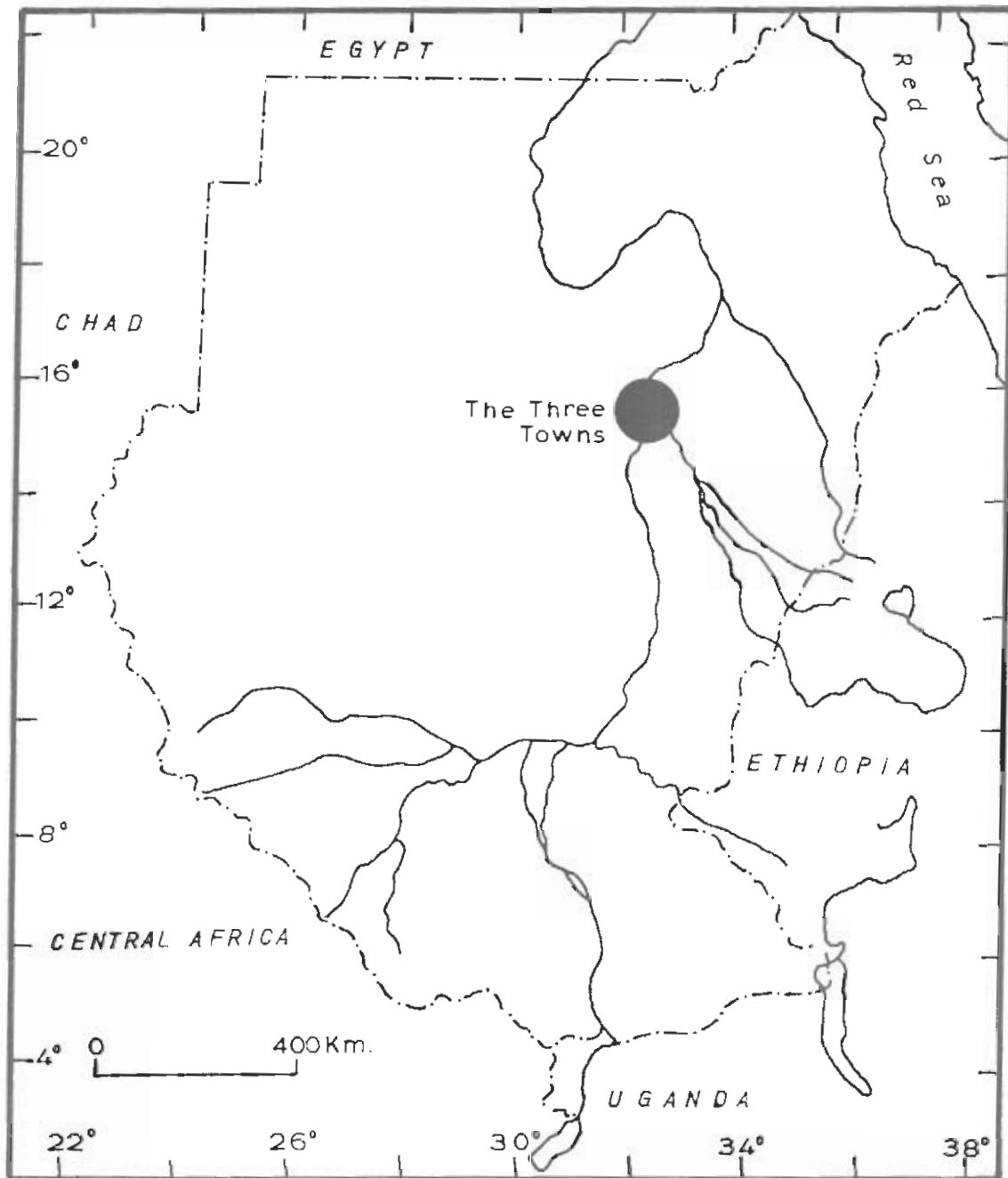
remained smaller than many other urban centres in the country, like Shendi, Berber, Suakin and El-Obeid.(3)

The success of the Mahdist Revolution was a crucial factor in the decline of old Khartoum and the growth of Omdurman because the Mahdi selected the latter as his capital in 1885. The destruction and the evacuation of Khartoum by the Mahdists facilitated the building of the town in a newly planned form by the British colonial administration after the reconquest of the country in 1898.(4)

The fast and extensive growth of Khartoum urban area during the colonial period (1898 - 1956) was a result of a new trend of urbanization stemming from the imposed economic, social and politico - administrative colonial systems. Right from the start, the evolution of town-plan and the functional structure of each of the Three Towns were different. This was so because Khartoum received the attention of the colonial administration as the capital of the country, and it was planned to become a "European town" for the residence of the colonial officers and better

(3) Ibid, PP. 231 - 240.

(4) F.A.Edwards, 'The Foundation of Khartoum' , Sudan Notes and Records, Vol. 5, 1922, P. 162.

HARTOUM URBAN AREA: TYPES OF TOWN PLAN.

Legend:

- Early Colonial Town Plan
- Pre colonial unplanned
- Grid Planned (High density)
- Replanned Area
- Semi independent Plans (Low density)
- Industrial area

JRMAN

KHARTOUM NORTH

Mil.

Railway station

Airport

Fallata

3rd class ext.

Arkawit

Sahafa

KHARTOUM

0 1 2 3 4 5 Km

Fieldwork.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

This study pertains to the conceptual and institutional evaluation of the urban socio-spatial structure of Khartoum urban area and the concomitant urban disparities.

Social relevance to geographical inquiry was developed during the 1960's, when the new message of geography was directed towards the problems of the world, beyond the traditional problem-solving approach. In the course of this change, it has been argued that equal distribution of social welfare and the well- being of society as a spatially variable condition, should be the focal point of geographical inquiry. In this regard, David Smith has stated that,

" Accepting this is not ... implying dedication to a
   particular political ideology. It simply requires
   recognition of what is surely the self-evident truth
   that if human-beings are the object of our curiosity in
   human geography, then the quality of their lives is of
   paramount interest. ... Economic activities, diffusion
   of innovation, organization of space and so on ... are
   ultimately significant as things that contribute to the

classes of other nationalities.   Thus, Khartoum became the centre for the most important functions of commerce, transportation, administration and other services,

On the other hand, the arrival of the railway line in 1909 added new functions to the new town of Khartoum North and enhanced its growth as a government storehouse, workshop and industrial town. But Omdurman remained as a native town and retained its pre-colonial shape and character.[5]   In spite of these cultural and morphological differences, this unique urban complex has formed one urban entity in terms of the social, economic and spatial relations.   But this disintegrated urban spatial development remained a determinant factor in the stages of urban growth (Fig. 1.2) and types of town-plan (Fig. 1.3) in Khartoum urban area.

Literature Review

Sudan is one of the less urbanized countries in the least urbanized continent in the world.   Nevertheless, it has become the scene of rapidly expanding urban studies.   This was so because of two reasons:

1. Over the last 40 years or so, dramatic and substantial changes of an economic, social and political nature have swept the Sudan, and more than ever before, the towns stand at the heart of these transformations.

(5) W. H. McLean, 'The Planning of Khartoum and Omdurman', Town Planning Conference, October 1910, London, 1911

FIG 1.2   KHARTOUM URBAN AREA: STAGES OF GROWTH.

Legend:
- Pre-colonial
- 1898 – 1930
- 1930 – 1955
- 1955 – 1970
- 1970 – 1980
- After 1980

OMDURMAN

RIVER NILE

KHARTOUM NORTH

15° 40' N°

15° 35'

BLUE NILE

WHITE NILE

KHARTOUM

15° 30'

0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 Km
0   1   2   3   5 Mls.

32° 30'E°   32° 35'
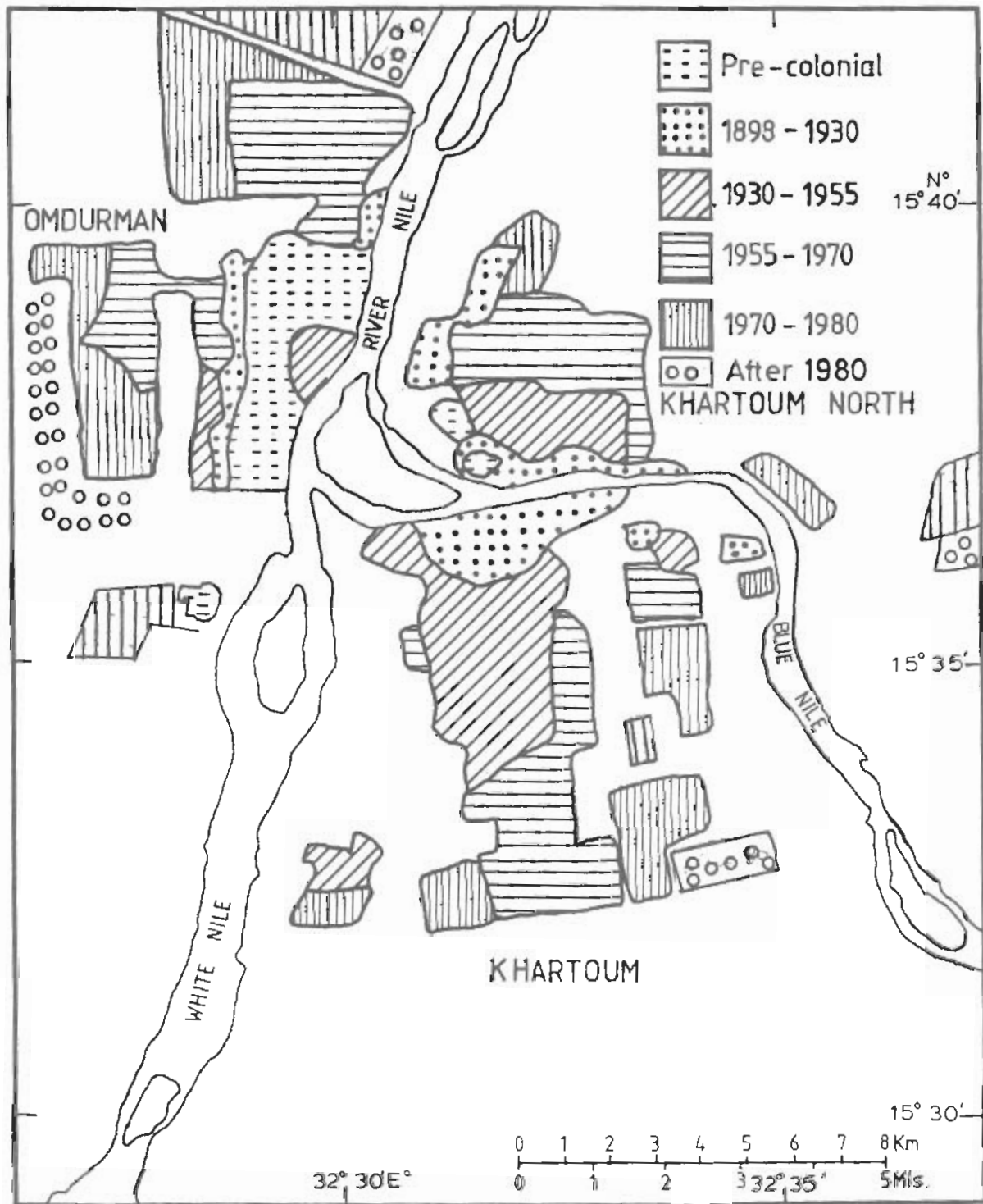
(An Atlas of Khartoum Conurbation 1976, P. 41,)   Fieldwork.

2. In social sciences, transformation for interdisciplinary investigations has taken place and urban studies has become the meeting ground of geographers, historians, anthropologists, political scientists, sociologists and economists.[6] Thus, Sudan urbanists are sharing fully in such transformations.

During the colonial period two colonial officers wrote about the early colonial planning of the Three Towns (McLean, 1910 and Gras-field 1933). Other papers described the social, economic, demographic and morphological conditions of some parts of the Three Towns, like the paper written by S. Fawzi (1954) in which he discribed the miserable conditions of the Old Deims and the emergence of the New Deims, but without attributing such housing aspects to the social and economic system. On the other hand, research on regional development and underdevelopment tended to link the growth of Greater Khartoum with the failure of national spatial development. Such studies have developed with the assumption that economic imbalances are caused by inequal distribution of investments, resulting in drift to the Three Towns.[7]

On the urban geography of Greater Khartoum there is a considerable research work which have treated the evolution, the functional

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(6) Sondra Hale and G. Hale, Sudan Urban Studies: An Interoduction, African Urban Notes, Vol, 6, No. 2, 1971.

(7) S. Al-Arifi, Urbanization and Economic Development in the Sudan, in El-Bushra (ed) 1972; and M. Rizqalla, Migration and Urbanization in The Sudan, in Voldo Pons (ed), Urbanization and Urban Life in the Sudan, University of Hull, 1980.

structure, the population analysis in Greater Khartoum as well as its land use and other urban problems.

Research on historical development of the Three Towns focused on factors responsible for the evolution of human settlement at the confluence of the Niles. El-Bushra described the evolution of Khartoum urban area from the prehistoric period to the present.[8] He explained how small human settlements were attracted to this area because of simple relief which facilitated easy movement. However, the physiographic and ecological factors became more significant during the Turco-Egyptian period when Khartoum became the capital of the country. El-Bushra concluded that although human settlements have deep historical roots in Khartoum area, and urban life was introduced about 160 years ago, the present day Khartoum urban area was established towards the end of the last century.

Another study of a historical nature was developed by R. Lobban[9] who throws light on how the long history of participation in urban life be understood, to preserve a spirit of cooperation and community solidarity. Lobban traced how the Mahas – Nubians from Northern Sudan –

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(8) E-S. El-Bushra, 'The Evolution of the Three Towns', African Urban Notes, Vol. 6, No. 2, 1971.

(9) R. Lobban, 'The Historical Role of the Mahas in the Urbanization of the Three Towns with special reference to two communities: Tuti Island and Burri Al-Mahas', African Urban Notes, Vol. 6, No. 2, 1971

tribution of land uses. In the immediate post-independence period, G. Hamdan [10] wrote two articles on the urban geography of Khartoum. These articles represent reliable literature for that period. Hamdan described the functional structure as represented in the various uses of land and, he concluded that the urban area is physically and socially disintegrated. In the same trend McLouglin represented a demographic and economic analysis of the Three Towns. [11]

More comperhensive studies on the morphology, functional Structure and land-use pattern were developed by E-S. El-Bushra. He explained that an appreciation of the general plan of the Three Towns is perhaps impossible without reference to their feudal and colonial origin. Thus,

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(10) G. Hamdan, 'Some Aspects of the Urban Geography of the Khartoum Complex', Bulletin De La Societe De Geographie d'Egypt, Vol. 32, 1959, and 'Functional Structure of Khartoum', Geographical Review, 50, 1, 1960.

(11) P. McLouglin: 'The Sudan's Three Towns: A demographic and economic Profile of an African urban Complex.' Economic Development and Cultural Change, 12, 1-2, 1963 - 64.

although the morphology of present day Omdurman is largely infuluenced by the original plan of the city during the Mahdia (1885-98), that of Khartoum and Khartoum North reveals western ideas of city planning. Therefore, the plan of Omdurman which was not imported still is dominated by narrow roads.[12]

In his unpublished thesis (1970), El-Bushra examined the Khartoum urban area on the light of the western theories of town growth and structure. He explained that both the concentric and sector models are more relevant to the conditions in Greater Khartoum than the multiple model. While Khartoum reflects similarities in structure of western cities, Omdurman is characterized by the lowest degree of functional differentiation. According to El-Bushra, and although each of the Three Towns displays a core and an integuent, the urban area is divided into an inner zone and a middle zone and an outer zone which in turn is divided into urban and suburban.[13]

On the problems related to land use, El-Bushra discussed how Greater Khartoum suffers from inadequate distribution of work places in relation to residential places. This feature is also associated with haphazard

(12) E-S. El-Bushra, 'Sudan's Triple Capital: Morphology and Function' Ekistics, Vol 39, No. 233, 1975.

(13) E-S. El-Bushra, 'The Khartoum Conurbation: An Economic and Social Analysis', Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, Bedford College, 1970. pp. 290-302.

In that research the spatial dimension of urban deprivation has been
discussed. Investigation of forms of deprivation and its related
social problems in Greater Khartoum was based on Social Area Analysis
and factorial ecology. The study explains that inequitable distribu-
tion of resources manifests itself in the remarkable variations of liv-
ing standards and provision of social services.

Conceptualization of urbanization and planning problems received
valuable studies by S. Mazari[17] and M. Abu Sin.[18] In his two works,
Mazari explains that the existing planning system is not suitable in our
local conditions and, a complete departure from planning administration
and planning education is required.

In a recent paper based on conceptualization of planning, Abu Sin

(17) S. Mazari, 'Khartoum and its Future Plan', Unpublished Diploma
Dissertation, University College of London, 1959; and 'Town and
Village Planning in Sudan', A paper represented for the 14th annual
Conference of the Sudan Philosophical Society: Engineering and
Development in Sudan, 1966.

(18) M.E. Abu Sin, 'Planners' and Participants' Perception of Develop-
ment in the Semi-arid Lands of Sudan: A case Study of the Khashm
El-Girba Scheme' in H.R. DAvis (ed) Natural Resources and Rural
Development in Arid Lands: Case Studies from Sudan, The UN Univer-
sity, 1985.

'Management Problems of Greater Khartoum'. This valuable report was a product of coordination between IDRC, Canada and IES, University of Khartoum.[19]

This report makes a link between growth of population in Greater Khartoum and the remarkable decline of urban utilities and services particularly in health services. A link was also developed in this report between the failure of planning system and decline of town management and finance. After a comperhensive survey of these aspects of urban problems, many recommendations follow for better functioning of the urban area. Such recommendations are based on restructuring of city management and finance, as well as the planning system which has failed to help balance of population pressure, housing and services.

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(19)   'Management Problems of Greater Khartoum,' A report prepared by
        M.O. El-Sammani, M.E. Abu Sin, M. Talha, B.M. El-Hassan, I. Haywood
        and M. A. Ali, Institute of Environmental Studies, University of
        Khartoum and IDRC, Canada - African Urban Management Project,
        February, 1986.

Khartoum

The early colonial settlement in Khartoum town was planned between the Bule Nile and the railway line for business, administration and residence in a diagonal street pattern. In the inter-war period the growth of the town was confined to filling in the existing gaps between the business – administrative area and the railway station. This sector was planned in the gridiron.

In the immediate post-war years Khartoum town outstripped the rail-ring when new extensions for the better class residence were planned to the southeast, this time in a curved-road pattern. After the clearance of the Old Deims slums, the New Deims expanded southward. This vast and extensive one-storeyed mud houses were planned for the low-income groups in a hudge grid-plan.

After independence, centralization of economic and other activities in Khartoum have been retained, and hence the influx of people into Khartoum urban area has been enhanced. As a result, the core of the urban area has become over-crowded with business, administration and transportation terminals, while remarkable and crazy horizontal residential expansions have grown at the outer zones. Thus, the evolution of the town-plan in the post-colonial period has followed the initial phases of growth

low-income groups (Third class extension, Sahafa, Gabra and Arkaweat) have also continued in the same direction - to the south.

Khartoum North

The early colonial establishments in the town which included the Dockyard, the Stores Department and the Military Barracks, were planned on the Blue Nile bank. Apart from the small pre-colonial villages of Hillat Hamad and Hillat Khogali, the town has followed a symmetrical plan throughout its growth. North of the governmental establishments, better class residence was planned, while large block-layout was planned northward for Lower class residence. Although the town grew slowly during the colonial period, it witnessed rapid growth after independence because of its industrial expansion. This was why Khartoum North also witnessed the emergence of the first hudge squatter settlement in the history of the Sudan. First class residence, which was confined to Khartoum town during the colonial period, has also emerged (in Safiya, Shambat Road and Kober Extension),

while the industrail area has expanded remarkably to the east and north. However, as for as the housing of Low-income groups was concerned, Khartoum North witnessed the first experiment when standardized housing units (Al-Shabiya) were constructed.

Omdurman

The residential sectors of old Omdurman (Al-Mourada, Bait El-Mal, Abu-Roaf and Wad-Nubawi) have retained their unplanned form throughout the colonial period. But the first regular plan for residential purposes in the history of Omudurman was drawn up in the post-war years (Mulazmeen for better class residence; Banet and Al-arda for third calss residence).

However, the Largest planned residential expansion in the history of Khartoum urban area has taken place in Omdurman, when Al-thoura / Al-mahdiya emerged north of Old Omdurman. Thus, apart from the main market, the small industrial area and the few public buildings, Omdurman has remained mainly a residential town.

Since the mid-1960's, the spatial form of Khartoum urban area has been greatly affected by the uncontrolled expansion of the adjacent sub-urban dwellings which were incorporated in Greater Khartoum. The outer zones of each of the Three Towns have

therefore, gone mushrooming towards these sub-urban dwellings which included Burri, Al-Shagara and Gereif-west as well as the villages along the White Nile, in Khartoum. In Khartoum North they included Shambat and Halfaya, while in Omdurman they comprised Abu Sa'eid and Umm Badda.

As there has been no consideration in the evolution of the Khartoum urban area town-plan to the overall trend of urban development, the internal spatial form and the land-use pattern in the Three Towns (Figs. 1.4a, b and c) have been characterized by the following main features :

1. The dominance of Khartoum Town's city centre which effectively controls the administrative, commercial, cultural and even recreational servcies of the Three Twons. This urban core has developed without the required interdepenence with the extensive residential expansions at the outskirts of the urban area.

2. The existence of various grades of residential areas at varying distances from the centre of the urban area. These residential areas have not been created in organized communities. Instead of designed neighbourhood with

determined functional requirements, the predominant feature has been the classification of residential communities according to class of land which reflects class in society and money-income.

3. The disadvantageous location of the Lower calss residential areas to work places, transportation networks and other urban functional areas.

4. The haphazard distribution of community buildings and lack of the required open spaces.

5. The occupancy of space at strategic locations by bodies not engaged in the provision of any of the urban basic services. The sites of the Airport, the Zoo, the Railway yard, the Dockyard, The Stores department and the large military areas have increased the inefficiencies of the urban Land-use character, of the urban functional systems, and of the spatial relations in the urban area.

FIG.1.4a

KHARTOUM: URBAN LAND USE.

Legend:
- Govt. and public buildings.
- Commercial
- 1st class residential
- 2nd " " "
- 3rd " " "
- 4th " " "
- Squatters
- Recreational
- Cemeteries
- Industrial
- Agricultural
- Sunt and mosquito forest
- Botanical gardens
- Green belt
- Open space
- Military
- Main roads
- Railway

TUTI ISLAND

BLUE NILE

GERIEF

EL SHAGARA

WHITE NILE

to Wod Medoni

3 Kms

2 Mls
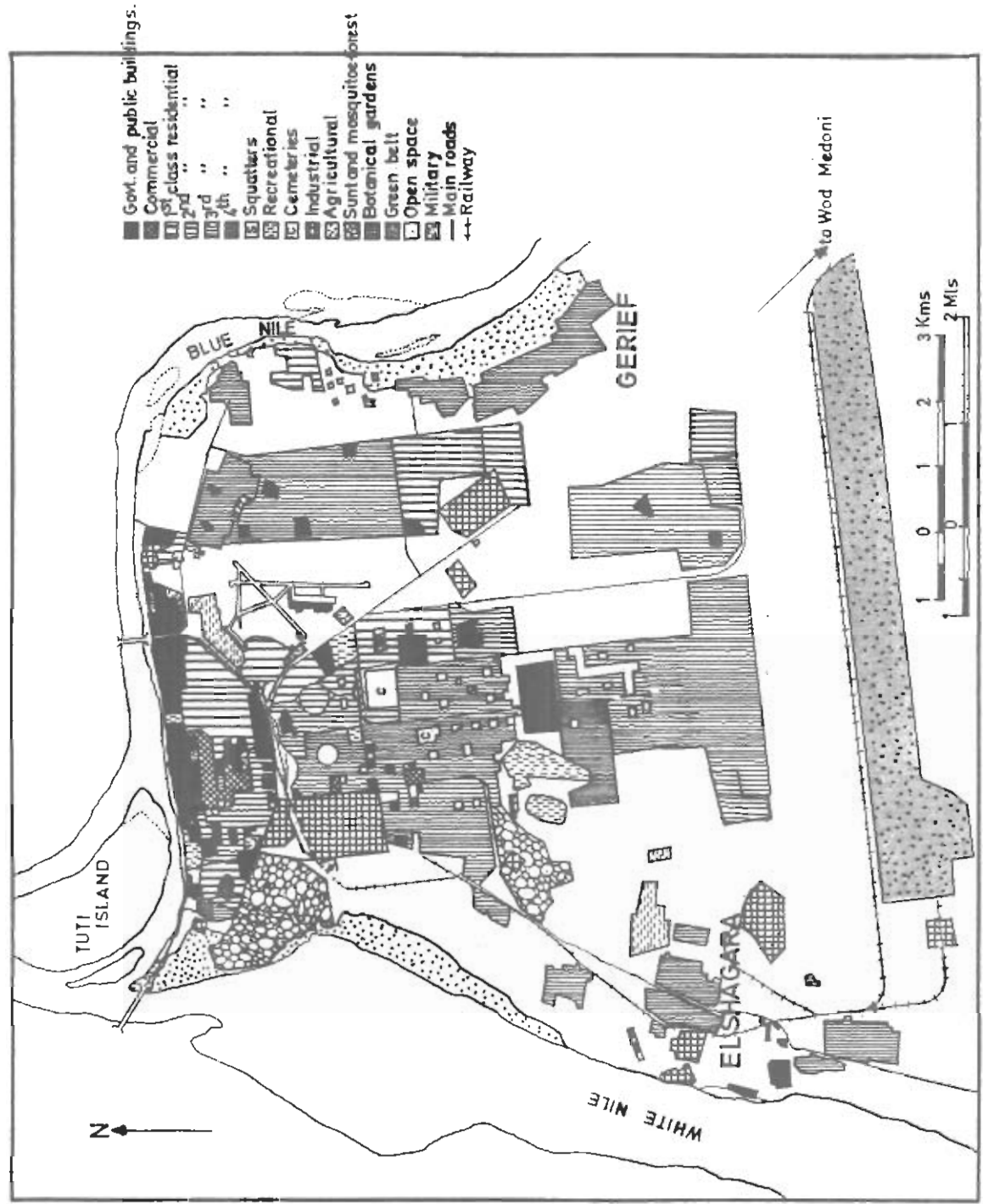
(An Atlas of Khartoum Conurbation 1976 P. 50) ; Fieldwork.

FIG. 1. 4 b   KHARTOUM NORTH: URBAN LAND USE

N

HALFAYA

RIVER NILE

BLUE NILE

Govt and public buildings
Commercial
1st class residential
2nd   ''   ''
3rd   ''   ''
Recreational
C Cemeteries
Industrial
Agricultural
Open space
Military
— Main roads
+ Railway
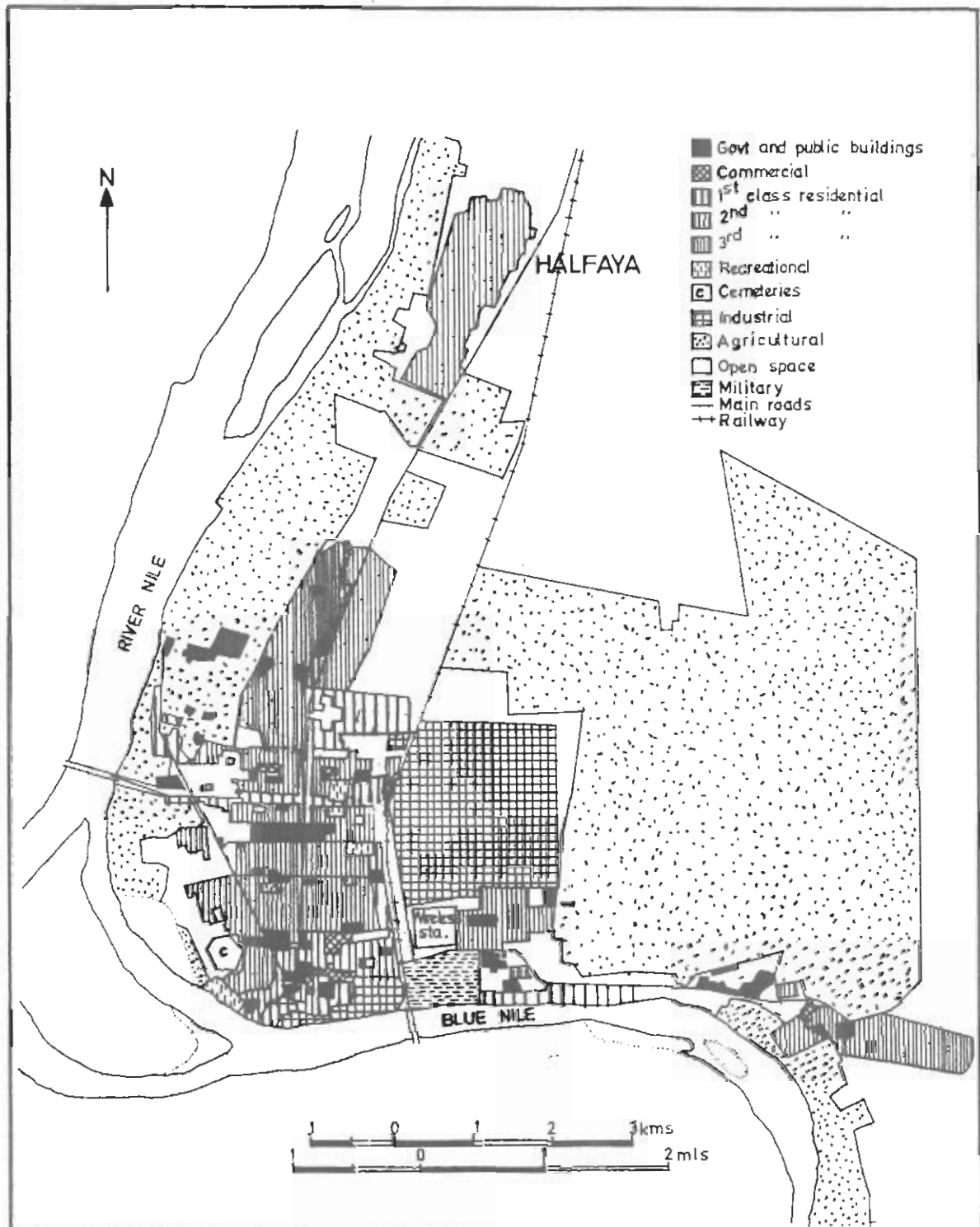
(An Atlas of Khartoum Conurbation 1976 P. 51) ; Fieldwork.

FIG. 1.4c   OMDURMAN : URBAN LAND USE

Al Thawra

N

UMM BADDAH

EL MAHADIA

Wadi Seidna

RIVER NILE

c

c

s

Wireless
Sta.

c

Govt. and public buildings
Commercial
1st class residential
2nd class residential
3rd class residential
Squatters
Recreational
Cemeteries
Industrial
Agricultural
Open space
Military
Main roads

EL -
FITEIHAB

TUTI
ISLAND

3kms.

2mls.

WHITE NILE
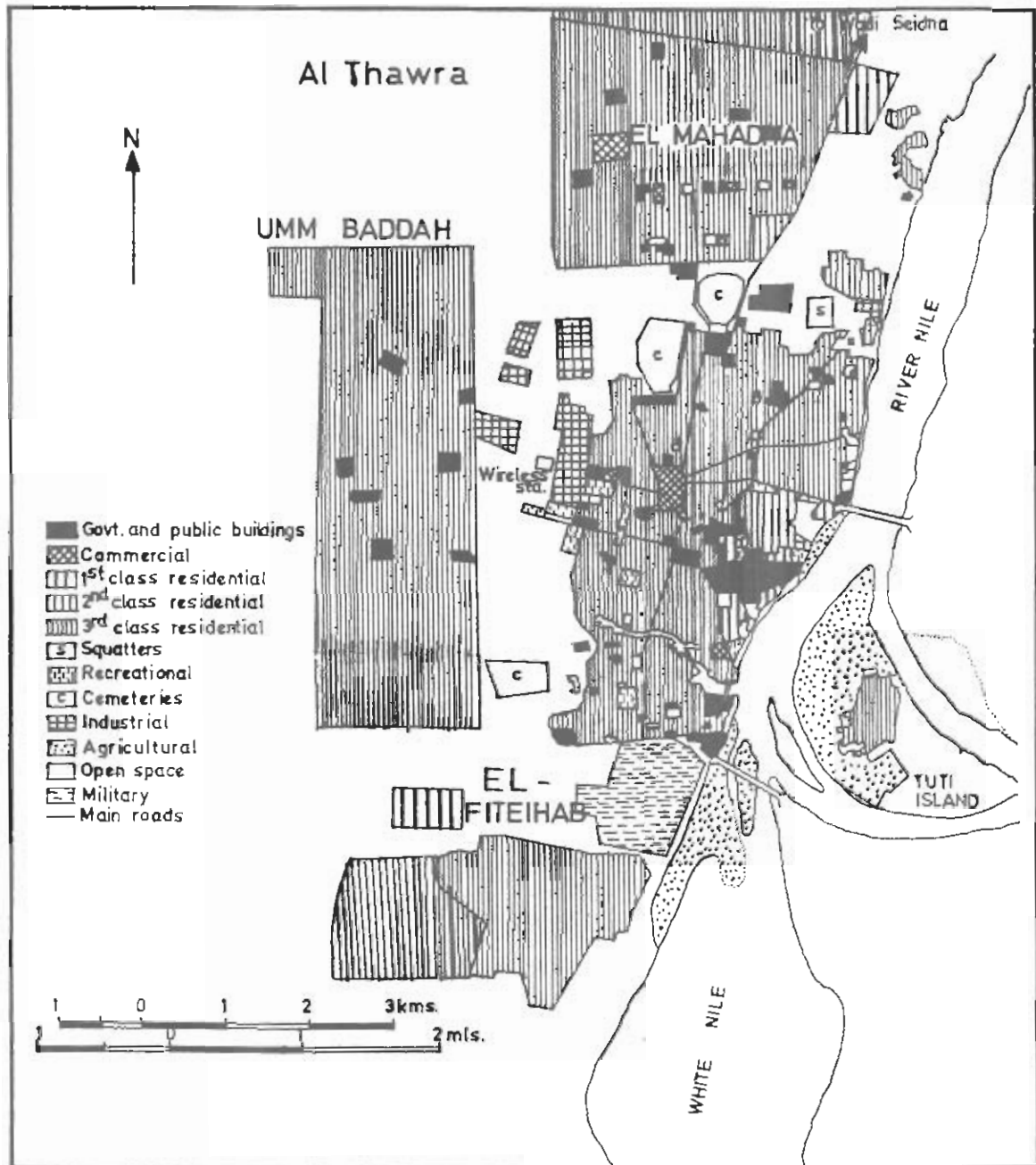
(An Atlas of Khartoum Conurbation 1976 P. 52); Fielwork.

1.2. The Research Problem

As described above, the inefficiencies of the urban land-use character and segregation of residence have left the urban masses in third class areas and squatter settlement devoid of accessibility to essential neighbourhood services and better urban facilities. The faliure of the existing planning system in Greater Khartoum to create interdependent spatial forms for better functioning of the urban area, has led to remarkable urban disparities. However, this situation cannot be justified by inadequate and incapable planning staff and meagre finances. The manifestation of this reality is obvious in the relationship between the spatial and the social structures of the modern sectors of the urban area. The business administrative area and the high class residence are not very greatly different from the similar sectors in the affluent societies in terms of their design and functional organisation, while the greater part of the urban communities live in substandard level in terms of housing and services.

Objectives

Initially, the task of planning consists of two complementary parts in the planning processes: formal and functional. The formal task is concerned with the organization of the urban space by means of technical and architectural outlook of the urban design. But the functional role of planning is concerned with the spatial relations of the urban form and the impact of such internal structures on the well-being of all urban communities. Therefore, the explanation of the process of the

functional task of planning depends on understanding the link between
the socio-political and ideological bases of society producing spatial
and urban policies.   Thus, this thesis is centrally concerned with
conceptualization of planning and evaluation of planning system on the
bases of its ideological, legislative and administrative frameworks.
Although the empirical part of the study covers planning experience on
the fields of housing, replanning, squatter housing and the insidence
of urban injustices, the theoretical part of the thesis receives a
special attention.

In the light of the foregoing, the objectives of this study are:

1.   To fill a gap in the existing urban literature by examining the
political concept and the ideological bases of the adopted planning in
Khartoum urban area.   The above review of urban literature on Greater
Khartoum reveals that there is a wealth of urban studies on the problems
of urbanization and planning dealing with rural-urban drift, inadequate
spatial relations, inapproprate use of land and insufficiency in the
provision of housing and services.   Thus the contribution of this
thesis to the previous urban studies on Greater Khartoum is to look into
the ideological and legislative grounds of the existing zonation and
functional locations of places of work in relation to residence and
community buildings.   Moreover, conceptual and theoretical approach
is essential for urban and planning investigation because of two reasons:
First, problems of rural underdevelopment, national urban policy and urban
planning are inseperable because they stem from the same ideology and

of ills usually precedes treatment.

2. To look into urban planning as a part of the national space - economy and the whole urban question. In this way, the concepts concerned with national urban policy and principles of town planning are gathered and linked.

3. To emphasize how regional disparities resulting in continuous flow of migrants to Khartoum urban area, has exacerbated the inefficiencies of land use character and urban disparities. The link between the two features is found in the socio-political bases of society and the prevalent disparities, and

4. to draw the attention to the need of a racical shift from the existing planning policy to a more positive one in order to ensure the well-being of the underpriviledged urban people.

Assumptions and Approach

In the light of the foregoing, the failure of the national urban policy and of the existing planning system are conceptualized, and the hypothesis to be investigated may include:

1. Faliure of regional development and **lack of** positive national urban policy, resulting in **continuous** migration to Greater Khartoum, are caused by acceptance of conventional approaches to development.

2. Absence of comperhensive planning in Greater Khartoum because of conservation of early colonial town planning rules. Up till now planning law and regulations have been a continuation and a product of the health and the land and building ordinances of the 1920's, the local government rules of the 1930's, and the 1950 Replanning Ordinance. The 1956 Planning Act and its duplication in the governing Act of 1961, have also retained the cardinal objective of systems-maintenance.

3. Absence of commitment to equitable distribution of social services because of vagueness and weakness of the planning law. Exactly as the conutry's successive constitutions of 1956, 1964 and 1973 have mentioned some fundamentals related to social justice, behind which there was no conviction to a new social order, the governing planning law is also extremely vague. The governing planning law made reference to control of town and village planning and to sound principles of planning. But there was no reference to any of the crucial elements required for the achievement of planning control, nor to the contents and objectives of a sound, uniformed and positive planning.

    Fundamentally, urban spatial forms are reflections of the adopted economic and social policies. Therefore, this study of

institutional frameworks of urban process and planning with the economic, ideological and political bases of society. Thus, for the analysis of relationships between socio-political bases and spatial forms of society, a Marxist socio-spatial approach is adopted. In examining whether the adopted planning mode could help ensure the welfare and better quality of life for the entire urban population, the main question remains: who gets what, where and how ? The answer to this question requires critical analysis of planning concept, law and machine.

Methodology

Socio-spatial analysis and conceptualization of planning system and mode are used in this study to understand the ideological grounds of urban policy and planning as manifested in regional policies, Land Laws, planning principles, official response to replanning and squatter housing and the politico-administrative framework of housing and social services. Such analyses are introduced for by an ideological comparison between the classical interpretations of urbanization and planning as adopted in the Sudan and the radical interpretation because of their different outlook towards the economic base, spatial organization, the value and social use of urban space and socio-spatial structures of urban areas.

In order to review the theme of the study comperhensively, and to validate the socio-spatial analysis with reliable data, the following techniques were followed:

1. In the part concerned with the colonial period, data has been collected in a systematic way from the National Records Office, Khartoum. This historical background is not merely a dropback, but an explanation of the imposition of the ideological grounds of urban and planning policies.

2. The key informant technique is followed to review the government policy. Intensive interviews were carried out with the officials of the bodies concerned with planning and town planners at the central and local levels.

3. A considerable amount of information in a written form, found in scattered files of the various bodies engaged in planning, are brought together. Such material has been obtained from the ministers concerend, the government-appointed boards and committess, foreign consultants reports and town conucils.

Organization of the Thesis

In what follows, chapter II outlines the guiding conceptual framework of the study in urbanization, urban policy and planning. Chapter III identifies the basic elements of the spatial development policy in the Sudan in the colonial and post-colonial periods, and the impact of this on urbaniztion and urban planning. Chapter IV deals with the means and objectives of colonial planning of Greater Khartoum. Chapter V evaluates the existing planning system in Khartoum urban area. Chapter VI reviews the experience of planning in the post colonial period in the fields of foreign planning consultancy, replanning and housing policy, Chapter VII contains some measures and features of urban disparities as outputs of the planning mode adopted. Finally, chapter VIII is the conclusion of the preceding discussions demonstrating the implications of planning system in Khartoum urban area and the need for a positive planning approach.

C H A P T E R   II

Urbanization, Urban Policy and Planning

The purpose of this chapter is to discuss the theory and the conceptual framework of urbanization, urban policy, and the socio- political bases of planning. These theories and concepts will be examined in two main categories: classical and radical. Such a review will serve as a conceptual guideline throughout this study because the question of urban planning is basically attributed to the trend of urbanization and to the conceptual and institutional frameworks of urban policy.

History has witnessed the continual evolution of cities which have been characterized by radical changes in their forms and functions. Such forms and functions varied at different times and in various societies. Therfore, the conception of urban life had stimulated many philosophers and social thinkers since ancient times to interpret the causes and consequences of the urban phenomenon. For instance, Plato in his Republic saw cities...

" .... so divided that their citizens stood in the state and posture of gladiators against one another."(1)

Therefore, he wrote about an ideal city life, but his approach was not empirical. Other early works on cities attempted to describe urban life within the legal, economic or religious functions of some individual towns.(2)

The fourteenth century witnessed an empirical and a more satisfactory analysis of urbanization developed by Ibn Khaldun, the famous Arab social theorist who is considered by modern social scientists as the founder of urban and rural sociology. In his Muqaddimah, Ibn Khaldun discussed the site and function of towns, their role in the technological and intellectual progress as well as urban-rural relations. He stressed the significance of the rural section because it was the origin of human habitation.(3)

(1) C. Wayper, Political Thought, Aylesbury, The English Universities Press, 1973, P.16.

(2) Emrys Jones, Towns and Cities, London, Oxford University Press, 1966, P.7.

(3) Ibn Khaldun, The Muqaddimah: An Introduction to History, Vol. II, Translated from the Arabic by Franz Rosenhal, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1967, PP. 235 - 241.

In the sixteenth century, Giovanni Botero, an Italian sociologist, discussed in his Greatness of Cities, the relationship between social power and development of cities. But this trend of thought was not improved upon by urban scholars who came immediatley after him.(4) Thus, before the modern industrial urbanization, Ibn Khaldun and Botero were more concerned than other social thinkers with the conceptual approach to the understanding of urbanization.

The industrial urbanization of the nineteenth century has also stimulated the historians and all social scientists to interpret urban origin, functioning of towns, their spatial organization, as well as urban-rural relations. However, the extreme variations in the economic, political and cultural conditions in the world have made the formulation of a universal theory of urbanization and the scientific testing for such a theory, a difficult task.

The theories and interpretations of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries urbanization in the West - which are also accepted in the developing nations - were firmly based on the analysis of the existing situation.

(4) Gideon Sjoberg, The Preindustrial City: Past and Present, New York, The Free Press, 1960, P.3.

There has been no identifications of the choices available in the courses and outcomes of the social and economic changes. In consequence, the modern urban thought has passed through the following stages, which will be discussed later:

1. From the beginning of the industrial urbanization up to the First World War, there had been more concern about the sociological interpretations of the urban phenomenon.

2. In the inter-war period, the economic and the spatio-ecological theories had become well established.

3. In the post-war period there had been a strong tendency towards the urban cross-cultural comparisons.

4. The last two decades have witnessed the emergence of a radical theorization of the urban process, built upon the analysis of the relations responsible for the whole structure of social and spatial formation of society.

The radical theorization of the urban question has attempted to interpret the origin, the function and the problems of urban centres by studying the totality of the urban phenomenon. In other words, a link has been made among the social, economic and spatial elements of society.(5)

(5) Manuel Castells, The Urban Question: A Marxist Approach, translated by Alan Sheridan, London, Edward Arnold, 1977, PP. 9 - 15.

2.1. Classical Theories of Urbanization

The rise of industry in the West has radically altered the economic, social and demographic structures of the society. Shifting of people to towns has led to a remarkable development of urbanization, and therefore, Western social scientists began to interpret the process of modern urbanization. Such an interpretation was based on two elements:

1. the speciality of individual social sciences and characteristics of individual societies or cities, and

2. predominant and determinant factors of the socio-economic situation. These were capitalism, privatism and the reality of market forces.

Thus, according to the speciality of individual social sciences within the confines of market societies, the following interpretations have been firmly established in the Western urban literature:

- sociological interpretations,

- economic interpretations,

- ecological interpretaions, and

- comparative interpretations.

2.1.1. Sociological interpretation

The concern of Western sociologists was to interpret the social processes that involved the development of society from a preindustrial and segmental one to a modern and organized one. Therefore, they stressed the social behaviour, and considered the economic and political elements of the society as constraints imposed on the social behaviour in the new industrial society.(6) In consequence, the theory of contrast was the main feature of the works of Western sociologists.

At the end of the nineteenth century, Western sociologists considered that fundamental changes of the economic, political and cultural structures in urban society were results of the increasing numbers of individuals in cities, and also, of the relationship of the individual to society, and the new role of the individual in society. Such changes, like new factors of production, land wonership, division of labour and specialization of individuals were attributed to the practical social behaviour, as main modifciations of social organization.(7)

(6) Brain J. Berry, The Human Consequences of Urbanization, New York, St. Martin's Press, 1973, PP. 2 – 8.

(7) Richard Sennett, Classic Essays on the Culture of Cities, New York, Appleton – Century-Crofts, 1969, PP. 6 – 8.

These ideas which have been developed by Henry Maine (1861), Ferdinand Tonnies (1887), Emile Durkeim (1893) and Adna Weber (1899) were gathered by Delos Wilcox (1904) who stated that,

" The city is, indeed, the visible symbol of the annihilation of distance and the multiplication of interests .... Among the business and professional calsses, a man's most intimate associates may be scattered over the whole city, while he scarcely know his next door neighbour's name .... The city transforms men as if by magic and newcomers are abosrbed and changed into city men."(8)

On the other hand, the psychological interpretation of the urban phenomenon was developed by George Simmel (1902), who argued that the role of the individual's psychology came before the social change. He stressed the immersion of the individual in the immediate small group which determined his personality, and the impact of such personality on mass society.(9)

(8) D.F. Wilcox, The American City: A problem in Democracy, New York, Macmillan, 1904, quoted in Berry (1973), Op. Cit., P.11.

(9) Richard Sennett, Op. Cit., 1969, P. 9.

The capstone of the traditional sociological interpretation of the urban character was the famous classics of Max Weber, The City, in 1920.(10) Max Weber distiguished between urbanized and non-urbanized societies, through the degree of rationalization. He stressed the theory of contrast between the communal social behaviour of traditional societies and the associative behaviour and relations of the industrial societies.

The theory of contrast was developed in more explicit way by Robert Redfield. Like other anthropologists, Redfield saw urbanization as a destruction of the folk society through the increase in secularization and the increase in individualiza-tion.(11) Thus, by considering the urban society as the opposite of the rural society, Redfield failed like other urban theoriti-cians to develop a positive theory or conception for the urban phenomenon.

(10) Max Weber, The City, Translated and edited by Don Martindale and Gentund Neuwirth, Glencoe, Free Press, 1958.

(11) Robert Redfield, The Folk Culture of Yucatan, Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1941, PP. 338 - 339.

The dramatic change in urban life in the United States during the inter-war period led Louis Wirth to develop one of the most accepted theories of the urban process. In his "Urbanism as a Way of Life", Wirth succeeded to draw most of the previous interpretations in a single theory. The assumptions of the Wirthian theory were size, density and heterogeneity. Wirth argued that the larger and the more diversified the group is, the greater will be the effects on the individual's behaviour on the pattern of the socio-economic interaction and on the dominance of formal organizations.(12) Furthermore, in his analysis of the urban phenomenon, Wirth was influenced by the Chicago School, and therefore he included the spatio-economic analysis. He observed that social segregation in cities was a reflection of economic status or ethnic characteristics of society.(13)

Kingsley Davis followed the previous sociological deductive theories, and attempted to draw further consequences from greater density. He deduced greater social heterogeneity, a rise in the number of voluntary associations, greater spatial segregation,

(12) Louis Wirth, "Urbanism as a Way of Life" American Journal of Sociology, Vol.44, 1938, PP. 1 - 24.

(13) Leonard Rei-ssman, The Urban Process, New York, The Free Press, 1970, PP. 123 - 126.

greater individualization and a secondary control over behaviour.(14) Thus, all of the sociological assumptions developed by urban theoriticians were based upon greater density and the resulting interaction between individuals and societies. But in contemporary large urban areas the declining density is becoming a common feature. In the United States, the declining living enviornmental neighbourhood led to suburbanization of the middle and higher income families. The filtering extends downwards and at the end of the strata, the poorest families — supported by welfare — left the decayed units of the city. This system of subcultures, as influenced by social and economic segregation, was not dealt with in the sociological interpretations and the Wirthian model.

2.1.2. Economic interpretation

The extraction of agricultural surplus was a prerequisite of growth of ancient towns. Cities were centres for organizing this surplus by means of political and market control. After the industrial urbanization, a part of the surplus product was derived from the increasing diversified occupations in the city itself. These radical changes have created different views of the economic role of cities and their economic relations with rural areas.

(14) Kingsley Davis, Human Society, New York, The Macmillan Co., 1948, PP. 329 - 336.

Unlike the sociologists who considered the economic factor as a constraint imposed on the social behaviour of the urban society, the economists and some historians looked at the city solely in economic terms. For instance, Henri Pirenne(15) stressed the economic function in the rise and growth of cities. He argued that the growth of towns with a middle class and political, social, economic and cultural institutions was attributed to trade in ancient and medieval times, and industry in modern times.

Hoselitz criticized the argumentations of Gordon Childe and Adam Smith which were built on the notion that urban and rural areas were mutually and reciprocally related to each other.(16) Hoselitz argued that cities were either generative or parasitic. While generative cities directed much of the surplus into further productive uses, parasitic cities directed most of the surplus product into consumption.(17) However, the recognition of the spatial interdependence of town and country, and the particular economic functions of cities in relation to the services provided to rural areas was introduced in 1933 by Walther Christaller.

(15) Henri Pirenne, Medieval Cities, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1952.

(16) Gordon Childe, " The Urban Revolution ", The Town Planning Review, Vol. 21, No. 1, 1950, PP. 3 - 17

(17) Harold Carter, The Study of Urban Geography, London, Edward Arnold, 1972, PP. 36 - 37.

In the theory of the central - place, Christaller attempted
to justify the location, distribution and size of urban centres.
The foucus of the central-place theory is the centrality of towns
in serving their surrounding areas in accordance with the
threshold of population and the range of goods and services.
Thus, Christaller argued that the size and density of towns were
not the measure of centrality and function. According to the
theory, the threshold population is the minimum demand for a
certain good or service; while the range of goods and services is
the maximum distance that people travel to obtain such goods and
services offered at the central place.(18) The urban hierarchy
as determined by the central-place theory was controlled by a
developed transportation, marketing and administrative systems.
This famous theory was therefore, characterized by two main
features:

1. The forces and assumptions of the theory were built upon
    developed but simple model of market, transport and
    administration; with equilibrium state in the population
    density and wealth.

2. The theory prescribes the requirments and characteristics of
    particular urban system, but it did not explain the forces
    that determined the building up of a system of cities.

(18) Walther Christaller, Central Places in Southern Germany,
     Translated by C.W. Baskin, N.J.Englewood Cliffs, 1966.

Also, there was a simple representation of the economy of the city itself in terms of its basic-nonbasic functions or activities, as well as a more detailed representation of urban input-output activities.(21) Thus, various spatial-economic theories were influenced by market mechanism in Western urbanization. Actually, these economic interpretations were molded to fit the economic variations in the landscape. David Harvey described this and said:

" This hierarchical structuring of space is nothing less than efficient organization of space, so that the impact of distance on the progress of extracting the surplus is kept at minimum."(22)

2.1.3. The Ecological interpretation of the city:

The ecological theory of the city was developed by the Chicago School in the 1920s and the 1930s. The focus of the theory was the objective and empirical physical growth of cities. Robert Park, the founder of the theory, saw the city as a natural

(21) I. Morrissett, " The Economic Structure of American Cities, " Regional Science Association, No. 4, 1958, PP. 239 - 251.

(22) David Harvey, Society, the City and the Space-Economy of Urbanism, Commission on College Geography, Paper No. 18, Washington, D.C., 1972, P. 12.

Within the framework of central functions of urban places, August Lösch formulated another theory of settlement. He argued that settlement hierarchy and market areas began from the level of a single producer upwards to a system of urban places. Lösch explained that demand is maximized at each place if the surrounding market area are hexagonal.(19)

Although the main features of Lösch's system of settlement were different from those developed by Christaller, the Christaller - Lösch model was a deterministic one based solely on the economic factor. Moreover, with mass industrial production and the development of trade at urban, regional and national levels, the interpretations of the economic functions of cities has taken further dimensions. For instance, the rejection of Christaller - Lösch model was developed by Leslie Curry who argued that the central place functions were a resultant of random spatial economy created by free market.(20)

(19) Lesile King and Reginald Golledge, Cities, Space and Behaviour: The elements of urban geography, New Jersy, Prentice - Hall, INC., 1978, PP. 107 - 114.

(20) Leslie Curry, " The Random Spatial Economy: An exploration in Settlement Theory ", Annals of the Association of American Geographers, No. 54, 1964, PP. 138 - 146.

... ~~study of typical constellation of persons and institu-~~
tions.(23) Burgess and Mckenzie went on to identify and work
those inner and natural laws of the city. In a systematic way,
Burgess treated the physical structure, while Mckenzie formulated
the laws of social topography. Thus, the ecologists believed that
urban life as expressed in the physical structure of cities was
determined by cultural processes and economic competition.
Accordingly, economic competition and social segregation were
considered as determinant factors in the system of land use, and
hence, the distinctive areas in the city formed the physical
structure, and reflected the socio-economic differentia-
tion.(24)

The importance of the ecological theory and its geo-physical
aspects of the city, were not accepted by urban theorists. For
instance, Milla Alihan cirticized the theory, and argued that the
ecologists attempted to divide society from community. Alihan
explained that city life in any physical structure was consistant

(23) Robert Park, Human Communities, New York, The Free Press of
     Glencoe, 1952, P. 14.

(24) R. Park and W. Burgess (ed), The City, Chicago, Chicago
     University Press, 1925, PP. 47 - 77.

with its social fabric.(25)

The criticism against the concetric model led Homer Hoyt to develop the sector theory, and Harris and Ullman to develop the multiple nuclie theory.(26) But as William Tabb has observed, the three models of urban structure were expressions of a man-produced spatial complex as created by market mechanism in Western urban experience, and particularly in some large industrial - commercial cities in the United States. Tabb argued that there was no difference whether the city structure was concetric or sectoral since its spatial arrangement was a product of the social and economic segregation.(27)

Harvey also observed that the cultural element of the ecological theory was called by Park " the moral order ", though the physical structure was a product of economic competition according to the theory. According to Harvey, the " moral order " has no direct effect on the economic base of the society, as claimed by the ecologists.(28)

(25) Milla Alihan, Social Ecology, New York, Columbia University Press, 1938, P. 218.

(26) James H. Johnson, Urban Geography: An Introductory Analysis, Oxford, Pergamon Press, 1972, PP. 172 - 179.

(27) William Tabb and Larry Sawers (ed), Marxism and the Metropolis, London, Oxford University Press, 1978, p. 12.

(28) D. Harvey, Op. Cit., 1972, P. 13.

2.1.4. Comparative interpretations:

The cross-cultural comparisons have become an assential part in urban thought after the Second World War. This was so because of the remarkable changes in the urban character of the West and the diffusion of modern urbanization in developing countries. Comparative urban analysis was an attempt to escape local and naive empircism, in order to understand the nature and processes of urbanization. This trend of interdisciplinary perspective had become widely accepted because of the efforts of Gideon Sjoberg, Scott Greer, Leo Schnore and Leonard Reissman.

In his attempt to develop a theoretical orientation on the urbanization process, Sjoberg studied the preindustrial cities in order to understand the social and economic restructuring of socieities. He explained that the determinant factors of the urban growth were the availability of agricultural surplus, the technological development and the rise of political power.(24) Sjoberg argued that the level of technology reached and the strength of the political power in any society, gave a distinctive type of social structure, and hence, the nature of urban process and the level of urban development. He concluded that despite the great difference between ancient and modern cities in their number, size, density and industrial technology,

(29) Gideon Sjoberg, The Preindustrial City: Past and Present, New York, The Free Press, 1960, PP. 25 - 31.

the preconditions for urban development were similar. Thus, according to Sjoberg, the association between the socio-economic restructuring of societies and the political structure remained throughout history as the main variable in explaining the urban growth and character.(30)

Schnore who was influenced by the ideas of Sjoberg and the ecological theory, attempted to formulate a theory based on the cross-cultural approach. He conducted a comparative study between the United States and Latin America, and concluded that the relations between the city and its inhabitants were controlled by four determinant factors. These were the characteristics of the social and economic organization, the level of technology, the trend of population growth, and the features of the physical environment. Schnore argued that these variables permitted the applicability of various urban preconditions to different societies.(31)

(30) G. Sjoberg, " The rise and fall of cities: A theoretical prespective ", in Gerald Breese (ed), The City in Newly Developing Countries: Readings on Urbanism and Urbanization, London, Prentice - Hall - International, Inc., 1972, PP. 219 - 231.

(31) Leo F. Schnore, " On the Spatial Structure of Cities in the Two Americas ", in Philip M. Hauser and L.F.Schnore, The Study of Urbanization, New York, John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1965, PP. 347 - 389.

Scott Greer criticized Wirth's theory, and argued that the urban complex as a structure was related to the nature of the whole society and not only to that category which resided in cities. From this point he developed the concept of scale, and the increase in scale, because the city was a nodal point for fragmented branches of the society. Scott explained that the mobility of people as determined by transportation, communication and the widening span of control and compliance, were the determinant factors in creating continuous socio-economic change and urban development.(32)

Leonard Reissman was more explicit in his criticism of the previous urban theories for lacking generality and universality. He argued that not all societies had witnessed the same urban process because of their economic and political differences. Reissman went on to formulate a theory of urbanization which was made up of four components: urban growth, industrialization, nationalism and emergence of a middle class. he compared the urban process in the developed and the developing countries, and concluded that city growth could precede industrialization and social change. He also considered the rise of nationalism in developing countries, and the ideological influences in the socialist countries as a key element in the urban process. According to Reissman, the emergence of a middle class was the essence of urban transformation in various societies.(33)

(32) Scott Greer, The Emerging City, New York, The Free Press, 1962, PP. 16 - 44.

(33) L. Reissman, Op. Cit., 1970, 'introduction'.

Although Reissman's explanation was more empirical and universal, it ignored the crucial role of social relations on urban transformation.

Apparently, classical theories of urbanization which were based on Western experience represented either the speciality of individual social sciences or urban characteristics of individual societies. All of these status-quo theories lacked not only generality and universality, but also the totality of the urban question.

2.2. Radical Theory of Urbanization

The emergence of the radical geographical thought in the West in the last two decades was a part of a global and wider movement. This movement in the intellectual, political and academic spheres was a response to many factors:

1. Some academics and some sectors of the consumer-oriented masses in the West had discovered that capitalism was unable to solve the increasig problems in the social, economic and urban fields.(34)

2. The national liberation movements in the Third World were looking for an alternative to the inherited social and economic system.

3. The socialist experience in the Soviet Union, China and Eastern Europe allowed for rethinking of the traditional policies of development and social justice.

(34) V. Gokhman, G. Sadasyuk and S. Lavrov, " Socio-economic Geography in the West at a turning point ", Soviet Geography, Vol. XXI, No. 5, May 1980, PP. 284 – 293.

4. The success of the Vietnamese people was the turning point in the path of radical thought. The lesson of the Vietnamese struglle had taught the world the nature of the relationship between colonialism, imperialism and capitalism. It had also taught the world the nature of the relationship between the ideological factor, the political culture and national building.(35)

5. The social and economic systems in the West failed to put an end to the problems of poverty, racial discrimination, traffic congestion, crime, social injustice and exploitation of the ex-colonies by the governments and businesses of the Western nations. In response to these features of inhumanity, radical academicians have attempted to restructure the conceptual framework of their disciplines to the needs of an alternative society. In order to achieve such an intellectual and ideological shift, many academicians in the West have considered Marxism as not only an economic theory, a sociological theory or a philosophy, but also as a social science of revolutionary socialist praxis.(36)

(35) Samir Amin, Imperialism and Unequal Development, New York, Monthly Review Press, 1977, PP. 2 - 4

(36) David Smith, Human Geography: a welfare approach, London, Edward Arnold, 1977, PP. 1 - 5.

There is often a strong link between ideology and the concept of urbanization. For instance, in the Nazi ideology the imbalance between nature and human civilization was seen as the core of human problems, whilst the problems of urbanization were considered irrelevant and exaggerated ones. Zionist ideology on the other hand regarded the city as an evil while communal and co-operative agriculture would provide all human needs.(37) But Marxism looked at the city as a part of a unified pattern of settlement, through which rural areas were to be gradually transformed into urban-life-styles. However, in order to understand the origins and functions of cities on ideological bases, Marxist academicians had questioned why cities exist in the form they do? What are the relationships between forms of production and growth of cities? What socio-political factors determine the distribution of residence and services? And what are the relationships between the urban and rural economies?(38)

The answers to these questions which formed the basis of the Marxian theory of urbanization, were built upon the analysis of the relationships between the ideological, the economic and the

(37) Brain J. Berry, (ed) Urbanization and counter- urbanization, London, Sage Publications, 1976, P.8.

(38) Tabb and Sawers, Op. Cit., 1978, P.18.

political elements of society. The totality of the Marxian urban conception was therefore, made up of three vital principles: the concept of cities and surplus, the concept of social space, and the concept of urban-rural unification.

2.2.1. Cities and surplus:

In the Marxist viewpoint cities are built forms created out of extraction and concentration of the socially designated surplus product. The surplus concept in Marxism is considered as the crucial relationship between the mode of production and urbanization. Therefore, in a capitalist society, cities are seen as dependent territories and generators of effective space for the organisation of surplus product.(39) The Marxist concept of surplus arises out of the analysis of the surplus value which is that part of the total value of production which is left over after constant capital and labour power have been accounted for.(40) Accordingly, a determinant factor in the emergence and location of early towns was the particular organizational and institutional forms for managing the surplus product.(41)

(39) David Harvey, Social Justice and the City, London, Edward Arnold Publishers, 1973, PP. 216 - 220.

(40) Ibid, P. 224.

(41) P. Wheatley, the Pivot of the Four Quarters, Edinburgh, Edinburgh University Press, 1971, P. 268.

David Harvey summarized this concept and said:

" Urbanism rests on the successful production and appropriation of a socially produced surplus product. Any analysis of urbanism and the city form which fails to grapple with the fact of appropriation and the process whereby appropriation is accomplished, fails to grapple with the essence of urbanism itself."(42)

The relationship between rural exploitation and the agricultural surplus led David Harvey to reject the classical concept of urban-rural receiprocity. He disagreed with Adam Smith that the gain of the city was not the loss of the countryside. Harvey argued that reciprocity is a reflection to the role of central places which were designed by market mechanism in Western urbanization which replaced the military and political strength or the theocratic sactions of ancient and medieval urban development. Harvey further explained that in the process of urban-rural exploitation the benefits that towns supplied to rural areas were made only to faciliate the generation and exploitation of larger surplus from there.(43)

In the Marxist viewpoint there was no difference between ancient and modern cities as centres for exploiting the social surplus product. In preindustrial times the control of labour and product was in the hands of slave owners, big merchants or feudal lords.

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(42) D. Harvey, Op. Cit., 1972, P.7.

(43) Ibid., P.6.

But in modern times the owners of the factories, companies, land, and transportation direct the labour and their product, and therefore, the extraction of surplus was found at different points in the process of production and redistribution policies.(44) This pattern of social relations of production when combined with modern forces of production - size and skill of labour, level of technology and other tools of production - have determined the physical and social structure of modern city.

2.2.2. The Concept of Social Space:

Space is a product which has a form and a function and therfore, it enters into particular social relations. It follows that any theorization of space is an integral part of a general social theory which dominates society.(45) In the industrial capitalist city, the organization of space through its economic value, was therefore a reflection of the social relations as shaped by market mechanism. Thus, in the Marxist viewpoint space is understood in terms of the historical articulation of several modes of production which through systems of practices - ideological, economic and politico -institutional - shape the social structure.(46)

In Marxism it is a vital necessity to formulate concepts and policies that allow harmonization of spatial organisation and social needs; and certain spatial forms are related to social behaviour and the satisfaction of all urban communities.

(44) Tabb and Sawers, Op. Cit., 1978, PP. 7 - 8

(45) D. Harvey, Op. Cit., 1973, PP. 24 - 49.

(46) M. Castells, Op. Cit., 1977, P. 115.

usage were different from those of other commodities, and therefore, spatial and land-use studies were left outside the sphere of political economy. For instances, Adam Smith argued that things which had the greatest value in exchange had little or no value in use.(47) In sharp contrast to the concept of seperating use value from exchange value, Marxism combined both as an expression of social relations.

Marxism brought use value and exchange value into a dialectical relationship with each other through the form of commodities as expressed in a set of social relationships. This concept has become the basis for radical understanding of the realtionship between economic and spatial approaches.(48)

(47) Adam Smith, An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations, New York, Modern Library Edition, 1937. P. 28.

(48) D. Harvey, Op. Cit.,1973, PP. 153 - 157.

However, the concept of land value in Western capitalist societies provided the conceptual underpinning of traditional analyses of spatial organization and land-use problems. For instance, in the sociological and spatial interpretations of the Chicago School, the city was regarded as a man-produced ecological complex within which the processes of social adaptation produced a coherent spatial structure influenced by competition for living space. Burgess also described the area encircling the central business district as the zone of deterioration inhabited by inferior beings.(49)

But a long time before Burgess, Engles who had a sense of the cause-and-effect relationship behind the urban spatial configuration, described the inhabitants of the same zone as victims of the social relations in the capitalist society.(50) It was apparent that the neglect of the cause-and-effect relationships between the social relations and space in the classical theories of urbanization was a reflection of the conditions of competitive industrial capitalism and the power of private land market as manifested in the economic value of land.

(49) R.E.Park, On Social Control and Collective Behaviour, Chicago, Phoenix Books, University of Chicago, 1967, Chapter 4.

(50) Friedrich Engles, The Conditions of the English Working Calss in 1844, Standford, Standford University Press, 1958, PP. 46 - 48.

The radical concept of social space was discussed from the sociological viewpoint by Janet Abu-Lughod. Abu-Lughod argued that the earlier interpretations and theories of urbanism and urbanization were proving inadequate in the present-day situation neither for the developed nor for the developing countries. She criticized the Wirthian model of population, size, density and heterogeneity because the model has ignored the relationships between system decisions, mobility of people and organization of space. Abu-Lughod suggested the substitution of size, density and heterogneity by scale, interactional density and internal differentiation. She explained that scale was different from size because the scale was the measurement of the extent of the relationships, and not the number of the participants as in size. The earlier definitions of density stressed the population concentration and the creation of secondary type of relationships for the individuals. But Abu-Lughod argued that the changing nature of interaction had led to tertiary types of relationships. That was what she called interactional density, which was created by two factors: the development of mass media; and the physical segregation of different groups within the urban area by means of economic, cultural and political powers.(51)

(51) J.L. Abu-Lughod, The City is Dead, Long Live the City, Berkeley, University of California C.P.D.R. Monograph 12, 1968.

2.2.3. The Concept of Urban-rural Unification:

The idea of the 'City of the Socialist Man' came into existence when socialism was adopted as a way of life in the Soviet Union after the First World War, and later in China and Eastern Europe, after the Second World War. In these regions where a link was created between the economic, socio-spatial and ideological elements, new concepts were introduced to help understand urban life and the relations between town and countryside. Socialist thinkers argued that the emergence of cities and their growth were determined in capitalist societies by the exploitation of the surplus product of labour, and its spatial concentration in cities. As a result of this exploitative system of urbanization there had been two major characteristics: socio-spatial inequity within cities, and urban-rural contrast.

Thus, **the traditional debate on urban**-rural contrast had taken a new dimension with the development of the socialist urban thought. For instance, the Russian geographer Khorev criticized the classical Western thinkers who considered the urban-rural contrast as an unavoidable result of urbanization, like other problems of city life. Khorev said:

" The essence of long-range changes in settlements and growth of cities lies in the gradual erasing of differences between town and countryside, to yield a unified system of settlement, whose planned regulations

may help prevent haphazard and uncontrolled city growth".(52)

The socialist attitude toward the city was a positive one, through which rural areas were to be transformed into a unified system of settlement with urban areas. In order to achieve the goal of a unified system of settlement, urban policies were considered under socialism as a part of the general reform in the social and economic structure of society. Thus, the involvement of the state in the management and planning of the economy in socialist societies was accompanied by lawful and powerful urban policies. It followed that urban development was controlled by a new strategy in accordance with the socialist ideology which encouraged urban diffusion into remote areas and accelerated regional development.

Although the goal of a unified system of settlement was not accomplished in socialist societies, by the totality of urban conception and radical urban policies, most of the problems associated with the capitalist urbanization were avoided.(53)

(52) B.S.Khorev and D. Khodzhayer, 'The Conception of a unified system of Settlement and the Planned Regulation of City Growth in the U.S.S.R.',Soviet Geography, No. 8, 1972, PP. 90 - 98.

(53) B. Berry, Op. Cit., 1973, PP. 154 - 158.

2.3. The Dilemma of the Third World Urbanisation

The greater part of urban literature on the urbanization of developing countries is based on a superficial approach derived from the Western theories, experience and classical interpretations. The study of urbanization in the developing countries, was threrefore, more concerned with the historical growth of cities and the European economic and clutural influences on these towns. Such urban studies tended to explain the creation of new colonial towns adjacent to the pre-colonial cities in a dual form, and had stressed the socio-cultural implications of urban duality.

Nonetheless, these comparative and speculative urban interpretations which were imposed upon the reality of the developing cities were rejected by many radical social scientists. These social scientists, like McGee and Santos have contributed effectively to the establishment of a theoretical framework for the real understanding of urbanization in the developing countries.

In the traditional analysis of urbanization in developing countries, it has been argued, by classical social scientists in the developed and developing nations, that the developing nations are in the transitional stage of the urban process.

This interpretaion prevailed because of the creation of primate cities at the early stages of urban development in the West. However, primate cities which had a positive role towards economic efficiency in the West, had become a destructive element in the developing countries, when such towns were created by the colonial powers to function as enterpots between the colonies and the industrial metropolitan.

The blind acceptance of this classical interpretation prevailed despite two basic features in developing countries:

1. The stages of economic growth in the developing countries were distorted by colonialism, and extracting human and natural resources.

2. The political, social, economic and cultural conditions in the developing countries were accompanied with colonial heritage, post-colonial expolitative policies, dependency and underdevelopment.(54)

(54) J. Walton, 'Internal Colonialism', in Trueblood and Cornelius (eds), Urbanization and Inequalities, London, Sage Publication, 1975, PP. 29 - 50.

However, the dominance of primate cities in developing countries had affected the economic growth of their regions in many ways.(55)

1. Because the primate city was a centre for collection of raw materials and of administration, it was charaterized by high consumption rate as compared with production rate. Therefore, it had become parasitic and failed to promote economic growth.

2. Large concentration of population in the primate city was not based on technical specialization or increased division of labour. Moreover, increase in productivity was not reflected on society because of extraction of surplus.

3. The locational behaviour of the small industrial and commercial sectors in the primate city was influenced by the exploitative attitude because the primate city had the main infrastructural facilities and the main national markets. Thus, the primate city continued to swallow up investment and to absorb manpower.

(55) Arnold S. Linsky, 'Some generalizations concerning primate cities', Annals of the Association of American Geographers, Vol. 55, Sept. 1965, PP. 506 - 513.

4.   Because the primate city deprived other regions of economic development, it had encouraged a massive rural shift that accelerated urban growth.

Mabogunje, in his Urbanization in Nigeria, summarized his views on the reality of urbanization in the developing countries. He believed that since the aspirations of the economic behaviour of human beings were the same, irrespective of culture or technology, the process of urbanization was the same in all societies. Although he concluded that the resulting structure of the urban process represented the characteristics of the society and its economic system, he accpeted the Western interpretation that the developing countries were following the Western path of the urban process.(56)

Reissman, who made a comperhensive cross-cultural comparison between the developed and the developing countries, had also concluded that the urban process was the same in both cases. He argued that despite the socio-economic, socio-cultural and political differences, the components of the urban process - urban growth, nationalism, industrialization and the emergence of a middle class - had been taking place in the developing countries since the Second World War.(57)

(56) Akin L. Mabogunje, Urbanization in Nigeria, London, University of London Press, 1968, PP. 21 - 22.

(57) Reissman, Op. Cit., 1970, PP. 158 - 168.

But McGee looked into the urbanization of the developing countries in an analytical method, in order to justify the growth of very large towns in a process whereby concentration of population had preceded economic growth. He criticized the Western urban theorists who regarded the urbanization process in the developing countries as identical to what occured in the West at its transitional stage. McGee argued that in the Western experience the city was an inducer of economic development, modernization and socio-demographic change, while in the developing countries cities are enclaves sorrounded by a hostile peasantry. In these enclaves, elites and businessmen lead a luxurious life by controlling power and wealth inherited from colonialists.

Unlike the Western experience, argued McGee, whereby pull factors to towns were essential to urban processes, the city in the developing countries is growing faster as a result of push factors from poor countryside. He regarded Western theories and interpretations as inadequate for understanding the urbanization process in developing societies. McGee concluded that,

" In the context of the majority of the third world countries, it seems that a theoretical framework which regards the city as the prime catalyst of change must be discarded. Rather, the city must be seen as a

symptom of processes operating at a societical level."(58)

Friedmann explained how the urbanization processes were determined by four major spatial processes with relationship of dominance – dependency, and each of these processes were associated with a spatial pattern(59). These spatial processes were:

1. the process of spatial concentration (and distribution) of power. This process was the most critical one because it affected the other processes and spatial relations by means of decision making and control,

2. the process of the spatial flows of capital and investment and the location of economic activities,

3. the process of innovation diffusion and the spatial spread of modernization, and

4. the process of migration and structuring of settlement pattern.

(58) T. G. McGee, The Urbanization Process in the Third World, London, Bell and Sons Ltd. 1971, PP. 13 – 31.

(59) J. Friedmann, 'A theory of Urbanization: Rejoinder to Richard Morse', in Miller and Gakenheimer (eds) Latin American Urban Policies and Social Sciences, Beverley Hills, Sage, 1971, PP. 201 – 208.

But this spatial analysis was criticized by Kitchning(60) who argued that the starting point in the explanation of social pro-cesses in space should be an analysis of the society's social structure, Kitching explained that the capacity to explain spatial forms, rather than merely describe them, is determined by the way of abolition of exploitation of people by people, for this is the reason behind all forms of spatial disparities.

Milton Santos identified the crucial aspect of the urban process and urban problems in the developing countries as the political urban economy of these societies. He described the two circuits of the urban economy: the upper circuit which was derived from capitalist know-how; and the lower circuit which was made up of non-capital intensive trade and services. He explained how the competition and interaction between the two circuits were the determinant factors in the urbanization process and the urban configuration. The link between the upper circuit and the state

(60)G. N. Kitching, 'Reification, Explanation and Regional Planning', Occasional Paper No. 9, Centre for Development Studies, University College of Swansea, November 1978.

policy helped in the growth of large urban centres where capital was accumulated. The existence of dual economies-traditional rural economy and sub-systems of modern economy-was the main cause of the excessive rural urban migration. Thus, the dominance of a colonial-capitalist type of economy in the majority of the Third world cities maintains workers at base survival level because any growth in the lower circuit filters to the upper circuit. Moreover, rural push to towns brings continuous flows of workers and keeps wage rates at their minimum. Therefore, job gains are less than production gains, and urban primacy becomes the most crucial factor in the economic underdevelopment in both the urban and rural sectors. As a result spatial imbalances, rural poverty and migration to non-productive cities are increased.(61)

These dramatic changes in the understanding of urbanization process in developing countries are built upon a radical theoretical framework generated by the reality of exploitative and dependent urbanization in the Third World. The main inducers of change resulting from the growth of urban centres in the contemporary developing countries, are therefore, associated with dominance of these urban centres. these are:

(61) Milton Santos, The Shared Sapce: The two circuits of the Urban economy in underdeveloped countries, translated by Chris Gerry, London, Methuen, 1979, PP. 136-169 and 187-203.

1. Cities are centres of economic, cultural, and political
    activities and training in such activities for trade
    unionists.

2. Cities are centres of concentration of officers and workers
    of tertiary services.

3. Cities are seats for military power.

Urban-rural contrast and the unbalanced social and economic
conditions in developing countries are the imprint on space of an
economic policy inherited from the colonial-capitalist system.
The agro- pastoral and extractive zones which are the areas of
the commercial economy are organized for the sake of the export
economy and for the consumption of the cities residents. This
phenomenon of uneven distribution of human and natural resources,
is actually resulting from the preservation of the colonial role
of cities. The ideological basis of the economic policies in the
developing countries are not independent of the international
market processes which replaced colonization. In consequence, the
organization of human and natural resources and space are not
manipulated for the needs of the whole society.(62)

(62) German Wettestein, "A geographic questionining from
exploited countries", Antipode, V. ix, No. 3, 1977, PP 111 -
116.

The same major colonial towns remained in the post-colonial times as points of contact with the outside world, locus of power and centres for domestic and foreign investments. The concetration of economic, transportation and other services in major towns had led to the distortion of the economic exchange system between rural and urban areas through the extraction of surplus from rural areas.

In Western urban experience there was no consideration for the interplay of factors affecting ballanced development and orderly spatial organization and urbanization. But market forces were responsible for differentiation of functions, economic growth and resource allocation, and through these processes modernization and soico-economic transformation of rural areas were achieved.(63) In the case of the developing countries the market processes are linking major towns with the international markets of the ex-colonial powers in the international core-periphery system.

Thus, rural areas are deprived of modernization and socio-economic transformation, and remain as sources of raw materials.

(63) Philip Hauser, 'Urbanization: An Overview,' in P. Hauser and L. Schnore, Op. Cit., 1965, PP. 35 - 47.

Without radical changes in the social, economic, political and spatial policies, urbanization in the developing nations cannot be altered from a spatio-economic exploitation to humane settlement based on regional and socio-spatial equity. Therefore, it is fundamental that every politically independent country in the Third World becomes ideologically and economically independent as well, in order to conceptualize development according to its local conditions and socio-cultural context. David Harvey summarized the need for this new path and said:

" A genuinely humanizing urbanism has yet to be brought into being. It remains for revolutionary theory to chart the path from an urbanism based on exploitation to an urbanism appropriate for the human species. And it remains for revolutionary practice to accomplish such a transformation."(64)

(64) D. Harvey, Op. Cit., 1973, P. 314.

2.4. Urban Policy and Planning

In the previous section it has been mentioned that classical theories had treated urbanization processes as a geographic concentration of population and non-agricultural activities that occur in accordance with economic location. On the other hand radical theory had treated urbanization as a geographic diffusion of modernization on the bases of urban-rural unification. It follows that the formulation of urban policy and town-planning principles are determined by and generated from the ideological base of the economic, social and spatial relations of society.

Although planners of different backgrounds realize the ultimate goals of urban policy and planning principles, the response of the politico-administrative and the legislative systems to such ultimate goals, vary according to the socio-political structure of society. However, the goals agreed about, at least at the stage of policy formulation basically include the following:

1. Balanced growth of population and economy between urban centres and rural regions.

2. Co-ordination and control of urban, regional and national development.

3. Best use of social, economic, natural and enviornmental resources.

4. Development of integrated systems of planning and implementation in which social, economic, physical and other developments are all components.

5. Selection of urban and rural patterns that best suit the local features of the nation.

6. Social improvements and personal satisfaction in terms of employment, housing and basic services.(65)

The management of the urban scene and future, through the formulation and implementation of the above mentioned goals, is actually a reflection of the socio-political structure of society. The spatial organization of society is also a reflection of the social structure as created by the social order and economic philosophy. All these aspects are normally translated into a certain urban policy and planning style.

(65) Gideon Golany, (ed) International Urban Growth Policies: New-Town Contributions, New York, John Willey and Sons, Editor's intrd., P. 3.

2.4.1. Socio-Political bases of urban policy and planning styles

Because planning is a pocess of human forethought and action based upon that thought, the conceptual link between such action and the socio-political system is indispensable (Fig. 2.1.). However, the immediate questions to be raised concerning human thought and action for managing the socio-economic and spatial affairs of society, are many: Where is the primary force of policy formation placed?

Is that thought concerned with economic space or social space?

Is urban policy and planning created from that thought concerned with the concept of 'who gets what where'?

The answers to these questions are found in four interrelated variables which make up the socio-political form of society:

1. the nature and distribution of power in society,

2. the nature and degree of public involvement in the economic and social planning,

3. the political commitment to particular social and economic goals for public good, and

4. the social and economic objectives of locating and zoning urban centres in relation to development.

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Fig.2.1: THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN SOCIO-POLITICAL
BASES AND SOCIO SPATIAL STRUCTURES
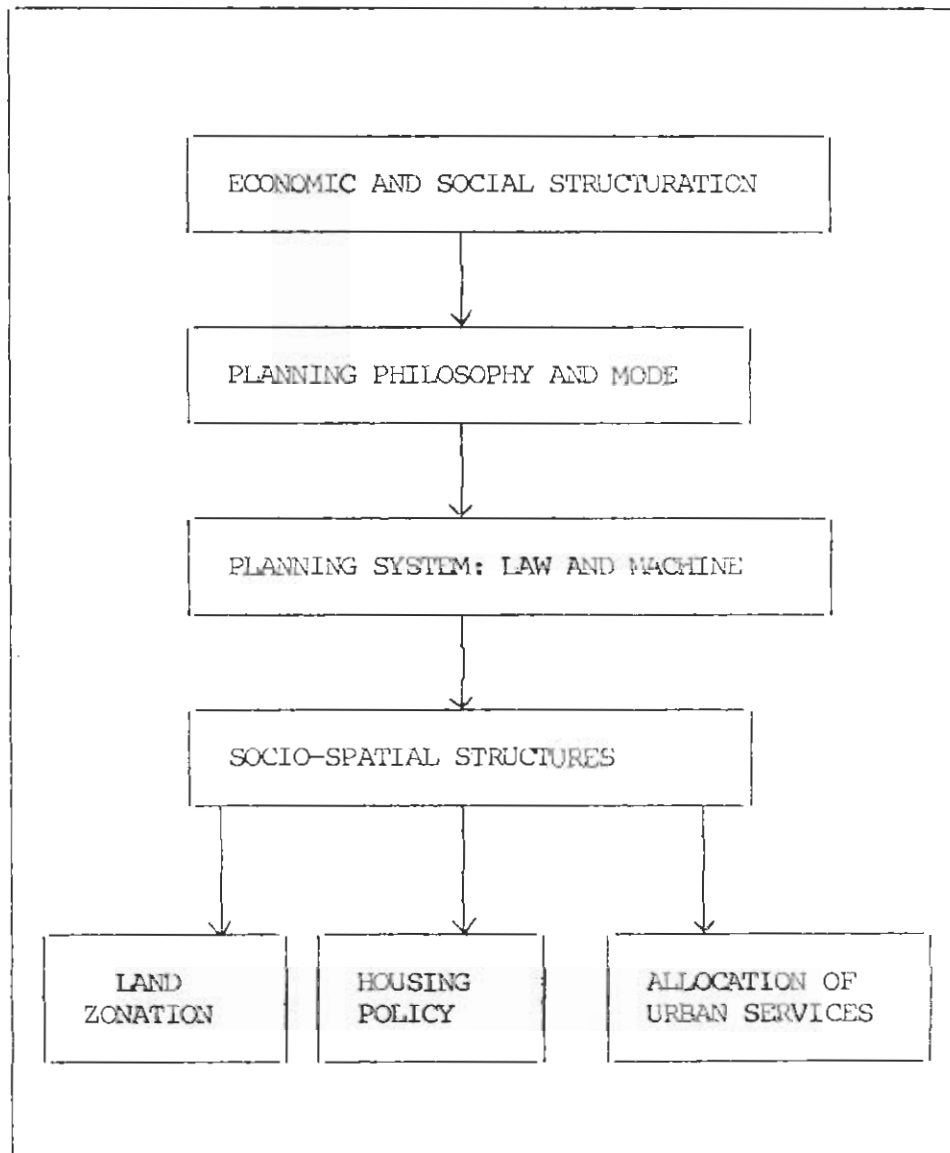
The sharp contrast between the social system of development in capitalism and socialism had brought about different urban strategies at the macro and micro levels of urbanization. in capitalist mode of production urban strategy is influenced by private ownership and strong desire for wealth. City planning is also influenced by land economic value and differences of economic rewards. But the public ownership of means of production and land, and the concept of urban totality in socialism form the basis of economic, regional and urban planning, and link, within a single and coherent framework, the macro and micro levels of urbanization. According to socialist principles, social targets have priority over private targets, and regions have priority over capital at the macro level.

In capitalist urban strategy, the location of urban centres and their growth in relation to production are determined by the process of the diffusion of capital because the supreme law and simplest strategy in capitalist ideology is to concentrate one's forces to accumulate capital.(66) Obviously, the location of factories and firms in big urban centres is associated with congenial living conditions and attraction of profit.

(66) Milton Santos,'The Devil's Totality: How Geographic Forms Diffuse Capital and Change Social Structure', Antipode, Vol. XII, No. 3, 1980, PP. 41 - 45.

Milton Santos argued that in Western capitalist societies economic behaviour and economic theories tended to allocate resources and to manage space in spantaneous manner according to market mechanism. Therefore, the evolution of spatial science and planning thought were developed in service of capital. Santos further explained that when economic planning was adopted in the West after the lesson of the world crisis in the 1930s, security and confidence for free enterprise were guaranteed, and economic planning was described as a process that, under law and order would ensure a minimum of security and stability to protect the physical safety of people and property and to promote and stimulate private investment. This ideology of growth, continued Santos, had become the framework of the spatial planning system in market societies. Therefore, space was not acknowledged as the realm of all people and their social needs, but as a drilling ground of private investment.(67)

In market societies various economic, social and cultural groups and individuals compete with different goals to shape space in their favour. In this competitive system, urban policy and planning principles are influenced by the power structure of political and legal systems which are shaped by the capitalist ideology. By protecting laissez-faire and private land mraket,

(67) Milton Santos, " Planning Underdevelopment," Antipode, Vol.

6, No. 3, 1977, PP. 86 - 98.

the public intervention in formulating an effectual urban policy is very weak.(68)

The survey and cirticisms of the metropolitan problems in market societies which range from air pollution and crime to political fragmentation and socio-spatial inequalities, have tended to blame the political dimension of the urban strategy. This was so becuase the political culture have created a multiplication system of local units responsible for urban policies. These local units are in weak bargaining position in their dealings with individuals and free enterprise. As a result, there is no harmony of social goals and spatial planning.(69)

Moreover, the ideology of free enterprise and the fragmentation of governmental bodies are weakening the role of the public sector which is responsible for the public urban affairs. For instance, the building of highways, remedy for pollution and construction of major public works and roads are all undertaken by public agencies and public funds, but their rewards are delivered to private businesses.

(68) J. Friend, J. Power and C. Yewlett, Public planning: The inter-corporate dimension, London Oxford University Press, 1974, PP. 30 - 31.

(69) S. Greer, The Urbane View: Life and Politics in Metropolitan America, London, Oxford University Press, 1972, PP. 230 - 250.

In consequence, the fiscal systems allocate tasks to city municipalities without capable resources of confronting urban problems.(70)

In socialist system of development, land and resources are not allocated for purposes controlled by a strong desire for private wealth, and therefore, community social needs on space are not partially achieved through sporadic public actions. The stronger public actions in socialist societies stems from full involvement of the state in economic, regional and urban planning. In socialism, public ownership of the means of production, land and the improvements therein are linked with formulation and implementation of centralized and comperhensive economic, social and spatial planning because of the political and ideological commitment of the state to social and economic goals built upon the principles of equity.(71)

The commitment to public good in socialist societies required an effective urban policy to bring about the required social goals for the benefit of the entire society.

(70) B. Berry, Op. Cit., 1973, PP. 166 - 167.

(71) H. Darin - Drabkin, 'Land and Human Settlement, in Aspects of Human Settlement Planning, edited by Habitat Conference Secretariat, the UN, New York, Pergamon Press, 1980.

The planning system in socialist societies, which in not seized by the successful in a competitive market activites, can easily plan, legislate and implement for a more humanized settlement and for betterment of the whole society and its physical-social envoirnment.(72)   Unlike the planning system in capitalist societies which is dectated by land values and the status differences of economic rewards, in socialist societies public and centralized planning guarantee the maximum over-all return of land use for the benefit of the entire society.

The whole spectrum of recent urban policies and planning styles in the world is arranged according to degree of public involvement in managing the economy and the socio-spatial patterns of urbanization. Thus, the spectrum ranges from an urban policy typical of the classical nineteenth century's urban development that protects laissez-faire privatism in North America, to European policies with partial attempts to reduce the ills of the capitalist urban system, to a socialist urban policy in which the control of urbanization and urban planning is an integral part of the whole economic and social systems. (Fig. 2.2).

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(72) Zygmunt Pioro, Milos Savic and Jack Fisher, "Socailist City Planning: A reexamination", in P. Meadows (ed), Urbanism, Urbanization and Change, California, Stanford University Press, 1969, PP. 553 - 365.

Fig. 2.2:   THE TASK OF A POSITIVE PLANNING SYSTEM

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┌─────────────────────────┐        ┌─────────────────────────┐
│  People  and  Activities │        │    Urban    Space        │
└─────────────────────────┘        └─────────────────────────┘
             │                                  │
             ▼                                  ▼
      ┌──────────────┐                   ┌──────────────┐
      │   Demand     │───────────────────│   Supply     │
      └──────────────┘                   └──────────────┘
                           │
                           ▼
                  ┌──────────────────┐
                  │   Competition    │
                  └──────────────────┘
                           │
                           ▼
  ┌──────────────────────────────────────────────────────┐
  │  Planning System: Legislation and Machine             │
  └──────────────────────────────────────────────────────┘
                           │
                           ▼
                  ┌──────────────────┐
                  │    Control       │
                  └──────────────────┘
                     │            │
                     ▼            ▼
            To Solve undesired    To Plan for
               Problems           desired future
```
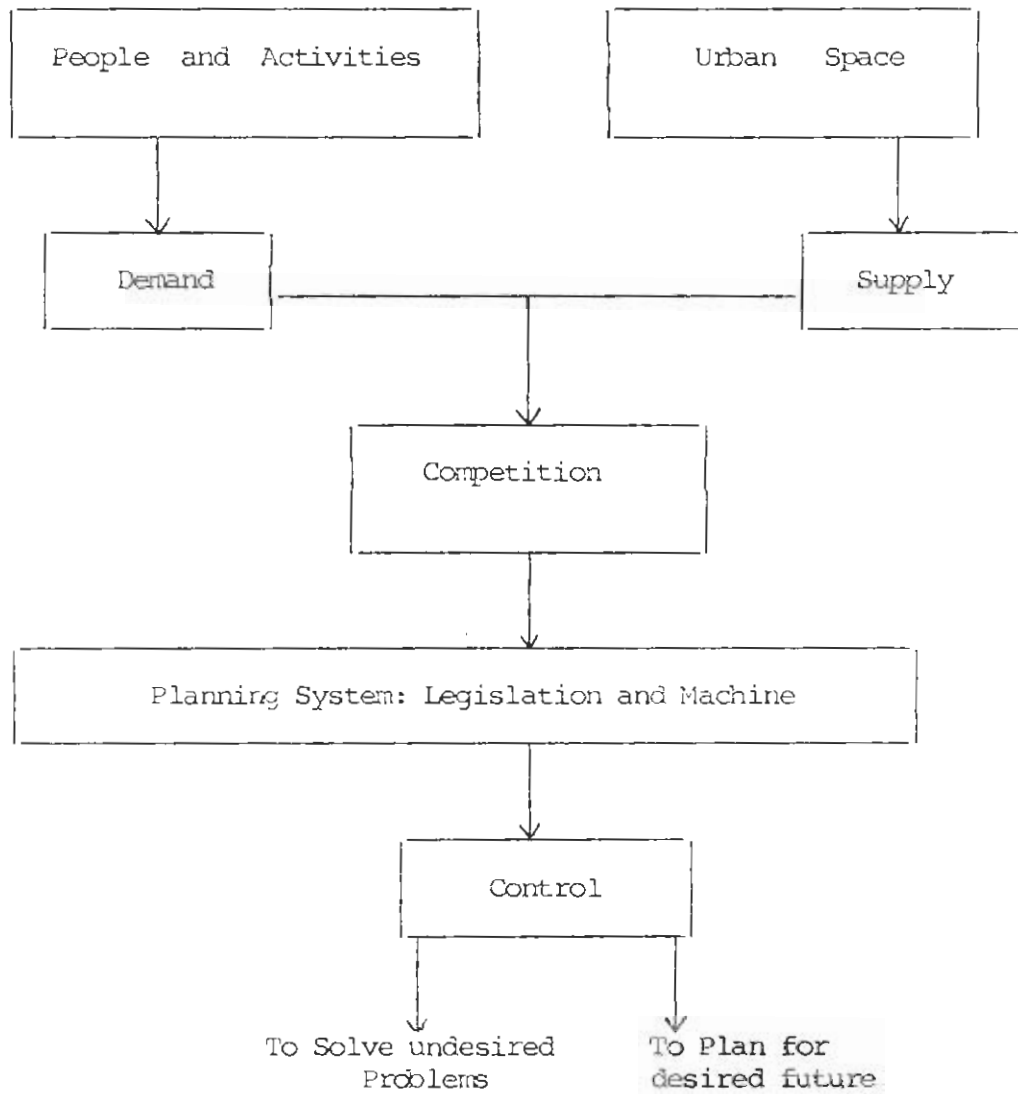
2.4.2. Main Features of the Different Modes of Planning:

The world urban experience has proved that there had been always a conflict between economic efficiency and equity. In addition, societies dominated by the idea of economic efficiency have become unequal societies. High economic efficiency in the United States and Western Europe failed to minimize the distributional injustice among regions and within individual cities. In these developed countries relative poverty has occured and reflected on some poorer regions and on socio-spatial inequity in the most prosperous cities.(73)

The over-riding question for planners, however, has changed from how to regulate land uses, to how to distribute economic and social activities in a just manner on space. The answer to this question has become the basis in the evolution of urban planning thought, as it involves the degree of public intervetion to protect public interests. Thus, the nature and degree of public intervention in planning and decision making has come to be associated with political ideology, economic system and social order as determinants of urban policy and mode of planning.(74)

(73) Melvin Webber, "Planning in an environment of change" in J. Cullingworth (ed), Problems of an Urban Society, Vol. III, London, George Allen and Unwin, 1973, PP. 23 - 65.

(74) B. Berry, Op. Cit., 1976, PP. 7 - 14.

As a result, four modes of planning have been recognized:

1. ameliorative problem-solving mode in which corrective action is taken after problems arise and undesirable results exist,

2. allocative trend-modifiying mode in which the reactive problem-solving is oriented into the future,

3. exploitive opportunity-seeking mode in which new growth opportunities are sought but future problems are not identified, and,

4. normative goal-oriented mode in which goals are set and policies are designed and implemented for the desired future.

These four modes of planning arising from differing socio-political forms, vary considerably in their means, ends, response to future development and power of planning bodies.

Ameliorative problem-solving is concerned with the present situation, reacting to past problems. Allocation of resources in this planning style normally creates ineffectual amelioration to the short-range results, and produces haphazardous developments for long-range results. This planning style was dominant in the nineteenth century's urban development.

The focus of this planning mode is upon present problems; therefore, the implied goal is the preservation of the mainstream values of the past.

Although allocative trend-modifying planning is concerned with future development, it is a future-oriented version of the reactive problem-solving mode. Problems are forcasted because new trends of resource allocation promote activites in the same mainstream values and goals. Efforts to modify the future problems in this planning style are mainfested in economic planning, town Master Plans, zoning ordinances, and building regulations. Although these regulatory mechanisms - in the developed countries, the ex-colonies and the developing countries - were made to avoid predicted problems, in practice they helped to preserve the existing values into the future.

In the exploitive profit-seeking mode of planning, new growth opportunities are sought, and new trends to modify the future are taken, but allocation of resources and activities are ranked in terms of returns arrayed against feasibility of the entrepreneur. It is a dominant planning mode in market societies, in which there is no major concern for emergence or cure of problems in the urban social and physical environment.

These three planning modes are found in various societies of the developed and developing nations. The speculative profit-seeking mode, however, is the most dominant one, checked in some cases by the ameliorative problem-solving mode according to the predominant value system to preserve the existing values into the future.

The fourth planning mode is a dramatic shift from the other styles. The normative goal-oriented mode seeks to create the desired future according to selected values and certain social goals. In this style, adopted by socialist countries, resources are allocated in accordance with the selected social goals.

2.5. The Export of Western Planning to the Developing Countries

Colonialism and imperialism have created in the developing world not only economic dependency and underdevelopmnet, but also cultural and ideological dependency. Beside the economic exploitation, there was the imposition by the colonial powers of a politico-economic and legal systems based on colonialist - capitalist motives which have persisted after independence. This colonial hertiage has been the most influential factor in producing the recent socio-economic, socio-political, socio-cultural and socio-spatial structures of the developing societies. It is true that the colonial powers had introduced modern systems of transportation and had commercialized agriculture, but as Nyerere has said,

" Roads, buildings, the increase of crop output are not development. For the truth is that: development means the development of people.(75)

Like other colonial systems, urban planning had been imposed on the colonies when planning had been well established in the West after the Second World War.

(75) Julius Nyerere, Man and Development, Dar es-salam, O.U.P., 1974, P.9.

The colonial masters had imposed the same planning ideology and rules into the colonies; and the British Colonial Office involved itself since the mid-1940s in town planning in the British Colonies. Planning rules were legislated, planning boards were established, and planners and architects were employed.(76)

The physical expression of the principles of Western planning in the colonial towns has become one of the most pernicious features of the colonial legacies. However, the early regulations for town building were concerned with public health for safety of colonial officials.(77) The application of inappropriate concepts and techniques of urban planning had brought about a spatial structure in all of the colonial towns that was characterized by:

1. The neglect of the pre-colonial cities, adjacent to the colonial towns, in terms of planning rules.

2. The creation of a core dominated by administration and business.

(76) Alison Ravetz, Remaking Cities: Contradiction of Recent Urban Environment, London, Croom Helm, 1980, P. 323.

(77) Anthony King, Colonial Urban Development: Culture, Social power and Environmnet, London, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1976, PP. 41 - 48.

3. The location at one side of the town of the European residential area, the railway yard, the military cantonment and units of specific requirements for the colonial community.

4. The occupation of a separate quarter by the better class residents from among the elites and trading community.

5. Dominance of bad housing conditions and lack of amenities in the outer zones of the town which included extensive native residential areas.

The consultants and planning teams employed by colonial administration in the colonies, were committed to Western educational planning and to Western planning ideology, and to that planning was mainly an architectural job. But after independence, the ideas and techniques of colonial planning have been preserved. National governments retained the Western colonial-capitalist urban planning not only by retaining the colonial politico-economic system and planning ideology, but also by sending their planners to be trained in Western countries, where planning failed to cure urban problems in Western societies and in the ex-colonies alike. Thus, local planners have become more concerned with economic land-use, property development and demographic change, than comperhensive social and spatial planning. Moreover, planning consultancy has been largely adopted in developing countries. For instance, in the Middle East....,

' One is aware of many instances of consultants returning
from the Middle East, with two to three weeks, in which
to prepare design and costs for a large building
project.... The proposals are average or worse than the
repetitive standard of Western solution.'(78)

Some national governments in the developing countries have
been involved in various attempts to change the inherited
settlement pattern, mainly through projects for regional
development and physical master plans for large towns. Some of
these new policies in Brazil, Turkey, Columbia, Indonesia and
Nigeria aimed at fostering the development of small and
medium-sized towns, regional development and the establishment of
housing estates.(79) In spite of these efforts, no remarkable
changes have been achieved because of very important reasons:

1. Regional development schemes were tentative in nature and
    applied in piecemeal, without comperhensive urban policy.
2. Comperhensive concepts and national urban and rural spatial
    development plans were lacking.
3. Major questions about urban policy and its relationship with
    the economic policy and the socio-political base, remained
    unanswered.

(78) Ayyub Malik, ' Developments in Historic and Modern Islamic
    Cities', in Z. Sardar and Zaki Badawi (eds), Hajj Studies,
    Vol. 1, London, Croom Helm, 1978,

(79) B. Berry, Op. Cit., 1973, PP. 100 - 102.

Although in most of the developing countries, governments control over planning has already been practised, no achievements have been made. This was so because integrating urban policy with economic and social policies was lacking, and therefore, the individual city plans confront similar **difficulties as regional** plans. However, there is a huge gap between the planning theory adopted in developing countries whatever its objectives were and the planning practices.(80) This is due to many factors:

1. The imported ideas and skills for the preparation of
    comperhensive master plans for large towns often do not suit
    local conditions.
2. Lack of consciousness of urban planning goals and objectives
    among the officials of either traditional or authoritarian
    governments.
3. Lack of coordination among the various bodies concerned with
    urban planning, especially in the absence of central lawful
    and powerful bodies for this purpose.
4. Neglect of financing the urban planning projects because of
    the financial weakness of the public sector in the existing
    economic philosophy.

(80) R. Zetter, 'Imported or Indigenous Planning Education?'
Third World Planning Review, Vol. III, No. 1, 1981, PP.
21-40.

CHAPTER   III

Spatial Development Policy in the Sudan

The purpose of this chapter is to review the policy and the strategy of spatial development in the Sudan in both the colonial and post-colonial periods. Such a review is essential to this study becuase of the following facts:

1. The socio-political bases governing the spatial development policy are usually inseperable from the conceptual and institutional framework of urban planning mode.

2. In spatial development policy, regional development, migration trends, allocation of activities, capital flow, urban growth, land policy and policy for settlement in both core and periphery, and regional and urban development must be seen as a whole socio-economic and spatial system.

3. Becuase exploitation was inherent in the concept of colonialism, the urbanization processes in the Sudan had led to polarized development, and growth of parasitic towns.

4. Because planning at the macro and micro levels had stemmed from the same ideology and strategy of development, unequal development which prevailed at the macro level was reflected on the internal structure and town plan of major colonial towns specially the capital.

5. In the post-colonial period, colonial strategy and concepts for development have been preserved, and similarly, laws and principles of urban planning have been retained.

Fundamentally, colonial urban development was determined by three elements:

1. The political dominance dependence relationship.
2. The economic exploitation.
3. The colonial socio-cultural and technological change.

These variables had been manifested in the international and the national urban systems in a heirarchical manner. At the international level a centre-periphery relationship had been created and represented the link between the metropolitan and colonized societies.

At the level of the colonies, urban primacy had represented the colonial economic exploitation and the political dominance. At the colonial urban level, towns had been shaped in accordance with the imposed socio-cultural elements.(1) Thus, socio-spatial inequities, which were the output of the colonial economic policy were manifested at the micro-and macro levels of the new urban system by an increasing injustice in towns, and by an increasing imbalance between town and countryside.

As the metropolitan society was the core, the colonial towns were the semi-periphery, and rural areas in colonies were the periphery proper, the urban system was developed in accordance with that political, economic and administrative hierarchy. Hence, colonial towns had functioned as centres for the extraction of primary products for the markets of advanced monopoly industrial capitalism, and for the administration of the colonized societies. The politico-administrative role of colonial towns was to keep law and order and to resist any deviation from the political, social and economic structures created by the colonial power. Since the ultimate goal of establishing colonial towns was to inhance extration of local resource in the interest of colonizing countries, and to faciliate the administrative affairs, such towns were not expected to act as centres for socio-economic transformation.

(1) A. King, Op., Cit., 1976, PP. 33 - 36.

Although the colonial powers claimed that they were civilizing missions intrusted with the diffusion of education, industry, trade, social development and even religion and sports; in practice, economic institutions and social services were concentrated in major towns. This phenomenon has been described as a by-product of providing the facilities required by the colonizers and the westernized elites for further exploitation of the natural and human resources, and therefore, modern economic activities and social services were to decrease remarkably in colonies and regions where primary products were poor,(2) as in the land-locked countries in West Africa. Thus, rural areas were deprived of socio-economic transformation.

The process of colonial urbanization, and its associated spatial pattern, had developed in a way similar to exploitative patterns of settlement in history, in which the distribution of rewards in the society was a function of the distribution of power and wealth, not of social system needs.(3) Thus, the political power and the political domination had been used to expand the levels of production and consumption in the home colonial countries at the expense of the colonies. This had been

(2) Walter Rodney, How Europe underdeveloped Africa, Harvard University Press, 1974, PP. 205 - 207.

(3) J. Miller,' The distribution of political and government power in the context of urbanization,' in J. Miller and R. Gakenheimer (eds.) Latin American urban policies and the social sciences, Beverley Hills, Sage, 1971, P. 211.

achieved mainly by commercialization of primary products and the introduction of a modern transportation system. Therefore, the establishment of major towns-capitals and ports - was made mainly for their vital role in the export-import trade. Other minor urban centres were created as modes for administration and for spread of the newly-introduced manufactured goods.

However, the development of colonial towns, and their relative economic growth were made possible at the expense of rural areas from which crops and taxes were collected. As David Harvey has said, development of exploitative urbanization was created out of the mobilization, extraction and geographic concentration of socially designated surplus product.(4) Beside capital extracted and transfered from rural areas, the growth of colonial towns was spurred by private capital investment - local and foreign - which facilitated further concentration of resources.(5)

As centralizing economic, political, administrative and transportation facilities in primate and major towns was made to strengthen the tie of the colonies with the metropoles, such policy had affectd both the urban centres and rural areas.

(4) D. Harvey, Op., Cit., 1973, P. 238.

(5) J. Millor, "Accelerated Growth in Agricultural Production and the intersectoral Transfer of Resources", Economic Development and Cultural Change, No. 22, 1973, PP. 1 - 16.

In big towns, the economies of scale, external economies and services gave rise to the advantagous locations, while modern sector of the economy was **related to export-import economy** and had built an enclave urban economy. As a result, rural poverty and deprivation had led to mass in-migration to towns and created urban poverty as well. Although migration had taken rural-rural trend in many cases, it was also **a movement that** usually occured to adjust imbalanced socio-economic and spatial systems.(6)

Friedmann has called this pattern **of** urban growth 'dependency urbanization', in which **the crucial determinants in** the urbanization process and urban policy were power **structure** and economic explitation. In dependency urbanization **the urban** **process was** not a geographic **diffusion of** modernization and socio-economic transformation. Rather, it was a spatial expansion of colonial political power and concentration of economic activities in parasitic towns.(7)

(6) A. Mabogunje, Growth Poles and Growth centres in the Regional Development in Nigeria, U.N.I.S.R., Geneva, 1971, PP. 48 - 53.

(7) J. Friedmann, "The Spatial Organization of power and the Development of Urban systems," Economic Development and Cultural Change, No. 4, 1973, PP. 12 - 50.

3.1. Colonial Spatial Development in the Sudan

According to the nature of colonial urbanization, the resulting spatial development in the Sudan during the colonial period had been determined by:

1.   the spatial distribution of colonial power,

2.   the economic colonial policy, and

3.   colonial settlement policy.

3.1.1. The Spatial Distribution of Colonial Power

Colonization came to the Sudan not because of direct economic interests, but because the country was ancillary to a wider system of imperial domination through control over lines of communications and defence.(8) However, the intrinsic economic potential came later to constitute a reason for colonial interest.

(8) Peter Worsley, The Third World, London, Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1975, P. 45.

The power structure of colonialism became a crucial determinant in the urban process, urban system and the spatial organisation in the country. This was so because as Cadie said,

" Just as power can be measured in terms of how decisions allocate benefits and burdens to groups and individuals, so power can be measured in terms of how decisions allocate benefits and burdens to different places within society. Such locational decisions refer to the assignment of certain functions, services or the application of certain controls restriction or incentives which affect locational use."(9)

Lord Cromer, then British Agent in Egypt, said to the Sudanese Sheikhs and notables at Omdurman in 1899.

" No attempt will be made to govern your country from Cairo, still less from London. You must look to the Sirdar alone for justice and good government, and I do not doubt that you will have no cause for disappointment."(10)

(9) Cadie, OP., Cit., 1974, P. 20.

(10) Percy Martin, The Sudan in Evolution, New York, Negro University Press, 1970, P. 84.

Thus, the Sirdar alone, who became the Governor - General, enjoyed wide powers to make laws and ordinances for the colonial (local) administration on the political, social and economic affairs of the society.

The Governor - General was assissted by the Civil Secretary, the Financial Secretary and the Legal Secretary, and the Inspector General. The provincial Governors were also appointed to carry out the observance of all orders, ordinances and regulations concerned with administration, taxation and land-settlement policy.

Beside the Governor - General, the Secretaries, the provincial Governors, the Directors of Departments and later the district commissioners, there was a need to form certain bodies to work the details of matters arising at the earlier stages of the colonial administration and to plan for future developments. Therefore, and within the confines of the colonial interests, eleven permanent boards were established. The functions of these boards were to make investigation and to send advice to the Governor-General-in-Council about all matters coming within the scope of their specialization. Although most of these boards were concerned with public affairs, like the Central Sanitary Board, and although some of the boards were concerned with specific duties, like the Repression of Salve Trade, three boards were of special significance and were therefore organized within the direct power of the Governor-General and the Secretaries.

These were the Central Economic Board, Commercial Intelligence Bureau and Labour Bureau. The functions of these three boards were of vital importance to the economic policy, commercial activities and supply of manpower. The boards made advice to the Governor-General on economic and commercial affairs, published abroad substantial and informative reports to facilitate the opening and expansion of private enterprise by international companies and also arranged supply of labour for the new projects.(11)

To ensure the implementation of the colonial economic policy through the laws and ordinances concerned with labour, taxation, land and trade, the politico - administrative machinery was designed in a form which guaranteed the spatial diffusion of power. The structure of the centralized colonial administration and the introduction of the Native Adminstration had served this purpose. The duties of the colonial officers in the government departments and the provincial headquarters were to implement and observe the policies desgined by the central government. Therefore, the selection of such officers was carefully made and they were drawn from the highest educational centres and from the British upper-middle class with Victorian-Edwardian views that formed their colonial ideals,(12) similar to the Indian and Nigerian experience.

(11) Ibid, PP. 39-42.

(12) A. Urquhart, Planned Urban land sacape in Northern Nigeria, A.B.U. Press, Zaria, 1977, P. 25.

Following a tour in the Sudan, a British Officer said:

" The special genius of our countrymen .... to act as bear leaders .... has never, and can never have, any better illustration than in the Sudan."(13)

In order to manage the land and the people in an administrative system that could maintain the authority - dependency relations of the colonial power, the colonial administration introduced the Native Administration. Native Administration, or Indirect Rule, was a British philosophy of government conceived by Lugard after his experience in India and Nigeria.(14) The British debate as to what type of rule desirable for their colonies was different from the French. The French introduced the idea of assimilation of administered peoples, despite the racial and cultural differences, and, therefore, they practised the system of direct rule. In contrast, the British believed in the idea of conservation of colonized societies and, therefore, they introduced the idea of indirect rule, through which, local chiefs were agents of the colonial power in their respective localities.

(13) P. Martin, Op., Cit., 1970, P. 121.

(14) F. J. Lugard, The Dual Mandate of British Tropical Africa, London, Frank cass and comp., 1922, PP. 199 - 200.

The traditional order of these tribal chiefs - Nuzar, Sheikhs and Omad - was utilized by the colonial administration to avoid the employment of educated Sudanese persons in rural administration to protect people from the 'hazards of civilization'(15). When the country witnessed the introduction of the local govrnment system in 1937, the functions of the Native Administration were retained. Three local Government Ordinances were passed and were applied to Municipalities (large urban centres with foreign population - Khartoum and Port Sudan), Townships, and Rural Areas.(16) The Local Government (Rural Areas) Ordinance, however empowered The Governor-General to appoint persons, offices or bodies as local Authority whose main duty was the maintenance of law, the execution of government orders and ordinances concerned with local administration, services, taxation and land-settlement.

Thus, vital decisions in provincial towns and rural areas remained a second-order in the spatial distribution of the colonial power. Moreover, the Omads, Shiekhs and Nuzar who were not only exempted from taxes, but who also receieved a fixed percentage of all taxes they collected,(17) remained loyal representatives of the clonial administration in their localities.

(15) M. Abdel Rahim, Imperialism and Nationalism in the Sudan, London, Oxford University Press, 1969, PP. 65 - 70.

(16) Sudan Government, Laws of The Sudan, London, 1941, P. 366.

(17) Locit.

The central and local politico-administrative systems which facilitated the spatial diffusion of the colonial power had paved the way for the imposition of the various laws, ordinances and orders on land, labour, agriculture, taxation and allocation of activities and services. These laws, orders and ordinances came to be the components of the colonial urban policy that affected the urban process and the spatial organisation of the country through the creation of urban primacy at the national and regional levels.

3.1.2. Colonial Economic Policy

The philosophy of the colonial administration on economic development was built upon the idea that the primary duty of a government was to govern and not to trade. According to this notion, the colonial administration recognized and encouraged foreign private companies to assist in the development of the agricultural and mineral resources of the country, and to enter into other enterprises that could lead to the expansion of the new economic system. The colonial administration tried to convince the international companies and individual investors that,

" In the spirit of adventure among capitalists, and in considering the Sudan as a field for investment it must be remembered that it is more suitable for exploitation than for settlement. As a field for political expansion and commercial enterprise, the Sudan offers undoubted

advantages."(18)

The international capitalist companies failed to respond to the government's appeals to exploit the land resources of the country because of poor services and labour shortage,(19) and therfore, the colonial government became more concerned with,

1. the taxation system which represented the main local revenue for the colonial administration,
2. the labour market to meet the requirement of the new projects and construction, and
3. capital flows, investments and the location of economic and service activities into towns and more productive areas to assume full control of the economy.

Although the colonial system of taxation was imposed on the rural agricultural and nomadic societies in the first year of the colonial rule, it was not extended to the trading and other communities in towns until 1912. Moreover, after the introduction of the Local Taxation Ordinance 1912, the contribution of the towns' dewellers remained very little and the larger share of revenue was derived from taxes levied on the agricultural and nomadic population. The natives were affected by eight types of tax. The land tax, the animal tax, the road tax, the date tax, the boat tax, the house tax, the nomads tax and the traders tax.

(18) P. Martin, Op. Cit., 1970, P. 121.

(19) Ibid., P. 219.

Land tax, for example, was one-tenth of the products of the land, while a house tax in towns was at the rate of one-twelvth of the annual rental value. When the local Taxation Ordinance 1912 imposed rates on all property owners and traders in the country, once again the agricultural communities were obliged to pay an additional rate of one-tenth of thier orginal land tax. In addition to direct taxation, fixed royalties were levied on raw materials such as gum, ivory, ostrich feathers, senna and dom palm.(20)

However, the government was called upon to safeguard private foreign investors against any kind of hurtful taxation(21) in order to guarantee and to encourage private capital flow which had a full control of importing and exporting activities.

This exploitative nature of the colonial system of taxation, which was the beginning of rural exploitation, deprived the rural tax-payers of filtering social and economic welfare into their areas. Tax-payers in the rural agricultural communities were left to repeat the hindu proverb:

The tax! No wonder men abhor it. We raise a crop;

They fine us for it(22)

(20) Ibid., PP. 93 - 96

(21) Ibid., P. 122

(22) Ibid., P. 97.

The culmination of rural exploitation was the growth of colonial towns because the construction and the services of the newly established towns were made possible by revenue geared from rural areas. An official colonial report stated that:

" For the purposes of both revenue and expenditure, administration in the Sudan is devided into Departments and Provinces. While the Departments cost rather more to administer than they yield, the Provinces usually return more than they cost to govern."(23)

This means that building of towns and the services rendered by governmental depatments therein, were run by surplus extracted from rural areas in the provinces. Moreover, these consturctions and services were made to facilitate the attraction of foreign commercial activities and private enterprise into major towns, and hence, facilitated the continuity of rural exploitation.

One of the major problems that hindered the colonial administration from expanding the programmes of the foreign companies and the private enterprise was shortage of labour. Two interrelated factors influenced the labour market in the early years of the colonial rule. These were the abolition of slavery, and better wages in consturction works which attracted labour to major towns.

(22) Ibid., P. 97

(23) Ibid., P. 121

Although slave trade in the Sudan was declared illegal and its suppression became the duty of one of the most influential boards in the colonial administration, serious objections to the abolition of slavery were made by the governors of provinces where manpower required for agriculture was drastically reduced. Slaves were fully engaged in farming and a sudden abolition of slavery had come to be not only a destruction of the economic life of people but a disruption of the revenue derived from agricultural taxation. Therefore, the British governors, fearing the decrease in cultivation and taxation, sympathized with land-owners, and therfore, a discrepency was created between the official British policy abolishing slavery, and its relization. It has been reported by anti-slavery societies in Britain that:

" Salves are returned by force to their masters ... and owners of the slaves take their earnings from them when wages have been paid by the employers ... Slaves who are subjected to cruelty fear to appeal to Inspectors .... Slaves are now being mortgaged because government policy was to transform gradually the status of slavery and substitute for it a system of paid labour."(24)

The task of the labour Bureau was very difficult. The duty of the bureau was to enable the government to control the

(24) Gabriel Warburg, The Sudan Under Wingate: Administration in the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, London, Frank Cass, 1970, PP. 175-6.

domestic slaves whose emancipation caused the disruption of the agricultural taxation system, and at the same time to regulate the supply and demand of labour required for the consturction of roads, railways and towns building. Once again, the governors complained that high wages offered to manual workers in the new construction jobs enticed away thousands of the agricultural workers. Moreover, different governmental departments concerned with construction and services competed against each other for the limited labour market, and therefore wages continued to rise and the Labour Bureau failed to meet the needs of agriculture.

Since demand exceeded supply, the immigration of workers from outside the country had been encouraged. Many Egyptians were brought to work in Dongla and Zeidab, while West Africans were encouraged to settle in the Gezira and Kassala. Skilled labour was also brought from Greece and Italy, and the Apprenticeship Ordinance was promulgated in 1908.(25)

In 1914 the Labour Bureau published a report(26) in response to the colonial policy towards the labour market and the effects of such policy upon the growth of urban centres and the decline of countryside.

(25) Ibid., P. 180 - 181

(26) Sudan Government, Report in the Finances, Administration and conditions of the Sudan, Khartoum, 1914, PP. 10 - 15.

The report showed that:

1. it was desirable to prevent the emigration of slaves without permission,

2. the bureau prevented the emigration and movement of workers among the provinces,

3. the bureau reported that by 1914 the supply of unskilled labour, according to the registerd workers in different provinces, was equal to demand, and therefore, the desertion of agricultural areas was expected to be halted, and

4. although many tribesmen expressed hostility towards manual labour and earning a living by wages, the majority of them had no alternative but to join new jobs in the nearest urban centre.

In fact, there were two reinforcing factors behind the movement of people from their villages to the nearest urban centres: the taxation system in rural areas, and the new colonial measures concerning land wonership that deprived many people of land. The colonial capitalist mode of production imposed a new system of relations of production, through which, the traditional institutions that had their roots in the village, and the indigenous systems of relations of production and exchange, had been destroyed. The new economic orientation, building of roads and railways, construction of towns, and commercial agriculture

encouraged the growth of towns as tools of exploiting rural areas(27). Consequently, a basic requirement was to transform labour into a commodity by attracting manpower required, to areas of commercial agriculture.(28)

One of the most important factors which supported exploitation and the spatial organization of the country has been the growth of migrant labour force. The failure of the small urban centres to provide jobs and services to the flow of migrants was associated with significant changes in the economy of the country: the introduction of irrigated schemes after 1925, and the establishment and growth of private business and light modern industries in Khartoum in the post-war period. After playing the role of political control, collection of taxes and provision of services that facilitated further exploitation, the small urban centres became major stopping places in the process of interregional and national migration through which cheap labour became available for agricultural shcemes and the enclave of urban economy in Khartoum.

(27) J. F. Ajayi, 'Colonialism: An episode in African History, in L. Gann and P. Dwignan (eds), Colonialism in Africa, Vol. I, London, Cambridge University Press, 1969, PP. 497 – 508.

(28) Abdel Ghaffar M. Ahmed and, Mustafa Abdel Rahman, Urbanization and exploitation: The Role of Small Urban centres, Monograph No. 11, S.R.C., University of Khartoum, 1979, PP. 4 – 9.

Major transformation of the settlement pattern and of the level of economy were concentrated in more productive areas which met the demand of the colonial economy in commercial agriculture and other commercial activities. Beside the Gezira Scheme, pump schemes along the banks of the White and Blue Niles, and mechanized agriculture in Southern Kassala had played an effective role in such trasformation. The entrepreneurs, who obtained pumps or machines, were concerned with profit, rather than the well-being of the agricultural workers who were available at low wages. The colonial government was deeply interested in commercialization of agriculture, and therefore, the improvement of peasant agriculture received no direct assistance or attention.

As a result, there was no major transformation of the settlement patterns and of the level of the economy in areas other than those of commercial agriculture which continued to attract flows of migrants from underdeveloped countryside, especially from the western and northen regions where peasant agriculture remained dominant.(29)

Private enterprise in Khartoum had also been a major factor in urban primacy and regional decline. Private businesses and

(29) Roushdi A. Henin, 'Economic Development and internal migration in the Sudan', Sudan Notes and Records, No. 44, 1963.

commercial firms were basically concerned with the export and import trade, while the country's natural resources and regions were neglected. The big foreign companies, like Gellatly Hankey and company, Sudan Mercantile and Boxall Companies and Shell company were involved in a wide range of agricultural products and imports of manufactured goods. However, these companies were not directed by the government to introduce sufficient capital into the country to assisst in regional development.(30) Thus, these companies were left to operate in the country's economy by the ploughing back of their profits.

The colonial administration decided for the first time to introduce a development programme planned for the period 1946 to 1951, and this was followed by a second plan for the period 1951 - 1956. Actually, these planned programmes retained the same previous concepts and policies toward the economic development of the country. The new development programmes - combined with growth of businesses and industries in Khartoum - had enhanced urban primacy at the expense of regional development. For instance, the percentage in the first development programme for public works and construction was 30.8% - the biggest in the budget, while agriculture received only 12.4 per cent. Furthermore, the percentage for agriculture had been decreased in the second development programme to 7.2% of the budget because of

(30) K.M.Barbour, The Republic of the Sudan, London, University of London Press, 1961 PP. 268 - 272.

the activities of private enterprise in mechanized agriculture.(31)

Thus, the aspects of colonial economic policy has greatly influenced the spatial organization of the country, and hence, the urbanization processes. The urban growth of Khartoum and other provincial towns was spurred by capital investments extracted and transfered from rural areas in forms of taxes and cheap labour. The spatial organization of the country, was therefore, shaped by a core-periphery relationship which was supported by effective political dominance and exploitative economic policy. The evolution of the urban system and the spatial organization in the Sudan can be understood only within such a frame.

3.1.3. Colonial Settlement Policy

The colonial administration did not only transform labour into a commodity, but also transformed land into a commodity. New measures were imposed to classify land into governmental and private. This policy had destroyed the previous system of communal ownership of land, and, consequently, changed the basic means of production for the people in the countryside who became alienated from land. In the envolving rural land ordinances, the government recognized the legal validity of titles on lands which were aquired before the reconquest, while the rest of land became

(31) Sudan Government, 'Development Budget Estimates, 1946-51; and 1951-56 programmes', Khartoum, 1953.

governmental.(32)

The recognition of private land was stated in the Title of Lands Ordinance, 1899, The Land Settlement Ordinance 1905, The Deeds Registration Ordinance, 1907, and Land Settlement and Registration Ordinance, 1925 which became the basis of the Land Law of the Sudan, and was retained after independence. All lands which had been regularly cultivated were regarded as private land and full rights of their owners were recognized.(33) This policy was made because any dislocation of the inhabitants would have destroyed the system of agriculture and taxation which were the main sources for revenue.

Governmental lands included waste lands which depended for their cultivation on high floods or rain, and any unregistered lands. The objective of this policy was to limit the rights of private ownership of genuine claimants and to leave the bulk of the country's land owned by the government to facilitate its exploitation by international companies and land speculators. The government expected a sound response from the international capitalist companies to develop agricultural land. But, because of poor services and shortage of labour, this expectation failed, except for the Sudan Experimental Plantation Syndicate which undertook the development of Ziedab and Gezira shcemes.(34)

(32) Warburg, Op., Cit., 1970, P. 156.

(33) Ibid., P. 157.

(34) P. Martin, Op., Cit., 1970, P. 122.

Although the government classified land into private and governmental, and made unsuccessful appeals to international companies to buy and exploit land, some private speculators were able to obtain private land for investment purposes. This transfer of land contributed greatly to the economic exploitation of rural societies because of basic change in means of production, while the government had no power to stop land slaes as land in question were privately registered.

Moreover, the building of the railways and construction works in major towns attracted labour who received better wages, and thus, seized the chance to sell their land and to escpae land cultivation and taxation. But when the Greek speculators began to buy land in the Gezira, the government forbade the selling and declared it unauthorized because the area was destined to become the major economic asset of the country. At the same time, the government did not forbid sale of land in Khartoum Province becuase the intention was to encourage the growth and development of Khartoum region.(35)

Despite its unsuccessful appeals to international companies, the government maintained its policy on rural land which deprived most of the people who had no documentary proof of land ownership. Although the government completed land registration in

(35) G. Warburg, Op., Cit., 1970, PP. 158 - 160.

most of the agricultural districts of the country by 1911, and claimed that its motive was to increase cultivation by establishing a contented class of small landowners, this was in contradiction with land laws and ordinances that left the bulk of land as governmental. In Kassala Province, for instance, where most of land belonged to the government-unlike the Gezira - the government's intention was to pass land to reliable companies or wealthy businessmen, rather than to peasants. Even where land was owned privately, as in the Northern Province, matters of land dispute were usually referred to Shari'a Courts. As a consequence of inheritance law, size of plots became very small, and the government proposed to, and sometimes compelled, small shareholders to sell to larger shareholders. In Kordofan, most lands were either owned by tribes or government, but in Bara District private lands were recognized for some riverian tribes.(36)

Thus, the colonial policy on rural agricultural land was not standardized because the motive was to increase production in accordance to local conditions in the different parts of the country. By 1925, a comperhensive land ordinance was promulgated: the Land Settlement and Registration Ordinance,

(36) Sudan Government, Reports on the Finances, Administration and Conditions of the Sudan, Khartoum, 1912, P. 519, 614 and 639.

1925.(37)   The main features of this ordinance, which has become
the basis of land law in the country, were:

1.   the   ordinance   recognized   and   consolidated   the   various
     previous land policies on title of land and registration of
     deeds,

2.   transactions   were   registered   with   reference   to   the   land
     itself and not merely as excuted by owners,

3.   Land   settlement   and   registration   had   been   carried   by
     settlement   commissions   and   officers,   with   judicial   power,
     under the instruction of the Legal Secretary, and

4.   the ordinance had provided for the registration of leasehold
     land in which the right had been granted by government for
     both agricultural and building purposes under leased for a
     fixed period.

3.2. Main Features of colonial urbanization in the Sudan:

     The aspects of spatial development policy which have been
adopted   by   the   colonial   administration   in   the   Sudan   -   as
discussed   in   the   previous   section   -   have   determined   the
urbanization trend during the colonial period. The urbanization
process in the country was neither characterized by pull factors
to productive towns nor by filtering down of socio-economic

(37) Saeed   M.A.   El-Mahdi,   A   Guide   to   Land   Settlement   and
     Registration,   Khartoum,   Khartoum   University Press, 1971, P.
     4, 32 and 82.

change, but rather by the disposition of poor rural population. Table 3.1 demonstrates this feature, especially loss from small urban centres and from rural nomadic areas, and rural-rural shift.

Tabel 3.1

Trend of Internal Migration in the Sudan, 1955.

Settlement Pattern	People Born in the area	People Living in the area	Gain + Loss -
Urban Large	360000	519000	159000 +
Urban Small	549000	424000	125000 -
Rural Sedentary	7053000	8003000	950000 +
Rural Nomadic	2354000	1406000	948000 -

Source: Department of Statistics, First Population Census 1955/56: Final Report, Khartoum, 1962.

Urbanization did not take place at any significant rate during the colonial period. The predominance of a subsistence mode of living - traditional farming and nomadism - in much of the country has remained as an indicator of the polarized spatial development. As shown in Fig. 3.1., large and small urban centres in areas of commercial agriculture and transportation routes are greater in size and number.

FIG.3.1   DISTRIBUTION OF URBAN CENTRES IN THE SUDAN
1956
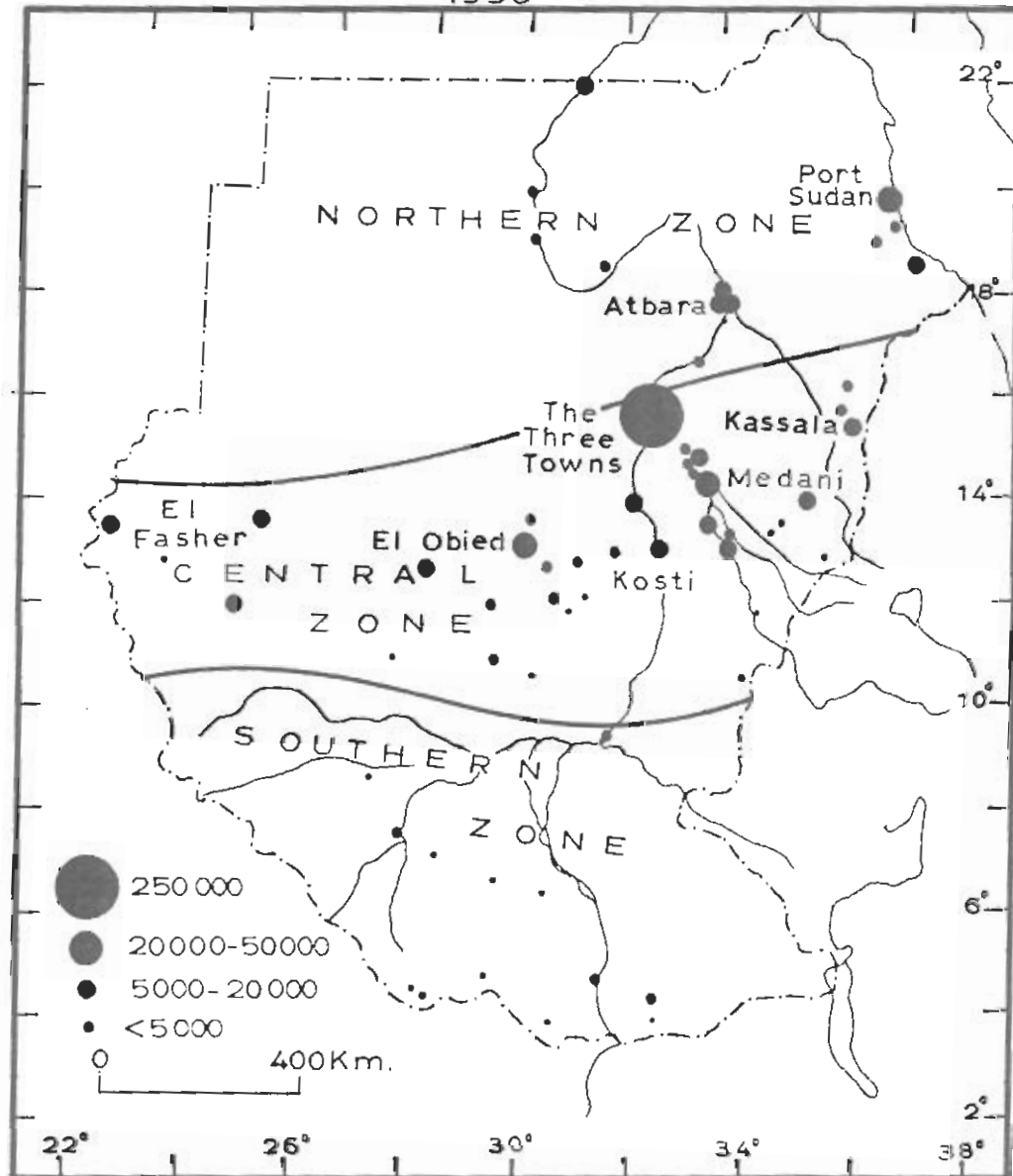
(After Barbour 1961)

Beside the low rate of urbanization in the country, there has been a remarkable uneven distribution of urban population and towns among the provinces of the country (table 3.2).

Table 3.2

Urban Population and Number of towns in the Sudan, 1956.

Province	Population ('000)	% of Urban Pop.	No. of towns by size			Total No. of towns
			20000+	5000 -20000	>5000	
Blue Nile	2,070	7.0	2	8	3	13
Kordofan	1,762	6.5	1	4	8	13
Darfur	1,329	4.0	1	2	1	4
Bahr el-Ghazl	991	1.7	-	1	4	5
Kassala	941	16.0	2	2	7	11
Equatoria	904	1.6	-	1	6	7
Upper Nile	889	1.1	-	1	-	1
Northern	873	10.5	1	5	3	9
Khartoum	505	50.0	3	1	1	5
Total ——>	10,264	8.3	10	25	33	68

Source : First Population Census: Final Report, Department of Statistics, Khartoum, 1962.

The final report of the First population Census has revealed the following facts about the uneven distribution of urban centres and urban population:

1. There was a total of 68 urban centres of different sizes, out of which 37 were found in the cash crop areas - or the east-central core of the country.

2. The population of the ten major urban centres (Omdurman, Khartoum, El-obied, Wad-Medani, Port Sudan, Khartoum North, Atbara, Kassala, El-Fasher and Kosti) was 519000 persons, or 5 percent of the total population.

3. Other urban centres in the country accounted for 40 percent of the urban population, or 3 percent of the total population.

4. The population of Khartoum urban area was 245000 persons, or five times the second largest town, el-Obied.

5. Despite the urban primacy of Khartoum urban area, its population was only 2.5 percent of the country's population.

The main features of colonial urbanization in the country in terms of dependency, low rate and uneven distribution of urban centres and urban population - had been the physical expression of the colonial political, economic and settlement policies. However, these policies have remained as determinant factors in the spatial development and urbanization trend afterwards.

3.3. Post Colonial Spatial Development Policy

The colonial administration was guided by exploitative objectives, and hence, it did not see core and periphery as constituting a whole spatial system. But after the political independence of the country a local vulture has been added through the preservation of the colonial conception and strategy for social and spacio-economic development.

3.3.1. Concept and Strategy of Development

Sudan's independence was accomplished at a time when the world was still in serious termoil after the Second World War. At that time, the Western colonial powers were being challenged at many fronts:

1. at their home grounds, criticisms against the dominant political, economic and social ideas were rising,

2. internationally, the socialist upsurge was becoming stronger,

3. the leadership of the capitalist world had shifted to the United States which conolidated its position by sending massive aid to Europe through the Marshall Plan,

4. and, in the colonies, liberation movements were moving forward, and some colonies tried to combine national liberation with social revolution.(38)

In the Sudan, as in many other colonies, political leaders tried to get rid of the colonial direct rule, while they retained economic links with the same colonial power. These links have retained the ex-colonies as satellites to the metropoles of the international capitalist system. As a result, economic policy and strategy of development in such ex-colonies were formulated within the framework of Western theories and experience. Thus, the acceptance of Western links has led to the adoption of conventional wisdom by the leaders of the newly-independent countries, as the only path to development. The philosophy of conventional wisdom has taught those leaders that the problem of development is essentially economic and the socio-political bases are irrelevant. Therefore the mobilization and transference of capital from the advanced capitalist countries by means of loans, aid and free trade are seen as the only way to economic development.(39)

(38) Abdul Rahman M. Babu, African Socialism or Socialist Africa, London, Zed press, 1981, PP. 35 - 51.

(39) Andre G. Frank, 'Sociology of Development and Underdevelopment of Sociology, Catalyst, No. 3, 1967, P. 59.

This philosophy has been followed despite the fact that the projects of foreign investments are always determined - in their location and function-by the motive of profit maximization in commercial verntures. Besides, the financial and monetory systems of such developing countries are designed by the West. Accordingly, efforts have been oriented towards growth rather than development, and towards urban rather than rural values, and consequently, dualities have been growing remarkably in the economy, society and human settlement. The acceptance of Western theories and concepts on development were essential for the international capitalist system, in order to maintain a similar economic system in the ex-colonies, represented by local entrepreneurs and protected by official governmental economic policies.

However, because of these political and economic links and the colonial cultural heritage, the leaders of the ex-colonies failed to identify the mechanism linking the process of underdevelopment in their countries with the political-economic linkages and constraints imposed by Western capitalist theories and practices. Rather, underdevelopment was seen as a transitory phenomenon created by economic, technological, cultural and even psychological weaknesses in the natural processes of growth stages. Such concepts have been manifested in common theories of

development and underdevelopment, like the Vicious Circle of Poverty, Growth Stages, Growth Pole Theory and Central Place Theory.

For instance, in the classical theory of growth stages, Rostow had attempted to gather most of the orthodox theories which looked upon underdevelopment as the initial stage in the normal process of development. In his The Stages of Economic Growth: A non-communist Manifesto, Rostow classified these stages into traditional society, transitional or precondition stage, take-off stage, drive to maturity and stage of high mass consumption. He concluded that the socio-economic features of any society were the characteristics of that particular stage of the historical development.

In his criticism to this theory, Szentes argued that, socio-economic characteristics were not created by those stages. Rather, they were influenced by production relations within a given society and the nature of relationship between one society and the other as well.(40) Frank also criticized the classical theory of economic development which had attributed history to the experience of developed countries but not to the developing

(40) T. Szentes, The Theory of Economic Growth, London, London University Press, 1959, P. 417.

countries.(41)   Such   criticisms   has   revealed   that underdevelopment which has a circular cause-effect relation can move spirally upwards or downwords, and hence, has a starting point or a fundamental cause of the circular relation. It followed that, underdevelopment has been explained as not a static condition governed by vicious circle of poverty and growth stages. Rather, the historical roots of underdevelopment in developing countries has been attributed to the impact of colonialism and international capitalism.(42)

Samir Amin has attempted to explain the nature of relationship between the international capitalist system, the accpetance of Western theories of development in developing nations and the active process of underdevelopment. He argued that, traditional colonialism was a response to the increase in output beyond the consumption capacity of the national market in Western capitalist societies, as well as to demands for raw materials from beyond the national boundaries. But for neo-colonialism and imperialism, capital export and unequal exchange in measures governing trade relations between developing

(41) A. G. Frank, Latin America: Underdevelopment or Revolution,

   New York, Free Press, 1969, P. 40.

(42) T. Szentes, Op. Cit., 1959, P. 94.

and developed countries, has become essential. This is so, because it has become vital to counter-act the fall in the rate of profit in the metropoles.(43)   Thus, the exploitative objectives have been retained in a much easier way.

Economic policy and concept and strategy of development in the Sudan must be understood in the light of the forgoing discussion. Inappropriate spatial development policy has been adopted and has deprived rural areas of being situated in their wider socio-economic context of structural transformation. The country's spatial structures have retained their links with the international markets by means of imported capital, export-oriented agriculture and heavy importation of cousumer goods. Lack of developing internal markets through planning the allocation of investment over the whole geographic space, has led to sharp regional inequities and core-perphery relation at the national level, and to dependency urbanization, as shall be seen.

(43) See Samir Amin, Accumulation on a World Scale: Acritique of the theory of underdevelopment, New York, Monthly Reveiew Press, 1974, and 'Accumulation and Development: Atheoretical Model', Review of African Political Economy, Vol. I, 1974, PP. 9 - 26.

resources. There where only some investment programmes in the public sector, while interim reports were concerned with national income estimates, the situation of public sector investments, finance resources, balance of pyaments and encouragement of private investment – local and foreign – in trade and industry.(44)

Since development planning was adopted, three economic plans were introduced: The First Ten-Year Plan 1960-70, the Second Five-Year Plan 1970-75 which was extended to 1977 to coinside with the period of office of the President, and the Six-Year Plan of Economic and Social Development 1977-83. The objectives of these plans were similar, and they included import substitution and export expansion, an increase in per capita income, broadening the economic structure, an increase in capital investment, improving the balance of payment, conservation of national resources and improved social services. In addition, the Six-Year Plan aimed at the development and modernization of traditional agriculture, basing central development planning firmly on regional planning, and devoting

(44) R. F. Wynn, 'The Sudan's Ten-year Plan of Economic Development 1960-1970: An analysis of achievements', Journal of Developing Areas, July 1971, P. 588.

more attention to rural development and advancement of lagging areas.(45)

However, these objectives were not achieved because of many reasons:

1.   a common feature of development planning was absence of responsive development strategy. Targets of development plans were not formulated within a complete context of the whole socio-economic and spatial development processes,

2.   the existence of overlapping jurisdiction resulting in lack of coordination among various boards, ministries, councils and corporations responsible for goal formulation and execution of the development plans,

3.   development planning was sectoral, and plans were a mere collection of uncoordinated projects whose financing was arranged for year-by-year from foreign capital and uncotrolled trade, and

(45) Ministry of Culture and Information, The Six-year Plan of Economic and Social Development 1977-83, Khartoum, Government Printing Press, 1978. (in Arabic).

4. formulation of targets and means of implementation were not
    built upon research and scientific bases or ideological
    grounds.

Thus, the agents and inputs which arose from national
decisions and investments, has left rural areas, especially the
lagging ones, disadvantageously located in the development
process of the national space-economy. According to the mechanism
of governmental investment and foreign capital, development
efforts have been restricted to the Khartoum - East central
region under the pretext of solving the nation's problems of
development. But in practice, it has been assumed that capital
and lablour would migrate to those productive regions where
profit would be highest and costs would be lowest. It followed
that concentrations have taken place in commercial agriculture,
trasportation, whoesale trade, industry and other services in
those already favoured areas of the country.

The spatial concentration of development in the already
advantaged areas has become a major obstruction to an effective
and efficient contribution by people from different part of the
country in development process. Major development projects have
been established in the same advantaged areas, precisely, the
Rahad Scheme, Extension of New Halfa Project, improvement of Gash
Delta, Sugar Projects, roads construction, livestock and dairy
farming around Khartoum, and the relative expansion of social

services, have been strictly confined to the Khartoum - east central region. Fourteen out of twenty four projects in the field of regional development have been located in the favoured areas.(46) But other small projects were planned for in lagging regions. For instance, Rice Project in Upper Nile, Savanna Development project in Southern Darfur, and Lake Nubia Fisheries in the Northern Region were not large enough in their size and capacity to become effective in the process of structural transformation and diffusion of modernization into rural areas. Thus, the adopted concept and strategy for economic and regional development have kept many regions in the country though rich in fertile soils, water resouces, forestry and livestock - away from the main stream of national and spatial development.

Fundamently, one of the most effective features of development planning in the Sudan responsible for unequal spatial development has been the neglect of traditional agriculture. Although the government realized that agricultural development would be the key to the achievment of economic and social progress, commercail agriculture has been encouraged at the expense of traditional agriculture. Under the authority of state corporations and private schemes, irrigated and mechanized

(46) Sudanow, 'Development Projects at a Glance', Ministry of Culture and Information, Khartoum, 1980.

agriculture has been encouraged in the same way as during the colonial rule. This has been the practice despite the fact that investment costs per feddan and per farm-worker were higher in modern agriculture. Investment costs in irrigated agriculture was ten times as much as in mechanized agriculture and twenty five times as much as in traditional agriculture.(47) The concentration of agricultural investment in the east-central zone, has, therefore shaped the national space in the pattern of distribution of major demographic - economic areas.

Government policy towards industry has also contributed to the problems of disintegrating the national space-economy. In 1956 the government declared the Approved Enterprises Act, and announced that industrial activities was to be encouraged and expanded by private enterprises.

The act entitled such enterprises to relief from business profit tax for five years, reduction of import duty on plant machinery and raw material, land sites at nominal price, and provision of technical and commercial advisory services.(48)

(47) Francis A. Lees and Hugh C. Brooks, The economic and political development in the Sudan, London, The Macmillan Press Ltd., 1977, PP. 49 - 50.

(48) Sayed A. Fadlalla, 'Government Policy toward Industrialization', A paper presented at the First Erkawit conference, Khartoum, 1966.

Furthermore, the Industrial Bank of Sudan was established in 1961 for providing loans for the establishment and expansion of private industrial enterprises. Despite these facilities and the declared policy that priority should be given to the regional distribution of industry, there were no criteria for this policy or commitment to enforce this strategy.

Although many of the government owned industries were established outside Khartoum, there have been no concrete directives on location of private industries, inspite of the facilities provided by the government and the Industrial Bank. It followed that more than 73 percent of the country's industrial establishments have been located in Khartoum (table 3.3).

Table 3.3:

Distribution of manufacturing industry in the Sudan

by Province, 1970 - 1971

Province	No. Of Establishments	Percent of Establishments	Percent of Invested Capital
Khartoum	153	73.2	47.2
Blue Nile	18	8.6	24.3
Kassala	13	6.2	20.4
Kordofan	16	7.7	2.6
Northern	5	2.4	4.4
Darfur	3	1.4	0.2
Bahr El-Gazal	1	0.5	0.9
TOTAL --->	209	100.00	100.00

Source : Ministry of Industry, Industrial Survey 1970-71, Khartoum, 1971.

The concentration of modern industry in Khartoum urban area along with the expansion of modern agricultural projects in the east-central zone of the country have led to continuous expansion of the resource-base and employment opportunities in these two regions at the expense of the lagging ones. Thus, the exacerbation of economic decline in rural areas has resulted from the centralist approach to economic planning, and the mismanagement of the country's natural and human resources. Such a policy, has led to a continuous lower production, which in turn, has created less exports and more imports, and ultimately, a continuous dependency and a rise in foreign debt.(49) This economic decline has been associated with two characteristics in the spatio-economic relations between urban rural sectors:

1. Misallocation of manpower by rural-urban drift, as well as by the tremendous drain of brain and skilled labour to the oil-rich countries. This phenomenon has exacerbated the economic and social isolation of deprived rural areas.

2. Agricultural exports generated from the rural sector are taxed heavily, while items consumed mainly by the urban sector, like private cars and luxury goods, await the returns of such exports.

(49) 'Sudan: The collapse of an African Giant', South-the Third World Magazine, South Publications, London, April 1983.
(This article is a summary of economic decline in the Sudan based on reports from the Bank of Sudan and International Monetary Fund).

The failure to reduce spatial disparities and to transform rural areas, has been due to some basic features of the adopted economic policy:

1. the national agricultural export-oriented economy has enhanced the concentration of wealth and decision-making in the capital because of the inherited dominance in the economic and political spheres,

2. outflows of capital, people and raw materials have been drawn into core areas by competitive and cumulative advantages,

3. the taxation spending pattern, through which priorities were given to private industry in machinery imports, has imposed heavy tax burden on agricultural commodities as export duties. The facilities provided for a modern industrial sector-though industry has good impact on agriculture, local markets and employment – were not provided for agriculture, and,

4. the strength of the high order of the central place in the exisiting economic system, has left the lower order functionless in the process of diffusion of innovation, as the growth of regional towns markets with local needs and services has not been stimulated.

3.4. The impact of economic policy on pattern of urban development.

The foregoing discussion on the concepts and strategies, as adopted in the post-colonial period, reveals the realtionship between the economic policy and the distribution of people and mode of living, and hence, the urbanization trend in the country (Fig. 3.2.).

In the absence of introducing basic changes for structural transformation in the country's spatial organization and economic policy in the post-colonial period, the pattern of urban development has been a continuation of the colonial one. This had benefited most from the cumulative growth process of centralist approach to development.

Two significant features in the Sudanese urban milieu have been evident. First, the high concentration of urban centres along the Nile corridor and the central eastern region where projects of modern agriculture are located.(50) Second, the high degree of concentration of the country's urban population in a few large urban centres. As table 3.4 shows, 71.2 percent of the total urban population lived in large urban centres in 1973.

(50) El-Sayed El-Bushra, 'The Sudan', in Roland Jones (ed), Essays on World Urbanization, London, George Philip Ltd., 1975, PP. 377-389.

FIG. 3.2   DISTRIBUTION OF POPULATION BY MODE OF LIVING IN THE SUDAN, 1983

(REGIONAL DISTRIBUTION & NATIONAL AVERAGE.)

Percentages

100
90
80
70
60
50
40
30
20
10
0

KHARTOUM | SOUTHERN | KORDOFAN | DARFUR | NORTHERN | EASTERN | CENTRAL | SUDAN

___ Urban
=== Rural
___ Nomadic
······ National average
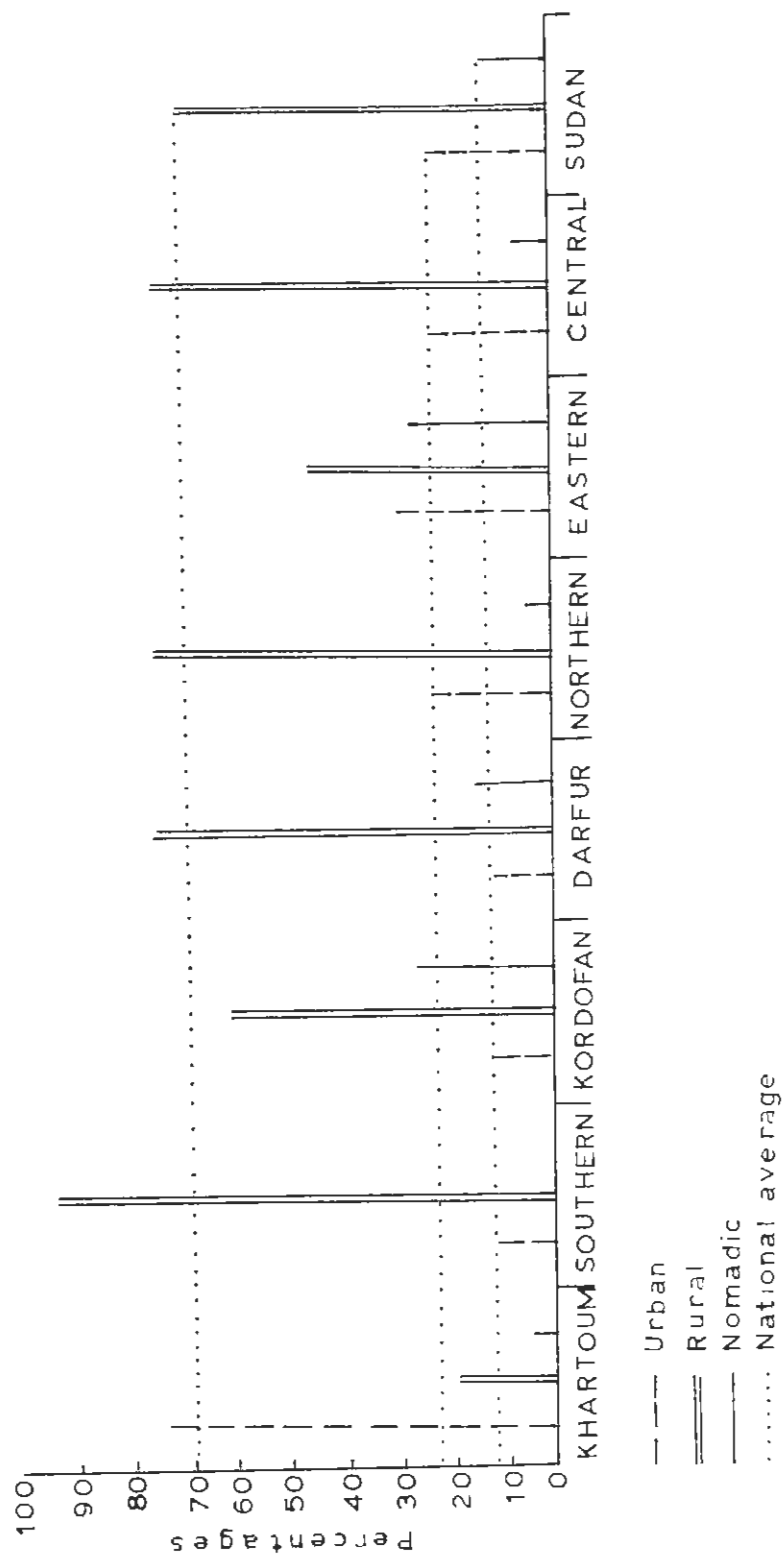
Compiled from the Third Population Census 1983

Table 3.4

Distribution of urban centres by size class in the Sudan, 1956
and 1973

Size Class	1955 / 56	1973	Percent of urban population in 1973
5000	31	27	3.7
5001-10000	16	35	9.3
10001-20000	11	27	15.8
20001-100000	10	17	31.9
100001 +	1	5	39.3

Source :   First Population Census 1955/56 and Preliminary Results
of the 1973 Census.

remarkable decrease in the portion of small (?)

and medium - sized towns has been recorded. In 1956, urban centres with population between 5000 and 10000 housed 23.3 percent of the country's urban population. By 1973 the figure had fallen to 13 percent. Also, towns with population between 20001 and 50000 recorded a decrease from 24.7 percent to 12.4 percent of the national total. But during the same period, the percentage of urban population living in towns with over 100000 persons increased from 13.1 to 39.3 percent. (table 3.5)

Table 3.5

Changes in distribution of urban population in the Sudan, 1956 - 73.

Province	< 5000		50000-10000		10001-20000		20001-100000		> 100000		Total No. of Towns	
	56	73	56	73	56	73	56	56	56	73	56	73
Khartoum	1	-	1	-	-	-	2	-	1	3	4	3
Blue Nile	4	11	6	11	1	10	2	4	-	1	13	37
Red Sea	1	-	1	2	1	1	1	1	-	1	4	4
Kassala	5	4	-	3	1	-	2	2	-	-	7	10
Kordofan	6	3	5	7	1	6	1	2	-	-	13	18
Darfur	1	2	-	-	2	2	1	3	-	-	4	7
Bahr El Gazal	4	-	1	2	-	3	-	1	-	-	5	6
Upper Nile	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	1	-	-	1	1
Equatoria	6	1	-	4	1	3	-	1	-	-	7	9
Northern	3	6	2	6	3	2	1	2	-	-	9	16
TOTAL -->	31	27	16	35	11	27	10	17	1	5	68	111
% of urban population	10.3	3.7	13.0	9.3	16.5	15.8	47.1	31.9	13.1	39.3		

Source : The First Population Census and the Provincial Results of 1973 Census, Department of Statistic, Khartoum.

Although urban population in the Sudan increased from 8.3 percent in 1956 to 17.4 percent in 1973, more than two - folds, the number of urban settlements increased from 68 to 111, only a 1.6 times. Because of this urban growth, urban population recorded rates of growth higher than those for rural population, despite the fact that crude natural increase was higher in rural areas (6.8 percent) than urban areas (3.2 percent). Thus, rural-urban migration was the main contributer to urban growth. In 1964, the Population and Housing Survey revealed that the proportions of immigrants to the populations of Khartoum, Kassala and Port Sudan were 47.3 percent, 20.9 percent **and 44.7 percent**, respectively. This unguided movement of population has resulted from a remarkable disparity in the distribution of human well-being, national resources, employment opportunities and the average regional incomes. For instance, the average income in Khartoum in 1968 was 236 pounds, while it was only 98 pounds in Darfur.(51) This spatio-economic structure of the country has reinforced the push forces into urban areas (Fig. 3.3 and table 3.6) from deprived regions into a persistent drift to more productive areas with better job opportunities. Moreover, the 1973 census revealed that most of the migrants from lagging areas to larger urban centres were the youth who possessed better educational backgrounds and working abilities. Also, over three fourths of such migrants were

(51)   Department of Statistics, House-hold Budget Survey for the Sudan, 1976 - 68, Khartoum, 1982.

working in agriculture, and were pushed by pressure on land, environmental degradation, lack of job opportunities, low incomes or decline of basic services.

Table 3.6

In-migrants to urban centres in the Sudan by Region (Northern Regions), 1973.

Province	Urban Population ('000)	In-Migrants to Towns ('000)	Percentage
Khartoum	784	340	43.3
Eastern	388	102	58.8
Central	517	111	21.5
Kordofan	269	34	13.0
Darfur	188	19	10.2
Northern	170	20	11.9
TOTAL--->	2316	636	25.8

Source : The Perilimanry Results of the 1973 Census.

FIG. 3.3   NATIONAL MIGRATION INTO KHARTOUM URBAN AREA

MIGRANTS IN THOSANDS

- - - Boundary of Migration Province

0   200   400 Kms
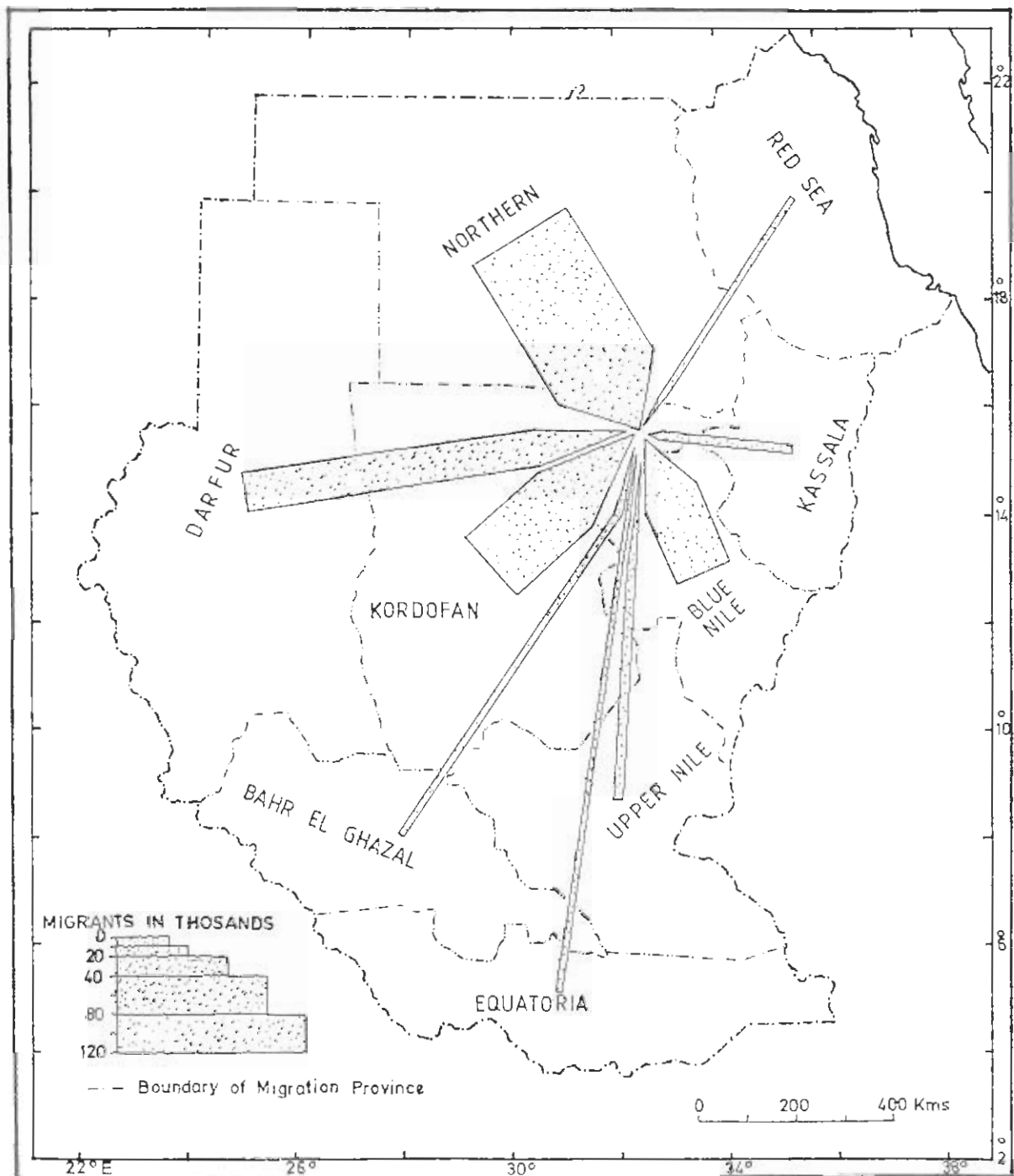
(An Atlas of Khartoum Conurbation 1976 P. 81)

Similarly, the distribution of provincial urban population
has been remarkably uneven, as shown in table 3.7.

Table 3.7

Distribution of urban population in the Sudan by province, 1973

Province	Total Population ('000)	Urban Population as % of Total Population
Khartoum	1145	75.4
Kassala	1547	48.3
Northern	957	20.6
Blue Nile	3740	19.1
Kordofan	2202	15.9
Darfur	2139	11.3
Equatorail	791	18.4
Bahr El-Gazal	1396	9.1
Upper Nile	836	4.6

Compiled from the provincial figures of the 1973 census.

Thus, because of the inefficiencies in the spatial patterns
of development, the country's urban system has been characterized
by:

1.   national and regional urban primacy, and

2.   relative overurbanization of Khartoum urban area.

3.4.1. National and Regional Urban Primacy:

The basis of urban primacy at both national and intra-regional levels, was laid during the colonial period when Khartoum and the provincial capitals were chosen as centres for administration and as channels for the extraction of surplus from rural resouces in an export-oriented economy. In both economic and socio-cultural terms, the primate city is different from other human settlements in the country. The concentration of the modern sector of the economy, the differentiation of residential areas, the amalgamation of modern and traditional urban sectors and the concentration of service and socio-cultural institutions are all features of the inherited urban system. The remarkable gap between large and small urban centres is very wide because the capital and the other few large towns have emerged and have attracted the best of all political, economic and social functions. As the general rule of urban primacy says that the largest city has several time the population of the second largest in rank,(52) the primacyof Greater Khartoum was

(52) Arnold S. Linsky, "Some Genralization concerning Primate Cities", in G. Breese (ed) The city in newly developing countries, London, Printice-Hall, 1972, P. 285.

remarkably enhanced between 1956 · and 1973 because of the increasing functional magnitude and multiplicity. As mentioned earlier, in 1956 Khartoum urban area accounted for 29.3 percent of the country's urban population, and it was 4.7 times the size of the second largest town, El-Obied. By 1973, Khartoum urban area accounted for nearly 31 percent of the nation's urban population, but it was more than six times the size of the seond largest town, Port Sudan.(53).

In the same manner, sizes and functions of the provincial capitals have also reflected the attraction capacity in the economic, politico-administrative and service spheres. In consequence, the gap between the largest town and the second largest town in most of the provinces has been getting wider, and has been associated by in-migration. However, Kassala and Darfur provinces have experienced a different system in which the expansion of commercial agriculture in the former - like the Blue Nile Province - and the extension of the railway in the latter, have facilitated the absorbtion of rural migrants in the small urban centres which have reversed the intra- provincial urban primacy.(table 3.8).

(53) Department of Statistics, The provincial Results of the 1973 Census, Khartoum.

Table 3.8

Urban Primacy in the Sudan by Province, 1956 - 73

(Former Northern Provinces).

Province and the two largest cities	Population in 1956 ('000)	No. of times as large as 2(1956)	Population in 1973 ('000)	No. of times as large as 2 (1973)
Red Sea:				
Port Sudan	47	2.8	132	10.1
Tokar	16		13	
Kordofan:				
El-Obeid	52	3.2	90	3.5
El-Nuhud	16		26	
Northern:				
Atbara	36	2.7	66	2.9
Shendi	11		24	
Kassala:				
Kassala	40	2.3	99	1.5
Gedarif	17		66	
Darfur:				
El-Fasher	26	2.2	51	
Nyala	12		59	1.2
Blue Nile:				
Medani	47	2.3	106	1.7
Kosti	22		65	

After S. El-Arifi, 1972, Op, Cit.

3.4.2. Relative Over-urbanization of Khartoum Urban Area

Over-urbanization is not simply the concentration of economic activities and other services in the primate city, but the concentration of larger porportion of the country's population in a large urban place than their degree of economic development justifies. According to this argumentation, this situation occurs when the proportion of labour force engaged in productive jobs is smaller than other occupations.(54)

In the Sudan's experience, the process of urbanization and the stages of over-urbanization of Greater Khartoum have resulted from a continuous in-migration without a structural change in the occupational structure. The remarkable increase in the numbers of migrants into Khartoum urban area, as mentioned in the previous section, has been a result of push factors rather than a demand for labour in produtive urban economy. In consequence, the urban growth and over-urbanization of Greater Khartoum have been charaterized by,

(54) Philip Hauser, "The social, economic and technological problems of rapid urbanizaion' in Bert F. Hoselitz and Wilbert E. Moore, (eds), Industrialization and society, UNESCO, Paris, 1963, P. 203, and N.V. Sovani, "The Analysis of Overurbanization' Economic Development and Cultural Change, No. 2, Vol. 12, 1964, PP. 113 - 122.

" a shift of people from low productive agricultural
employment to yet another section marked by low
productivity employment, namely handicrafts, retail
trading and domestic services.(55)

Nevertheless, urban employment in this informal sector of
the urban economy is found to be relatively more productive than
the pre-migration rural employment. This means that there is a
strong link between the growth of Khartoum urban area and the
growth of the informal sector. However, this sector provides
goods and services for the urban poor whose numbers are in
continuous increase because of the parasitic nature of the urban
economy, and the limited employment in industry. In sharp
contradistinction with the formal sector of the urban economy,
the informal is characterized by low wages, instability, and
absence of legal definitions and labour laws. These conditions
have characterized the economic activities by primitive
organization, scarce capital and labour intensity. This system of
employment in inhibiting diffusion of innovation in rural areas,
and is contributing to urban unemployment and

(55) UNESCO, Seminar Report on Urbanization, Calcutta, 1957, P.
133.

underemployment.(56) This argumentation, along with the smallness of the industrial labour in a parasitic urban economy were proved to be true in Khartoum. In 1973, when the population of Greater Khartoum included 318,000 economically active persons, there were only 33,000 persons engaged in industrial employment. In addition, the informal sector which was larger in its size and labour force contributed to the industrial product with only 14.9 percent.(57)

Although the house-hold income and expenditure survey 1978-79 has not distiguished between labour force in the formal and informal sectors of the urban economy in Greater Khartoum, it gave insight into the occupational structure and the economic status of the urban labour force. The survey revealed that only 28.3 percent of the urban population in Khartoum were economically active. (table 3.9).

(56) Sir Arthur Lewis "Unemployment in Developing Countries", The World Today, No. 1, 1967, P. 22.

(57) Ministry of Finance and Economic Planning, Department of Statistics, The National Income of the Sudan 1978/79, Khartoum, 1983.

Table 3.9

Distribution of Population in Greater Khartoum by Economic Status, 1978.

Economic Status	Total ('000)	Percentage
Economically active:		
Employers	4	0.4
Own account workers	68	6.0
Employee	233	20.7
Unemployed (Worked before)	3	0.3
Unemployed (never work)	10	0.9
Total --->	318	28.3
Economically Inactive:		
Students	300	26.7
Housewives	221	19.6
dependants	286	25.4
Total --->	807	71.7

Source : The National Income of the Sudan 1978/79.

Moreover, the working population was classified into six categories with vague definitions, especially for "production workers" which included, for instance, factory managers, machine tenders and drivers. Although this vagueness has led to the mixture of formal with informal sector labour forces (table 3.10), the distribution of the working population is no

justification from the economic developmental point of view for the rapid urban grwoth (table 3.11).

Table 3.10

Distribution of working population in Greater Khartoum by occupation,1978.

Occupation	Total ('000)	Percentage
Professionals	35	11.6
Clerks	42	14.0
Salesworkers	35	11.6
Serviceworkers	60	19.9
Farmers / Fishermen	11	3.7
Production workers	113	37.5
Inadequately defined	5	1.7
Total --->	301	100.0
Employer and Unemplyed	17	
Total --->	318	

(The National Income of the Sudan 1978/79).

Table 3.11

Growth of population in Khartoum Urban Area

Year	Population
1956	245,700
1964	438,890
1973	784,000
1983	1,343,000

Source: First Population Census 1955/56, Housing Survey 1964, the 1973 Census, The Third Population Census 1983.

Thus, the parasitical nature and primacy of Khartoum urban area, as a colonial legacy, had led to uncontrolled urban growth and overurbanization. This situation was not challenged niether by a responsive urban polciy at the macro level, nor by a responsive urban planning system at the micro level. However, the foundations of urban planning in Khartoum urban area which have resulted in inappropriate spatial structures and urban disparities, were laid down during the colonial period. These foundations of planning have been combined with continuous and uncontrolled flow of migrants into Greater Khartoum in the post-colonial period. The combination of these two factors have created a continuous decline in the provision of social services as shall be seen.

C H A P T E R   IV

Colonial Planning of Khartoum Urban Area

Throughout history, colonial settlements were regularly planned. Greek and Roman colonial towns in ancient times, American modern towns, as well as European colonial towns in Africa, Asia and Latin America were planned towns. In sharp contrast with indigenous towns, colonial towns were associated with an occupation of new areas where buildings had to be commenced from scratch. Accordingly, such towns tended to possess a regular layout to accommodate a new political, social and economic situation. Thus, a remarkable phenomenon of the European colonization in the ex-colonies had been the growth of two types of dual urban forms:(1)

1. Colonial towns segregated completely from the traditional and indigenous towns, as in West Africa where urban life had been a long tradition, and

2. Colonial towns with adjacent but segregated native lodging areas, as in East Africa.(2)

(1) J. H. Johnson, Op, Cit., 1972, P. 185.

(2) A. L. Mabogunje, Op., Cit., 1968, PP. 20-21.

requirement of the colonial new developments in government, trade, industry, transportation and military needs. But native towns received little or no attention as far as spatial arrangement and modern rules of planning were concerned. This was so because the formulation of planning rules and the processes forming the colonial mode of planning were indivisable from the entire political, economic and ideological colonial system.

The spatial structure of pre-colonial towns was determined by social and political factors, rather than economic ones. For instance, Omdurman was charcterized by two remarkable features:

1.   The spatial difference were based on ethnic and occupational grouping, and the distinction among various residential sectors was made by naming each quarter after the tribe dominant in it or the occupation of its inhabitants.

2.   The central area of the city represented the political and religious heart of the city, where the Khalifa's palace, the mosque and the compounds of the ruling class were sited.(3)

(3)   R. Salatin, Fire and Sword in the Sudan 1879-1895, London, Frank Cass Comp., 1897, P. 412.

Thus, there was no marked functional differentiation in the uses of land for economic or other purposes based on land value.

Before the enforcement of building and planning regulations and the establishment of official bodies responsible for the layout of the Khartoum urban area, the first guidelines for town building were related to the personal directives of Kitchener, the Governor-General. These personal directives which aimed primarily at satisfying military requirements and improving man-environment system for the British Officers, were greatly influenced by two external factors:

1. The British colonial experience in India, where tropical environment made sanitation practices and medical care for colonial officers to become the first objective in town building regulations. Therefore, the European residential areas were laid in separate areas from native lodging areas in all colonial towns in the tropics.(4) The alternative of hill-side settlement in India, was river front in Khartoum for pleasant weather.

2. The idea of New-Town which was a response to the ills of the capitalist industrial urbanization in Britain. The British officers designed carefully their residential area and other

(4) D. King, Op. Cit., 1976, P. 36.

military, economic and cultural areas as suggested in the New-Town Idea. Houses were detached and surrounded by gardens, and all other requirements - shops, the club, the church, recreation and sports fields - were laid out nearby. But the great difference between the New-Town Idea in the colonial town and Western towns was that, in colonial towns, the European sectors were devoted to political, military and administrative functions, while production was generated by natives in separate lodging areas.

It followed that two types of urban systems and urban morphology were created in one urban area. The first was the colonial settlement comprising the European zone, the administrative and commercial zones and better class residence for non-British wealthy businessmen who were engaged in the economic and commercial activities of the new economic system. The second sector of the urban area was extensive native lodging areas, where the working classes were housed. Thus, the socio-spatial structure of the pre-colonial city which was characterized by a ruling class-mass dichotomy was replaced by socio-economic and socio-cultural spatial differenes.

4.1. The Introduction of Town Building Regualtions into Khartoum Urban Area:

When the British occupied the Sudan, they immediately began to formulate public and political orders and ordinances for urban land settlement. Although town building regulations were introduced in 1909 and professional planning was introduced in 1946, the issue of legal and administrative regulations was essential for the colonial control over town building and town development. Initially, the colonial administration tended to be concerned with towns insofar as these towns were functioning as administrative centres to ensure the spatial distribution of power. The colonial administration found that the major pre-colonial towns of the country had been reduced to ruins and were greatly depopulated after the wars of the Mahdiyya and the reconquest. Therefore, it passed the first ordinance on urban land settlement in 1899 - The Town Land Ordinance (5) for three purposes:

1. to encourage the development of towns as provincial capitals to assisst in the administration and financial affairs of the new government,

2. to allot lands for private owners who were present at the time of the reconquest in major towns, and

(5) Sudan Government, Civil Secretary, 'The Town Land Ordinance,' Khartoum, Central Records Office, 9/7/25, 1925.

3.   to authorize the government to obtain land required for
     future urban development in conformity with the new
     political and economic objectives.

The ordinance was first applied to Khartoum, Berber, Dongla
and Omdurman. Five years later, it was extended to other major
towns. In order to settle the problems of land ownership,
settlement commissions were constituted to allocate lands to
genuine claimants.(6) Thus, the government policy on urban land
was based on a combination of leasehold and freehold; this had
affected the future development of urban areas and had
contributed significantly to the functional structure of towns.

In its tendency to achieve rapid town growth, the government
sought the co-operation of private enterprise. Therefore,
governmental lands in Khartoum were sold freehold, and
ultimately,

" Much of the most valuable lands in Khartoum passed at
  once into the hands of a few wealthy cpaitalists,
  especially the Greek traders."(7)

(6) G. Warburg, Op.Cit., 1970, P. 162.

(7) The Times, 11 April 1900.

However, when the government changed its policy and ceased sale of its lands, prices of lands soared and land speculators who obtained plots for LS 30 per plot were able to sell it for LS 1000. Surprisingly, the Governor of Khartoum was pleased with the increased prices of land, because, according to him, it was a good sign of development.(8) In order to compensate for its losses of sold lands, the government intended to develop the Mogran area for the future expansion of Khartoum town. But the scheme was not carried out as it required large expenditure on the levelling of land and the construction of a costly stone-faced embankment wall along the bank of the White Nile.(9)

Thus, the eastern section of Khartoum town remained as governmental land for the development of the new colonial town, while lands adjacent to the nucleus of the town were obtained by wealthy merchants most of whom were foreigners. When the government passed the Town Building Regulations in 1909, the railway ring became the boundary of the new colonial city of Khartoum. As a result, the whole native villages found within the railway ring were removed outside.(10)

(8) G. Warburg, Op. Cit., 1970, P. 163-165.

(9) E. G. Grasfield-Hall, 'Memorandum on the Layout of Khartoum, Khartoum North and Omdurman', Khartoum, 1933, P.9.

(10) Ibid, P. 13.

This was similar to what happened in Eighteenth-century England when an increasingly wealthy aristocracy was shaping fashionable large landscape as settings for their fine houses and farms; and villages were moved as they spoilt the view.(11)

In 1912, the colonial administration passed the Government Town Land Ordinance-Native Occupation, which allowed governors to set apart government lands near towns for housing of natives.(12) Thus, the labourers who had built Khartoum and the natives who migrated to Khartoum North and Omdurman, and those who had lived on plots alloted to them became government tenants in slum areas, outside the town boundary, defined officially as Native Lodging Areas.

Thus, the classification and distribution of urban land was determined by the politico-administrative power of colonialists more than by direct social or economic vlaue of land. For the Governor of Khartoum and his advisers the location of the army barracks, the administrative blocks and the club was more important than the location of the residential areas and services of local society.

(11) J. Brain Mcloughlin, Urban and Regional Planning: A Systems Approach, London, Faber and Faber, 1969, P. 93.

(12) G. Warburg, Op. Cit., 1970, P. 163.

The introduction of regulations and planning laws into colonial towns to regulate the use of land had taken an opposite direction of what had occurred in the Western experience. ILL-organised use of land which had resulted from the dominance of market mechanism during the industrial growth, led to the creation of urban reform movements by social reformers in the West. In concequence, zoning and building laws, and governmental subsidies for housing, transportation and services had come into existence. But in the colonial towns, classification of lands, zoning laws and town building regulations preceded the growth of towns and paved the way for socio-spatial differences and land market mechanism.

Accordingly, the Governor of Khartoum declared that the intention of his administration was to develop the three towns in separate spatial units, each related to its original cultural, social and economic system. Thus, the government decided to adhere to the policy of regarding Omdurman as a native town with a big local market, and a home for the native working classes (plate 4.1); Khartoum North which was newly established around the railway station, as the store and workshop of the country; and to develop Khartoum as a European town.(13)

(13) H. Mclean, 'The Planning of Khartoum and Omdurman', Town Planning Review, London, 1910.

(a)

(b)

Plate 4.1 : Neglection of the pre-colonial areas in the colonial planning strategy : (a) planned CBD in Khartoum town ; (b) Mourada suq in Omdurman. Contrast is obvious in street pattern and building type.

The first step in building the new town of Khartoum on a European model was the establishment of the Khartoum Town Improvement and Allotment Board which comprised heads of government departments involved in town building. The views of the Board and the power of the Governor to implement plans were reflections of Kitchiner's thought, experience and personal directives. In consequence, the army barracks had occupied strategic sites at the entrance of the new town, and the diagonal and wide streets which divided the town into a series of Union Jacks were made to provide accessibility to all parts of the town. The town was divided into two sections: an eastern section along the river bank for residential purposes, and a western one for administrative and commercial purposes. Sites for the market, local industry and non-British better residence were officially segregated.(14) (Fig. 4.1).

The members of Khartoum Town Improvments and Allotment Board were keen to develop a well planned colonial town, but did not bother themselves about the layout of the native quarters. Eventually, insanitary and miserable slums emerged south of the railway ring to accommodate the native working classes. However, the government recognized the slum area and defined it as native cantonment; and despite the miserable conditions of these 'Old Deims' the government did not take any decision for their

(14) E. Grasfield-Hall, Op. Cit., 1933, PP. 8 -10.

FIG. 4.1   KHARTOUM : CLASSIFICATION OF LAND (1935)

Blue Nile

BARRACKS

N

RAILWAY STA.

SLUM AREA
(Old Diems)

Government establishments

First   class Residence

Second class Residence

0   1000 yds.
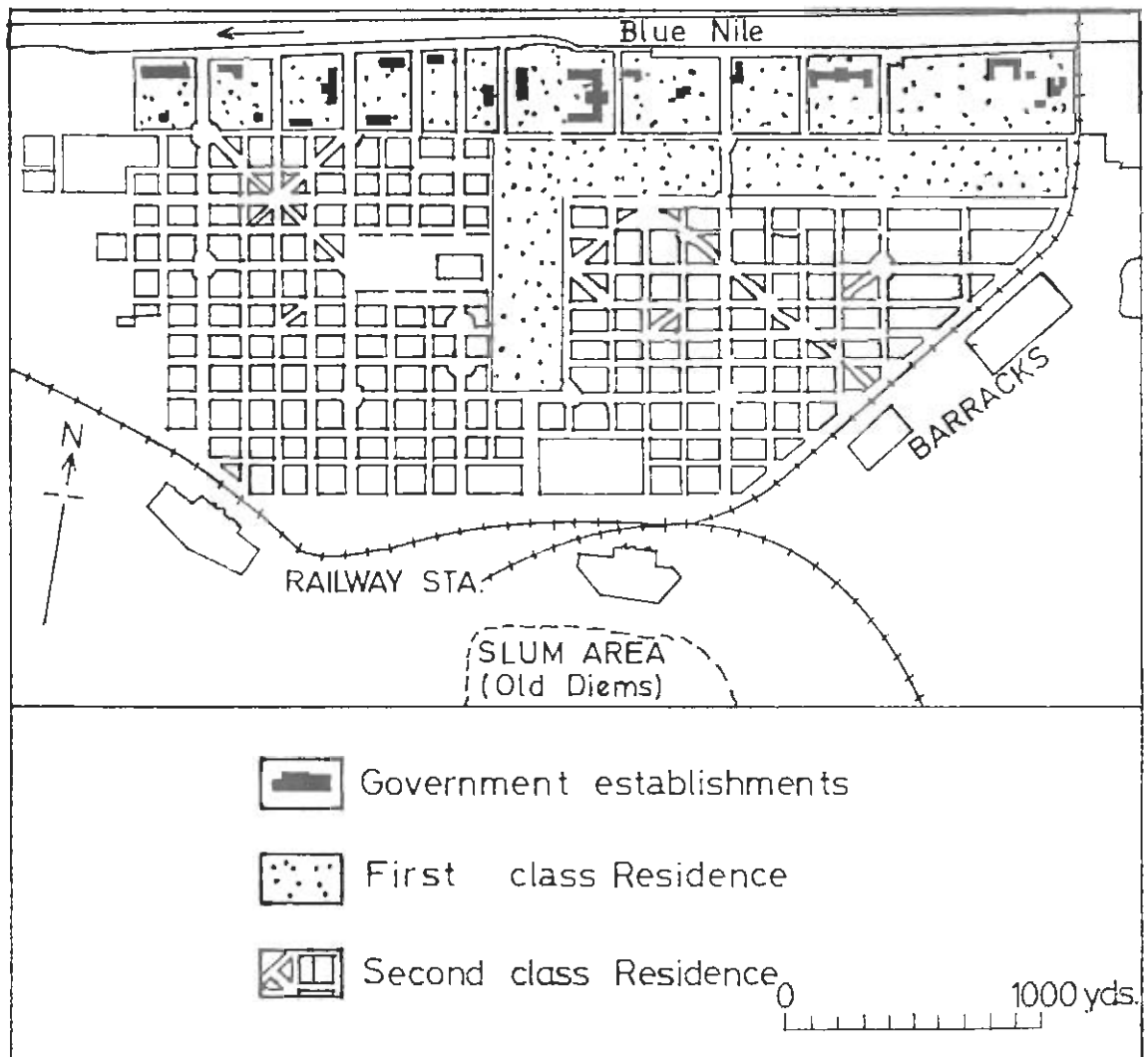
Source : Central Records Office, Civsec 9-7-25

improvement or clearance. Between the early years of the British advent and the clearance of these slums in 1949-1950, there were some 6000 overcrowded small houses that accommodated about 30000 people.(15) Plots were very samll in size, without latrines and in most cases, single rooms without compunds.(16) Despite these subhuman living conditons, the intensity of overcrowding continued, especially in the inter-war period as result of both natural increase of population and continuous need for urban workers in government departments and private establishments.

In Khartoum North (Fig. 4.2.) the arrival of the railway led to the growth of the new town around the station. As town building was commenced from scratch, it tended to possess a regular plan. According to the symmetrical layout plan which was adopted in the first years of the colonial rule, the government quarters, which included the government dockyard, the government stores and workshop and the army barracks, were situated along the Bank of the Blue Nile. Better class residence was situated adjacent to the government quarter. But Hillat Hamad and Hillat Khogali, which were the only pre-colonial settlement in the town,

(15) Sudan Government, Khartoum Province, Annual Report 1949, Khartoum, 1950.

(16) S. Fawzi, 'Social Aspects of Urban Housing in the Northern Sudan', Sudan Notes and Recordd, Vol. 35, No. 1, 1954, P. 91.

FIG. 4,2   KHARTOUM NORTH: CLASSIFICATION OF LAND (1935)

Goverments Stablishments

Second Class Residence

Third Class Residence
(Native Lodging Areas)

N

Cemetry

B L U E   N I L E

400 Yds.

0
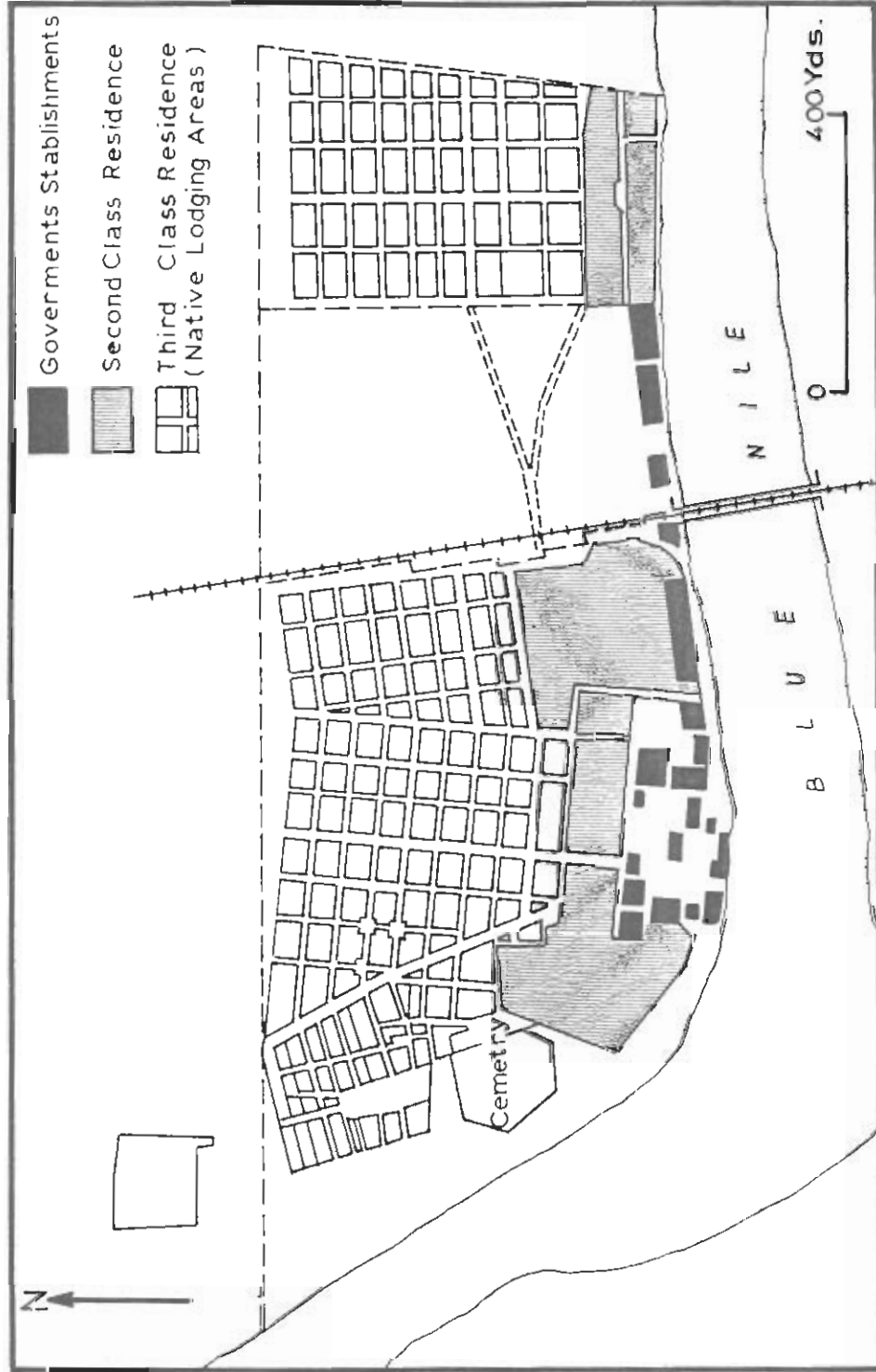
Source :- Central Records Office Civsec. 9 - 7 - 25

were defined as suburbs. The market was situated in the centre of
the town, while the residence for native workers was laid out
northward, and was defined as native cantonment and noxious
trade.(17)

Omdurman (Fig. 4.3.), as a pre-colonial town, was
characterized by an irregular plan which resulted from the
gradual process of accertion. The layout of the congested mud
compounds and twisting narrow streets was a common feature in all
pre-colonial towns. This was due to social cohesion and slow
communication system. But for the colonial administration, the
main object of concern was to make pre-colonial towns accessable
for pure administrative purposes and supply of manpower as well.
Therefore, the government began a detailed survey in order to
open up the different quarters in Omdurman. the survey revealed
that 12000 compounds on private land hindered any alteration to a
new system of throughfare. The government, however, paid
compensation for a considerable number of inhabitants whose
houses were demolished in order to open up the town through new
major and minor streets.(18) Other than opening up of streets, no
efforts were made to introduce improvements neither in housing
conditions and provision of amenities nor in the functional
structure of the town.

(17) E. Grasfield-Hall Op. Cit., 1933, P. 31.

(18) Ibid, P. 37.

FIG. 4.3   OMDURMAN CLASSIFICATION OF LAND (1955)

Central
Market

WHITE NILE

Public & Government
Buildings

Second Class
Residence

Third Class
Residence

N

0 200 400 600 800 1000 1200 1400 Metres
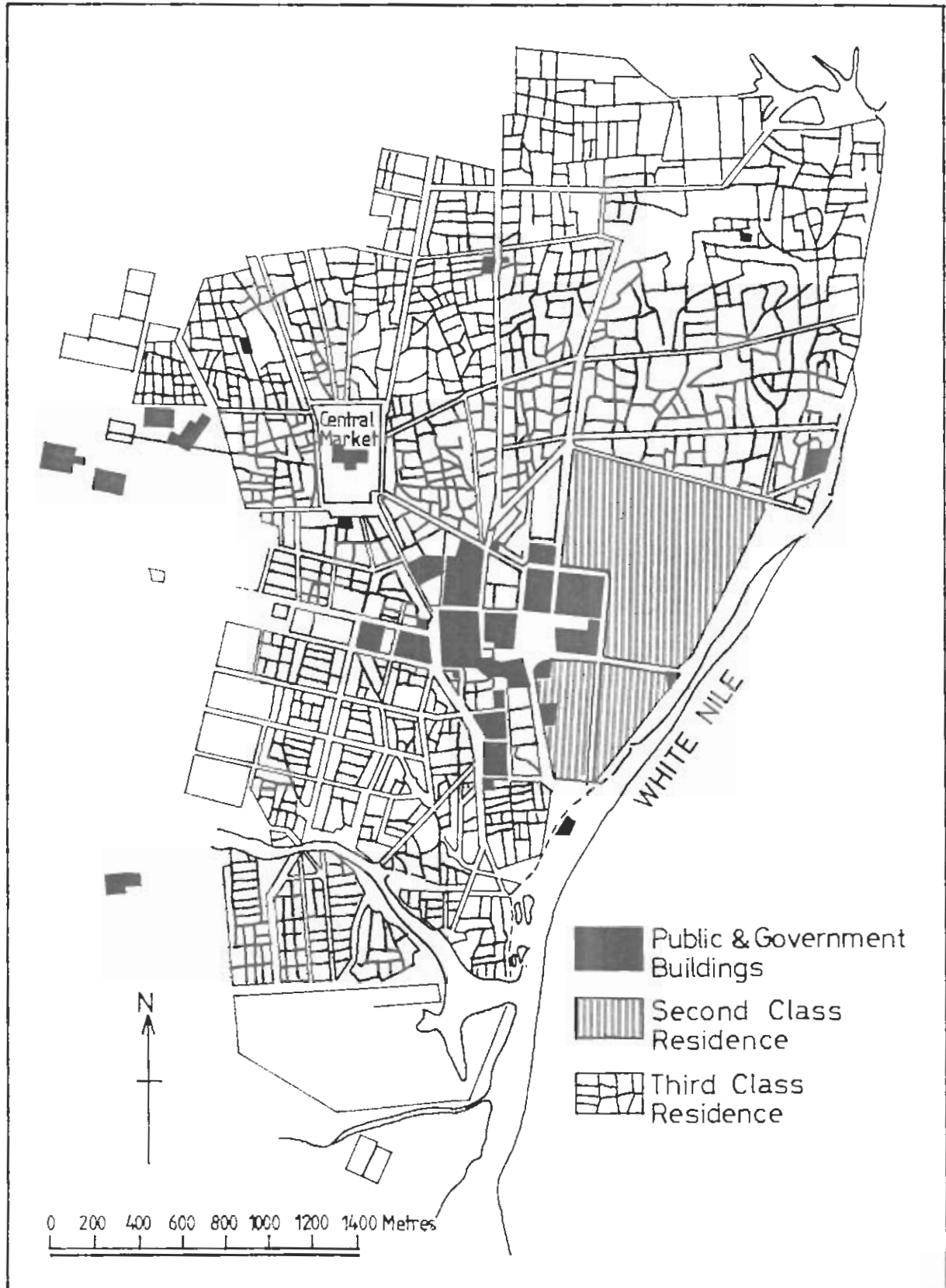
Source :- Central Records Office Cirsec. 9 -7 -25

Even when the Khartoum Town Planning Board suggested the erection of a new quarter in Omdurman-Mulazmin-(Fig. 4.4.), for better class natives, the Governor of Khartoum did not accept the idea. He asked the board whether...

" it is desirable to foster an island on Western standards in native town".(19)

Between 1909 and 1942, planning rules and building regulations had been arranged by ad hoc committees, and planning task was looked upon as a part of the duties of civil engineers and sanitary boards. However, the colonial administration considered it desirable to introduce new administrative measures for successful and more effective zoning policy. Therefore, the Three Towns were brought under a unified urban management in 1921. The Khartoum Municipal Council was established as a consultative and advisory body for improving town affairs; and the Governor of Khartoum, who was the president of the council, was empowered to appoint members and to accept subjects to be discussed.(20)

Because of the absence of a planning law and an official body responsible for town planning, the Governor of Khartoum approved two ordinances in 1925 for effective land zoning and building control. These ordinances -

(19) Khartoum Province, Khartoum Town Planning Board, 'Adminis-
trative Regulations', Khartoum, C.R.O., 3/9/10, 1933.

(20) M. Abdel-Rahim, Op. Cit., 1969, PP. 65-70.

FIG. 4.4   CONTRAST OF PLANNING IN OMDURMAN
(MULAZMIN & BEIT EL MAL)

BEIT EL-MAL

E s   S u r   S t r e e t

N

EL MULAZMIN
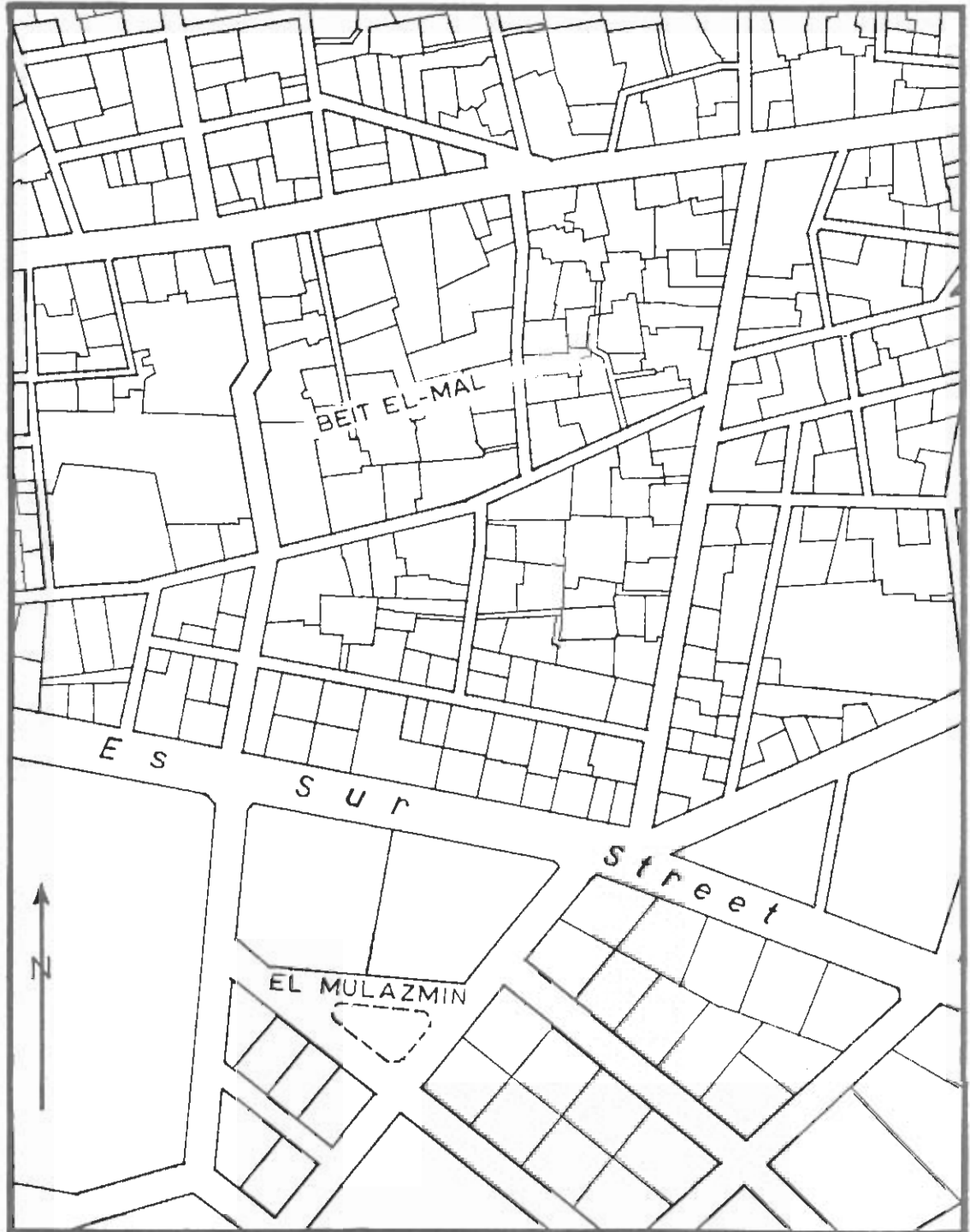
Sheet 29, Ref. SS 2294, Survey Department.

150 mts

The Khartoum Building Regulations and Land Classification Ordinance-(21), came to be the basis of planning law and prinicples, and of the functions of the planning bodies constituted afterwards.

According to these ordinances, urban lands were classified into governmental, first class, second class and third class. All lands along the river bank in Khartoum and Khartoum North were governmental lands, while in Omdurman, governmental lands were scattered among residential quarters for offices and public building. First class land was confined to the European zone. In this zone, building regulations were made to bring about spacious, comfortable and detached compounds. The obvious function of the garden and the large verandah was climatic, while separated rooms were provided for servants. This European sector was compared to the Western upper-and middle class suburb, with its large one-storey houses, broad tree-lined roads, low residential density and generous provision of amenities.(22)

(21) Sudan Government, Civil Secretary, 'Town Building Regulations,' Khartoum, C.R.O., 9/25, 1925.

(22) A. King, Op. Cit., 1976, P. 33.

Second class land in Khartoum included the administrative and commercial zones and better class residence encircled with the railway ring. This residential zone, which was made to provide housing for non-British (Asians, Greeks, Egyptians and Levantines) and better class natives, was of a second class quality according to building regulations. Compounds were medium in size, and building materials were a mixture of concrete and local buildling materials and basic amenities were provided. In Khartoum North, second class land covered the area between the governmental land and Hillat Hamad and the central division of the town. In Omdurman, this class of land covered a smaller area, and was confined to the river bank and major roads.(23)

The contrast between the governmental, first and second class lands on the one hand and the third class land on the other hand, was sharp in terms of morphological and social characteristics. In the latter, very bad housing conditions and very low level of basic amenities prevailed. Thus, a well-recognized system of land classification came into existence and had reflected the socio-economic segregation in the new urban society. This pernicious socio-spatial structure was embodied in all planning laws and regulations which were created after the beginning of systematic planning.

(23) Sudan Government, Civil Secretary 'Land Classification Ordinance', Khartoum, C.R.O., 1925.

4.2. The Beginning of Systematic Planning

Systematic planning started in 1927 when the Governor-General constitued the Central Town Planning Board. The purpose of the establishment of the Board was to control town and village planning in all parts of the country and to co-ordinate physical planning schemes between central and local authorities.(24) The composition and functions of the board were obvious indications of the government's intention to design a planning policy within the confines of the power structure and the imposed social order. Members of the board were the Director of Survey Department, the Legal Secretary, the Civil Secretary and nine members appointed by the Governor. At the provincial level of this centralized system, planning rules were controlled by the Legal Secretary and the Civil Secretary through the provincial governors.

At the central level, Khartoum Town Planning Committee was established in 1929 for the planning and improvement of the three towns, under the presidency of the Governor. The establishment of the K.T.P.C. was similar in its composition and functions to the C.T.P.B. The committee consisted of the Khartoum Governor, the Civil Secretary and the Governor's advisors - the Medical Officer and the Municipal Engineer, a representative of the Legal Department, and one or more members nominated by the Governor-General to be co-opted as temporary members for the

(24) Sudan Government, Civil Secretary. 'CTPB', Khartoum, C.R.O., 9/3/10 Vol 11, 1946.

members for the discussion of particular items.

The K.T.P.C. was empowered .....

'to formulate plans for the general layout of the Three Towns, having special regard to the preservation and increase of amenities of these towns in a manner consistant with the requirements of public health, and to advice the Governor-General in any other proposals connected there with and as regards the provision or preservation of sites for public buildings, gardens or monuments and for houses and the housing of officials.'(25)

The two main objectives of the K.T.P.C. were the regularization of the general layout of the Three Towns and the proper distribution of social aminities. But the nature of planning power and the planning procedure turned these objectives down and, instead, a comperhensive scheme for the layout of Khartoum was prepared on the bases of the Land Classification Ordinance and Building Regulations Ordinance, 1925. The scheme which was prepared by the Governor's advisors and was laid before the K.T.P.C. was characterzied by lack of long term relevant golas, while the short term objectives were made to meet the public orders concerned with health and administrative regulations. The scheme which was implemented in 1930 was chiefly directed towards:

(a) The removal of native activities out of the European Zone for the purpose of expanding the Zone southwards.

(25) Grasfield-Hall, Op. Cit., 1933, P. 11.

(b)   providing an enlarged zone for shops, workshops and factories west of the residential area of the second class, and ultimately, the recalssification of land adjoining the proposed industrial area in Khartoum as second class land,

(c)   providing an accessible suburb for occupation by natives at Burri, eastwards,

(d)   the expansion of the second class land southwards within the area surrounded by the railway line, and

(e)   expansion of the native cantonment outside the town for occupation by the native labouring classes, and for persons engaged in noxious trade and for owners of animal-drawn vehicles and their animals.(26)

The implementation of this scheme had marked the urban area with socio-spatial differences that reflected the social and economic strata of people. Thus urban planning was essentially a political process in the service of the imposed socio-economic order.

(26) Grasfield-Hall, Op. Cit., 1933, PP. 12-13.

In this planning system, a crucial factor was the system of urban management. Naturally, when formulation and implementation of planning goals are adopted by a small politically or economically powerful group, the outcome of the planning system will not favour the wants and needs of the entire society. Needless to say that the power structure of colonialism was manifested in the system of urban management. The central government bodies and departments in each province and district in the country were responsible for the direct management of town's affairs: their physical expansion, zonation, building regulations and administration of social services. When the local government system was introduced, and new town councils were created, these councils were supposed to act as local bodies responsible for making and executing regulations concerned with all town's affairs. Such affairs were scattered among various central governmental bodies.(27)

But in practice, centralization of power in the hands of the Governors and District Commissioners deprived town counicls of authority and financial resources to carry out their duties on town's improvement.

(27) M.A.Rahim, Op. Cit., 1969, PP. 65-70.

Furthermore, the relationship between the town's councils and the statutory authority of planning, who was the Governor of Khartoum, had been stated as follows:

" Town planning power be kept in the hands of central government... as at the same time, local authorities are at present inexperienced, and above all very often have not the advantage of knowing what has been successful elsewhere or what has been tried and has failed"(28)

Thus, local bodies (Khartoum Municipality between 1921 and 1937, and town's councils after 1937) which could reflect the needs and desires of the underprivileged, remained as advisory bodies.

In 1937, further steps had been taken by the Governor of Khartoum for greater centralization of planning power. He constituted the Town Improvement Board, by which,

' it would be possible to obtain statements of the opinion of the Governor and his technical adviser in one act.'(29)

(28) Sudan Government, Civil Secretary, 'CTPB-Town Planning Power', Khartoum, C.R.O., 9/18, 1937.

(29) Sudan Government, Civil Secretary, 'Memorandum on Town Planning Procedure, Khartoum, C.R.O., 9/6/18, 1937.

The establishment of the Town Improvement Board aimed at eliminating what the Governor called tedious and laborious acts of co-ordinating planning authority imposed on him, and also to avoid the circulation of decision-making. The Town Improvement Board, which became a part of the provincial administrative machine, was to make decision and recommendations in a much easier and shorter way than the previous procedure. It followed that some of the departments concerned with town building, such as Lands Department, were not represented in the Board. In this way, only the Governor of Khartoum and his most important advisors-the **Medical Officer and the** Municipal Engineer were responsible for following up and approval of any important proposal. This policy failed, and four months later, the K.T.P.C. was reconstituted and became known as Khartoum Town Planning Board. No alternations were introudced into the composition and functions of the Board, except that the recommendations of the Board were to be submitted to the Governor-General through the Civil Secretary. But where military considerations were involved, the views of the Major-General-Commanding were to be obtained prior to the submission of recommendations.(30)

According to the 1937 Planning Memorandum, the Khartoum Town Planning Board made some details on the planning procedure of public buildings, clubs, gardens, hotels and the housing of the

(30) Sudan   Government,   Civil   Secretary,   'Administrative Regulations', Khartoum, C.R.O. 6/18, 1937.

officials. But preservation and increase of the basic amenities in the third class residential areas, as recommended in the memorandum, were completely ignored. Therefore, community services had never been provided for any of the third class residential areas at the same time of housing construction.(31)

4.3. The Emergence of Professional Planning

As a result of the faliure of planning regualtions and planning committees to help in replanning and planning of Khartoum urban area, the Central Town Planning Board was reconstituted in 1946 to take an active part in town planning and development. Although planning power was not changed and it was still vested in the Governor of Khartoum, some alterations were introduced into the functions of the Board and the planning procedure.

In terms of reference and functions, five objectives were introduced:

1. To take an active part in town planning and development and, with this end in view, to issue memorandum for the advice and assistance of local government authorities.

(31) Khartoum Province, Annual Report-1949, Khartoum, 1950.

2. To approve plans of municipalities and townships required to be deposited under Local Government Regulations.

3. To approve all alterations or additions to the deposited plans.

4. To recommend for Governor's consideration those towns and larger villages (in addition to scheduled municipalities and townships) whose planning should be controlled by the Board; with special emphasis on the importance of preserving or creating basic amenities as will counter the drift to the larger towns and in order to achieve reasonable conformity in planning throughout the country.

5. To make recommendations to the Civil Secretary after consultation with the governors for adding or amending Local Government Regulations affecting town planning with a view to furthering policy approved by the Board.(32)

The C.T.P.B. succeeded in convincing the Governor that it was unable to carry out its duties until a professional planning staff was found. Thus, the Governor decided for the first time to recruit a professional staff for the C.T.P.B. Before then, the preparation of plans of new layouts, replanning of old areas of

(32) Sudan Government, Local Government, 'Functions of the C.T.P.B.,' Khartoum, C.R.O., 9/7/25.

the urban area and the distribution of public buidlings were the responsibility of the Governor's advisors - the Medical Officer and the Municipal Engineer - and representatives of Legal, Survey and Civil Service departments.

Three town planners were recruited from Britain, and their task was,

' to prepare memoranda of planning rules adapted to local circumstances for issues by the Board for the guidance of local authorities... The professional staff of the Board is responsible for preparation of detailed plans for new layouts or residential, industrial and market areas for examination and selection of sites and consultation with local authorities as to details plot requirements, local building pontential, requisite amenities and possible future extensions.'(33)

It was apparent that these new arrangement required stronger links between town planning power and local authorities. But local authorities were considered inexperiened and therefore, it was stated in the Local Government Regulations that,

(33) Sudan Government, Local Government, 'Staff of the C.T.P.B.', Khartoum, C.R.O., 9/3/10, 1946.

' The prime movers of any development shoeme should be the Local Authority....(But)...The Governor, subject to the approval of the Central Town Planning Board, controls layout and development schemes. The Governor or the District Commissioner on his behalf, of course, counsults the municipal or town council, even though, his powers have not been expressly delegated to them.'(34)

Nonetheless, the Board made a recommendation to the Governor to combine local knowledge with external experience. In response, the Governor invited a planning team from Oxford Balliot college. The town planning team, which had visited many countries in the world, and which consisted of an economist, a sociologist and a physical planner (an architect) made two suggestions:

1. the preparation of an extensive economic survey on the agricultural and mineral resources of the country, like the American one carried out in Iran, and

2. making of a national planning programme through a comperhensive questionairre at local levels.

(34) Sudan Government, Local Government, 'Local Government Regulations-Twon Planning,' Khartoum, C.R.O., L.G. 1946

The Civil Secretary described these proposals and the team, saying,

' We acnknowledged that they were experts with world experience. ...they could tell us in a very short time what it would take decades to learn by local experience.'(35)

Inspite of this acknowledgement, the government ignored these proposals because of their financial commitments.

However, the reliance of the colonial administration on foreign planning experience and borrowing planning rules and principles had become a remarkable feature of colonial planning. As has been mentioned earlier, the original layout of Khartoum as was designed by Kitchener was a manifestation of the British colonial experiene in India and the contemporary British New-Town Idea. Similarly, when the C.T.P.B. was reconstituted, it recruited a professional stafff from Britain and the experience of a British planning team was also sought. In addition, foreign experience was sought when the government attempted to solve the native housing problem. In this attempt, the Governor of Khartoum wrote to the Civil Secretary,

(35) Sudan Government, Local Government, "Staff of the C.T.P.B.', Khartoum, C.R.O., 9/3/11, 1946.

' I hear that the Governement of Rodesia have recently
built a garden city for African natives. I should be
much obliged if you could communicate with them through
the Colonial Office and endevour to detain full
particulars and plans of this garden city. I feel this
would help to tackle the native housing problem in this
country.'(36)

Because this proposed layout was transfered from a different
socio-cultural environment and it did not suit the local
conditions, the government decided to amalgamate the proposed
house form into larger plots. The scheme had, therefore, formed
the basis of the resettlement plan in the New Deims in Khartoum
after slum clearance in 1949.(37)

The Central Town Planning Board prepared plans for the
layout of new extensions of residential areas at the three
different standards according to land classification regulations.
In addition, the most important task which was carried out by the
C.T.P.B. was slum clearance. The demolition of the Old Deims and
the building of the New Deims in Khartoum, which was associated
with the post-war urban growth, was not a response to the

(36) Sudan Government, Civil Secretary, 'Improvement of Native
Housing', Khartoum, C.R.O., 54/15, 1935.

(37) Khartoum Province, Annual Report, 1949.

miserable conditions in the slum area. Rather, it was a response to the pressure of the town southwards as a result of the increased importance of its commercial political, administrative, transportation and industrial functions. The Old Deims were a barrier on the line of expansion of first and second class residential areas. Also, more plots were required by the working population who migrated to the capital in the post-war boom.

By 1951, the slum area had been demolished, and 8000 plots accommodating some 40000 people were distributed. The size of each plot was 200 square metre and house plans were designed by the Municipal Engineer.(38) Although the government provided plots for those who were in the Old Deims and the new comers who had employment and had their families with them, the working population was left to build houses without financial assitance. The people of the Deims and those of the new third class extensions in Omdurman and Khartoum North began to build their houses during terrific building boom, covering the much wealthier first and second residential area and the light industrial areas. Thus, they had to compete with unequal resources for buidling materials and labour. As a result, most of these lower income groups had been involved in indebtedness.(39)

(38) Khartoum Province, Annual Report 1951.

(39) S. Fawzi, Op. Cit., 1954, P. 56.

The replanning law, which was passed for slum clearance and redevelopment of the older parts of towns, was more concerned with procedure of replanning than with the constructive objectives of replanning. Thus, The Town Replanning Ordinance 1950 provided details on the power of the newly established Replanning Commission and the powers of the Governor and the Ministries of Finance and Justice in matters related to compensation, preparation of plans and implementation of the schemes(Appendix I).

4.4. The effects of colonial planning strategy:

Inspite of the introducton of town building regulations in the early years of the colonial rule and the emergence of professional planning in the post-war period, the nature of colonial planning was reactive and problem-solving. In this strategy of disjointed incrementalism, the role of planners and administrators concerned with planning, was always partial and their focus was on particular aspects of the problems created in the course of towns development,(40) like slum clearance and replanning of old parts of towns.

(40) David Braybrook and Charles Lindblom, A strategy of Decision, Illinoise, The Free Press, 1963, Chapter II.

Apart from the core of the urban area and the better class
residence adjacent to it, the disjointed incremental strategy
allowed the expansion of various residential units of the third
class (higher and lower) at the outskirts of the urban area to
accommodate the increased numbers of migrant workers. However,
there was no general and long range outlook which could encompass
the social and physical development of the community, while the
functional elements of development were not locked upon in a
balanced way.

Thus, within the frame of the social and economic
segregation, planning rules had decided who got what and where by
creating different urban units with sharp contrast in the level
of housing and services. The socio-spatial strutures from the
level of the European sector, the first class residence, the
second class residence, down to the individual households of the
native working class have represented social degredation of the
society. The utilization of space and the functional structure of
Khartoum urban area were influenced by three interrelated
variables:

1. The creation of a system of calsses in society in accordance
    with the system of land classes. This was a reflection of
    the political and economic system in the imposed social
    order, associated with the adopted planning strategy.

2. The accessibility between the core of the urban area and the organized slums of the third class residence was made by major throughfares, mainly to facilitate the extraction of labour.

3. The continuous concentration and centralization of governmental, commercial, industrial and major social services in and adjacent to the core and the better-off residential areas, has resulted in full retreat of native working class towards the outskirts of the urban area.(table 4.1).

Table 4.1

Distribution of population in Khartoum urban area by class of residence *, 1956.

Town	First Class	Second Class	Third Class
Khartoum	3,800	10,800	72,200
Khartoum North	-	4,300	33,800
Omdurman	-	2,700	108,000

* Other residential areas included governmental houses, boarding-schools and military areas.

Source: Compiled from the First Population Census, Town Planners Supplement, Vol. I, PP. 251-271.

By the end of the colonial rule the total area of Khartoum town was 12 Sq. Km., an area which was too large compared with size of population (93000). In Cairo, the same area was inhabited by 1,300,000 in 1937, (41) and by 180000 persons in Kano in 1952.(42) This horizontal expansion of Khartoum urban area was created by various factors:

1. The urban micro-climate, characterized by excessive heat, has made the open and large houses a necessity.

2. Woman seculsion and reception of guests in the socio-cultural context have made it desirable to obtain large plots.

3. In the absence of modern housing services, especially sewege system, together with the very low income of the working class, the multiplication of storeys is not possible.

(41) Gamal Hamdan, 'The Growth and Functional Structure of Khartoum', Geographical Review, Vol. 50, 1960, P. 21.

(42) Kano State Government, Kano Province Statistical Year Book, 1952., Government Press, Kano, 1953.

Thus, as result of the social and physical distance of the working classes from the core, a sharp gradation in the hierarchy of the functional-social-morpohological organization of space has marked the whole urban area.

Among the Three Towns, Khartoum became the only one with a full differentiation in the use of land for various urban functions, together with different residential standards and various nationalities. In the core of Khartoum which has become the hub of the urban area, the water front was occupied by administrative buildings while the southern fringe of the core was occupied by companies, banks, retail shops and offices of businessmen and other professionals. Even the eastern fringe of the core which was occupied by clubs of better class was graded as business land-according to zoning regulation-because it was a first class land. East of the core, the European residential area was sited, and in the post-war period this high class residence outstripped the rail ring southeastwards, and Khartoum I and Airport Quarters came into existence. This urban sector was developed to accomodate well-to-do communities of foreigners and wealthy Sudanese businessmen and elites. Here, all houses were built in villa-type with gardens and all modern facilities.

In the socio-spatial gradation in Khartoum town, second class residential area followed. This urban sector has occupied two units, the first and old one within the railway ring, south and west of the core; the other was established after the Second World War, west of Khartoum I. Socially, economically and physically, this sector is a little lower than the first calss area. Practically, in this sector, inside the rail ring, most of the basic urban functions were found. These included the general hospital, private clinics, educational institutions, recreational houses and transportation terminals.

In Khartoum North, the second class residence was adjacent to the large governemental establishments which occupied the water front; while in Omdurman, this class of residence occupied one quarter - Mulazmin - near the river bank.

But the most remarkable shift downward the socio-spatial structure of the urban area has been the vast expansion of third class residential areas in Khartoum south, Omdurman and the northern sector of Khartoum North. In these organized slums, plots have been much smaller in size than in the first and second classes, but building density per plot and people density per room have been much higher. The rule has been the mud-one-strcey house in the grid-iron system. Roads have been dusty, dirty and unpaved. Moreover, distribution of community buildings and social services, through the disjointed incremental planning policy,

were not located in such a way that could fulfill the accepted requirements for decent life. Hospitals, schools, markets and other facilties and socio-cultural buildings have been located either in the city centre or on major roads near the city centre.

In Omdurman, the physical and socio-spatial structures were different. As a pre-colonial town, Omdurman was not influenced in its spatial organization by the colonial planning elements. Classification of urban land and utilization of space, according to colonial planning strategy, did not affect the functional structure of Omdurman. Apart from the central market, the small industrial area west of the market and the scattered governmental and community buildings, the entire town has been a residential unit congested with houses.(plate 4.2) The residential distribution of the town's inhabitants was not based upon their socio-economic status, and unlike Khartoum and Khartoum North the distribution of individuals among the various residential areas was spantaneous. Thus, in the absence of modern economic activities and zoning regulations, Omdurman retained its traditional character, socially and morphologically. (Fig 4.5).

However, one of the major problems of Khartoum urban area has been the employment of Omdurman inhabitants in government departments and private establishments in Khartoum and Khartoum North. This ill-organized spatial relations between place of residence and place of work-within a poor urban transportation

FIG. 4.5   TYPES OF HOUSING COMMUNITIES IN
            THE THREE TOWNS

OMDURMAN

KHARTOUM NORTH

KHARTOUM

Residential

Other Than
Residential

Open Space
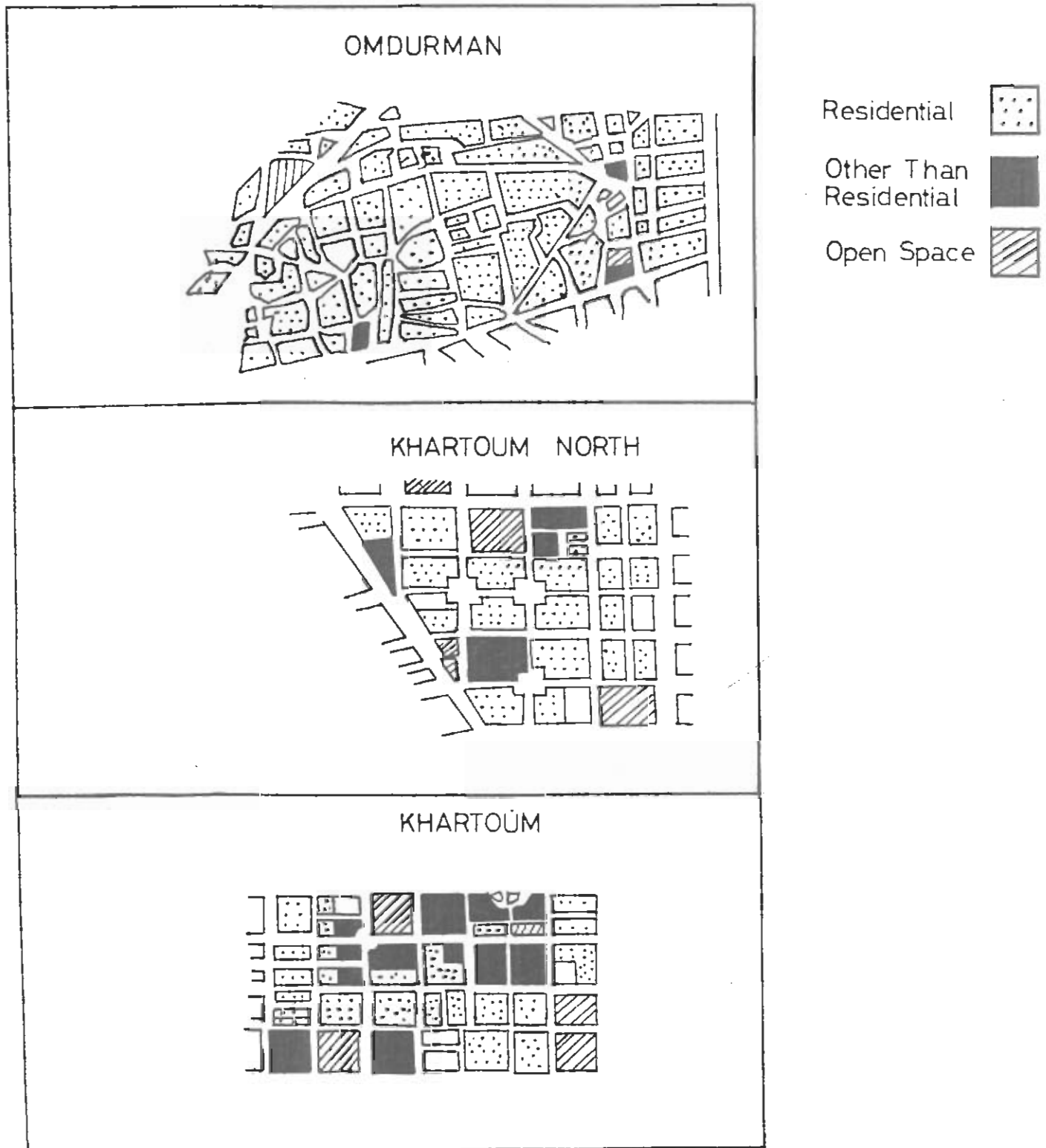
(After Doxiadis 1959)

(a)

system - have contributed immensely to transportation problems

and the destruction of human resources - efforts and time. In

addition, Omdurman inhabitants have become deprived of adequate

Although each of the Three Towns was different from the other in its social, functional and morphological structures, the whole urban area, including its satellite villages, was managed by unified regulations in planning affairs. The autocratic nature of colonial planning and the sole planning law – The Town Replanning Ordinance, 1950 – have affected the whole planning system afterwards.

C H A P T E R V

Post—colonial Planning System in Khartoum Urban Area

But in the Sudanese constitutions to date, there is no specific reference to spatial and physical planning and its significant role in overall national development. The existing constitution has been silent on the role of spatial planning which should co-ordinate all forms of development. Such an integrated development planning was summarized by McLoughlin as the most comperhensive role of physical planning at both macro and micro levels, whish is,

    ' concerned with the demands on land development with the demand for movement of goods and raw materials, with

However, the absence of these contents of physical planning from the Sudanese constitution have been remedied by issuing sporadic planning acts and ordinances, some of them in the Laws of the Sudan.(2)   Between 1956 and 1983 two planning acts were

2.   The Minister delegated some of the powers given to him to the C.T.P.B. which was responsible for town planning throughout the country. The Act gave details of powers of the board, its constitution and its relationships with the Minister, provinces and local authorities (sections 5, 6 and 7).

3.   The procedure of assessment and payment of loss and enhancement of land affected by replanning or reclassification (sections 8 to 14).

4.   The encouragement of local initiative as is consistent with

the local level. But in practice, there was neither specific
planning objectives and positive contents in the 1956 act, nor
effective local initiative from town councils. This was so
because at the local level planning was not more than local
orders concerned with public health and restriction to class of
building. Besides, training of professional staff for local
planning was completely neglected; while financing the basic
social services was not the responsibility of the central
government. This particular pernicious legacy of the colonial
social order has been the most effective factor in establishing a
negative planning policy for urban areas in the sudan in general
and in Khartoum Urban area in particular.

The significance of the Town and Village Planning At 1961 (ammended, 1969)(6) is that, it is the existing governing planning law in the Sudan to date, though it is not different from the 1956 Act in its clauses and objects. The only addition in the 1961 Act was powers for government, in any planning process, to acquire and change the use of unclassified and undeveloped land in urban areas (sections 11 and 12).

Under the 1961 Town and Village Planning Acts, the exercise of planning powers by the Minister and the C.T.P.B. was clearly expressed. The acts stated that the Minister who was responsible for the direction and control of all town and village planning was empowered to delegate the powers given to him for village control to the provincial authorities. Nevertheless, the functions of the Minister in fixing and changing town and village boundaries, appointment of qualified members in the C.T.P.B. and assessment and payment of loss or enhancement or reclassification of land were not delegated to the CTPB nor to the provincial authorities.

At the central level, the C.T.P.B. was provided with power to regulate its own procedure and to appoint ad-hoc committees and expert groups in the field of planning (section 7), and to

(6) The Sudan Gazette, L.S. No. 962, 'The Town and Village Planning Act. 1961', and Amendment of the 1961 Act, LSSG No. 1091, 1969.

delegate its functions to such groups or committees. At the local level, town councils were responsible, according to the Town and Village Planning Regulations 1957, for supervision of land-use system, building regulations for various classes of residence, rules for public health and recommendations for expansion of residential areas. Thus, beside the vagueness of planning object and contents at the central level, the local planning initiatives and orders at the town councils' level were the same local government orders of Town Planning Regulations 1938, derived from Local Government Ordinance of 1937 for Townships and Municipalities. These regulations were created before the introduction of professional planning and the reconstitution of the CTPB in the 1940s. These regulations were concerned with implementation and supervision of the Public Health Ordinance 1924, Land Classification Ordinance 1925, and the Khartoum Building Regulations, 1925. Accordingly, planning activities were confined to decision on plot size and building materials in each class of residence, width of main and minor roads, stability and ventilation in houses, level, width and area of various zones of land uses, and penalties to ensure the enforcement of these instructions.

The sole link between the central planning level and the town councils at the local level was the Town Planning Regulations 1957. These regulations, which were prepared and recommended by the CTPB and approved by the Minister of Local

Government, are still the governing and guiding rules of planning activities in urban areas. Sections 3 and 4 of the regulations expressed clearly that the prepartion and supervision of planning proposals and projects was the responsibility of the municipal engineering office which included the civil engineers and the surveyors whose coordination and cooperation was confined to the health officers and land inspectors.

After the establishment of a new ministry for housing in 1969, fundamental questions about the contents and role of planning were raised. In a memorandum presented by the Minister of Housing, a new outlook to the goals of planning was proposed along with broadening the field of planning in order to cope with economic planning and to serve social justice(7). Nevertheless, when the 1961 Act was amended, there was only a shift of planning power from the Minister of Local Government to the Minister of Housing, while planning law in general and town planning regulations in particular have been retained.

However, since 1969 to date, five physical planning laws have been proposed by the Housing Department and the C.T.P.B. to move with planning away from the strictly land-use approach and problem-solving orientation to more comperhensive planning. In theory, the scope of the proposed

(7) Ministry of Housing, 'Memorandum on Planning', R/40, C.R.O., Khartoum, 1969, (in Arabic).

planning laws and their objects are comperhensive and wide-ranging to the extent that central, regional and local authorities are involved in planning legislation and implementation to ensure that social, economic and physical planning are well integrated. This proposed radical change, which was expected to change the whole planning strategy, was expressed clearly in the bills of 1974, 1976, 1978, 1981, 1982 and the Provisional Order 1980. In addition to these proposed laws, a supplementary memorandum for the Provisional Order 1980 has recognized the fact that the existing planning system - its laws and machine - are relics of the colonial period.(8)

Although such substantial change in the concept, goals and objectives of planning has required deep-rooted changes in the social order and the philosophy of economic development plans, the proposed planning laws went on to outline the following, without such basic changes:

1. Regional and provincial planning authorities are empowered to prepare and approve detailed master plans for towns and villages; to change boundaries of towns and villages and to alter the use of land in them(9).

(8) Ministry of Construction and Public Works, Housing Department, 'A report on Housing and Planning', File No. 3-5A, Khartoum, 1980. (in Arabic).

(9) Housing Department, 'Proposed Planning Law 1978, Chapter 3, Section 9', Khartoum 1978. (in Arabic)

2. General plans for regional development and master plans for urban development must be drawn after conducting a proper survey of the economic, social, transportation and spatial conditions to ensure sound and balanced developments in the national space.(10)

3. Detailed development plans must include the construction of public utility services, transport and other public services as well as means of conserving and developing the resources of the area concerned.

4. The establishment of a national and technical committee for coordinating the planning activities at local, regional and national levels.(11)

(10) Ibid, Chapter 2, section 6.

(11) Ministry of Construction and Public Works, 'Provisional Order for Urban and Regional Planning 1980', Chapter 4, Khartoum, 1980.

None of the forementioned proposed planning laws was passed
by the government because of the following reasons:

1. Each of the successive proposed physical planning laws was
   found to be in contradiction with the national policy on
   economic and social development plans, in which there has
   been no link between the production and service sectors.

2. In the formulation and implementation of the Seven-and
   Six-Year plans, the functional and spatial aspects have been
   neglected.

3. Special laws issued for encouragement of agricultural and
   industrial investment were all prepared at the top level
   without coordination or consultation with planning
   authorities for ideal spatial planning.

4. Changes of the politico-administrative machinery
   (People'sLocal Government and Regional Governments) did not
   facilitate the adhesion to a concrete policy toward powers
   and functions of planning.

5. Although the broad objects of the porposed planning laws were sound, inefficiencies were found in the details of the proposed law because the makers of the law were not **fully** fleshed planners.

Thus, there was no change in the planning law to cope with the politico-administrative machine in the country. The introduction of the Pople's Local Government **Act,** 1971 and its amendment of 1981, along with the **arrang**ements of decentralization and regional system of government were associated with remarkeable changes in the planning machine. But there was no change in planning laws despite the concept of politicization of local government and administrative decentralization. According to the People**'s Local Government Act,** 1971 and its amendment of 1981, local au**thorities were em**powered to issue planning regulations, having the power of law within the prescribed functions which include planning activities as defined in the **previous Local Government Reg**ulations.(12) Once again, old wine was put in a new bottle because the **conceptual framework of planning legislation** was determined by the **socio-**economic **system** rather than by the statuary shift of planning power which has not associated planning legislation with provision of basic needs for entire society.

(12) Sudanese Socialist Union', People's Local Government Act 1981, chapter III', Khartoum, SSU, 1981. (in Arabic).

The immediate result of the application of a regional system of government was the abolition of the CTPB and the Specification and Standard Committee which were responsible for supervision and approval of planning proposals all over the country. In consequence, regional governments have become free in the interpretation of planning directives which were derived from the 1961 Act and the 1957 planning regulations. The absence of a new planning legislation for a decentralized and regional system of government has led to the division of planning power and decision-making among the Regional Governor, the Regional Minister and the Regional Planning Committee. However this situation of uncertainty at the regional level is not found in Khartoum urban area where the new law for administration of Khartoum Province, 1980 (13) and the recent law of the National Capital are facilitating the adherence to the directives of the 1961 Act under the direct control of the Central Minister of Construction and Public Works.

Thus, lack of concrete and comperhensive planning legislation at both the macro and micro-levels has not facilitated the creation of a common language among economic planners, physical planners, municipal engineers, architects, local government officers and the public. Also, the existing

(13) Sudanese Socialist Union, 'The New Administrative Law for Khartoum Province 1980', Khartoum, SSU, 1981. (in Arabic)

planning regulations have remained silent about the goals and means of a sound and uniform principles of planning.

5.2. The Planning Machine in Khartoum Urban Area:

The extent of the direct power of planning and the major responsibilities in the planning and implementation processes as well as coordination with various levels of planning activities, require a well organized planning machine with significant administrative and political support. In Khartoum urban area, the planning machine and its administrative framework have been highly influenced by the nature of relationships between the central government and the provincial or local government bodies, the impact of change of system of Local Government as well as the formulation of a special administrative law for the Khartoum Province. Thus, planning power and the structure of planning machine have been a response to the politico-administrative needs and changes rather than for creating a positive planning for community needs.

At the local level where municipal, town and rural councils were the initiators of planning schemes (roads, land-use system, extension of residential areas, Location of markets and schools), they were not given any approving or refusing powers. All local and provincial recommendations were to be approved by the CTPB in Khartoum under the directives of the Standing Committee.

The CTPB was composed of ten memebers: five ex-officio members and five members qualified by specialized knowledge of planning, appointed by the Minister. The ex-officio members were the directors of the departments of Survey, Health, Land, Works and Local Government beside the Chief Town Planner. These ex-officio members were the same members of the Standing Committee which was of vital importance to the approval of palnning applications all over the country including Khartoum urban area in weekly meetings, while the CTPB used to meet four times a year.(14)

In addition, there was the Town Planning Office of the CTPB whose duties were wide ranging and covering the planning activities throughout the country. Its duties covered the following:

a. the preparation and revision of survey and development plans,

b. the administration and development control of layout of towns,

c. keeping records of demands for sites and available sites for various kinds of land use,

d. detailed inspection throughout the country of land necessary to conduct the survey and to design development plans for all towns,

(14) S. Mazari, Op. Cit., 1956, 106 - 107.

e. inspection of individual sites in respect of development applications,

f. the preparation of written reports for the CTPB on all subjects concerned, where a decision was required,

g. the presentation of survey data and proposals as drawing and models,

h. making new development and recording the position of development applications, and other drawing office work, and

i. preparing for and attending the CTPB, Standing Committee and local councils meetings and discussions,

Although the Planning Office was the bridge between the decision making of the Standing Committee and the planning implementation at the local level throughout the country, its staffing was extremely small. They were: 1 deputy chief planner, 1 senior planner, 12 assistant planners, 2 assistant architects, 1 senior sociologist, 2 assistant sociologists, 5 draughtmen, 3 surveyors and 4 chainmen.(15)

There have been basic changes in this centralized planning machine after the introduction of the 1971 People's Local Government Act. According to the act, planning power was shifted to the Province Commissioners and the People's Province Executive

(15) Ministry of Housing, 'Memorandum on Planning', R/40, C.R.O., Khartoum, 1969. (in Arabic)

Councils. This step was associated with establishment of provincial planning offices to assist local town councils in preparing development plans. However, in the absence of qualified and trained planners, once again municipal engineers have become responsible for town planning. But the C.T.P.B. remained as the approving power at the national level (Fig. 5.1)

In 1980 the structure of the planning machine in the country, and in Khartoum urban area in particular changes radically by the creation of Regional Government and the New Administrative Law for Khartoum Province. Planning Power and the heirarchy of planning machine at both macro and micro levels were altered through four main features:

1. The abolition of the CTPB as the central planning body and limiting its fuctions and powers to Khartoum province.

2. Regional Ministers of Housing and Services hold the responsibility of planning in their respective regions.

3. In Khartoum Province, the Planning and Housing units have been shifted to the central Ministry of Construction and Public Works before the introduction of the system of Regional Government, but those arrangements remained after 1980.

(15) Ministry of Housing, 'Memorandum on planning', R/40, C.R.O., Khartoum, 1969.

Fig. 5.1   PLANNING MACHINE IN THE SUDAN

TOWN PLANNING

THE MINISTER

VILLAGE PLANNING

CENTRAL TOWN PLANNING BOARD

STANDING COMMITTEE

TOWN PLANNING

EX. OFFICIO MEMBERS
SPECIALIZED MEMBERS

CHIEF TOWN
PLANNER

MUNICIPAL AND TOWN COUNCILS

PROVINCIAL
AUTHORITY

------->   PLANNING POWER BETWEEN 1956 AND 1970

PLANNING POWER UNDER PEOPLES LOCAL
GOVERNMENT AND REGIONAL GOVERNMENTS
(1971 - 80)
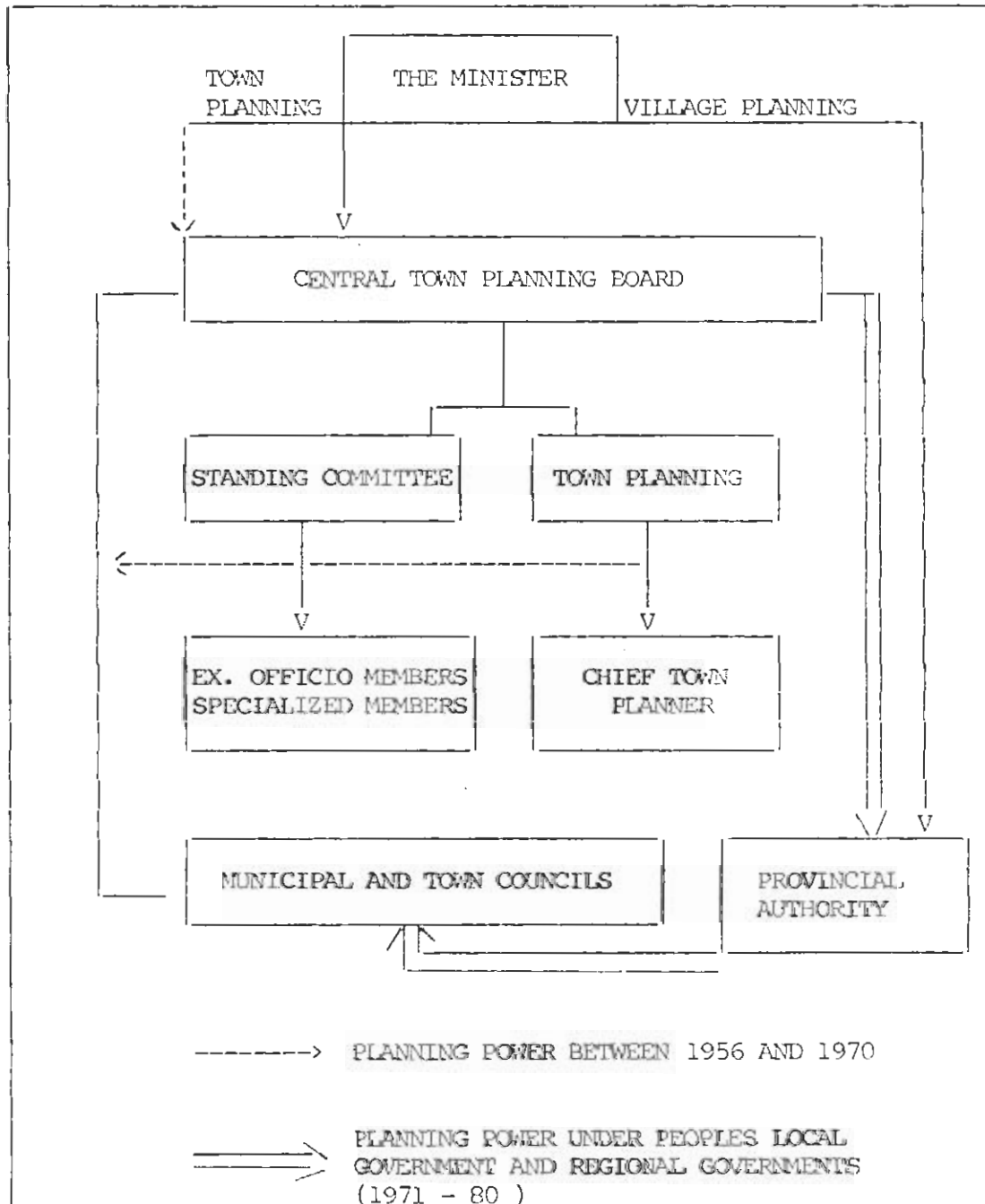
4. Planning Committees have been established at the departmental level in the Central Ministry and at the local level in the district and area councils in each of Three Towns.

Planning committees in Khartoum urban area were organized at three levels as follows: (Fig. 5:2)

1. Khartoum Province Town Planning Committee at the ministerial level (K.P.T.P.C.),

2. Technical Planning Committee at the provincial level.

3. Local Planning Committees, at the level of town and area councils.

Although planning powers have been distributed among the three committees according to the significance of planning affairs, the composition and function of each of the three committees were made to represent the heirarchical system of town management under the People's Local Government Act without any change in the concept and content of planning.

In each of the four districts in Khartoum Province (Khartoum, Omdurman, Khartoum North and East of the Nile) a local planning committee was set up, known as Works and Buildings Committee.

Fig. 5.2.   PLANNING MACHINE IN KHARTOUM URBAN
AREA AFTER 1980
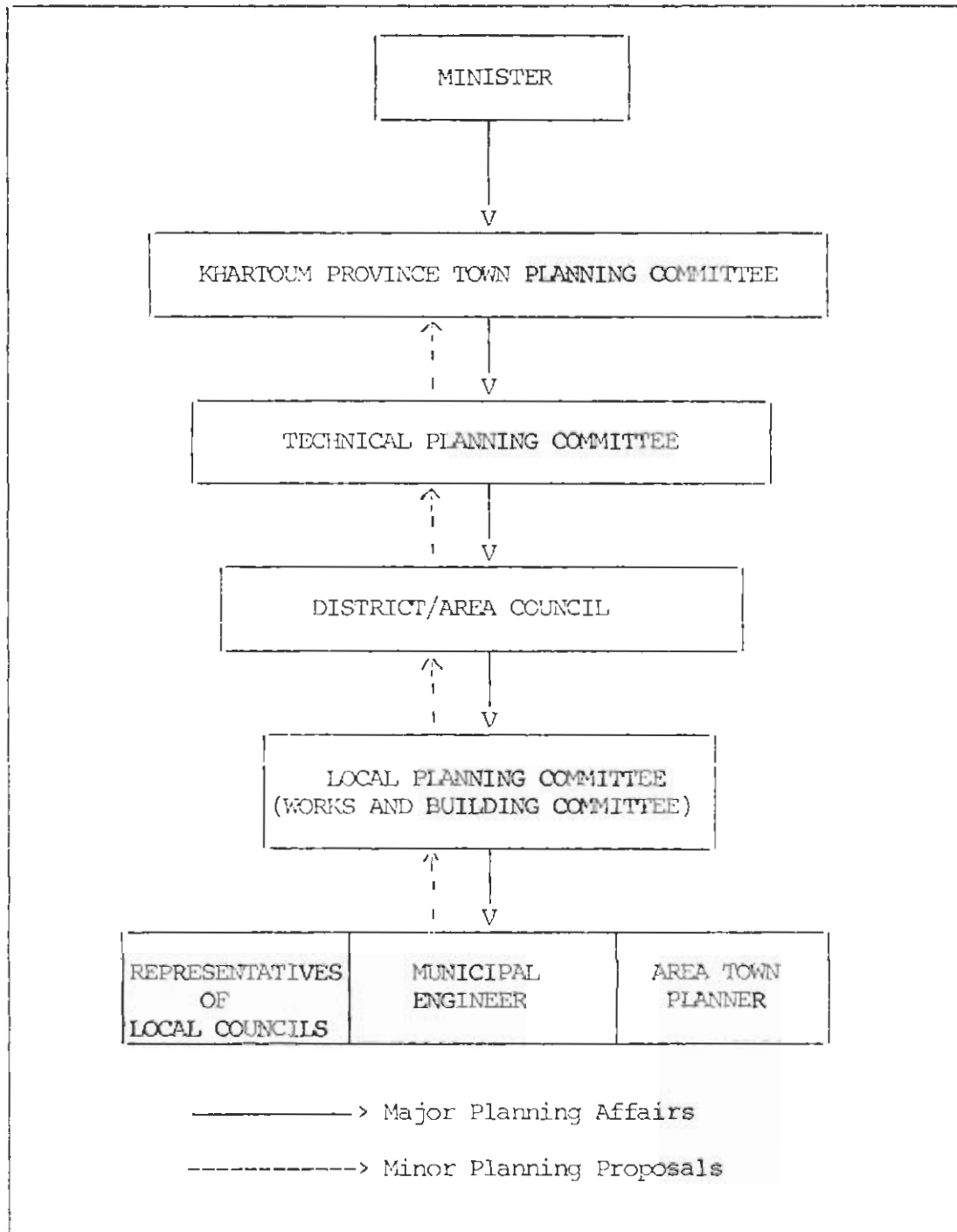
The Local Planning Committee is composed of the Municipal Engineer, Chief Surveyor, Health Inspector, Lands Inspector, Area Town Planner and two representatives of the people's Town Councils. At this level, the Local Committee had an approving and refusing power on minor planning activities, such as location of local markets, bakeries, groceries and the like, in residential areas. Other major planning affairs, such as location of new industrial areas and change of land-use, would be processed by the Technical Committee at the provincial headquarters. The Technical Committee is composed of Director of Town and Village Planning and representatives of Land, Survey, Health, Sewage, Roads, Water, Electricity and Municipal Engineering at the provincial level. This Committee was set up purposely to act as a coordinating body between the Local Planning Committee and the Khartoum Province Town Planning Committee. The purpose was to facilitate dealing with day-to-day approvals required by the public on matters which were basically confined to change of land-use from residential to commercial around central markets of the Three Towns, and agricultural land to residential in the outside of the urban area.(16)

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(16) Ministry of Works and Public Construction, Housing Department, Khartoum Province Town Planning Committee, 'Annual Report 1982'.

The Khartoum Province Town Planning Committee (KPTPC) was
set up in 1981 to look into the problems of planning in Khartoum
urban area, and to supervise the implementation of the Regional
and Master Plan for Khartoum urban area which was prepared by
Mefit. In addition, the KPTPC is responsible for coordination of
decision-making and planning implementation. As mentioned above,
decision making follows the administrative heirarchy from the
Local Committee upwards to the Minister, while implementation
processes require co-ordination between the KPTPC and the
Minister downwards to the Departments of Land, Land Registration,
Survey, and Municipal Engineering, consecutively.(Fig. 5.3) The
membership of the K.P.T.P.C. includes the members of the
Techinical Committee beside representives of Ministry of Finance
and Economic Planning, Armed Forces and the four District
Councils of the Province.(17)

Main functions of the KPTPC are wide-ranging and inlcude
urban and rural planning in the province. The committee is
empowered to,

1. approve the detailed development plans for undeveloped urban
    lands within the projected national housing scheme and Mefit
    Master Plan,
2. approve replanning schemes of the old parts of the three
    Towns and the adjacent villages in Khartoum urban area,

(17) Interview with the Secretary, K.P.T.P.C. (August 1983).

Fig. 5.3. PLANNING AND IMPLEMENTATION
          AGENCIES IN KHARTOUM URBAN AREAS

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+-------------------------------------------+
|                                           |
|          PLANNING AUTHORITIES             |
|                                           |
+-------------------------------------------+
                    |
                    V
+-------------------------------------------+
|                                           |
|          DEPARTMENT OF LAND               |
|                                           |
+-------------------------------------------+
                    |
                    V
+-------------------------------------------+
|                                           |
|          LAND REGISTRATION                |
|                                           |
+-------------------------------------------+
                    |
                    V
+-------------------------------------------+
|                                           |
|          DEPARTMENT OF SURVEY             |
|                                           |
+-------------------------------------------+
                    |
                    V
+-------------------------------------------+
|          MUNICIPAL ENGINEERING            |
|               (TANZEEM)                   |
+-------------------------------------------+
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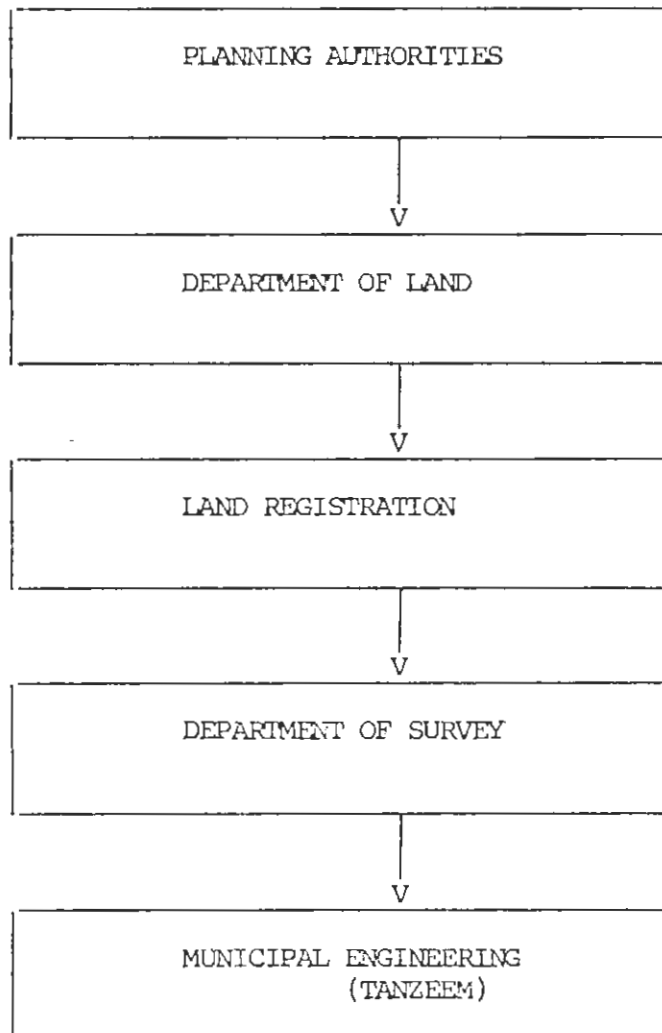
3. amend and create regulations concerned with health, safety
   and buildings, and to,

4. demolish, replan or legalize squatter settelements,(18)

However, the creation of varying levels of planning powers
and functions in Khartoum urban area have not changed the
conceptual framework of planning because the new planning machine
has been unable to broaden the field of planning under the
existing planning legislation. Moreover, there has been no direct
link between the whole urban planning system and land
administration.

5.3. Planning and Urban Land Administration:

Land Legislation and administration are of vital importance
to the attainment of the goal of efficient land use planning,
through which the over all objectives of planning can be
achieved. However, one of the main problems that affect the
planning system in Khartoum urban area is absence of integration
between land legislation and planning legislation. With the
exception of the unregistered Land Act 1970, all Land Laws in the
Sudan date back to the early years of the colonial era. Moreover,
early planning regulations were considered as a part of Land Law.

(18) Ministry of Construction and Public Works, Housing
     Department, 'The Khartoum Province Town Planning Committee,
     3/3/B, 1982'.

This situation was a result of dealing with town land use within subsequent land legislations created to organize urban land according to land tenure and classification.

It has been mentioned earlier that the colonial policy toward rural and urban land settlement was a determinant factor in rural decline and non-directed urban growth by means of migrant labour force and land acquisition. Land Legislations behind this policy which are still the existing Land Laws are:

1. The Town Land Ordinance (1899).

2. The Demarcation and Survey Ordinance (1905).

3. The Natives Disposition of Lands Registration Ordinance (1918).

4. The Disposal of Unoccupied Lands Ordinance (1922).

5. Classification of Land Ordinance (1925).

6. The Land Settlement and Registration Ordinance (1925).

7. The Pre-emption Ordinance (1928).

8. The Land Acquistion ordinance (1930).

9. Disposition of Town Land Ordinance (1947).

Beside these Land Legislations, there were specified Land Laws for the Gezira (1927), the Gash Delta (1918) Mines and Quarries (1950), and forests and antiquities (1905). The Town Replanning Ordinance 1950, and the Rent Restriction Ordinance, 1953, are also considered as legislation for control of land.

The system of land ownership inherited from the colonial administration was complex. There was uncertainty in connection with unoccupied land which was considered to be the property of the government until the contrary was proved. However, the ownership by the government of unregistered land-occupied and unoccupied-was obsolete. The spatio-economic consequences of such land policy were unsatisfactory at both rural and urban levels. In rural agricultural areas many wealthy town merchants in the central rain-land of the country succeeded to make wealth by establishing plantations of sesame, groundnuts and millet. The situation in Khartoum urban area was similar when wealth merchant and greedy people were able to reserve large areas of land around the Three Towns for themselves and their families without permission of the authorities. Speculation in government Land has become one of the most important means for making large fortunes in Khartoum urban area despite the promulgation of the unregistered Land Act, 1970.

The 1970 Act has transfered the ownership of unregistered land, occupied or unoccupied, all over the country to the government, a decision which was obsolete in the 1925 Land Law. Although the Act claimed that it has brought a drastic change in the concept of land ownership, two facts are worth mentioning for its failure:

1. The idea and objective of the Act were actually not different from the 1944 Amendment of the 1925 Land

Settlement and Registration Ordinance which stated that,

" The Registrar General with the consent of the Legal
Secretary, may cause to be surveyed and registered in
the name of the Government any land on being satisfied
that,

a. it is waste, forest or unoccupied land; and
b. no other persons claim or excercise any rights over
it,"(19)

2. The Act has provided for a very important exception in which
land was subject to use or enjoyment by private presons for
twenty years.(20)

In accordance with the colonial Land Laws, the principles of
urban land administration were expressed in the Local Government
Ordinance 1937 (for municipalities and towns). Such principles
have become the bases for town planning regulations and local
orders, as mentioned earlier, and have been retained to date.
Article (7) of the Ordinance stated that the drawing of a general

(19)The Sudan Gazette, No. 727, May 1943, P. 16.

(20) S. M. A. El-Mahdi, Op. Cit., 1971, Section 3.

plan for every town on the projected land-use system was to be drawn in accordance with land registration and land classification ordinance. This policy on land administration has been retained even when master plans were introduced by Doxiadis(1958) and Mefit(1974).

In such policy, land was not made readily available to arrange economic and social development in a form that can meet the community needs. In consequence, planning activities and management of infrastructures have lagged behind the growth of the urban area.

The inherited and existing land laws are thus characterized by two main features which are obvious obstacles on the way of a proper urban land administration and a positive land use planning:

1. Duality of land ownership in urban land between free and lease-hold. Compensation on free hold lands has been the major hindrance in the way of replanning the old parts of Khartoum urban area, and urban expansion on agricultural lands. For instance, the government paid more than a million pounds for land acquired for Soba dairy, south of the Green Belt of Khartoum. However, land ownership according to the free-hold system has contributed strongly to the ineffectiveness of the existing legislation, institutions

and organizational framework of planning. Inefficiencies of definite policies for land allocation are associated with the existence of free-hold lands in the most strategic areas in the Three Towns.

In Khartoum town, the land between the railway station and the Blue Nile is free-hold, with the exception of Mogren area and government buildings. The greater parts of the suburban villages to the east and southwest of Khartoum town are also free-hold lands. In Khartoum North, the old settlements of Hillat Hamad and Hillat Khogali are freehold lands, as well as Shambat area. Land on Tutti Island is also freehold. (Fig. 5.4).

In Omdurman, all of the older parts of the town (Mourada, Beit el-Mal, Abu Rouf, the market and the Land around it) are free hold. However, land of the villages around Khartoum urban area which have been affected by urban encroachment is governmental because it is neither agricultural nor registered land. But land speculation is very active in such lands.

2. Absence of defined rules for land development. Land Legislations were concerned with land ownership and registration rather than land development. Spontaneous development of economic, social and services activities have not been checked by any of the Land Laws because of the complete separation between land legislation and land use

FIG. 5.4   LAND OWNERSHIP IN KHARTOUM URBAN AREA

N

Omdurman

R. Nile

Khartoum North

B. Nile

W. Nile

Khartoum

Leasehold land (built-up area & open spaces)

Freehold land

0   3 km
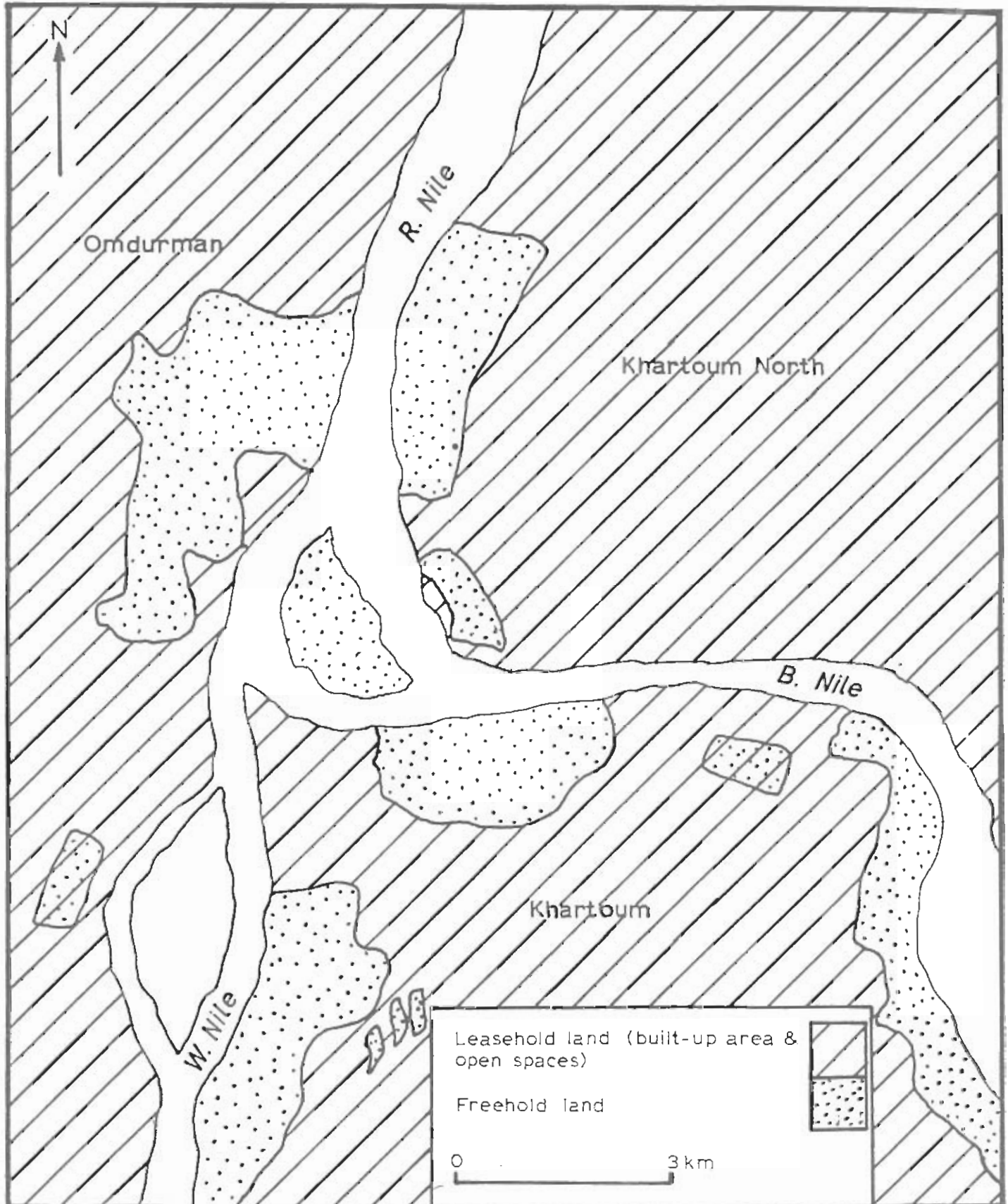
Adapted from Doxiadis Master Plan (1958)

planning. However, Land Laws are expected to be relevant to the various activities and disciplines involved in land development, such as land economics, town planning, centralization and decentralization of the politico-administrative organizations, engineering, social welfare and landscape architecture.

Another problem in Land Laws and land administration in relation to land use planning is that there are four disintegarted groups of Land Laws governing the use and development of urban land. Moreover, each of these groups of laws is administered by a different governmental body, as follows: (Fig. 5.5.)

1. Land Laws concerned with disposition are administered by Land Department, an autonoumous body in the cabinet.

2. Planning law is administered by provincial and ministerial committees.

3. Laws and regulation for construction are administered by the Area Council and municipal engineers.

4. Land Laws concerned with pre-emption are administered by the judiciary.(21)

    According to laws of disposition of urban land of 1923, 1947 and 1948, Land was to be leased for residential and commercial

(21) Ministry of Construction and Public Works, Housing Department, 'Memorandum on Land Laws, 3/3/B, 1982'.(in Arabic).

Fig. 5.5.   LAND LAWS AND ADMINISTRATION
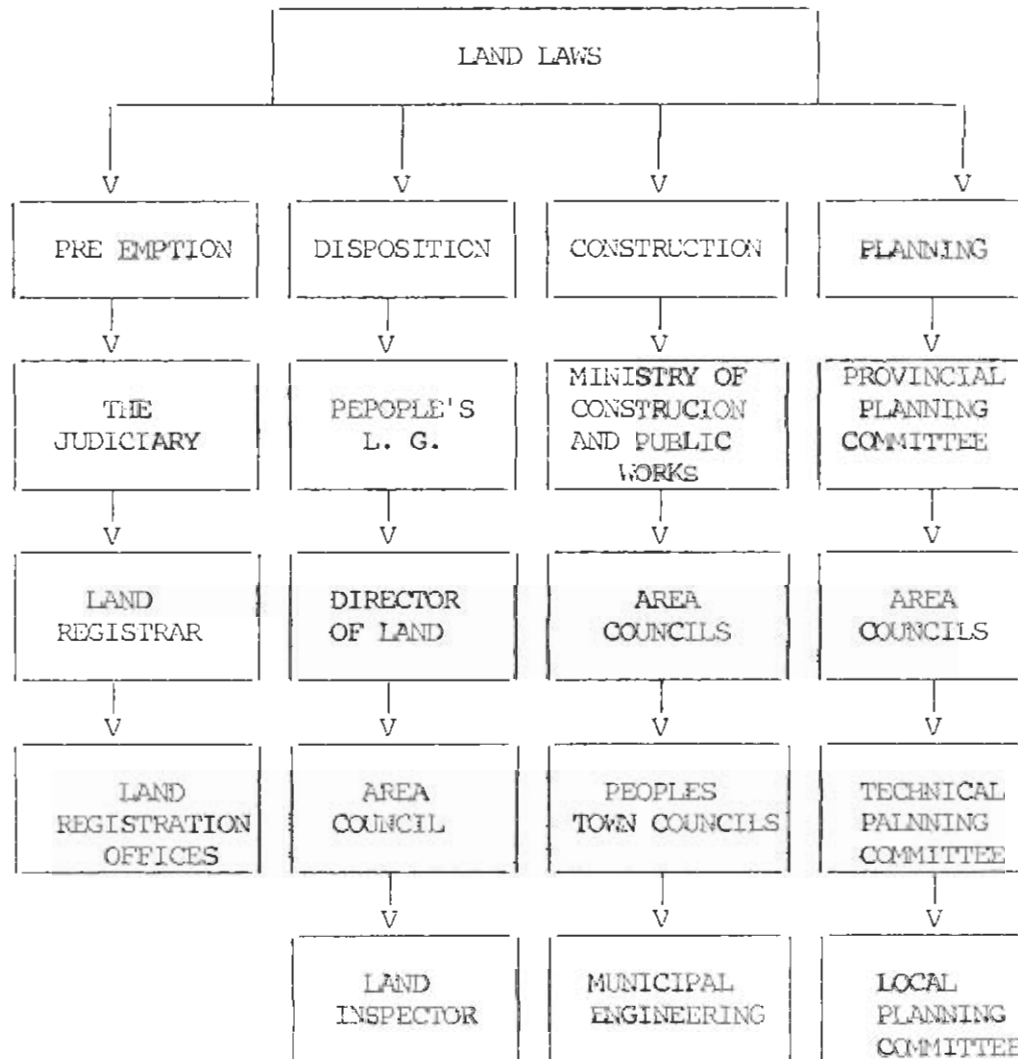
purposes through public auction. But disposal of plots for industrial use and housing of low-income citizens are excluded from such auction since 1960. However, local authorities and land inspectors have been empowered to lease land for schools, clubs, mosques, health centres, filling stations and other community public buidlings at a nominal price including the cost of services of land development, water, roads and electricity. Rules governing land development, according to land classification, have been the most tangible proof for widening disparities in areal and residential development in Khartoum urban area. The development of slums for the masses and the development of par excellence residential areas for the wealthy and the elite is taking place within the legal context of land and planning laws. (Fig. 5.6.) Lease periods, size of plots, building materials and level of services vary considerably according to classification of land and land legislation at the central authority level and by-law at the local authority level. Lease periods are forty years in the third class area, seventy years in second class area and eighty years in first class area. Size of plots also vary from 200 to 300 square meters in third class area, 400 - 600 square meters in second class area. It has also been stated in the Building Regualtions 1923, and Disposition of urban land 1947, that in third class area, services to be provided are water, electricity, open drainage and one main paved road to the town centre.

FIG. 5.6   KHARTOUM URBAN AREA:
            CLASSIFICATION OF RESIDENCE.

First class
Second class
Third class
S Squatter areas

OMDURMAN

N°
15°40'

River Nile

KHARTOUM
NORTH

KHARTOUM
S S S S

White Nile

Blue Nile

15°35'

15°30'

0   5 Km.

32°30'E°   32°35'
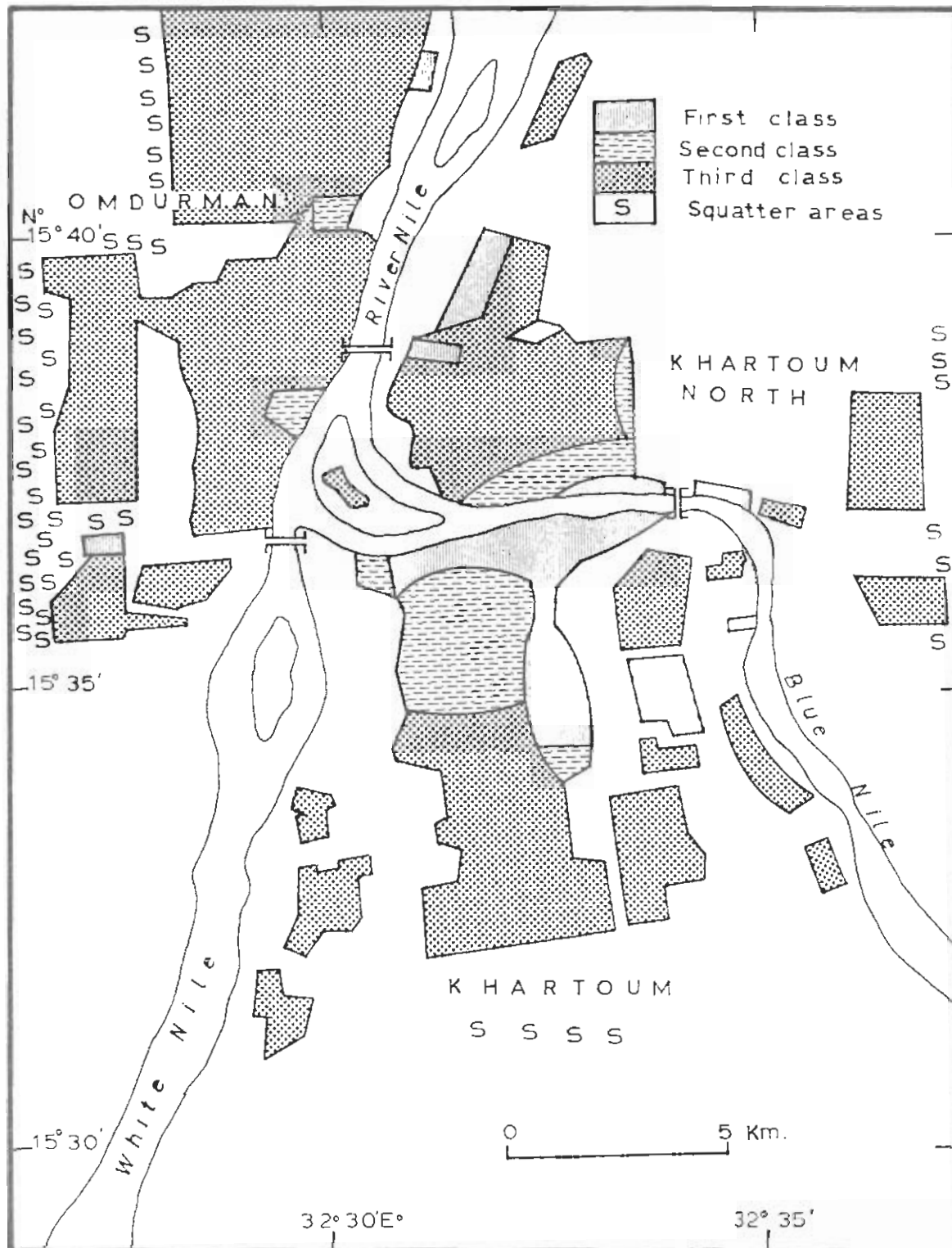
Fieldwork

In second class area services include water, electricity, covered drainage, public sewerage and paving of all roads.

In First calss area services are similar to the second class with the addition of paving footpaths and planting trees on roads.(22)

Apart from these legalized disparities in land development, land legislation and administration are not integrated with planning legislation in regard to the unplanned squatter settlements which are growing fast on governmental land with serious impacts on both land and people, as shall be seen later.

(22) Omer M. El-Agraa and Adil M. Ahmed, Human Settlement in Arab countries , a study for the International Institute for Environment and Development, London, 1978, Khartoum University Press, (no date), PP. 84-85.

CHAPTER VI

Planning Experience in Khartoum Urban Area

The history of the planning process in Greater Khartoum in the post colonial period has been confined to,

1.   the introduction of two Master Plans guided and designed by foreign consultants,

2.   replanning some suburban villages and squatter settlements and the old parts of the Three Towns,

3.   supervision of the spontanious housing extensions within the adopted housing policy,

The purpose or this chapter is to explain how the failure or the abandonment of these projects are attibuted to the conceptual, institutional and physical-economic framework of planning. Surprisingly enough, the planning authorities are neither involved directly in housing programmes nor in provision of social facilities or in replanning schemes. However, the Master Plans prepared by doxiadis(1) in 1958 and Mefit(2) in 1974

(1)   Doxiadis Associates, The Future of the Capital of the Sudan: A long Term Program and a Master plan for the Development of the Capital, Athens, 1959.

(2)   Sudan Government, People's Local Government in collaboration with Mefit S.P.A. Consulting Engineers, Regional Plan of Khartoum and Master Plan for the Three Towns, Rome, 1975.

been documented in official reports, because the planning authority was directly involved in them.

6.1. Foreign Planning Consultancy

6.1.1. Doxiadis Master Plan

The Government of the Republic of Sudan, Ministry of Local Government entrusted Doxiadis Associates Consulting Engineers of Athens in 1958 with the preparation of a Master Programme and a Master Plan for Greater Khartoum. In the agreement, and in accordance with the directives of the Central Town Planning Board, Doxiadis Associates were to prepare the final report within ten and a half months. In 1959 the preliminary report was submitted to the government who approved it with a minor alteration, namely increasing the minimum size of residential plots.

The Doxiadis final report degan with the analysis of the existing conditions in 1958. This was followed by the set of urban problems and the policies to be followed. Finally, the Master Plan was drawn according to the population forecast, the area needed, amelioration of the existing conditions and the available funds from both public and private sectors. Thus, the report was prepared to be a guide to the Central Government and local authorities in each of the Three Towns for the implementation of the Master Plan.

The analysis of the existing conditions in 1958 covered the ekistic ties of Greater Khartoum in the country, pattern of urban land use, population analysis, transportation and communications, housing conditions, community facilities and buildings. As a result of this analysis, the report included a long list of problems and recommendations:

1.   Incorporation of the villages laying out side the municipal boundaries.

2.   Expansion of the municipal boundaries,

3.   Incorporation and utilization of Tutti Island.

4.   Rational zoning of various land uses and formation of integrated communities.

5.   Creation of a green belt.

6.   Construction of new bridges.

7.   Improvement of the internal communication system.

8.   Relocation of the military areas, the airport, the railway station, the river docks and the zoo.

9.   Improvement of public transport.

10.   Amelioration of about 6000 houses.

11.   Replacement of about 6600 houses.

12.   Creation of housing schemes for workers.

13.   Proper and rational distribution of community buildings.

14.   Provision of adequate open green spaces.

15.   Installation of community facilities.

16. More economic utilization of the available land by increasing building activities.(3)

It was apparent that the principles of planning adopted in the preparation of the master plan were completely different from those prinicples inherited from the colonial administration. This theoretical shift was not unexpected because the project, the master programme and the master plan were supervised and designed under the direction of Dr. C. A. Doxiadis who contributed effectively, through the Athens Ekistics Centre, to the new post-war planning ideas. Such ideas were against the enslavement of man by unjust and uncontrolled urban conditions.(4) Doxiadis expressed clearly in preparing other master progammes and plans in the world that the task of planning according to the principles of their centre was to control all the system of city life for the sake of all people.(5)

(3) Doxiadis Associates, Op. Cit., P. 131.

(4) C. A. Doxiadis, Between Dystopia and Utopia, London, 1966, P.5.

(5) C.A. Doxiadis, "Order in Our thinking: The Need for a Total Approach to the Anthropocosmos" Ekistics, No. 200, 1972, PP. 43 - 44.

Accordingly, the report advised the government that a community planned on purely economical lines or on unecnomic basis was definitely unsatisfactorily planned because of the absence of unity of purpose in planning process. Unity of purpose in planning would create satisfactory and well designed urban communities through careful planning, from all points of view: the economic, the social, the political, the cultural, the technical and the aesthetic. The report went on to justify the need for a master programme built upon three types of development for the present and the future:

1. Amelioration and replanning of the existing areas, houses, sewerage system, internal community roads and other amenities such as parks, green belts, open spaces and gardens.

2. A complete replacement of houses in poor conditions.

3. New expansions of the town on different principles and outlook of planning, especially the creation of new integrated housing communities related to particular production areas and basic amenities.(6)

(6) Doxiadis Associates, Op. Cit., 1959, PP. 136 - 137.

A structure plan for the required layout of the whole urban area was proposed (Fig. 6.1), while types and sizes of urban communities were suggested in a hierarchical manner. The proposed structure is different from the existing system by all measures of spatial structures, specially housing communities and direction of growth.

According to this coherent and rational proposed structural plan, the report recommended that the Khartoum urban area was to be calssified into six community classes, and the size of each community would determine the degree of services for the inhabitants. Bigger and specialized services were to be rendered by bigger communities in a hierarchical manner. Thus, at the end, interrelationships between urban communities of several orders would become rationally programmed in this way, which was based on Central Place Theory:

1. The community class I was planned to be the smallest urban community with 20-25 families in the same income group, and with a square for children and elderly people.

2. The community class II was planned for 75-100 families, or 3-4 community class I, with a play ground.

3. The urban community class III was supposed to contain 300-400 families. The connecting elements were the elementary school and the shopping centre within a walking distance.

FIG. 6.1   PROJECTED STRUCTURE FOR KHARTOUM
URBAN AREA BY DOXIADIS (1958 - 83)

To Korti

To Shendi

R. Nile

N

B. Nile

W. Nile

To W. Medani

To Dueim

Work

Residence

Recreation

4 km
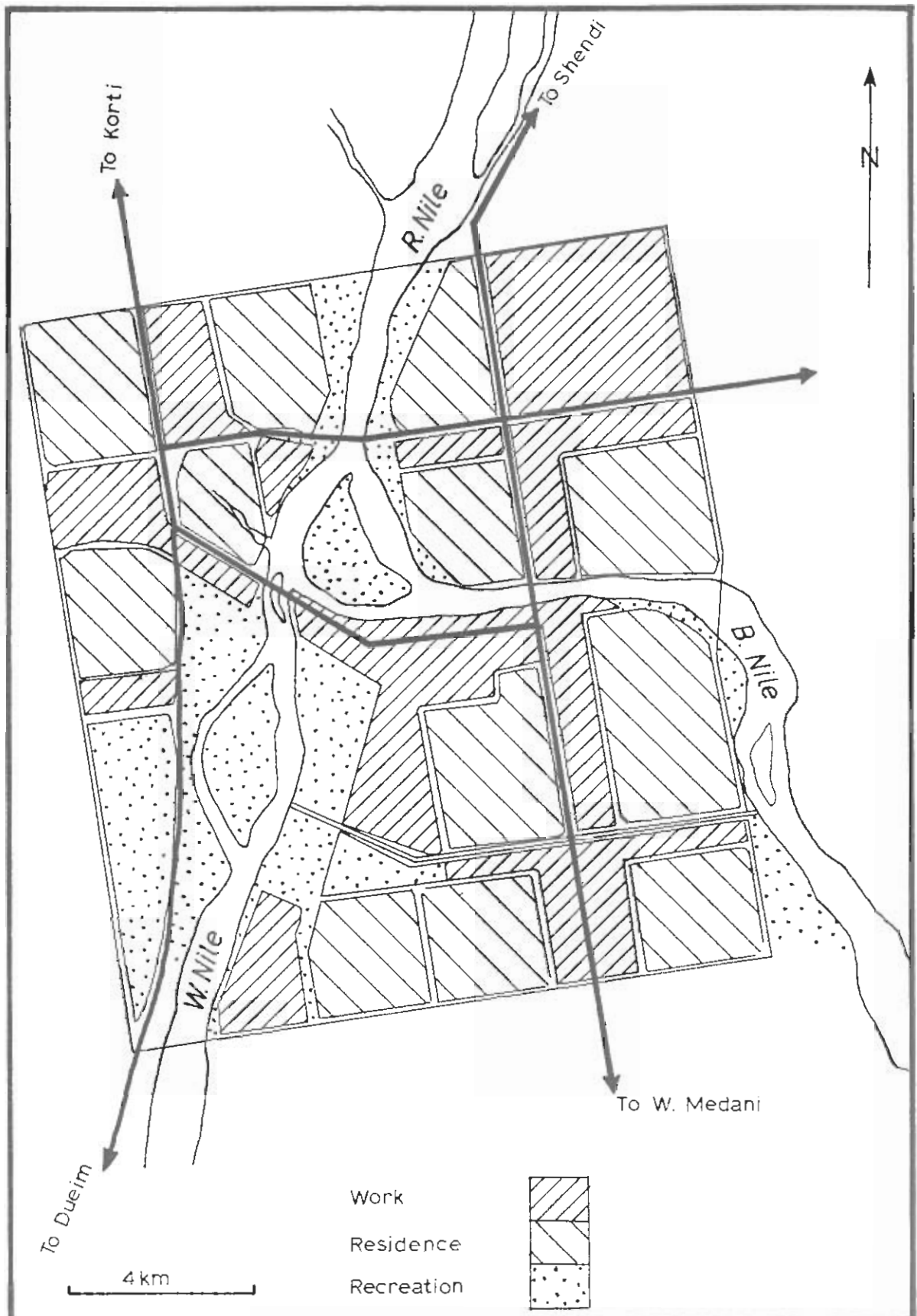
Source : Doxiadis - 263

4. The community class IV which was also designed as a purely residential area, consisted of 1000-1600 families, or 5000-8000 persons. In this neighbourhood the connecting elements were suggested to be a secondary school, a shopping centre, a civic centre and cultural-recreational centre. This basic urban residential community in the town would also contain a sporting centre and a public park.

5. The community class V was designed as a district of 30000 persons with a major business centre and civic centre which would serve the surrounding neighbourhoods.

6. The community class VI would contain work places and specialized services for several communities class V.

Thus, taking each of the Three Towns as a community class VI, the whole urban area was designed in the Master plan as a community class VII. The final report also recommended that building and construction were not only for the present but also for the future, and therefore, flexibility and adaptability were stressed because of the forecasted changes of the demographic, social and economic conditions of the urban communities.(7)

(7) Ibid, P. 144-5.

As a long-term project, the targets of the Doxiadis Master Plan and Master Programme were summarized in the following points:

1. The Master Plan was designed to serve an eventual population of 793000 by 1983 (359000 in Khartoum, 267000 in Omdurman, and 167000 in Khartoum North).

2. Clearance of congested and poor houses where undesirable conditions were prevalent.

3. A programme for amelioration in existing areas with relatively better conditions.

4. Erection of higher order community buildings in the centre of each of the Three Towns; and expansion of these centres towards the river for the purpose of their connection.

5. Special attention would be paid to open spaces and community buildings; similarly, governmental and agricultural lands would be preserved.

6. Reducing the length of roads and the costs of provision of services by designing narrow plot frontage.

The Master Plan was designed on the whole existing area beside the creation of new industrial and residential areas. One of the main features of the Master Plan was a main business-administrative area in each of the Three Twons, with a main N-S artery and a secondary double E-W axis, while residential

neighbourhoods were to be grouped on either sides, along with the required community buildings. In this regard, it was suggested that land and community calssification would be according to four main income groups of high, higher medium, lower medium and low.

The Doxiadis final report discussed the administrative, legislative and financial considerations required for the realization of the Master Programme and the implementation of the Master Plan. The report advised the government that a responsible and powerful planning authority was to be established at both the central and local levels. It was also recommended that foreign experts and consultants would help the planning authority during the first phase only. Also, the legislative measures were examined by the report which pointed out that the existing planning law should be re-viewed and adjusted to the requirements of the Master Plan in accordance with the proposed New Zonning Ordinance. In addition, the report encouraged the enactment of measures for the mobilization of citizens in the stream of planning process. The report concluded that " without these administrative and legislative measures, the plan will remain a plan on paper only ".(9)

The Doxiadis planning team collected data from the concerned authorities for the purpose of preparation of cost of development.

(9) Ibid. P. 174.

The estimated cost for implementation of the major project of the
Master Plan was 421 million pounds as presented from the annual
government allocation on housing, services and construction, as
well as from private investment on housing and construction. The
breakdown of the estimated cost revealed that the realization of
the plan would rely more on private investment, as shown in table
6.1.

Table 6.1.

Breakdown of Cost of Development of Doxiadis Master Plan (in
millions Sudanese Pounds)

MAJOR PROJECTS	GOV. INVESTMENT	P. INVESTMENT
Development of Khartoum	98.0	142.5
Development of Khartoum N.	32.1	55.0
Development of Omdurman	41.2	52.2
Total ------>	171.3	249.7

Source: Doxiadis Associates (1959).

The Failure of Doxiadis Master Plan

Although in typically and theoretically urban planning the
project was well designed and its objectives were sound from both
the formal and functional structures, but the failure and
abandonment of the project was not unexpected. This was so
because of many reasons stemming from the socio-political basis
of the society and the national spatial development policy
adopted by the successive governments. These two fundamental
factors were responsible for shaping the character and process of
urbanization in the country, and were associated with lack of
government commitment to planning objectives as means of just
social welfare.

There were three fundamentals in Dixiadis Master Plan which
formed the bases for the implementation and realization of the
project:

1.   The size and growth of papulation.
2.   Space occupation and the new zonation policy for urban land.
3.   Financing the project.

These three fundamentals which were built upon estimation
and forecasting were destroyed by the effects of the national
spatial development policy and the uneven and uncontrolled trend
of urban growth in the country.

However, this was associated with the fact that the concept and the character of the Master Plan were typically urban, without connections between urban and rural, or regional and national levels.

Size and growth of the population of Khartoum urban area which constituted the first fundamental of the Master Progamme recorded a sharp deviation during and at the end of the programme period. The enormous discrepency between the original forecast and the actual growth of population which resulted from the constant inflow of rural migrants, was remarkable in the changes of gowth rates, as shown in table 6.2.

Table 6.2.

Forecasted and actual growth rates of population in the Three Towns (1965-74)

Town	Doxiadis Forecasted Growth rate	Actual growth rate 1964-74
Khartoum	4.8 %	8.9 %
Omdurman	3.5 %	6.2 %
Khartoum North	6.0 %	8.7 %
Average	4.7 %	7.9 %

Source: Doxiadis Associates (1958) Housing Survey (1964)

Population Census (1973

It followed that at the end of the programme period (1983), the populaton of Greater Khartoum reached 1, 343, 000 instead of the anticipated number of 793000.

The second fundamental of the plan was concerned with policy of land zonation and space occupation estimates for the development of the plan. In this regard, no effort, will or action were made to change land laws, land classification, land zonation or land administration. In consequence, and because of rapid urban growth and land speculation, the deviations from the space occupations estimates were very great. It was apparent that the difference between the land occupation of the various uses as planned for by Doxiadis Plan, and the situation in the Mid-1970's was enormous. (table 6.3)

Table 6.3

Land occupancy: deviation from Doxiadis Plan

Land-Use	Doxiadis Plan		Existing Land-Use 1974	
	Area in Hectar	% of the total Area	Area in Hectar	% of the Total Area
Residential	7750	54	12770	82
Industrial	1930	13	1335	8
Commercial Admin. Etc	3300	23	1025	6
Major open spaces	1560	10	510	3
Total ──>	14540	100 %	15640	100 %

Source: Doxiadis Associated (1959) and Mefit S.P.A. (1974).

A major difficulty was financing the project. Apart from the unanticipated growth of population and space occupation which hindered the implementaion of the project, there was serious shortage in allocation of funds for the realization of the plan. As mentioned above, the report advise that 68 percent of the cost of development would come from private investment. However, the reliance on the private sector was a destructive element in the project because private investment throughout the history of man, was motivated by profit-making rather than by the welfare of society. The contribution of the government to the cost of development of the project was estimated in the report according to the annual government allocation for housing, services and construction for 25 years. In the absence of overall economic and spatial planning in the country by that time such allocation were not practical. The introduction of economic planning after 1960 did not change the situation because the share of the public sector in the gross national investment was directed to major development schemes, while very small funds were available for programmes of urban improvement.

The Doxiadis Master Plan was an attempt to move away with planning from the strictly land-use approach of the colonial administration. But the failure of the project was not unexpected because the attention of both the governement and the planning team was focused on the technical side of the problem. Thus, the negligance of the socio-political bases and economic changes

required before such a planning change was devised, left the plan as a drawing excercise.

6.1.2. MEFIT Regional and Master Plan of Khartoum:

Mefit Plan for Khartoum region, which was formulated in 1974, came into existence when the concept of palnning in the West was changed in the late 1960s from the post-war approach of master plans to the new approach of development plans. When the Doxiadis Master Plan was prepared in the late 1950s, the object of master plans in the West was to rebuild the houses destroyed during the War and to ensure that human shelter was put to the use which was best from the point of view of social welfare. Such master plans were, therefore, rigid in the size of population and space requirement, while the whole urban question and problems of rural drift to towns were not put into full consideration. Development plans were different from master plans because the former were concerned with both the human side of the individuals and the economic side of the whole region. Thus, the analysis of the occupational structure, the community needs, and the economic-communications activities became more important in the formulation of development plans than the forecast of the population size and the number of the residential plots required. In this new planning approach, it has been argued that human behaviour and attraction to towns are beyond control, and hence, there should be broad classification of land use in forms of urban sectors without the full details encountered in master

plans; and such structural plans would be revised every five years.

This new approach to planning was the point of departure in the current regional plan and master plan of Khartoum prepared in 1974 by Mefit Consulting Engineers of Rome and entitled "Khartoum Regional Plan and Master Plan for the Three Towns".

This second document in the history of planning of Greater Khartoum in the post-colonial area was published in 1977 by Mefit S.P.A. Consulting Engineers in collabration with the Ministry of People's Local Government. As mentioned above, the regional plan and the master plan for Khartoum were prepared as structural and development plans, with the following new points of departure:

1. The consideration of the regional plan of Khartoum as complementary to the master plan; the two together were considered as single instrument for development (Fig. 6.2.).

2. The introduction of a comperhensive approach for the study of economic, physical and urban parameters of the area.

3. Defining the gap between the population's needs and aspirations, and assessing the present ability of the region to meet these needs and aspirations.

4. Projecting such gaps towards the future in the light of population growth and activities communications growth in order to assist the authorities in formulating the appropriate policies.

N

Existing Residential Area
Residential Development
Industrial Area
Large Services
Agricultral Area
Green Belt
New Urban Entity
Sewage Plant
V University
A Airport
Road

0   10Km.

A

V
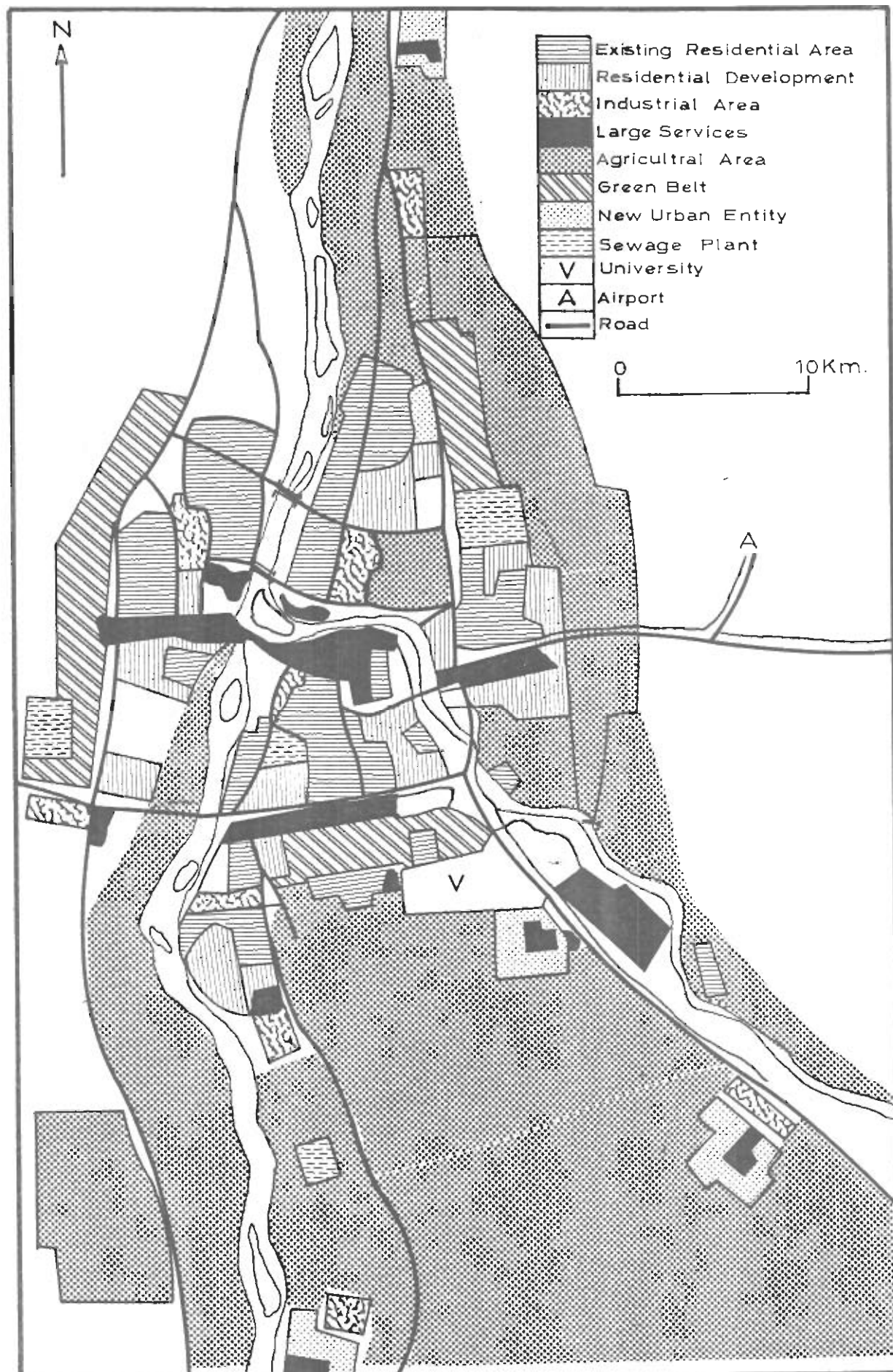
(Mefit 1975)

5.   Defining goals, objectives and programmes of activities and communication in accordance with the strategic function of Khartoum region in the economic take-off of the nation(10).

The preparation of the Regional and Master Plans was preceded by a comperhensive analysis and diagnosis of the territory, the population, the economic activities and the communications system. The analysis was carried out by an Italian team and some Sudanese experts. The findings of the diagnosis were based on large-scale sample surveys on social, commercial and agricultural conditions, as well as family consumption. In addition, the report claimed that the connection between the problems of Khartoum and those of the nation was put into consideration. In this regard, the report encouraged the enhancement of the functioning of Khartoum as the administrative centre for directing all the natural resources of country. This was so, because the main resource of Khartoum region and urban area are the human factor, the existence of industrial and commercial establishments, the availability of urban services and the infrastructural system. For instance, the report prepared a separate scheme in conjuction with the Regional plan and Master Plan for the purpose of making Khartoum a centre of tourism to carry out the role of managing the outstanding environmental values offered at the national level.(11)

(10) Mefit S.P.A., Op. Cit., 1974, PP. 3-5.

(11) Mefit S.P.A., Tourism Plan, Rome, 1977.

The Mefit report made it clear that the Khartoum plan was not only a satisfactory design on the formal level, but also a physical expression of the national economic development through the economic choices adopted, namely the centralist tendency of development and input-output model. Accordingly, two basic criteria were taken in the design of the plan: The growth and average of urban density; and structuring of various urban sectors within the metropolitan area based on residential working ratio in which the relation between place of residence and place of work was to be carefully considered. However, the report recommended that for housing construction by private investment, indirect intervention would be necessary.(12)

Another separate report in conjuction with the plan was entitled "Beautification Programme" which was drawn up for maximization of the natural and man-made environmental values of the urban area. The programme aimed at purification of water and air, reforestration of outlaying areas and the general improvement of the urban environmnet.(13)

Surprisingly enough, after a complete decade, Mefit Plan was not approved by the government, though a lot of money was paid for it. However, the planning authorities still follow the proposed broad land zonation for residential and industrial

(12) Mefit S.P.A. Regional Plan for Khartoum, Rome, 1974, PP. 13-14.

(13) Mefit S.P.A. Beautification Programme, Rome, 1977.

expansions on provisional bases. Apart from the conceptual,
economic, legislative and administrative causes behind the
failure and abandonment of Doxiadis Plan, which were still
prevalent, the abolition of Central Town Planning Board and the
decentralization of the planning authorities in Khartoum urban
area were major problems on the way of approving Mefit Plan. When
Mefit recruited an Italian expert for Khartoum Provincial
Headquarter in order to follow up the implementation of the Plan,
the role and powers of this Implementation Unit were not
identified and there was no coordination between any of the units
and departments involved in the planning process. This was so
because of the vagueness of planning laws and the absence of the
comperhensive outlook for planning activites in addition to the
decentralization of the planning office and physical planners
among the areas and town councils.*

* Interview with Salah Mazari, Mefit S.P.A., April 1984.

6.1.3. Lessons from Foreign Planning Counsultancy for Khartoum

Foreign planning experience has proved that it is not germane to the solution of local urban and planning problems. Although the planning approach of Mefit was different from that of Doxiadis, the system of the values and the techno-economic approach of the two plans were characterized by:

1.   irrelevance to local conditions in which there is no governmental commitment to welfare planning, and

2.   formulation of plans by an exclusive technical sense.

Actually, many nations in the Third World have sought consulting services in the field of planning. Frequently, in these nations there will be deficiencies in one or more of: the human resources, technical ability, financial resources, governmental institutions, physical infrastructure or, more improtantly, the country's own sense of the future of its people as expressed in the development means, goals and objectives. However, due to lack of experience, foreign consultants have been invited to participate in planning exercise in developing societies.(14) This practice was of course a part of the already mentioned linkages between the ex-colonies and the West in the economic and consultancy fields as well as the political-cultural heritage.

(14) S. Abdel-Hai, 'Planning Consultancy in Developing Countries', Third World Planning Review, Vol. III, No.2, 1981, PP. 133-140.

In the Sudan's experience with Doxiadis and Mefit the role of these foreign consultants was not a middle segment like what had occured in other fields of consultancy. This was so because decisions and directions of plans development were not taken, and the steps required for implementation of the plan were not defined. The analysis and diagnosis of the situation and the formulation of the plans, were left to such visiting teams. Thus, one of the inefficiencies inherent in the concept of foreign planning consultancy was the imposition of town plans dublicated elsewhere without proper knowledge of the problems of development and the local socio-economic and socio-cultural context. Foreign planning cousultancy in Khartoum, like elsewhere in the Third World, was a mere commercial job for which the country paid hard currency at the international rate. Such fees, when considered in relation to the per capita income of the country, are a much higher expenditure than in the case of similar services provided in a developed country.

For Doxiadis and Mefit consultants, the preparation of the final reports and the formulation of the plans were the end of their jobs, while it was the starting stage for the authorities. Thus, the physical reality of the plan was not the consultants concern. Here, came the role of some Sudanese senior bureaucrats,

with few years of experience in supervising foreign consultants work especially in Mefit Plan. The local experts and the whole planning system were normally confronted with a serious unanswered question: what are the decisions and steps required for the implementation of these proposals and plans? This situation reminds us of a humorous story which illustrates the fate of blind acceptance of irrelevant consultancy. The story says:

"Two frogs were suffering acutely from cold and were advised to engage a consultant to deal with the problem. The owl, being very wise, had built up a great consulting reputation. The frogs explained the problem to him and he agreed to study it and to present them with a report on payment of a suitable fee. In due course, his report arrived, together with the account for his services; the one recommendation was that the frogs should grow feathers. The frogs thanked him of his service and valuable advice, paid the fee and started to try to grow feathers. Sometime later, they went back to the owl and complained that his advice was not practical. The owl replied: "I am a consultant whom you asked to preapre a recommendation, which I have done. How you implement it is your affair."(15)

The lessons to be taught from the reliance on foreign planning consultancy may be summarized as follows:

(5) Locit.

1. In formulating master and development plans by foreign consultants, the need for a national urban policy is not considered. Preparation of master plans for the capital and some of the largest urban centres in the country has fundamentally ignored the fact that the urban question and the incidence of urbanization are national in socpe,

2. Foreign advisers usually formulate master plans falling within the existing economic system, but government decisions on the ditribution of economic activities which affect space and pattern of urbanization, are not connected with the projected master plans,

3. Foreign consultants usually formulate their projects within the dominant planning system. These advisers have neither the power to enforce new planning legislation to guarantee the implementation of the project nor the initiative for integrating urban and regional planning,

4. Local urban administrators, who are not engaged in forumlating town plans, find it difficult to anticipate and control urban growth and problems, specially when deviations in the growth forecasts occur,

5.   In the process of planning for urban development, economic, social and physical formulation and implementation of plans are separable. This is because plan implementation which requires following-up more than plan formulation, is fragmented among uncoordinated governmental and urban units, and,

6.   Foreign consultants prepare master plans without political responsibility or commitment. Rather, these experts present theoretical approaches for satisfying the social, economic and physical needs of the individuals without proper links between the realization of these aspirations and the socio-political bases of the society which set the limits to who gets what when, where and how.

6.2. Replanning in Khartoum Urban Area

The introduction of replanning concept by the colonial administration in 1950 was a response to the rehabilitation of the slum area (Old Deims), when the slums became a physical barrier to the extension of the town shouthword. Since that time the replanning committees have been engaged in slum clearance, rehabilitation, renewal of the older parts of the urban area as well as in reorganizing the suburban villages, which have been incorporated in the Khartoum urban area since the 1960s. Unlike the Master Plans of Khartoum, the replanning programmes have been prepared and implemented by local expertise.

The planning law which was created to regulate this process (The Replanning Ordinance 1950) was actually the first planning law in the history of the country. Although the replanning law was not directed towards an overall renewal of the socio-physical structure of the areas concerned, the legislative and administrative measures of the Ordinance were retained to date, with minor amendments in 1956 and 1961. Thus, the main objectives of the replanning task remained the emphasis on guidlines for the reorganization of the physical layout of unplanned areas.

Between the early 1950s and the early 1970s twenty replanning schemes were introduced in Khartoum urban area (Fig. 6.3) distributed as follows:

FIG. 6.3   REPLANNING SCHEMES IN KHARTOUM URBAN AREA
              (1983)

OMDURMAN

led
Assama

Al Halfaya

KHARTOUM
NORTH

15°40'

River Nile

Ghamayr
Shambat

Abu-Roaf
&
Bait El Mal

Umm
Badda

Assababi
Hilat-
Khogali

Mourada
Suk

Kuku

Abu-
Seid

Khartoum
Central

Burri
Manshya

Blue Nile

15°35'

El-
Rumiela

Gerief
West

El-
Lamab

Al-Shagara
Hamadab

Ushara

KHARTOUM

White Nile

Villages along
the White Nile

0   5 Km.

15°30'

32° 30' E°

32°35'
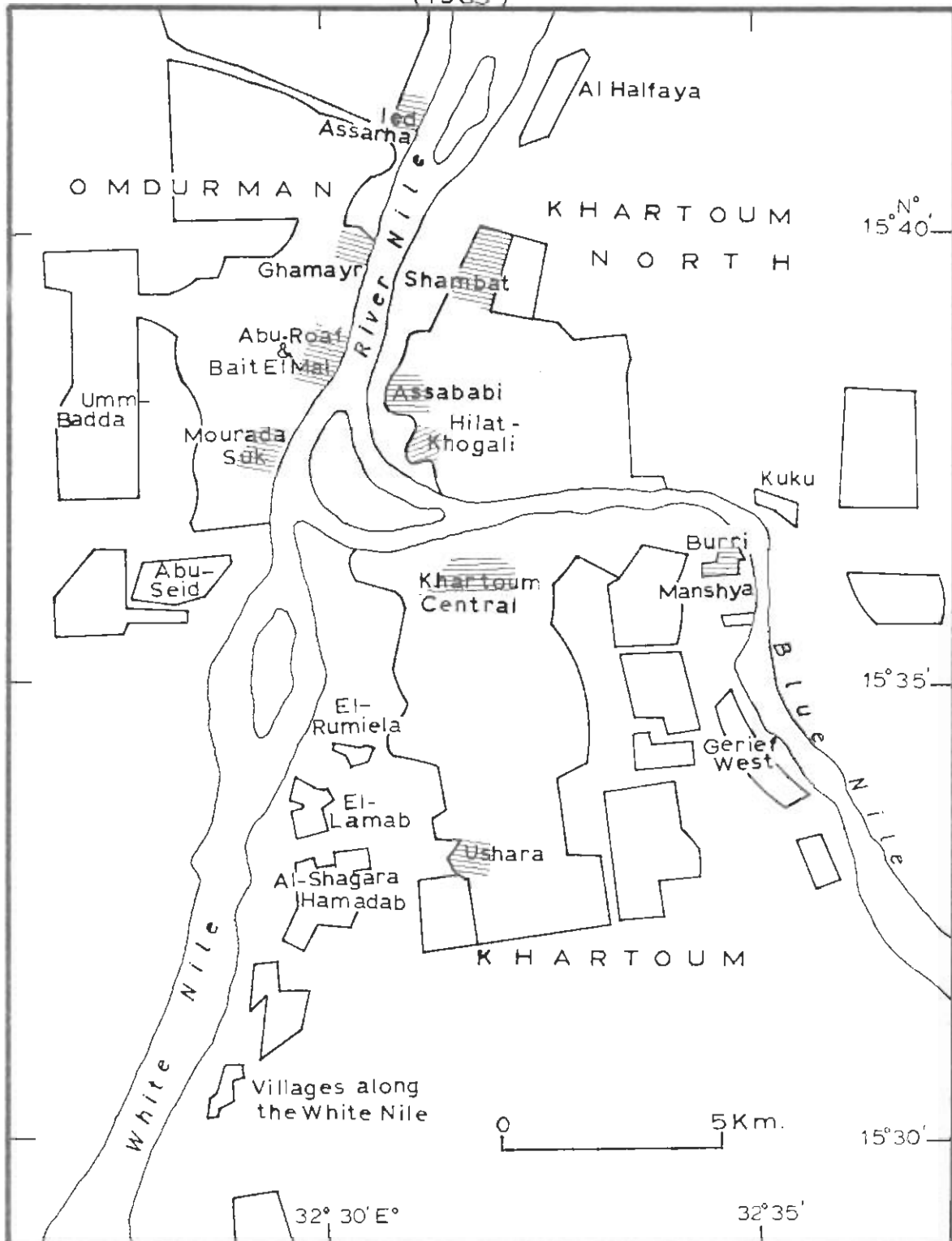
Source:- Compiled from the Khartoum Province Town
Planning Committee report ; Fielwork.

In Khartoum:

Shagara – Hamadab, Burri, Rumaila, Gerief West, Gabra – Ushara, Lamab Nasir – Lamab Bahr Abiad, villages on the White Nile (Azozab, Dabasin, Wad Ajeeb, Kalakla), Manshiya, and Khartoum Central.

In Omdurman:

Main Suk and Mourada Suk, Abu Roaf-Bait al Mal, Abu Saeid, Umm Badda, Ghamayr, led Assarha.

In Khartoum North:

Halfaya, Shambat, Sababi, Hillat Khogli, Kuku.

With the exception of Khartoum Central, the physical features of these areas were the narrow alleys and paths for pedestrians, few motorable roads, uncontrolled building, unhealthy surroundings and lack of urban services. Inaccessibility has become the major problem in these areas because adequate access and circulation were crucial to the minimum available social services. However, because of continious physical decay there had grown strong aspiration for improvement among the inhabitants who represents about 30 percent of population in Khartoum urban area in 1983 (table 6.4.).

The preparation of the replanning schemes in final reports, structural plans and construction maps, aimed at the following main objectives:

Table 6.4

Population of Replanning Areas in Khartoum Urban Area, 1973

AREA	POPULATION
Omdurman:	
Ghamayr	14141
Umm Badda	181788
Abu Roaf / Bait el-mal	19641
Abu Saeid	36509
Ied-Assarha	1493
Khartoum:	
Khartoum Central	2403
Burri Al-Sherief	5863
Manshiya	2846
Gerief West /Soba	6506
Ushara	10447
Al-Rumaila	6081
Al-Lamab	13483
Al-Shagara / Al-Hamadab	19341
White Nile Villages	27210
Khartoum North:	
Kuku	5585
Hillat Khogali	5064
Assababi	3049
Shambat	15590
Al-Halfaya	21815
Total -->	398857

Compiled from The Third Population Census 1983.

1. renewal of unplanned areas by regulating roads and constructing block layout,

2. connection of replanning areas with urban public utilities and transportation networks, and

3. inclusion of replanning areas into the large National Housing Plan of the Three Towns. (16)

6.2.1. Main Features of Replaning Schemes in Khartoum Urban Area

In the process of replanning, the following steps were followed in the preparation of each of the replanning schemes:

1. announcement of the shceme in the Government Gazzette and public newspapers, with adherence to the legal and administrative measures of the Replanning Ordinance 1950. This was intended for the anticipated land disputes,

2. establishment of a replanning committee consisting of a replanning officer from the Land Department and one or two members from the Survey Department,

3. drawing of the proposed structural plans for the new layout and the spill-over area,

(16) Interview with the Secretary of Khartoum Province Town Planning Committee (20/9/1983).

4. detailed survey of the affected plots for the purpose of
    compensation.(17)

The main features and achievements of the replanning
schemes varied because of differences in time of implementation,
local orders, social conditions, ownernship of land, and the
performance of each replanning committee in its locality.
According the replanning schemes may be classified into three
main types:

- replanning the older parts of Omudurman.

- replanning the old part of Khartoum Central.

- replanning the suburban villages.

1. Replanning the older parts of Omdurman:

This remained as the most complicated task because old
Omdurman is initially an unplanned town. The idea of replanning
Omdurman Suk and Mourada Suk came into existance in 1953. In the
same year the largest residential sector in Omdurman - Bait el
Mal and Abu Roaf - was brought under preliminary survey for
replaning purposes. But the final report and the approved
structural plans.

(17) Ministry of Consturction and Public Works, Housing
     Department, 'Commission for Evaluating Replanning Schemes in
     Khartoum Province', F 38/1982. (in Arabic).

were not submitted to the local replanning committee in time.(18)
However, the plans were prepared on theoretical bases for mere
introducing regular block-layout and road pattern and open
spaces, prior to the analysis of the social and economic
conditions of the inhabitants. Therefore, 17 years after the
commencement of the scheme less than one third of the work was
completed.(19) Apart from the legal, administrative and financial
constraints, as shall be seen later, the performance of the
committee was influenced by two factors:

1. the feeling of social belonging among the inhabitants, on a
    freehold land, has discouranged the removal to the
    spill-over areas in the extensions of Al-arda, Banet and
    Al-thoura.

2. the inheritance law has led to the continious dividing of
    plots, and hence, the multiplication of compensation.
    However, this factor is not separate from the slow and piece
    meal implementation of the plan.

On the other hand, the programme prepared for the renewal of
Omdurman Main Market and Mourada Suk, has remained on paper since
1954. This was so despite the growing importance of the main
market to the town, its hinterland and the western markets of the

(18) Doxiadis Associates, Op. Cit., 1959, P. 14.
(19) Ministry of Works and Public Construction, 'Bait el-mal
     Replanning Office, Report 34/38/1982. (in Arabic).

country. Omdurman market is characterized by too narrow roads, too many and too small shops, old building type, absence of motor parks, and hence, imposibility of vertical expansion and renewal. The neglection of this vital scheme by the authorities has been justified by financial consriants. In this situation, financial constraints within the adopted cost-benefit approach to the development issues, has been a clear-cut evidence of absence of awareness of the impact of physical planning on social and econonmic development.

2. Replanning the old part of Khartoum Central:

The southern part of Khartoum Central, being the oldest part of Khartoum outside the Government Area, has witnessed a remarkable decay in its social and physical structures. Therfore, it has been decided to replan this area which was occupied by prostitutes, private clinics, hotels and shops. The decision was to change the area into business land, especially because it is adjacent to the core of the urban areas.(20) Although the structural replanning maps have been prepared in the mid 1970's, the scheme has not been accomplished to date. This is surprising enough because this commercial-business land is one of the best sites in the whole urban area. In fact, the owners of this freehold land are not keen to implement the proposed plan because there has been no compensation for land changed into business area.(21)

(20) Ministry of Works and public Construction 'Khartoum Central Replanning Office', 38/1975.

(21) Ibid, 38/1982.

3. Replanning the suburban villages:

Large and small villages at the outskirts of Khartoum urban area have witnessed the commencement of replanning since 1960's, after their incorporation into the urban area. Structural plans have been prepared for larger suburban areas (Shambat and Halfaya in Khartoum North; Burri and Shagara in Khartoum; Abu Saeid and Umm Badda in Omdurman). In these areas, and in other smaller villages as well, the most important job has been the preparation of adjacent land for spill-over purposes, along with regulating the roads and the block-layout.

6.2.2. The failure of replanning schemes

The replanning task in Khartoum urban area has taken place within the inherited planning law and philosophy. The drastic failure of the replanning schemes is, therefore, not unexpected. The legislative and administrative inefficiencies of the replanning system and the absence of positive objectives in the renewal approach have become a manifestation of the preservation of the Town Replanning Ordinance, 1950. According to the colonial planning philosophy, the Ordinance was created vague in order to allow certain flexibility towards planning problems within the concepts of problem solving and system-maintenance, without direct or legal commitment to socio-physical restructuring.

Furthermore, the execusion of the replanning schemes was left in the hands of the Land Department Officers, without

administrative scheme have been the responsibility of the town
Department and the local replanning committees. Moreover, when
recent changes in the organizational structure of the planning
machine have been introduced, the structure and function of
replanning committees have not been changed.

Thus, inefficiencies in the formulation and implementation
of the replanning schemes have been created by a combination of
legislative and administrative defeciencies. Such inefficiencies
may be summarized in the following:

1.   Lack of provision of public utilities has remained a main
     feature in most of the replanning areas,

2.   the piece-meal implementation of the plans has prolonged the
     duration of the schemes, and consequently has led to a
     remarkable increase in the expenses of administration and
     compensation,

3.   preliminary surveys and implementation of replanning
     projects were not considered as complementary steps.

With the exception of Umm Badda, where replanning activites had been accompanied by a programme-conducted by the Social Survey Unit of the Housing Department for elimenation of squatter settlements, there were no replanning preliminary surveys connected with any of the various stages of plans implementation,

4. members of the replanning committtees, being land officers, were not qualified for planning or replanning task,

5. in the suburban villages, vast extensions on spill-over areas have become a source of wealth in the absence of concrete basis for the award of compensation and change of land ownership, and

6. absence of comperhesive planning and coordination has created a conflict in the use of land. For instacne, it is not unusual to find an area-like Kuku area in Khartoum North granted for spill-over purposes while it had been originally planned for better housing and industrial expansions in Mefit Master Plan.

Beside the forementioned inefficiencies stemming from the concepts and legislation of replanning, major obstacles have influenced the minimum expected achievments of the replanning programmes. Some of the obstacles have been a reflection of the national policy toward migration trends and land settlement. Significant among these are:

1. The emergence of squatter settlements on lands prepared for spill-over purposes. The in-migrants have occupied such lands because of their very low standard of living and ignorance of land laws. The occupation of lands by squatter settlements has led to the delay of implementing the projects.

2. Extravagance and uncontrolled distribution of government land for compensation. Apart from the big loss of government land, this practice has encouraged land speculation.

3. Inadequacy of funds. The budgetary obstacle is not unexpected becuase housing, basic services and improvement of the surroundings have never been considered as the responsibility of the replanning authorities. On the other hand, the expenses of compensation, administration, preliminary surveys, demolishing of irregular houses, and regulating main roads are collected from sales of government land and fees of land improvment and change of land use. No commitment whatsoever has been mentioned in any of the national economic plans towards replanning and its vital socio-economic objectives.

The nature and scope of replanning vary according to the avaliability of qualified staff within a responsive planning policy. It may involve master planning of the unplanned area,

introduction of layout control or restructuring of the socio-spatial system. But replanning activities in Khartoum urban area, which have been confined to regulating of roads, have failed because formulation and implementation of the replanning schemes have not been of a positive nature.

6.3. Housing policy and planning

In a positive planning system, housing and rehousing constitute one of the major strands of the planning process. But planning laws and regulations in the Sudan in general, and in Greater Khartoum in particular, have provided no solution for housing problems.

However, nobody can talk about a housing problem in the Sudan in the pre-colonial times. This was not only because of the very low level of urbanization and the relative small size of urban centres, but also because of the system of extended families, the standardization of the traditional house type, and building of houses in a collective manner. In addition, the communal way of living and the traditional occupational structure did not create an economic value for space. All these values vanished with the evolution of the colonial pattern of urbanization and the application of colonial-capitalist planning and housing principles.

There is much to be learnt about the mechanics of the spatial planning processes and housing strategy in Khartoum urban area, in the colonial and post-colonial times. The housing system in Khartoum urban area has been characterized by two tangible and well-recognized features.

1. Segregation of the residential calsses according to the social stratifiation as imposed by economic structuration and sharp variations of incomes.

2. Construction of dwellings has been the responsibility of the inhabitants. However, low incomes and sharp variations of incomes have hindered the provision of decent dwellings and led to acute shortage of housing and prevalence of substandard houses.

6.3.1. Colonial Housing Policy

The colonial policy towards housing was confined to distribution of land, supervision of building regulations, and the provision of only the vital urban services—water and electricity. But the positive role of the government as a constructor of housing units to replace the early communal house building has never been recgonized or accpeted, neither by the colonial administration nor by the post-colonial governments; simply because housing was not a productive investment.

As the significance of decent shelter in the process of human development was not realized by the colonial administration, the slum areas emerged in the early years of the urban growth of Khartoum. Other residential sectors in the Three Towns developed by mere distribtuion of plots which were built by the occupants according to the class of residence and income. Thus, the spatial development of the various residential sectors was a response to short-term needs, as recommended by local authorities, rather than planned projects related to comperhensive social and economic development. In such piece-meal expansions, the CTPB was only concerned with the supervision of land zoning regulations and the approval of the deposit maps prepared by the Municpal Engineer, while the local aruthority was conerened with the enforcement of building regulations.

In response to post-war urban expansion in Khartoum urban area, the Disposition of Urban Land, 1947 was created. This Land Law has become very effective in the planning process and housing development becuase it stated clearly that residential urban land would be disposed in two different ways. First, first and seond class residence to be obtained by public auction. Second, third class residence to be distributed by Land Department and local authorities.

In fact, this housing concept was the beginning of the housing problem, as the individual's income had become the criterion for acquisition of land and ability to construct a house. In the first land auction in 1953, it was revealed that 80 percent of those who were granted lands had built houses for rent. Even in Third Class Extension in Khartoum, 46 percent of house had been built for rent.(22)

The vast expansion of third class residential areas for lower income groups westward in Omdurman, southward in Khartoum and north-ward in Khartoum North - had taken place in the last years of the colonial period and the early years of independence. It was the period of extension of better class residence and industrial and commercial areas. Therefore, the urban poor had to compete with unequal resources for buidling materials and labourers. In consequence, they built substandard houses and they had been involved in indebtedness(23)

6.3.2. The Post-Colonial Housing Policy

The uncontrolled and unguided urban growth after independence in Khartoum urban area has beeen associated with acute shortage of houses increase in costs of building materials

(22) Ministry of Works and Public Consturction, Housing Department, 'Research and Social Survey Unit, 1980 Report', Kahrtoum.

(23) S. Fawzi, Op. Cit., 1954, P. 96.

and expansion of squatter settlements. This is apart from the physical deterioration of the mud houses as substandard dwellings of the third class residential areas. All these features were not unexpected, because of the conservation of the same colonial concepts, laws regulations and policies on housing. The recongition of the problem by the successive national governments has never been associated with political or legislative commitment to build well-housed urban communities. The government reactions did not touch the cause effect of the housing question neither by changing the economics of social policy nor by linking spatial planning with social welfare. However, the governments reactions were confined to:

1. distribution of land for housing on large scale basis instead of the previous piece-meal practices. The First Housing Project (1960) and the Second Housing Project (1970) have been the main channels for the housing for various groups of the urban community,

2. measuring the distribution and level of basic services according to the land rates of the various classes of residence and,

3. introducing the experiment of low cost housing in Khartoum North (Shaabiya). The failure to carry on this significant attempt on housing has been an expression of the conceptual and economic problems of the housing strategy.

the directives of the Ministry of Local Government on land development and housing affairs. As a result, the vast housing expansions of the late 1950s and the 1960s as well as the recent residential expansions have taken place without proper deposit maps, structural plans or a complete and connected system of urban public utilities. This was the rule in the growth of the third class residential areas of the First Housing Project in the Third Class Extension and Al-Sahafa in Khartoum, Al-Mazad in Khartoum North, and in Al-Mahdiya in Omdurman. For instance, the famous problems of the social amenities in Al-Sahafa in the early 1960s were raised and followed-up by Al-Sahafa news-paper while Arkaweat in Khartoum which was developed in the 1970s, is still without a complete piped-water service(24).

Apart from the first and second class residential areas which have been occupied by pressure groups, the rest of the urban area is affected by either housing deterioration as mentioned above, or by housing shortage.

(24) Interview with Khartoum Municipal Engineer on 6/9/1983.

Regarding housing shortage, the number of houses which was required in 1975 was 35000; beside 16 percent annual increase in housing needs.(25)

Moreover, when the Ministry of Housing and Community Development was established in 1969, there was no basic change in the philosophy or policy of housing despite the announced new outlook to the problem. A detailed memorandum was issued on the housing question for the purpose of formulating a new housing policy based on:

1. the formulation of a new housing policy built upon a radical change in the whole urban policy by enhancement of regional development and guidance of migratory currents,

2. the creation of comperhensive housing plans at all levels of settelment: rural, small urban and large urban,

3. strengthening of the planning system to be fully engaged in the formulation and implementation of the proposed housing plans,

4. enforcement of price control on land, building materials and house rent, and

(25) Ministry of Construction and Public Works, Housing Department, The National Commission for Housing, 'Final Report', Khartoum, 1983.

5.   rejection of the colonial policy on housing in which the
      responsibility   of   the   government   was   confined   to
      distribution of land in accordance with income brackets.(26)

6.3.3. Housing in the National Economic Plans.

    In the successive national economic plans there has been no
appropriate allocations of funds necessary for the implementation
of any of the proposed housing projects, or for the provision of
basic   services   in   the   recently   planned   or   replanned   areas.
Absence of commitment to supply of housing has led the government
in the First Ten-year Plan 1960-70 to allocate only 1.5 percent
of the Gross Domestic Product for housing.(27) However, the
United Nations bodies concerned with the problem recommeded that
at least 5 percent of the GDP would go for housing. The first
economic plan had outlined the short-term housing policy in three
points:

1.   The continuation of the previous policy of land disposition
      according to income levels.

(26) Ministry of Housing and Community Development, 'Memorandum
     on Housing problem', (in Arabic) File 40/1/4/1969, Central
     Records Office, Khartoum.

(27) Ministry of Works and Public Construction, the National
     Commission for Housing, Final Report, 1983, Khgartoum.

2. The introduction of the experiment of low-cost houses (in Khartoum North)

3. Construction of government houses and increase of loan facilities for government officials.

By the end of 1970 it had been revealed that less than 50 percent of the housing units were distributed* because disposition of land was extremely slow as a result of deficient provision of urban utilities. Also, the experience of the low-cost houses was not extended, and government houses and loans were granted only for top officials for whom 64 percent of the tiny governmental allocation for housing was alloted.(28)

The Five-Year Plan 1970-75 was, however, more passive towards the housing question. In this plan the magnitude of the problem was not defined or recongnized. Therefore, the housing needs and the proposals for housing expansion were prepared by examining the experience of the previous plan, rather than by the required scientific research on the existing conditions and the anticipation for future needs. Thus the plan did not relate housing to neither social development nor to physical planning.

(*) Interview with Abdul-Whab Az-Zein, Housing Department., (14/8/1983).

(28) Interview with Najat Abdullah, the National Commission for Housing, Housing Department, (16/8/1984).

Instead, sporadic housing programmes were recommended as complementary to some other sectors of the economy, where government schemes in industry and modern agriculture were located outside Greater Khartoum. Thus, the separation between socio-eonomic and spatial planning has manifested itself in the conservation of colonial physical planning and economic planning philosphies. For instance, when it has been decided that deposit maps and structural plans would be prepared for the large cities throughout the country, 35000 pounds were alloted for this purpose. This was extremely rediculous because the amount was not suffiecient to complete the job in one of the large cities.(29)

In the Six-Year Plan (1977-83) there was the first attempt to link housing with economic planning. Recognition of the magnitude of the housing problem in the plan was clear, but without concrete and practical solution because of the financial problems.

In the plan, the proposed housing strategy aimed at:

1.   treatment of the housing problem at the level of large urban centres, while medium and small towns as well as rural areas, would be treated in the next development plan,

(29) Interview with Abdul-Wahab Azzien, Department of Housing, 14/8/1983.

2. providing decent, healthy and well-serviced houses for
    various urban communities through the coordination and
    effieciency of the planning and housing authorities,

3. making accurate calculations and measures for the provision
    of smaller plots, but in the same previous procedures,

4. legislation, amelioration and replanning of the squatter
    settlements at the fringes of the urban areas,

5. implementation of the already designed low-cost houses for
    the urban labourers, and

6. encouragement of the private sector to invest in housing
    schemes.

The budget for development planning and investment in
housing in the plan was 462 million pounds of which only 57
million pounds were assigned to the public sector. The indication
of these economic and financial policies has been a staggering
social policy towards housing the urban poor, and the
construction of low-cost houses. For instance, the government
promised through the Five-Year Plan for Economic and Social
Development to construct 5000 units in continuous low-cost
housing programmes in the Three Town and other large cities in
the country.(30) The implementation of the scheme was confronted
with the financial constraints which stemmed from the economics

(30) Ministry of Construction and Public Works, Housing
    Department, 'Committee for building, planning and Housing --
    F35A', Khartoum, 1983.

of the social policy. The government failed to carry out the
scheme because of the uncontrolled prices of building materials
and the destructive role of the greedy contractors. In fact, the
government paid not more than 30 percent of the alloted budget
for the low-cost housing programme in the plan. Because of the
internal and external factors behind the weakness of the economy,
the government gave housing a very low priority in its economic
plans. Even the Mortgage Bank of Sudan has never been engaged in
low-cost housing programmes or financing housing of the
low-income groups. According to the Bank's policy, the provision
of loans is confined to the higher middle-income groups.

The number of the housing units which were required in the
Extended Housing Schemes (1977) in Khartoum urban area reached
125000. But only 16000 persons received their plots(31) because
of lack of well serviced land for distribution to the entitled
persons. This had been associated with another techno-economic
problem. This was the relationship between the size of houses and
the total area of Greater Khartoum. The ratio between residence,
streets and open spaces, and community buildings in 1975 was 45
percent, 35 percent and 20 percent, respectively. Although, the
ratio is for the whole urban area, it varied remarkably between
higher and lower classes of residence,(32)

(31) Interview with Najat Abdallah (16/8/1983)

(32) The National Commission for Housing, Op. Cit., Khatoum 1983.

cost of provision of public utilities.

Governmental commitment to social welfare of the urban poor and the public good was neither expressed in a legislative shift from the existing planning law nor in the successive economic plans. Eventually, the Ministry of Housing was narrowed down and became a small department in the Ministry of People's Local Government, and, recently in the Ministry of Construction and Public Works. In response to the failure of the housing policy, the government established in 1979 the National Commission for Housing to look into the problems of housing in the Sudan and in Khartoum urban area in particular. The Commission, with a quasi-official position, consisted of members from the Ministries of Economic Planning, People's Local Government, Construction and Public Works and experts from the University of Khartoum. Beside these members, there were representatives of the national bourgeoisie who were requested to contribute to the implementation of the housing programmes.

regulations concerned with land, planning and housing. Thus, the task of the Commission has been confined to technical recommedations within the existing planning law, housing policy and spatial relationships.

In the light of the foregoing discussion of the housing problem in Khartoum urban area from the planning point of view, two interrelated key conclusions may be drawn:

1. No healthy physical and social housing communities can be created, in terms of housing quantity and quality without a powerful, lawfuland positive planning system, and

2. Decent shelter for the entire urban society cannot be achieved without ideological and political commitement to maximization of social welfare and social justice through positive coordination of economic, spatial and social policies.

CHAPTER VII

Planning and Urban Disparities in

Khartoum Urban Area

The purpose of this chapter is to demonstrate the relationship between the adopted planning mode and the prevalent urban disparities in Khartoum urban area. Although the features of urban disparities are tangible in every aspect of the urban life among the urban poor, this chapter will discuss the contribution of the adopted planning philosophy and principles to the exacerbation of the pernicious urban inequities. The illustration of urban disparities will, therefore, be confined to

1.   expansion of squatter housing, and
2.   maldistribution of basic urban services,

It has been mentioned earlier that the location system of residence has been determined by the spatial distribution of the various groups of Khartoum urban area according to their income levels. Because the economic status has become the determinant element in the allocation of residence in accordance with the legal and the politico-administrative rules of planning, local differentiation with respect to the benefits of urban life has prevailed.

and principles within the societal context. In the existing
social order all sources of human satisfaction - food, clothing,
shelter and accessibility to basic urban facilities - are reduced
to monetary terms in the form of money incomes. This is why
socio-spatial inequities and urban disparities prevail.

The classification of income groups in Khartoum urban area,
which was prepared by the Department of Statistics, is very
crude. But it gives insights into the determinant factor of the
spatial differentiation of human well-being (table 7.1.).

Table 7.1.

Percentage of income groups in Greater Khartoum

(1978 - 80)

Income Group	Percentage	Average Annual Income Sudanese Pound
High	5.00	Above 4800
Middle	10.00	1601- 4800
Low (Limited)	50.00	600- 1600
Very Low	35.00	Below 600

Source: Department of statistics, House Income And Expenditure
Survey 1978 - 19780, Khartoum, 1982.

within the city space. Such spatial differentiation has been associated with the lack of government commitment to provide the urban poor and the depressed urban areas with basic amenities. Thus, place of residence has become a manifestation of the sharp differences in per capita income and the level of accessibility as determined by the spatial distance, or economic distance. Such distributive criterion in the urban network has become the major question in the relationships between the planning style, the socio-political bases of society and the injust distribution of human well-being in Khartoum urban area. In other words, the distributional aspect and the increase or decrease of accessibility of the individual to better housing and basic facilities have been shaped by the social and economic stratification and the planning law and regulations.

In consequence, the masses of Khartoum urban area in the outer zones have been deprived of easy access to preferred house location or quality, and access to better urban facilities.

The combination of the existing social order and the planning mode has been manifested in the functioning of interrelated elements which have determined the level of accesibility among the various urban communities to better housing and facilities. These are:

1. The legislative and politico-administrative rules of planning had been built upon the idea of segregation. As it has been mentioned earlier, the Land Zonation and the Land Classification ordinances of the 1920s, the 1947 Disposition of Urban Land Law and the 1957 Town Planning Regulations have expressed clearly the segregation of class of residence by definition of income. This policy has been retained to date.

2. In the early and initial town plans, work places (administrative, industrial and commercial) and basic urban facilities (post-primary schools, health services, transportation terminals and recreation) have been centrally located. But the expansion of vast third class areas and squatter settlements has not been accompanied by reorganzation of such spatial relationships.

3. Government intervention has been confined to the distribution of land in the short-term structural plans, and, to passing building regualtions. Lack of the Land and

forced to retreat further to the squatter areas, where less accessibility has been associated with deprivation and urban inadequacies.

4. All planning laws and regulations have been silent on the vital issue of the territorial distributive aspect. Article (4) of the 1957 Town Planning Regulations stated that deposited maps would not be accpeted without clear calssification of class of land and residence. But the relationship between the place of residence and the location of place of work or the distribution of services and facilities was not mentioned in any of the 16 articles of the Regulations. The seriousness of this legislative order was twofold. First, this regulation was prepared by the Ministry of Local Government for local level which was expected to deal with the details of the spatial planning and to play its role in social welfare. Second, the failure to implement a system of housing communities has led to the continuation of a legalized system of urban disparities.

Under the existing land and planning laws the gap between physical planning and social welfare has become wider and the scope of challenge, enormous. Therefore, it is essential to consider how the location of urban facilities and services add or subtract the well-being of citizens. Provision of or accessibility to health and education services, transportation, police protection, recreation, as well as shopping facilities, sanitation, open spaces and parks are all reflections to two factors: place of residence and income.

As a result, accessibility to urban services in Khartoum urban area does not depend upon an individual's needs, but upon his capabilities, and eventually, high accessibility to better services has been confined to better residence-first and second class - because of two facts:

1. The location of much of the facilities favours the residents of the first and second class area because the site of these areas was initially planned adjacent to the city centre, and

2. the availability of private cars helps to overcome the friction of distance which has resulted from outer expansions of the urban area. Unlike the uderprivileged, the residents of Al-Riyad, Al-Safiya and Nile-town, for instance, move in private cars to facilities located elsewhere.

In the light of the foregoing discussions about absence of a positive distributional aspect in the planning system, Khartoum urban area might be described as a territory with a prosperous and very small sector occupied by high and upper middle income groups, and a very large sector occupied by the underprivileged (table 7.2.).

Table 7.2.

Classification of population in Khartoum urban area by class of residence, 1983

Class of residence	Population in '000	Percent
First Class	31	2.3
Second Class	44	3.3
Third Class	543	40.4
Replanning areas	398	29.6
Squatter areas	327	24.4
Total --->	1343	100.0

Source: Compiled from the Third Population Census 1983.

The area occupied by the small percentage of the first and second class residence, nevertheless, reaches 15 percent of the urban space as reported in the final report of the Commission for Housing in 1983. This socio-spatial structure which favoured 5.6

percent of the total urban population with better housing and high accessibility, has been the physical expression of the inherited and preserved conceptual and institutional framework of planning. As shown in Fig. 7.1. this has led to the creation of vast areas of inequality when compared with the advantaged areas.

The nature and scope of urban disparities in Khartoum urban area vary even within the disadvantaged areas - third class, replanning or squatter areas. This is because of differences in the spatial distance from better centrally located services, the initial town-plan of the area, the level of the citizens contribution to the self-help programmes, and ownership of private cars which overcome spatial distance to better services.

Nevertheless, the relative basic features of urban inequities are similar: depressing housing conditions (Plate 7.1.) and maldistribution and inadequacies of essential urban facilities (Plate 7.2.).

Social degradation as expressed in the town-plan from the high class residence down to the squatter housing, is obvious; eventually, urban disparities are directly related to the planning style and its locational system.

FIG. 7.1   DISTRIBUTIONAL INEQUALITY IN
KHARTOUM URBAN AREA
(LORENZ CURVE)

Residential class

Population

15°/o

5°/o

- - - Line of equality
Better housing & accessibility
Area of inequality
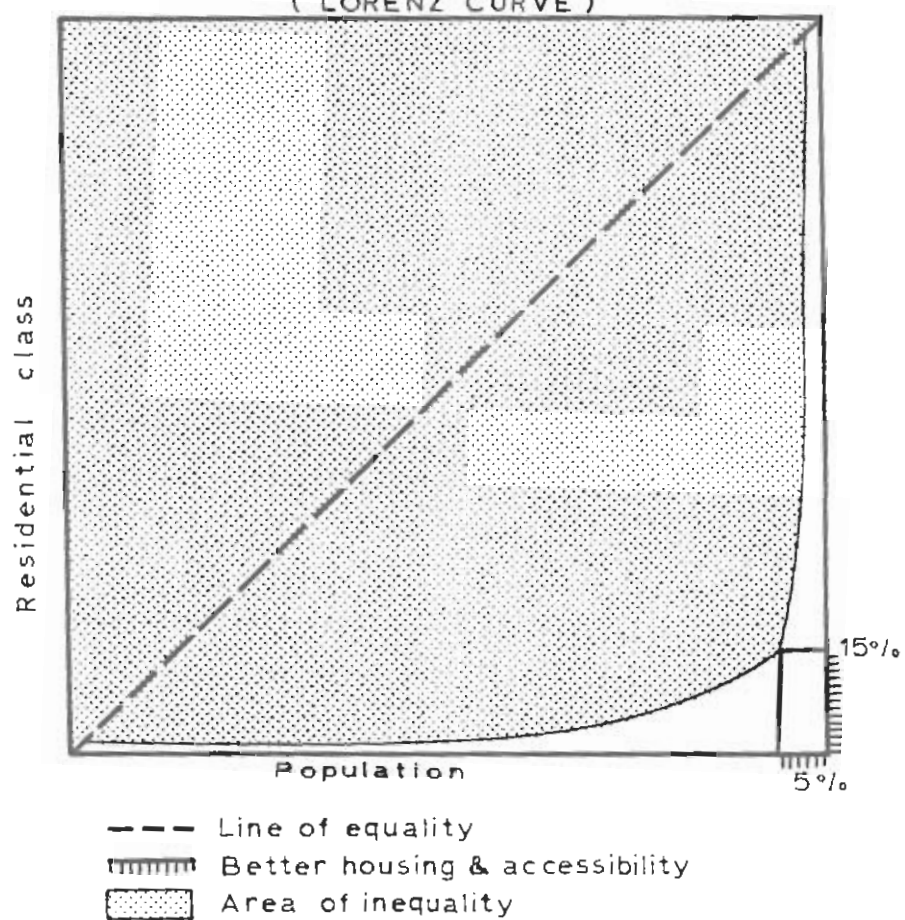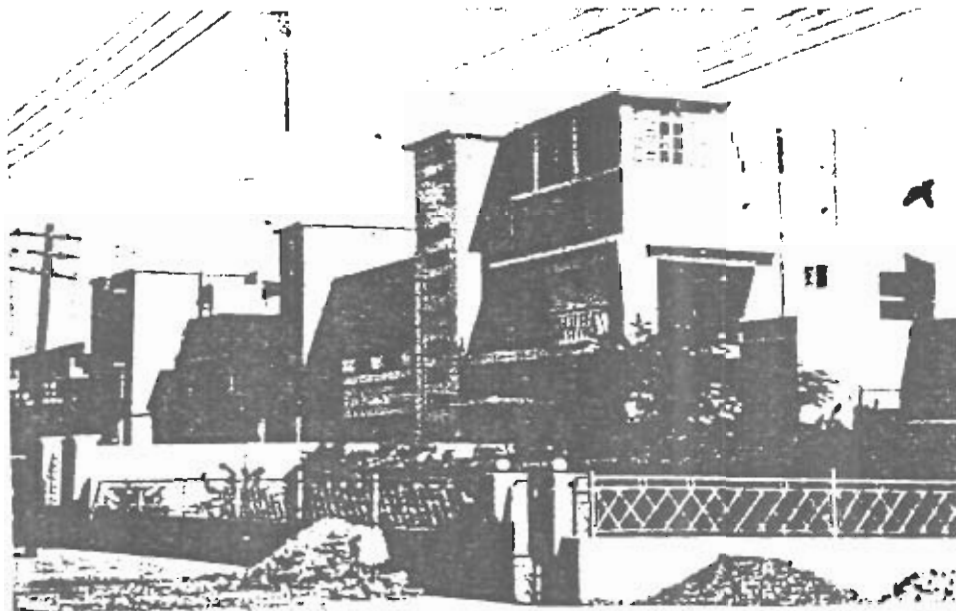
(a)

(b)

Plate 7.1 : Area of Inequality in Khartoum Urban Area
(Housing) ; (a) first class houses in Shambat Road,
Khartoum N. ; (b) a typical slum area of the lower third
class houses (after Geographical Review, 50, 1960)

(a)

(b)

Plate 7.2 : Area of Inequality in Khartoum Urban Area
(services) : (a) distribution of water by donkey-drawn
cart ; (b) a compoundless primary school, Umm Badda.

7.1. The Expansion of Squatter Housing

The cause-and-effect relationship in the emergence of squatter settlements is vital because this phenomenon is a common feature not only in the developing countries but also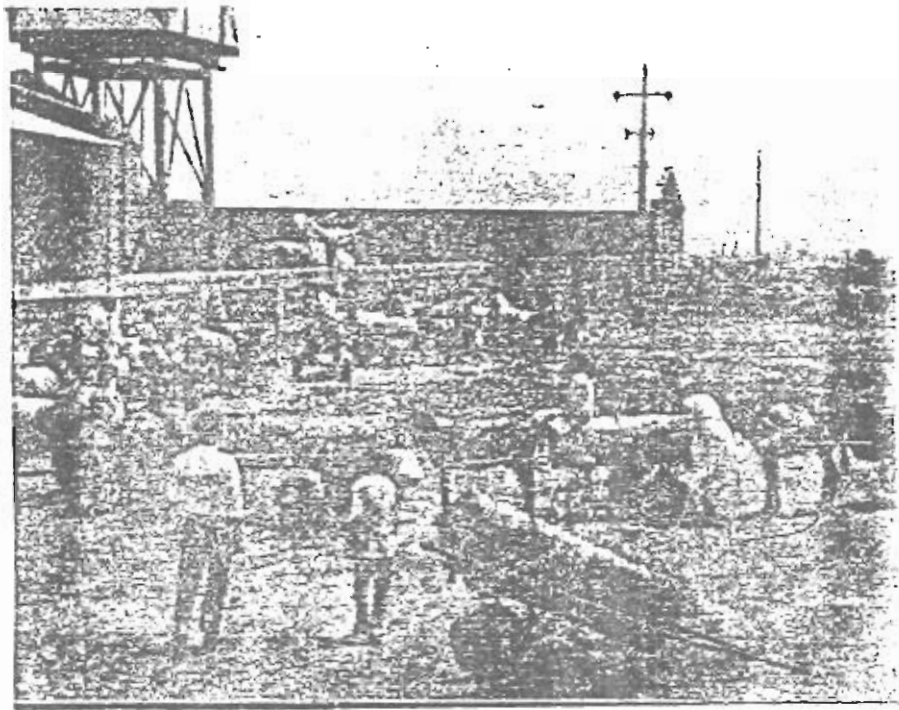 in many rich countries like the United States and South Africa. The growth of squatter settlements as uncontrolled peripheral dwellings, is one of the spatial expressions of urban development where social policy is determined by capitalism or racism. The urban poor in the United States and South Africa are housed in slums and shanty-towns despite the fact that they live in affluent societies. Thus, the physical plant of such settlements, whether in a developed or developing society, is a result of separation of economic, social and spatial planning. Such a separation which normally destroys the spatial and social welfare relationships, is a resultant of lack of government commitment to provide territorial and social equality in terms of housing and distribution of other urban facilities.

Regarding the phenomenon of squatter settlement in the inherited conventional wisdom and in the whole Western urban, and planning thought, there are two different interpretations. In the first interpretation, such settlements are seen as obstacles to planned landscape, administrative discipline and security, and therefore, demolition of squatter settlement is encouraged. In this policy, however, the cause-and-effect relationship of this

culture of poverty is ignored.(1)

In the second interpretation, squatter settlements are seen as a solution to the unavoidable complex problems of urbanization, migration and shortage of housing. Thus, it has been argued that under conditions of rapid or uncontrolled urbanization the squatter settlements play an important functional role.(2) The official policy in Khartoum Urban Area towards the squatter settlements is a combination of these two interpretations as shall be seen.

In Khartoum Urban Area, and according to the existing Laws and regulations of land administration, the squatter settlements and the slum areas are different. Both are places of miserable living conditions, but slum areas are not taking place independently of the land and planning authorities, like the squatter settlements. Best examples of such legal depressing housing in slum areas are the early slums of Old Deims and the present lower third class areas under serious deterioration like the Dieum of Khartoum North, Hai-al-Arab in Omdurman and Fallata in Khartoum. For instance, Fallata slums represent one of the darkest spots in Khartoum Urban Area in terms of its social and physical environments. These slums were removed in 1949 to its

(1) B. Berry, Op. Cit., PP. 83 - 86.

(2) See C. Valentine, Culture and Poverty: Critique and Counter Proposals, Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1968.

present site when the New Deims were planned; and the area was classified as fourth class residence. Each house in the area in 100 square meter. There is no electricity in the area, while piped water and latrines are provided for the inhabitants in the streets. The population of the Fallata slums, who are mainly West Africans, is more than 30000 as reported in the Third Population Census, 1983.

Unlike the slum areas, squatter settlements occur spontaneiously in totally unplanned way beyond land zonation and building regulations. Such illegal housing development usually creates serious social, physical, enviornmental and developmental problems to be faced by both squatterers and authorities.

The expansion of squatter housing during the last two decades in Khartoum urban area, however, has become a natural result of the great difference between housing needs and supply. (table 7.3.) This was so because of the economics of social policy adopted and the failure to solve the national problem of rural drift to the Three Towns.

Table 7.3.

Needs and Supply of Housing units in Khartoum Urban Area, 1950–75

	Housing Unit
Need to face population growth	110000
Required houses in overcrowded areas	114000
Upgrading of substandard houses	30000
Total Needs ――――――――>	154000
Supply of new housing units	50000
Replacement and upgraded houses	10000
Total supply ――――――>	60000
Deficit―――――――――>	94000

Source: Department of Housing, 'The New Housing Policy'
          Khartoum, 1975.

7.1.1. Types of Squatter Settlements

By the cumulative nature of the squatter settlements in Khartoum Urban Area, through natural increase and continuous migration, increasing and vast government land has been consumed at the fringes of the Three Towns. Such uncontrolled settlements account for nearly one quarter of the urban population (table 7.4.)

Table 7.4.

Population of Squatter Settlements in Khartoum Urban Area, 1983.

Area	Population
Umm Badda:	
North and Western Blocks	110700
Zagalona	11771
Al-Thoura:	
North and Western Blocks	20526
Khartoum North:	
Eastern area	148496
Khartoum:	
The Green Belt-Mayu	36064
Total ---->	327627

Compiled from the Third Population Census, 1983.

According to their site, accessibility to basic utilities, population size, the magnitude of environmental problems and the economic level of the individual squatterer, the squatter housing in Khartoum urban area may be classified into four types (Fig. 7.2.):

1. Typical shacks and hovels squatter areas. These are found in Haj Yousif, east of Khartoum North; the Green Belt area, south of Khartoum; and Zagalona, between Umm Badda and Al-Thoura in Omdurman. These areas are the worst in their social and physical enviornments. There are no schools, health services, water or electricity. The squatterers in these areas, who are very low income bridgeheads, are recent arrivals to the Khartoum Urban Area.

2. Squatter areas adjacent to suburbun villages. The original suburban villages were incorporated into Khartoum Urban Area in the early 1960s; and have witnessed some replanning activities along with provision of piped water and electricity. Such changes have encouraged the occupation of lands adjacent to those villages by squatterers from the town proper and by the migrants as well.

Unlike the first type, which is admitted to be illegal occupation of government land, in this second type the villagers

FIG. 7.2   TYPES OF SQUATTER SETTLEMENT IN
            KHARTOUM URBAN AREA (1983)
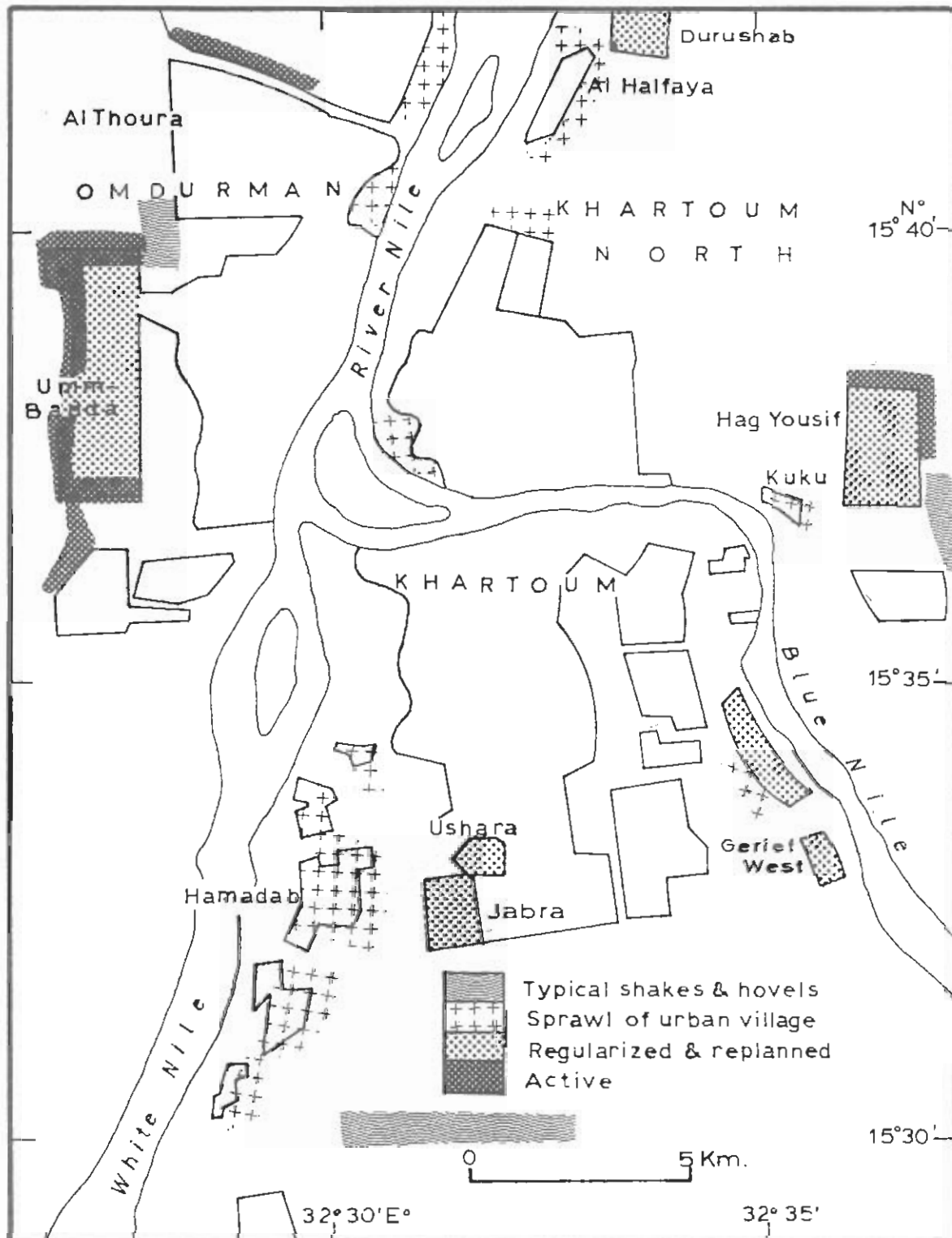
Durushab

Al Halfaya

Al Thoura

O M D U R M A N

River Nile

K H A R T O U M
    N O R T H

N°
15° 40'

Hag Yousif

Umm-
Banda

Kuku

K H A R T O U M

15° 35'

Blue Nile

Ushara

Gerief
West

Hamadab

Jabra

Typical shakes & hovels
Sprawl of urban village
Regularized & replanned
Active

White Nile

0   5 Km.

15° 30'

32° 30'E°   32° 35'

and the early squatterers have claimed the ownership of the occupied lands. Such uncontrolled sprawl of suburban villages include Suba, Hamadab, Shagara, Kalakla, Gabra, Ushara and West Gerief in Khartoum; Shambat, Halfaya, Sababi and Kuku in Khartoum North; Umm Badda, Marzouq, Abu Saeid, Qamayr and Hitana in Omdurman. This type of squatter housing is occupied by low-and lower-middle income groups who have stable incomes. Here, quality of houses vary according to income, while shortage of social services includes hospitals, public transport, secondary schools, recreation facilities and police protection.

3. Regularized squatter areas. In this type, regular block layout has developed under the directives of people's councils after 1970. Lack of coordination among local authorities, land authorities and planning authorities has facilitated the distribution of land by nieghbourhood councils, without considerations to land administration and regulations and planning rules. This type, which is similar to the second type in its origin and residents, has developed in Drushab, north of Khartoum North; Gerief and Soba in Khartoum; and the older parts of Umm Badda in Omdurman. Maladministration has led to transfer of land into the hands of land speculators and to lower-middle income squatterers.

4. Active squatter housing. This type is found in lands already
   demacrated for entitled persons in the current and extended
   Housing Plan and spill-over areas for replanning schemes in
   Omdurman. Because of piecemeal distribution of plots, very
   slow provision of urban basic utilities and low income of
   entitled persons, the construction of houses is delayed. In
   consequence, the squatterers from the first type as well as
   from those who are not entitled to plots, have occupied such
   lands, where isolated mud rooms have been constructed. This
   pattern is mainly found in Omdurman at the fringes of Umm
   Badda, Al-Hitana, Al-thoura, and also, in Haj Yousif and
   Mayu. For instance, it has been reported by Housing
   Department that in 1979 more than 400 isolated rooms were
   constructed in western Umm Badda alone.(3)

The planning authorities have recognized that a considerable
porportion of urban squatter housing around the Three Towns has
been occuring spontaneiously and illegally. This has been so
since the emergence of the first squatter settlement in the late
1950's. However, the successive governments failed to make use of
the lesson of the first squatter settlement which emerged near

(3)Ministry of Construction and Public Works, Housing Department,
Committee for Elimination of Squatter Settlements, 'The 1979
Report'. (in Arabic)

the industrial area in Khartoum North. The emergence of the carboard-town was associated with the immediate post-colonial expansion of the industrial and other urban activities. But the authorities were not aware enough of the seriousness of the problem, and no immediate action was taken. With the increase of shacks and hovels for the satisfaction of a minimum shelter, people from the town proper moved to the squatter housing area. This was so because of the nearness of the squatter area to the industrial area, and more importantly, because this pattern of accommodation would relieve people from house rent.(4)

However, for political considerations after 1964, the problem was not confronted by authorities, and the squatterers became a pressure group who entered into negotiation with the political parties. Meanwhile, the number of shacks near the industrial area in Khartoum north reached 3500 by the mid 1960's. The population of this shanty-town reached 20000 in the same period. Beside these there was also 10000 squatterers around the industrial areas of Khartoum and Omdurman.(5)

(4) Bedri O. Elias and Hassan Y. Bedawi, "The Squatter Housing Problem: A review of Government Policy and Solution" in El-Bushra (ed), Op. Cit., 1973, PP. 213 - 221.

(5) Locsit.

The removal of the carboard-town to Haj Yousif, east of Khartoum North, had given the migrants and the low income groups in the Three Towns the contention that by occupying government land illegally, they would get a plot of land sooner or later. Therefore, squatter housing in Khartoum urban area has increased remarkably during the last two decades, with serious social, spatial and developmental problems.

The problem of the squatter settlements in Khartoum urban area has been related to both the national spatial development policy and the urban housing philosophy. On the one hand, the national economic philosophy and policy have failed to slow down the flow of rural migrants to Greater Khartoum. On the other hand, the economics of the social policy adopted by the successive governments have also failed to solve the urban housing question. As a result the migrants and a considerable numbers of the town dwellers whose incomes are low and uncertain, have been forced to occupy land illegally at the fringes of the Three Towns. Unavailability of a house or a minimally serviced land at a cost affordable to the urban poor has already reached the crisis point; eventually, a minimum shelter in shacks or isolated mud rooms has become the sole solution for those groups.

The growth of the squatter settlements has taken place despite the fact that the 1961 Regulations of Local Government

(Article 8, 1, a.) stated clearly that measures by local orders would be taken to prevent uncontrolled and illegal buildings. In addition, the Town Replanning ordinance, 1950 was amended in 1956 and 1961 to regulate and control the physical growth of the suburban villages around Khartoum urban area. Moreover, the incorporation of these suburban villages into the boundary of the urban area, has brought them and all vacant land adjacent to them, under the 1961 planning law.

These regulatory measures were ineffective, and the squatter settlement has spread remarkably, because of the following reasons:

1. contradition of the official policy on lease of land and housing with such local orders and regulatory measures,

2. absence of a comperhensive and responsive national urban policy. This has led to migratory currents which destroy the regulatory measures,

3. absence of direct measures for control on land by the land and planning authorities. This has facilitated the occupation of such lands by land speculators and squatterers,

4. peripheral locations of the squatter areas have suited the migrants rural background and economic status.

7.1.2. Problems of Squatter Settlement:

The expansion of squatter housing has created social and environmental problems to the squatterers, as well as legal and planning problems to the authorities. Such problems may be classified into three types:

1. Environmental problems:

The physical and social conditions are miserable in both the shacks and hovels, and the isolated mud rooms. Such dwellings are built close together and each is made to accommodate a family of seven persons or more. There are no compounds, spaces, sanitation, places for waste disposal, or community facilities. Despite these miserble housing conditions, the authoriteis are mainly concerned with land problems and with the destruction of the aethetical side of the urban scene, the health problems, spread of crime and the impact of the social problems of the squatter areas on the urban area proper. Thus, the squatter areas are not only segregated spacially and economically, but also regarded socially and officially as residence of the inferior groups.

2. Problems of Land Use Planning:

These legal and administrative problems are related mainly to Mefit Master Plan and replanning schemes. The squatterers have occupied lands allotted for planned housing schemes, new industrial areas and spill-over areas for some unplanned

residential areas. Thus, ineffectiveness of the existing land administration along with the weakness of the cadastral and development systems, have enhanced the loss of government land. In addition, land laws and planning regulations have been ignored by the squatterers, land speculators and even by the people's local councils at the neighbourhood level.

3.   Problems of Demolitions:

As a result of the above mentioned legal and planning problems, the authorities have been involved in frequent companigns for demolitions in squatter settlements, specially in Umm Badda and Shiqla-one of the sixteen squatter areas in Eastern Khartoum North. The Land authorities attribute the delay ofimplementation of housing schemes to occupation of land illegally. This is despite the fact that the Commissioner of Lands was uncertain whether funds had been allocated for land development or what the plan entailed.(6) Thus, in the absence of planned housing, the policy and practice of demolitions in Khartoum urban area is just like punishing a victim. (Plate 7.3.)

However, the rule for demolition, according to the official policy of the Lands Department, is to eliminate new built-up dwellings which emerged in four-year period. As houses built before four years are also illegal, this gives the new comers the contention that they have the same right that their dwellings be

(6) Sudanow, January 1982, 'A new Housing Scheme ?'.

(b)

Plate 7.3 : Housing strategy in Khartoum urban area:
(a) par-excellence first class residence in Riyadh, Khartoum;
(b) demolition of squatter settlement in Umm Badda.

surveyed and their situation legalized. Because of this conflict between the land authorities and the squatterers, demolition teams are usually accompanied by armed soldiers.(7)

Surprisingly, in the whole practice, planning authority is not envolved because the planning law and regulations are not concerned with unplanned areas; and instead, the demolition practice is arranged between the Commissioner of Lands Department and Commissioner of police.

However, the United Nations Centre for Housing, Building and Planning criticized in 1971, the policy of demolition squatter settlements. The Centre recommended that policy-makers and governments should take actions to make normal urban utilities and community services available to these areas prior to responsive solution to the problem.(8)

The passive action of the authorities towards solving the problem, has stemmed from the following points of misinterpretation of the causes and consequences of the problem:

(7) Interview with: Secretary, Committee for Elimination of Squatter settlement. (March 1983)

(8) R. J. Crooks, 'Urbanization and Social Change: Transitional Urban Settlements in Developing Countries', Rehovot Conference Papers, Rehovot, Settlement Study Centre, U.N., 1971.

1. Squatter housing was accepted as a natural product of modern urbanization and rural-urban migration, like what has been experienced in developed industrial capitalist societies in the West.

2. The authorities had realized and admitted the fact that the expansion of squatter housing was a product of acute shortage of housing. But the planning authorities remained inactive because the economics of social policy have retained a huge gap between the popular demand for decent shelter and the provision of houses.

3. Government activities and solutions were confined to replanning and rehousing in Haj Yousif and Umm Badda. As a result, land speculation has been encouraged in other areas, while a vicious cycle has been created in which new squatter areas have emerged on the lands prepared for spill-over purposes.

4. Since the emergence of the first squatter settlement in Khartoum North near the industrial area, and during the spread of various other squatter areas in the Three Towns, the authorities were only concerned with the environmental side of the problem, spread of crime and the illegal occupation of government land. But there has been no consideration of the nature and scope of the problem in the

national, developmental and urban context.

7.2. Maldistribution of Basic Urban Services

Because of the existing planning system, urban growth in Khartoum urban area has placed greater pressure on urban services and amenities. The authorities are unable to cope with demand for housing, water, electricity(9), transport and health and educational facilities. Inadequacies and maldistribution of basic, essential services in Khartoum urban area are not unexpected because of adoption of conventional approaches to urban planning. In these approaches many elements of livelihood that contribute to the state of well-being of society, are directly related to the location system of planning which is built upon segregation. Because of the conventional approaches to planning, and as shall be seen, transport policy favours those whoafford private cars; adequate and better health and educational facilities cater for the prosperous sections of the community; clearance of squatter areas, as mentioned earlier is carried out because the top policy-makers see them as harmful places. Thus, the urban poor are disadvantaged, having little access to basic urban services.

(9) According to the Electricity Corportion's annual reports, the consumption of electricity in the Three Towns decreased from 445, 214, 762 K.W. in 1982 to 411, 096, 475 K.W. in 1983.

7.2.1. Health Policy and Ditribution of Medical Care

Health care provdies an appropriate case which demonstrates the failure to solve problems of facility location in Khartoum urban area. The existing policies and spatial distribution for health services in the Three Towns is far from optimal with respect to the distribution of population and variations of distance and income.

Acomplex area of enquiry in development planning in developing countries is the price relationship between expenditure of health services and improvements in health. This is so because of scarce resources within which helath policies seek to provide optimal benefits to the majority of population. But mobilization of resources for low-cost preventive and promotive health programmes to reach the largest number of people is often criticized and refused by economic planners. Many economists argue that health expenditure of this kind divert scarce resources from productive investments.(10) This problem exists where social and economic planning are not treated comperhesivley;

(10) B. Abel-Smith and A. Leiserson, Poverty, Development and Health Policy, Geneva, World Health Organization, 1978, P. 22.

and that' is why the proposed health budget in Greater Khartoum was 20.09 million Sudanese Pounds in 1983 but the approved budget was 8.6 million.(11)

However, policies for health and medical care have developed a new outlook different from the traditional and popular mis-conception in which health policy has been regarded as the proper domain of qualified physicians. In this new outlook medical personnel are seen as a body concerned with treating those who are sick, but what is really needed is remedy of indirect causes of ill-health.(12) Thus, like in other developing scieties, efforts in Greater Khartoum have been taken into direct causes of diseases and their treatment, but indirect causes of ill-health has been neglected. If a new policy which aims at improving social and physical environments and other factors associated with and resposnsible for transmission of diseases dealt with effectively, along with medical preventive measures, this could help more than treatment.

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(11) Democratic Republic of the Sudan, Ministry of Health, 'Annual Statistical Book, 1983', Khartoum, 1984.

(12) See. 1.Illich, Limits to Medicine, London, maryon Boyars, 1976.

As it has been mentioned earlier, about 94 percent of Greater Khartoum population live in disadvantaged areas according to their economic status and physical enviornment. As a result, there are many social causes which affect health but are not medical in the narrow sense. These social causes may be classified into three:

1.   Malnutrition:

Improvements in the health conditions are generally associated with good standards of nutrition. But malnutrition, which is attributed to poverty, though in itself is a disease which results in death, weakens the body's ability to fight the invading diseases. For example, in the case of measles it has been proved that the malnourished have a mortality rate 400 times higher than the well nourished.(13)

2.   Cultural Practices:

Cultural and social practices which are associated with poor eduction affect both nutrition and sanitation. For instance, the habit of giving preference to adult men at mealtimes leads to nutritional deficiencies among children and women. Also, because of the system of extended family among the poor, the risk of both infection and malnutrition increases among infants and children.

(13) See D. Morley, Paediatric Priorities in Developing World, London, Butterworth, 1973.

Lack of education is blamed however, even among families with reasonable incomes when good nutritional habits, better personal hygiene and advices of health authorities are ignored.

3.   Environmental Sanitation:

The introduction of public health measures contributes effectively to the control of diseases. This includes good housing, and healthy enviornment. Actually, most diseases prevail because of poor hygiene. In squatter areas, excerta is accumulated in open spaces, pathways and ditches not installed by the authorities. Although in better class residence self-help programmes include waste collection, in third class areas waste disposal is almost neglected.(table 7.5).

Table 7.5.

Waste disposal services in some sectors in Omdurman, 1983

Area	No. of Houses	Pop. '000	Vehicles Required	Vehicles Available
Althoura	1160	106	23	3
Umm Badda	9872	181	20	2
Wad Nubawi	5672	44	12	2
Ind. Area	−	−	6	1

Source: Omdurman Area Council, Health Office, 'Annual Report 1983'.

Colonialism fostered health policies based on curative medicine because of two reasons. First, health care was introduced primarily for colonial officers who did not suffer of indirect causes of disease. Second, under poverty and social causes of disease curative medicine was much easier and practical for colonial administration. This policy has been retained after independence because of the failure to eliminate the social causes of disease as mentioned above. Thus, instead of improved nutrition, housing and sanitary conditions, health policy is manifested primarily in four ways: training physicians, building hospitals and importation of drugs; and in commercial medical practice in private hospitals and clinics.

These ways of curative medicine has had little effect on urgent health problems among the masses because of scarce resources at the governmental level for the first three ways; and very low income of the greater numbers of individuals for the fourth way.

Inspite of the remarkable expansion of the built-up area and increase of population, health services of the curative medicine made little improvment in Khartoum urban area. Although relative better public health services are confined to general or teaching hospitals in Khartoum, Ondurman and Khartoum North, such services have not been decentralized to

the extent of the urban expansion (Fig. 7.3.). Similarly, each of the specialized hospitals is located in one of the Three Towns to serve the population of the whole urban area beside rural areas of Greater Khartoum. (table 7.6.)

Table 7.6.

Distribution of Physicians and Beds in General and Specialized Hospitals, Greater Khartoum, 1983.

General	Physician	Beds
Khartoum	431	822
Omdurman	154	546
Khartoum North	128	405
Soba	N.A.	350
Specialized		
Dental Hosptial, Khartoum	46	20
Psychiatric Hosptial, Omdurman	19	102
Tropical Diseases, Omdurman	26	130
Maternity Hospital, Omdurman	23	95
Abu Anja Chest Hospital, Omdurman	15	240
Eye Hospital, Khartoum	48	125
Shaab Chest Hospital, Khartoum	56	210
Children Hospital, Khartoum	35	161
Radio Therapy Hospital, Khartoum	11	44
	992	3220

Source:Ministry of Helath, Annual Statistical Book, Khartoum,1983

FIG. 7 3   KHARTOUM URBAN AREA:
           DISTRIBUTION   OF HOSPITALS,1983

Legend:
First class
Second class
Third class
● Public Hospital
▲ Private Hospital
■ Small Pub. Hospital
S Squatter areas

OMDURMAN

KHARTOUM
NORTH

KHARTOUM

River Nile

Blue Nile

White Nile

N°
—15° 40'
—15° 35'
—15°30'

32° 30'E°   32°35'

0   5 K m.
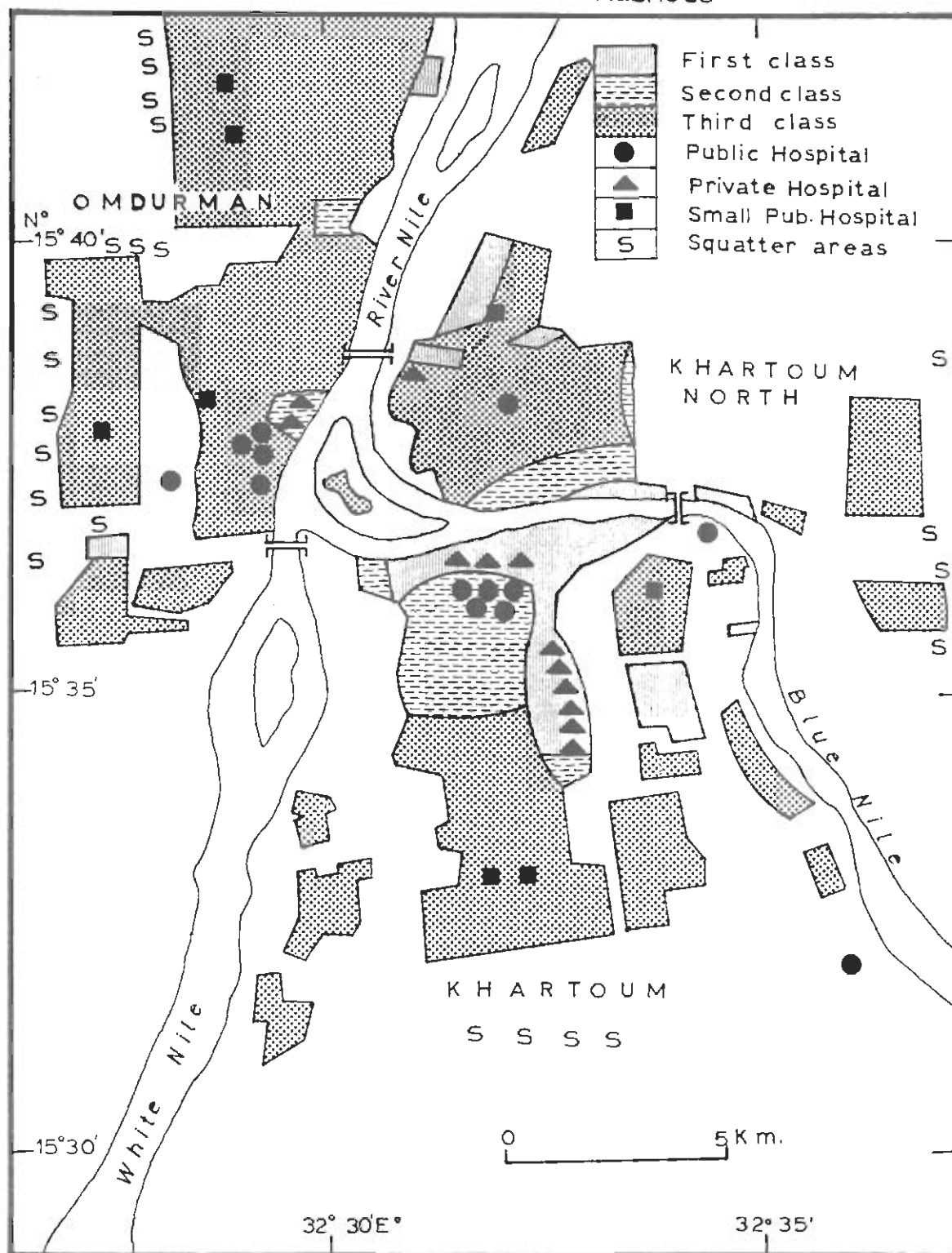
Fieldwork.

Other hospitals and health centres that have been established out side the city centre of the Three Towns has not been built by the government. Exactly as most of the health centres in each area of the town councils have been either established or assisted by self-help(14) programmes, small hospitals have also been established by some wealthy citizens. Such small hospitals and health centres which are located in residential areas-mainly third class-offer poor health services. In Khartoum town for instance, there are 431 physicians in Khartoum Hospital, while there are 64 physicians in 16 health centres and three small hospitals in Sahafa and Burri. Similarly, number of physicians in the II helath centres in Omudurman is 19; and in Khartoum North there are 15 physicians in 8 health centres. Apart from lack of physicians in these health institutions, in-patient service is very limited in them. None of the thirty five health centres in the Three Towns offers in-paient service; while bed facility in the small hospitals is only 220. (table 7.7.). In the heirarchy of spatial distribution of health institutions in Khartoum urban area there are 9 dispensaries and I dressing station in Omdurman, 10 dispensaries and 6 dressing stations in Khartoum,

_____

(14) In self-help programme in the so-called Health Revolution, each person must pay 50 P.T. for treatment and 25 P.T. for visiting in-paients.

Table 7.7.

Bed facility in small hospital, Greater Khartoum, 1983.

Hospital	Area Service	Beds
Sahafa West	Sahafa	12
Sahafa East	Sahafa	-
Sadiq Abu Agla	Burri	-
Al-Nao	Althoura	52
Al-Rakha	Umm Badda	10
Al-Buluk	Al-Mahdiya	81
Awad-Husien	Omdurman West	-
Haj Assafi	N. Kh. North	65

Source: Ministry of Health, Statistical Year Book, Khartoum,
          1983.

and 2 dispensaries and 1 dressing station in Khartoum North.
These dispensaries and dressing stations, which are supplied with
medical assistants are found mainly in some large educational
institutions and industrial establishments.(15)

Apart from the economic distance and variations in income,
as shall be seen, the ultilization of health facilities has been
significantly affected by spatial proximity. Table7.8 shows the

(15) Ministry of Health, Statistical Year Book 1983, Khartoum,
     1983.

relationship between the utilization of medical facilities and distance; the further people live from hospitals the less they use them. As a result, greater numbers use health centres despite their poor facilities in terms of shortage of physicians, medical technicians and instruements, specialized and in-patient services.

Table 7.8.

Numbers of out-patients in hospitals and health centres, 1983.

| Hospitals | 97124 |
| Health centres | 169052 |

Source: Ministry of Health, Statistical Year Book, Khartoum, 1983.

Inequity in health services and provision of health care in Khartoum urban area is manifested in two ways: areal distribution and sharp variations in income. The areal distribution of hospitals and their bed facilities may be taken as an illustration for capacity and location of such curative medicine. In Haj Yousif and Eastern Khartoum North there is not a single hospital in an area occupied by 148000 persons. Inadequate facilities, as shown in table 7.9, are obvious.

Table 7.9.

Bed facility in public Hospitals in Khartoum urban area, 1983

Hospital	Area Serviced	Pop. '000	Beds	Bed Per 1000
Khartoum Hospital & Chest Hospital	Khartoum town	476	1032	2.16
Omdurman Hospital & Trop. Dis.Hosp.	Omdurman town	526	636	1.20
Khartoum North & Al-Safiya	Khartoum North town	341	469	1.37
Al-Nao	Al-thoura	106	52	0.49
Al-Bululk	Al-Mahdiya	47	84	1.78
Al-Rakha	Umm Badda	181	10	0.05
Al-Sahafa	Sahafa	125	-	-

Compiled from the Statistical Year Book, 1983, Ministry of Helath,

and the Third Population Census, 1983.

The sharp variations of income levels exacerbate inequities in provision of health care because of the active role of private or commercial medical practice. In Khartoum urban area there are 13 private hospitals and more than 500 private clinics. Although

data are limited in commercial medical practice, but location of private hospitals, and costs of treatment in private hospitals and clinics, give insight into the remarkable inequity between the rich and the poor in receiving medical care.

Private hospitals are located in high class residence (6 in Amarat, 3 in Khartoum Central, 2 in Mulazmin, 1 in Riyad and 1 in Shambat road in Khartoum North). Costs of treatment in such hospitals in a delivery case or a surgery, for instance, are more than the annual income of the lower middle groups. Therefore, the low and limited income groups do not know even the location of these private hospitals.

The other side of commercial medical practice is private clinics which are frequently used by the limited, middle and lower-middle income goups. According to the health policy, every physicians who completes two-year service is entitled to combine government service with private medical practice. Private clinics in Greater Khartoum are scattered in all residential areas including squatter areas. The relationship between the lower and lower middle income groups spending money in private clinics and pharmacies and the uncontrolled costs of private medical practice is a reflection of the social policy which turns such a human need into a commodity.

Such policies for health care which are relics of the colonial social system have been criticized by many health planners.(16) For instance, Malcolm summarized those criticisms and said:

" The need for better health care for the rapidly expanding population .... demands different and more radical solutions than those offered by Western medicine."(17)

Thus, the shift from the conventional approaches to health and curative medicine, as it is applied in Khartoum urban area and the Sudan in general, cannot be acheived within the existing social order and spatial organization. Radical solutions for equitable distribution of health resources are built upon a comperhensive approach stemming from responsive economic, social and spatial planning. Priorities are given in such solutions to social causes of ill-health and adequate spatial distribution of health care.

(16) M. Hardiman and J. Midgley, The Social Dimensions of Development: Social Policy and Planning in the Third World, London, John Wiley and Sons, 1982, PP. 164 - 168.

(17) L. A. Malcolm 'The Health Care System' in B.S. Hetzel (ed), Basic Health care in Developing Countries, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1978, PP. 38 - 62.

7.2.2. Education Policy and Distribution of Educational opportunities:

Education is primarily associated with economic, social and political development of societies. But the relative progress in educational expansion in most of the developing societies has failed to contribute effectively to development. Because education in developing countries has not proved to be the automatic key to development, many writers in social planning have attempted to blame the adopted educational policies and strategies. Such writers, like Illich(18) and Balogh(19) have discussed the issues of inappropriateness of the educational systems to the needs of developing societies, and inequity in educational opportunities.

In a plural society like the Sudan with homogeneous ethnic grouping and cultures, it is essential for the government to pay attention to formulating and applying a more appropriate educational policy and strategy. Increasing attention was expected to be given in educational policies to the better use of human and natural resources, creating national unity, promoting social development and concentrating on the needs of deprived

(18) See Illich, Deschooling Society, London, Calsder Boyars, 1971.

(19) See T. Balogh, The Economics of Poverty, London, Weidenfled and Nicolson, 1974.

regions and communities. But absence of ideological and
scientific approach to these goals within a comperhensive
economic, social and spatial planning has led to the preservation
of the same colonial educational policy. Even some basic changes
in the educational strategies, at least at the level of Khartoum
urban area, are related to inappropriatne strategy:(20)

1. Rapid expansion of private schools. For instance, in
    Omdurman, there are twenty two government intermediate
    schools for girls, while the number of private schools for
    the same level reaches seventeen,

2. Unguided expansion of technical training secondary schools.
    In the Three Towns there are only seventeen government
    secondary schools, but ten technical secondary schools, and

3. Rapid increase in numbers of schools, This has become a
    response to social pressure for certification, not for
    social needs and specified goals.

(20) Statistical data for this section have been collected from
     Khartoum Provincial Office for Education and Omdurman
     Education Office; and also from personal interviews with
     Ahmed Hassan, Taj El-Ser Mohammed Ibrahim and Mohammed
     Hussien - educational supervisors of the same offices.

The political objectives of education are increasingly becoming of greater importance because they are directly related with social aspects and economic questions. The significance of higher level of literacy and raising social consciousness are obvious factors in development issues. For instance, in India, the two states in which levels of literacy are the highest, Kerala and West Bengal, are the most vociferous critics of central government policies.(21)

In the issue of inappropriate educational policies and strategies, Rodney also argued that the educational systems imported from the West within the crude version of modernization theory, has failed to meet the indigenous social needs. He explained that as education is a part of the socialization process, the existing educational systems are reflections and maintenance of the existing social order.(22) The Sudan's educational system and strategies have not witnessed a shift from the conventional approaches and, therfore, education is primarily expanding in response to social pressure for certification. As a result a problem of literate unemployment has been created; and educational role of enabling people to participate in economic, cultural and political processes has been neglected.

(21) M. Hardiman and J. Midgley, Op. Cit., 1982, P. 193.

(22) See W. Rodney, 1972, Op. Cit.

At the national level, inequity in distribution of educational opportunities between urban and rural areas in the Sudan is remarkable. Table 7.10. reveals the extent of the variation of school enrolement between urban and rural areas. In addition, while the average percentage of the children who had access to primary education in the country was only 43.7 in 1976, the figure for Khartoum was 84.2 percent for boys and 68.2 percent for girls. Moreover, the selection system allowed only a small porporion of those to continue to secondary and higher education. The 17000 students who completed secondary education in 1973 represented 14 percent of those who had access to primary education in 1962.

Table 7.10.

Distribution of School Enrolment by Mode of Life in the Sudan, 1974/75.

Mode of Life	Primary	Intermediate	Secondary
Urban	64.2%	41.8%	5.3%
Rural	19.4%	2.5%	0%
Both	25.1%	7.3%	1.1%

Source: Mahdi Elamin, Aguantative and Analytical Review of General Education in the Sudan 1974/75, Khartoum 1975, mimeo, P.6. Quated in F.B. Mahmoud, The Sudanese Bourgeoisie: Vanguard of Development? Khartoum, Khartoum University Press, 1984, P.104.

Although the United Nation Declaration of Human Rights and the country's successive constitutions include the right of every individual to education, there is a serious inequality of educational opprtunities for individuals and places in the Sudan and within Khartoum urban area. This is however, determined by the place and social situation and area in which a person finds himself. In a rural area or squatter area human rights give way to economic efficiency of either the government or the individual. This has been so because of the conflict with cost-benefit and cost-effective policies toward education as a part of the adopted conventional concepts that resources required for social services will slow down economic growth and productive investments.

The issue of inequality in education includes the georgraphical distribution of schools, access to schooling, teachers, equipments, books, furniture and methods of financing educational institutions.

The problem of decline of government educational facilities in Greater Khartoum has been solved by expansion of private education. The spread of private education has not only deprived the urban poor of equal educational opportunities at the pre-university levels, but has also become a main factor in destroying chances of equal admission to higher education at the national level. Educational facilities which pave the way to

university education favour the high income groups. The rich can afford high costs of private and foreign schools, costs of private teachers and books, apart from the encouraging social and physical environments.

It has been revealed that the number of students admitted to university of Khartoum from outside Greater Khartoum has recorded a continuous decrease between 1979 and 1984. But Khartoum's students has continued to increase in number until they reached 35 percent of the university students in 1985. Moreover, admission to better paying colleges - Medecine, Engineering and Archetecture, is dominated by Khartoum's students, whose percentages in these faculties reached 50%, 56% and 75% respectively.(23)

The following table (table 7.11.) shows how the impact of income level at the national level and within Khartoum is directly reflected on admission to the university and how educational opportunities reflect the regional disparities.

(23) S. Umm Badda, 'Admission Policy to Higher Education and its Consequences, with special reference to Khartoum University', Seminar No. 61, D.S.R.C., University of Khartoum, March 1985. (in Arabic).

Table 7.11.

Number of Students admitted to Faculty of Medicine, University of Khartoum by Incom Level and Region 1984 / 85

Region	High Income	Middle Income	Limited Income	Total
Khartoum	45	26	24	95
Central	6	8	34	48
Northern	5	3	11	19
Eastern	1	5	1	7
Kordofan	–	–	5	5
Darfur	–	2	1	3
Southern	–	–	–	–
Total	57	44	79	
Total admission to University	321	354	975	1650

Source: S. Umm Badda, Op. Cit. 1985.

Inequality in educational opportunities in Greater Khartoum is not only manifested in the decline of government educational facilities and the increasing importance of private schools. It is also manifested in the sharp differentiation of educational facilities among government schools according to place of residence. In government schools in Khartoum urban area admission

to primary schools is decentralized, and therefore, slight differences are found in terms of spatial distribution and sex differences at this level. But the number of children who get a chance to enter school, and the required facilities in schools vary remarkably between rich areas and poor areas.

For instance, in Khartoum West Primary School (boys), the school is clean and there are plenty of trees and decorations. There is no shortage of teachers, books seats or equipments. In this school, the children who applied for entry in 1983/84 were fifty, all of them were admitted. On the other side of the urban area, Umm Badda North Primary School is built of mixture of mud and red brick and the classrooms are dirty. Teachers, books and other equipments are in short, and nearly half of the pupils who are not able to afford school uniforms, sit inside classrooms on red bricks and tins. In this school, the children who applied for entry were 127, 100 of them got chances to enter the school in one class. Table 7.12 shows the enrolment of pupils in these two schools.

This sharp contrast in educational opportunities prevails in comparing all better places with poor places of residence in Khartoum urban area because of the role of parent associations. in the adopted cost-effective policy, the government pay more attention to schools in which the parent associations afford higher subscriptions to the self-help programmes in the so-called educational revolution.

Table 7.12

Number of Pupils Enrolled in Khartoum West and Umm Badda North

primary Schools (boys), 1984

	K.W.P.S.	Umm Badda N.P.S.
Class I	50	100
Class II	56	90
Class III	45	87
Class IV	53	76
Class V	56	74
Class VI	62	74
Total	322	501

At the intermediate and secondary schools levels, government educational facilities become narrower and, unlike primary education, distribution is not on neighbourhood bases. The geographical distribution of government schools at these two levels becomes one of the major features of decline of basic urban services in Khartoum urban area. Concetration of inadequate government schools at or near the central area in each of the Three Towns(Fig. 7.4.) was made to reduce the spatial distance at different directions for various residential areas. Because of the serious problems of public transportation in poor areas, the students suffer of subhuman journeys between places of residence and the centrally-located schools. For intance, there is no single

FIG. 7.4 KHARTOUM URBAN AREA: DISTRIBUTION OF GOVERNMENT SECONDARY SCHOOLS, 1983
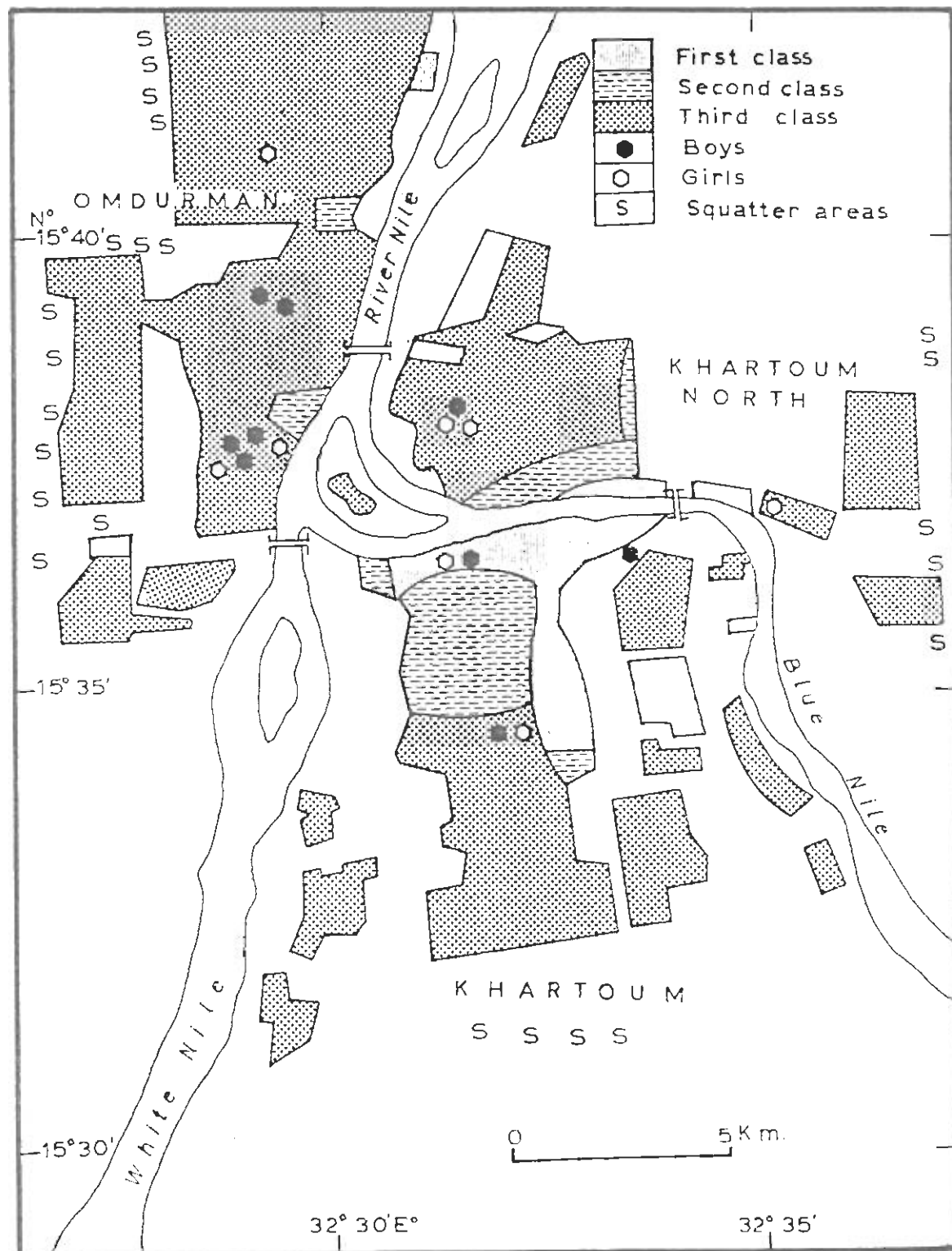
Fildwork.

For instance, there is no single government secondary school in any of the three largest areas in Khartoum urban area, Sahafa, Umm Badda and Al-thoura, which are dominated by low and limited income groups. This is despite the spatial distance in the three cases from the centrally-locted schools. Similarly, in the largest sectors of Khartoum town-south of the railway station with 453000 persons, there are only three secondary schools for boys and three secondary schools for girls; only two of the six schools are governmental. But the number of secondary schools - government, private and foreign in Khartoum central - north of the railway station-with 23000 persons, is nine; only two of them are government.

The spatial distribution of schools in Khartoum urban area has never been in favour of the majority of urban population. Rather, it favours either better places of residence as mentioned above or places located near the centre of each of the Three Towns. Table 7.13. shows the difference in number and type of intermediate and secondary schools in selected two contrasting areas in each of the Three Towns.

Table 7.13.

Spatial Distribution of Schools in some Town Councils in Khartoum

Urban Area, 1983.

Town Councils	Population ('000)	Schools							
		Intermediate				Secondary			
		Boys		Girls		Boys		Girls	
		Govt	Prv	Govt	Prv	Govt	Prv	Govt	Prv
Khartoum:									
Kh. City									
(North)	23	4	4	6	3	2	3	1	5
Barari	41	3	–	3	–	–	–	–	–
Omdurman:									
Masalma	28	6	2	4	4	1	2	–	4
Umm Badda	181	4	–	3	1	–	–	–	–
Kh. North:									
Kh. North Town	77	10	3	10	5	1	2	2	2
Eastern Kh. N.	148	9	–	7	–	–	–	–	–

Source: Compiled from:

Khartoum Provincial Office of Education, Khartoum,

1983.

As it has been mentioned earlier, the role of private education has become increasingly significant. But the distribution of private schools is greatly affected by variation of income according to residential segregation. Therefore, there are no private secondary schools in Haj Yousif and Eastern Khartoum North or Umm Badda. More importantly, the limited and low income groups in Greater Khartoum cannot afford the costs of private education. For instance, the costs of schooling two children from a limited income group in private intermediate shcools reach 250 Sudanese Pounds plus the cost of books and transport. These costs in avearage are equivalent to 25 percent of the family's annual income. Such economic and spatial distances are not existent in better places of residences. Private education and particularly in foreign schools has become a prestige among wealthy people who can afford higher fees and costs in such schools, and possess private cars that overcome spatial distances.

Thus, in the spatial distribution of educational opportunities in Khartoum urban area, the serious problems of overcomeing the friction of distance and overcoming the barrier of income are both combined in poor areas, giving the masses little access to appropriate education.

7.2.3. Transportation

The existing system of urban transportation in Greater Khartoum has been a superficial attempt to overcome the friction of distance between residential areas and work places and urban basic facilities. As it has been mentioned earlier, the locational system of place of work, schools and hospitals requires the greatest movements of people between these centrally located places and places of residence.

However, because of sharp variation in income, ownership of private cars is almost confined to better classes of residence. Thus, a remarkable distinction has been made between the economic distance and the spatial distance in terms of the economics of urban transportation in Khartoum urban area. In better classes of residence that have emerged further away from the inner and well-serviced zones of the urban area, like Riyadh in Khartoum, Kober extension in Khartoum North and Al-Neil town in Omdurman — the friction of distance to better facilities has been overcome by private cars.

It follows that, a crucial element in the availability of transportation for the masses in the extensive poor residential areas, is the role of public urban transportation.

But the same causes of the economics of social policy responsible for declining health and educational facilities prevail. In the cost-benefit approach, public transportation is seen as non-productive investment, and, therefore, the role of government is continously declining as shown in table 7.14 as compared to ownership of private cars. The government possesses more than 300 buses, which in itself a very small number, but only 102 were on road in the Three Towns in 1983. This was so because of two reasons: lack of spare-parts and shortage of qualified drivers who deserted their jobs because of poor salaries and left to Arab oil-producing countries.(24)

Table 7.14

Decline of Public Transport and Increase of Private cars in Khartoum Urban Area, 1973-83.

Year	Private Cars	Buses		Population
		Public	Private	
1973	17103	182	1043	784,000
1976	28000		819	
1979	37650		330	
1981	50484		278	
1983	58564	102	212	1,343,000

Source: Commission for Economics Affairs, Sudanese Socialist Union, Khartoum, 1983.

(24) Interview with the Secretory, Capital Transportation Board, Khartoum, August 1983.

The above table also shows that the decline in the number of buses is not only confined to the public sector, but also to the private sector. This is because of inadequate servicing facilities, shortage of fuel, unserviced roads and frequent disputes over transport fares. Nevertheless, the private sector's contribution to the public transport has continously remained very big compared with the public sector. While the contribution of the public sector was only 102 buses in 1983, the private sector's contribution was:
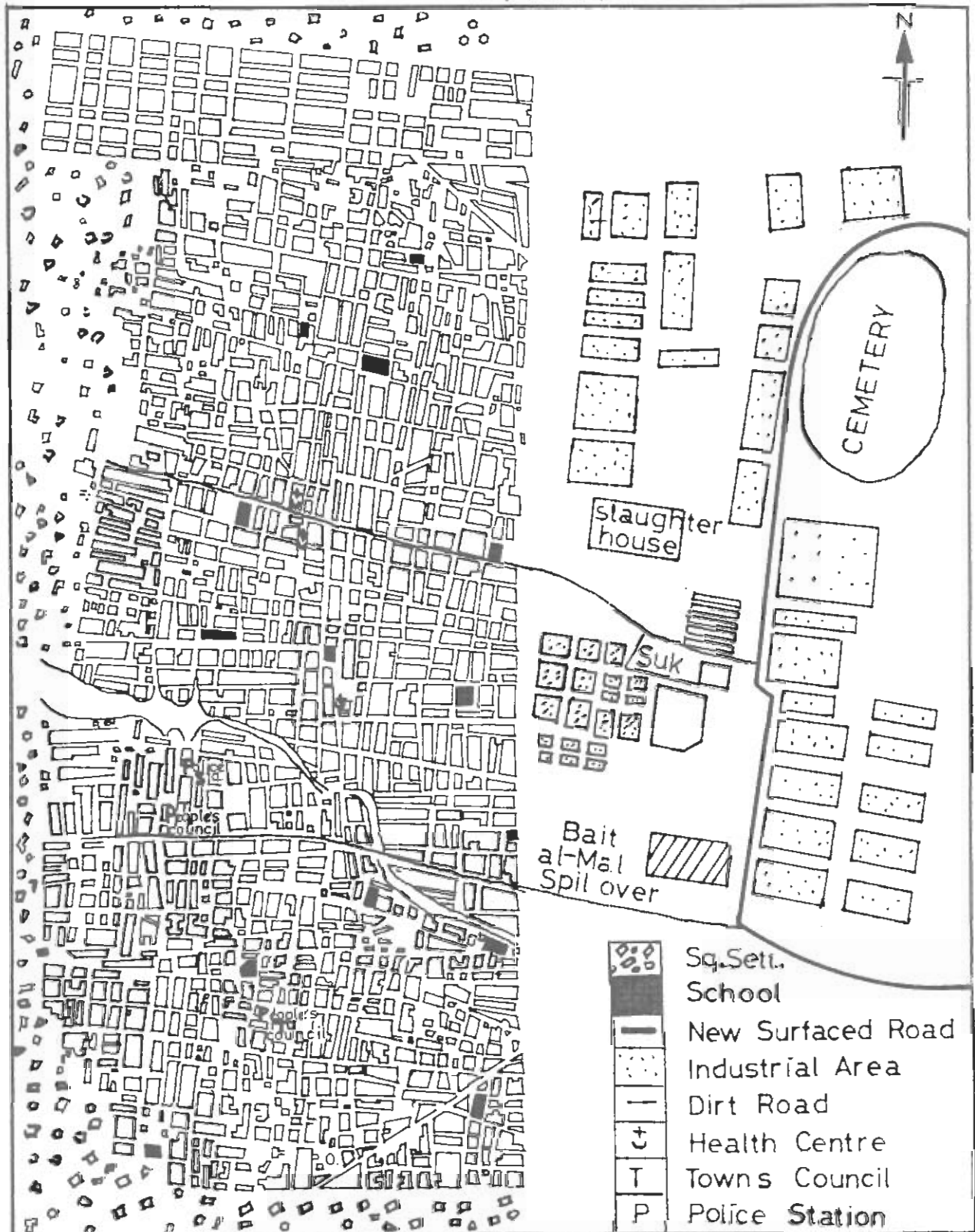
212 buses, 1136 mini-buses, 2395 boxes and 14441 taxis.(25)

The distribution of the public sector's buses among the various transportation routes has also been affected by the cost-benefit approach through which no public buses have been allowed in the unpaved roads of the third class and squatter areas. For instance, Umm Badda, which covers an area equal to old Omdurman, and with 181000 persons, has remained without a single route for public sector transport. Moreover, when a new serviced road has been constructed in the area, it was planned to cross the new public market and the industrial area to serve private establishments rather than to serve the masses in the nearby huge residential area. (Fig. 7.5)

(25) Interview with License-officer, License Office, Khartoum, Aug. 1983.

FIG.7.5 UMM BADDA:THE LOCATION OF A NEWLY CONSTRUCTED ROAD
(1982)

CEMETERY

slaughter house

Suk

Bait al-Mal Spil over

	Sq.Sett.
	School
—	New Surfaced Road
	Industrial Area
—	Dirt Road
↻	Health Centre
T	Town s Council
P	Police Station

Source: General map of Greater Khartoum (Survey Dept. 1981); Fieldwork.

(b)

Plate 7.4 : Public transport and the subhuman urban journeys in Greater Khartoum (Khartoum Central) The main feature is lack of public sectors buses.

As a result of inadequacy of transportation facilities, it has become a common feature of the urban life in the Three Towns that workers, patients and students travel long distances in substandard and subhuman urban journeys. (Plate 7.3). Thus, the urban poor have been forced to waste effort, time and money as a result of inadequacy and maldistribution of transportation facilities. For instance, a trip to and from work place, costs a worker from the limited income group, who lives in Althoura and works in Khartoum, 1.2 Sudanese Pounds an equivalent of 30 to 50 percent of his daily income. According to labour regulations such a worker is entitled to 15 Pounds per month as transport allowance. In addition to waste of money, in such substandard urban journeys the person is expected to spend between one and half and two hours to reach place of work. Delayed arrival to places of work, is therefore, accepted as not an offence in most cases. Table 7.15 shows how per unit population in the existing transportation system is very high in poor areas.

Table 7.15

Public Transport and per unit population in selected areas in Khartoum Urban Area, 1983.

Area	Population	Transport Units	Population Per Unit
Sajjana	28364	38	746
Deium	41913	85	493
Umm Badda	181788	365	498
Qamayr	14141	34	415
Haj Yousif and			
E. Khartoum North	148497	209	710

Compiled from: the Commission for Economic Affairs, SSU, Khartoum, 1983; and The Third Population Census.

Even, because of inadequate roads, people in the third class and squatter areas have to walk long distances to the nearest bus or box stop to start their substandard journeys.

7.2.4. Police Protection

Police protection is essential for security which is considered as an indicator of betterment of life quality. This is despite the fact that police activities deal with the symptoms but not the causes of crime. The works of many scholars and the United Nations experts(26) explain crime in developing countries as being the direct result of economic deprivation and differential opportunities.

In the theory of differential opportunities, Lopez-Rey argued that the poverty of the lower classes prevents them from using legitimate means to acquire their rights, and therefore, giving them in many cases no alternative but to engage in criminal activities. Even in developed countries where economic development has been achieved, differential opportunities preceded by sharp social change - have led to remarkable increase in criminality.(27)

(26) Marshall B. Clindard and Daniel J. Abbott, Crime in Developing Countries:

A comparative Perspective, London, John Wiley and Sons, Inc. 1973, PP. 35-50.

(27) Manuel Lopez-Rey, Crime: An Analytical Appraisal, London, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1970, P.21.

In a developing society, very low income groups, most of whom are migrants or squatterers face serious problems of indentity, economic stress, costs of living and social and physical problems of living in urban poor areas. In a United Nations report on crime in Arab countries it was emphasized that migrants become increasingly aware of their own deprivation when they see the wealth of the city in general and of the well-off citizens in particular. It follows that the feelings of deprivation lead to antagonism toward society. The report went on to explain that by a feeling of oppression and absence of social justice, such antagonism is kept alive and lead to criminality.(28)

In Khartoum urban area, it has already been mentioned that marked and sharp variations in income prevail, along with differential opportunities to acquire social needs and valued goods. Eventually, it is unexpected that crime become one of the features of urban life. However the nature and type of crime vary remarkably according to economic status and level of eduction of the offenders. According to police reports, crimes against

(28) U.N. Draft Report of Third United Nations Seminar for Arab States on the Prevention of Crime and the Treatment of Offenders', Damascus, 1964. and,

United Nations, International Action in the Field of Social Defence, Prepard by the Secretariat of the United Nations, 1967.

government like bribe and theft of public funds, as well as business crimes like forgery are confined to middle and higher income gorups.(29) Obviously, this type of crimes is characterized by two features:

1. offenders are residents of high or medium class of residence, and

2. police prectection is not envolved directly in prevention of such crimes.

The police reports also explain that when theft and assault cases are reported in high class residence, offenders are often from low income groups who work there in building construction; or servants who work without regulations governing wages and hours of work.

But crimes against people and property and various penal code offenses are much higher in poor areas as shown in table 7.16. Numbers of different types of crime in the table look misleading if taken in isolation from population size and policing strategy.

(29) Interview with Deputy Commissioner of Police, Khartoum and Officer Salah Ahmed, Ondurman Central Headquarters, July 1983.

Table 7.16.

Crimes Reported to Amarat and Umm Badda Police Stations, September 1983.

Type of Crime	Umm Badda	Amarat
Murder	1	-
Rape	1	-
Other Sexual Offense	3	-
Robbery	13	-
Receiving of Stolen Property	4	-
Noise and damage by drunkeness	29	7
Burglary and theft	40	22
Common assaults	37	28
Aggravated assaults	29	2
Forgery	-	8
False pretences	-	12
Offences against government	-	13

Source: Compiled from ' The Police Monthly Report ', Amarat and
   Umm Badda Police Stations, Khartoum, 1983.

In Khartoum urban area, no police headquarter was established since 1960.(30) This is despite the fact that the extensive and huge third class and squatter areas emerged after 1960. These areas, beside the incorporated suburban villages are serviced by small police stations distributed in the town council areas accroding to the hierarchical politico-administrative structure. In the distribution of such police stations two important factors have been neglected:

1.   the relationship between number of policemen and population size. Police force in each station ranges between fourty eight and fifty four (31), though population size differ remarkably not only between better places and poor places of residence but also among poor places (Fig. 7.6.), and

2.   inadequacies in police numbers and facilities are greater in poor and squatter areas where economic and social conditions favour criminal activities. In these areas, police stations face acute shortage in essential facilities like vehicles, telephones and even in some cases, papers and pens.(32)

(30) Interview with Deputy Police Commissioner, Khartoum, July 1983.

(32) Interview with Officer Salah Ahmed, Omdurman H.Q. July 1983.

(33) Interview with police Officers, Umm Badda Police Station, July 1983.
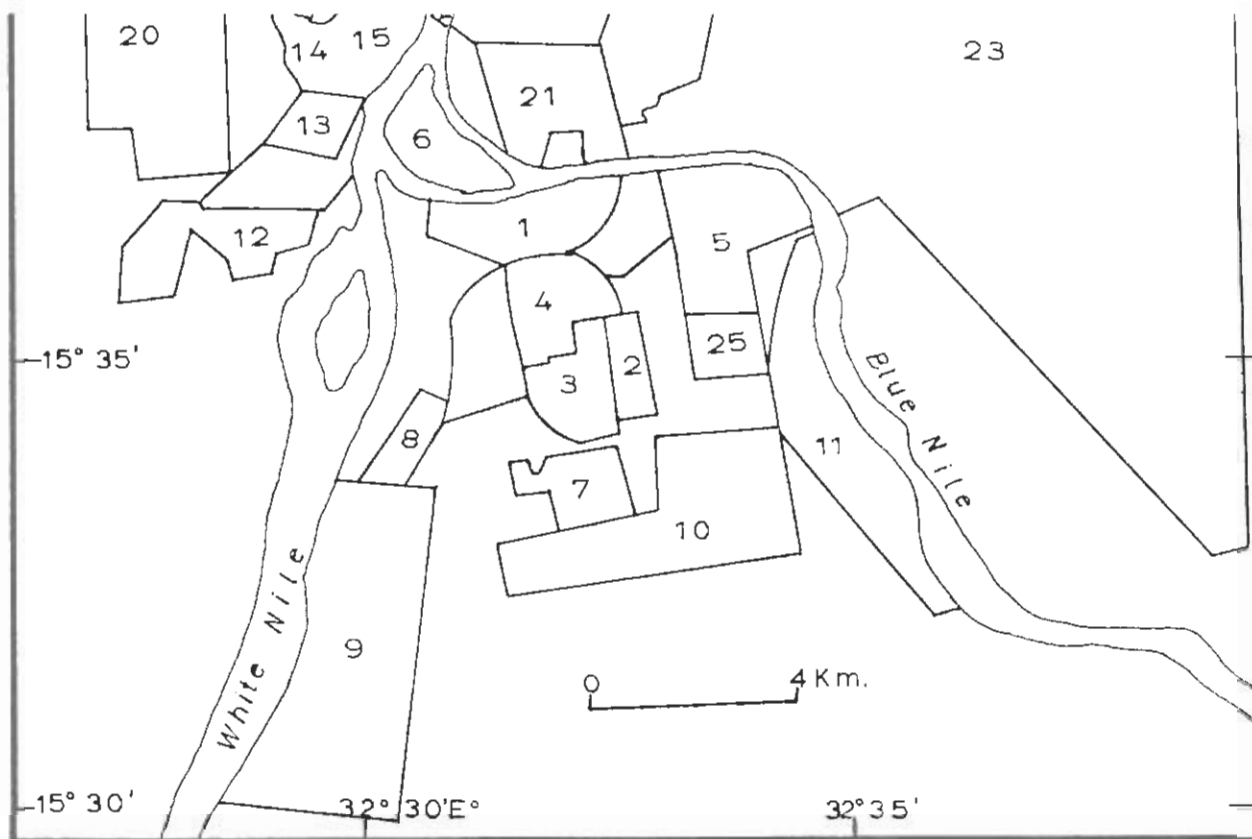
POPULATION IN '000

1	Khartoum City	23	14	Murada	32
2	Amarat	8	15	Beit el-Mal	19
3	Deiyum	42	16	Masalma	28
4	Saggana	28	17	Wad Nubawi	44
5	Barari	41	18	Thawra	106
6	Tuti	7	19	Mahdia	47
7	Third Class Extension	55	20	Umm Badda	181
8	Shagara	48	21	Khartoum North	77
9	White Nile	52	22	Shambat	48
10	Sahafa	125	23	Khartoum North East	148
11	Gerief & Soba	33	24	Halfaya	22
12	Abu Saied	36	25	Riyadh	10
13	Abu Anja	24			

Source :-(Third Population Census, 1983)

Apart from the problems of spatial distribution and inadequancies, the role of the police in general is greatly influenced by the colonial legacy. Police in Khartoum urban area and in the Sudan in general is affected, by the laws, regulations, practices and even ideologies of the colonial administration. Instead of dealing primarily with crime control, the concept of keeping law-and-order turned the police force in a paramilitary force to deal with internal problems.(33) Similar to colonial authorities, national governments often use the police force to crush riots and to attack political oppenents. Moreover, instead of concentrating efforts on crime control, the police are assigned to licensing of commercial enterprise and vehicles, supervision of exchange control, border patrol, refugee settelment and immigration and passport inspection. Such duties, however, could be handled by especialized bodies.

The failure to change the colonial system of police has led to preservation of the public attitude that the police are less trusted; social isolation of the police from the public; less training for the police as well as poor salaries. As a result people express unwillingness to work in the police, and hence, there is a very slow growth of police compared to growth of

(33) Christian P. Potholm, 'The Multiple Roles of the Police as Seen in the African Context', The Journal of Developing Area, No. 3, PP. 141-45.

population as mentioned above in the number of police in each station.

However, ineffieciencies of police activities in Khartoum urban area in protecting the community is not only greatly affected by inadequaces. But also by two other factors:

1. affordability of citizens to help reduce inadequacies of the police activity. For instance, well-off citizens in Amarat have built a police station and furnished it before they handed the keys to the authorities. In Riyadh, some groups of the citizens often make special arrangements for paying the police who work extra hours in night watching(34), and

2. distribution of the limited available police facilities between rich and poor areas. The scarce numbers of vehicles, patrol police, telephones, better trained police officers and high ranks are put in the headquarters and police stations near the city centre in each of the Three Towns.

The justification for this concentration of facilities, according to the police, is that crime is relatively well-organized in better places of residence where more valuable property is found. This policy has encouraged increase of thefts in poor areas - as shown in table 7.16 - not only because of lack

(34) Interview with Officer Salah Ahmed, July 1983.

of police protection but also because of less street lighting and the nature of building materials - doors and windows - and complete absence of night watching. Thus, in the official government policy towards police protection, the residents of poor areas are treated as if they have no perception of security and safety of neighbourhood.

7.2.5. The Provision of Outdoor Recreation

Recreation is essential to the cultural and psychological betterness of the people, beside its significance as a force of good health and production. Nevertheless, this important element has been neglected in the government social policy; and its inadequcies has been exacerbated by the policy of spatial distribution of benefits among the urban communities in the Three Towns.

However, in order to understnad inadequacies, inefficiencies and maldistbution of recreational facilities in Khartoum urban area, it is necessary to distinguish between public and private recreation because of the factor or affordability. It is also necessary to examine the locational distribution of recreational centres to see how the poor urban areas are deprived of such facilities. Table 7.17 shows broadly the type and location of recreation centres in the Three Towns,

Table 7.17

Recreational Centres in Khartoum Urban Area: Type, Number and Location, 1983.

| Type	Number	Location
Private:		
. Cinema	16	5 in Khartoum Central, 2 in Khartoum South, 4 in Khartoum North, 5 in Omdurman.
. Music Hall	4	Khartoum Central.
. Hall of First Class Hotel	12	Khartoum Central,1 in Khartoum North
Public:		
. Park	8	Blue Nile and Nile river banks: 4 in Khartoum, 3 in Omdurman, 1 in Kh. N.
. Youth Centre	4	2 in Omdurman, 1 in Kh. 1 in Kh. N.
. Theatre	1	Omdurman, the river bank.
. Zoo	1	Khartoum Central.
. Foreign Cultural centres and libraries	8	5 in khartoum Central, 2 in Omdurman 1 in Khartoum North.

Source: Fieldwork.

while Fig. 7.7 demonstrates the distribution of these centres among the various residential areas.

The allocation of private recreational centres has been determined by a cost-benefit approach and, therefore, these are concentrated in Khartoum central, and less in the centre of the other two towns. In the relationship between physical distance and economic status, such a locational system has two explanatory variables prove to have influene on the central place location of these facilities:

1. origin-related characteristics of level of income, level of car ownership and cultural standard. Attendence of music halls, halls of first class hotels, membership in private and professional clubs and visits to better standard cinemas are affordable by the prosperous sections of the urban community. In these expensive recreational facilities, nearness to better places of residence is not only related to the economic status but to those origin related characteristics, and

2. distance-price characteristics for both car owners and public transport users. Such characteristics favour centrality of these expensive private recreational facilities. This is because it reduces distance price as compared to other competing sites at different directions of the urban area.

FIG. 7.7   KHARTOUM URBAN AREA: DISTRIBUTION OF RECREATIONAL FACILITIES.
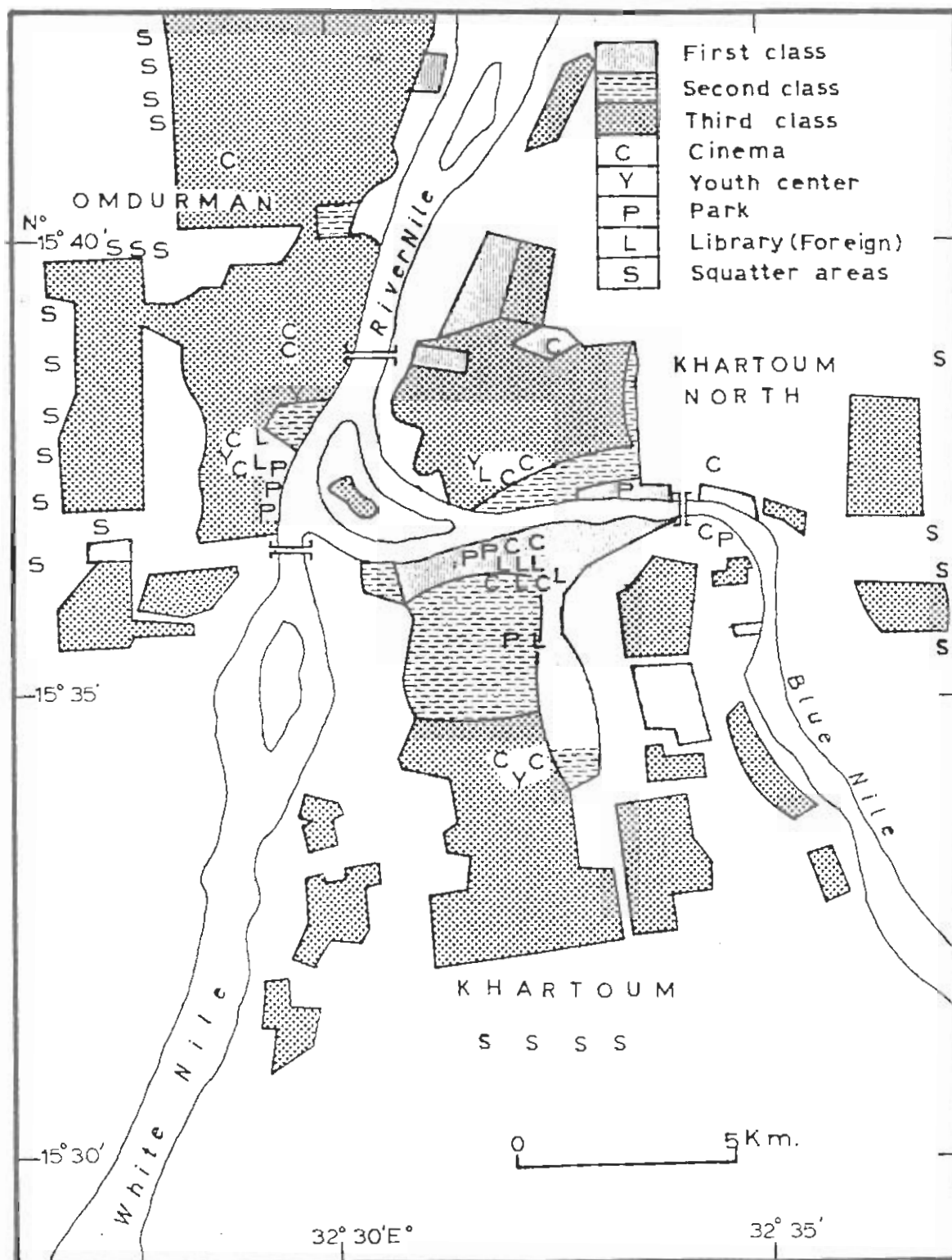
Fieldwork.

Entry fee of any of the private recreation centres is beyond affordability of limited and lower income groups. For instance, a trip to the Grand Hotel Cinema costs a family of six persons, thirty pounds as entry fee, besides distance price. Also, to enjoy music and to have a special meal in a hotel, costs the same family more than sixty pounds, an equivelant to a month's salary among the limited income group.

A striking feature of the distribution of recreational facilities in Khartoum urban area is that, in the largest four residential areas - in both size of area and size of population there is not a single recreation centre of any type. These areas are Sahafa, Althoura, Umm Badda and Haj Yousif. Moreover, in social and sports clubs in urban poor areas, the youth fight for any space in their congested residential areas for playing football, while in these social clubs at the neighbourhood level, the sole entertainment is playing cards.

Poor residential areas in Khartoum urban area are completly deprived of parks, children's playground's, youth's centres, public libraries and better social and sports clubs. This has contributed to the feelings of dissatisfaction of the human needs among the urban poor. However, as some of the public recreation facilities are centrally located, the physical distance and its price in terms of money, time and effort, make the affordability of the urban poor fall off. For instance, a monthly trip to the

Mugran Family Park costs a family of six persons from Al-thoura or
Arkaweat, a minimum of fifteen pounds (6 pounds for transport, 3
pounds for entry fee, 3 pounds for games and 3 pounds for soft drink).
This amount is equivelant to 30% of the month's salary among low income
group and 15% of the month's salary among the limited income group.
Even in cases of open public parks, however, poor families cannot
afford transport cost, and therefore they never think of recreation.

Thus, inadequacies and inefficiencies of recreation in poor
areas are reflections to the economics of social policy and to the
spatial distance and economic distance in these areas as embodied in
the adopted planning style.   Eventually, another feature of illfare,
rather than welfare, is added to the other prevalent features of
disparities in Khartoum urban area.

Failure of the authorities to provide people with needed services
led to the emergence of self-help programmes through voluntary citizens
and contributions of people in deprived areas like Umm Badda, Haj Yousif,
Kalaklat and Gabra.   Self-help programmes have become the beginning of
organized groups for wider and more important services by local com-
munity planning.   Thus, the spontaneous contribution of voluntary
citizens' effort to the development of services in the reorganized
squatter areas, replanned areas and new extensions at the outskirts
of Greater Khartoum is becoming of great importance.

The concept of local community planning was introduced officially
in some countries in order to reduce the power of bureaucracies and to
increase local participation for more effective planning. Best examples
are found in China and Yugoslavia. In China a system of residents com-
mittees have been introduced since the 1950s. These neighbourhood
organizations are organized as self-governing bodies to help supervising
sanitation and garbage collection and to organize programmes for other
basic services through city administration.[35] In Yugoslavia, local
planning committees were recognized in the 1974 constitution. The
task of these committees covers every aspect in civic and social develop-
ment.[36]

In Umm Badda - now officially known as New Omdurman - a small
group of citizens who were responsible for collection of donations and
contributions for building a police station found it necessary to co-
ordinate with other groups working in self-help programmes for other
services. This coordination became the basis of establishing a well-
organized committee in 1982 whose major tasks and functions are:

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(35) N. You, 'Alternative Strategies in Urban Development: Some
      Chinese Experiments in a Quest for Agropolitan Space', Third
      World Planning Review, Vol. 3, No. 1, 1981.

(36) Simmie J. and D. Hale, 'Urban Self-management in Yugoslavia',
      Regional Studies, Vol. 12, 1978, pp. 701-712.

1. Making residents aware of their role as participants in local social improvements.

2. Insuring construction of roads, security, health and educational services, planting of trees and telephone services.

3. Providing a channel for communication and complaints between citizens and the authorities. [37]

Citizens of the area and the authorities supported the idea and, in 1983 a ministerial order, followed by a local order from Omdurman Area Council were issued and recognized the establishment of the committee. The local order gave details of the establishment, composition, functions and financial resources of the newly born body of local community planning which has been called the New Omdurman Peoples National Committee for Improvement of Services. The Committee is composed of 21 persons: Chairman, Deputy Chairman, Secretary, Deputy Secretary, Financial Secretary, Executive Secretary, Project Supervisor and fourteen members. The local order approved the above mentioned functions and tasks and added that the financial resources are made up of 40% as contribution from local residents and 60% as governmental aid in forms of construction tools and workers for major projects.

However, because of lack of managerial experience and shortage of funds, the Area Council advised the Committee not to work in two projects at the same time. That is why the Committee was engaged since its

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(37) Interview with Salah Ahmed, the Chairman of the Committee.

establishment on construction of the main roads, and the work has been accomplished in six out of the seven roads in the area. The success of the first project - construction of roads - was in fact a result of will, action and coordination among the Committee, the authorities and the citizens. But the second project is confronted by the preserved lack of coordination between land authorities and planning authorities.

This second project is based on a Chinese grant for establishing a hospital. This vital project has been delayed because the problem of disposition of land is yet to be settled among health authorities, land authorities, planning authorities and Ministry of Animal Resources which has already accepted giving up the required land suggested for building the hospital. Nevertheless, the Committee is still struggling for realization of the project and, at the same time it is making plans for further services.

C H A P T E R VIII

CONCLUSION

In this study it has been argued that the adopted planning mode in Khartoum urban area is a restrictive one. This planning approach, which has been imposed by the colonial administration and retained by the successive national governments, is confined to zoning of land for particular allocations of residential grades and other centrally-located urban functional areas. In consequence, there has been no consideration for better choices of planned housing in relation to employment location, transport routes or service facility location. The practice of restrictive planning in Khartoum urban area has created two main features:

1. a remarkable increase in urban disparities and expansion of area of inequality. Such economic and social segregation have stemmed from planning ideology and planning law, and

2. a race against time and space between the authority and the people at the fringe of the urban area. In this race, people are moving faster than the authority, whose intervention remained regulatory and passive.

The existing planning law and regulations deal only with urban land, and this has become an acceptance of the separation

between man, economy and space. This separation has been the main cause behind the creation of sharp differentiation in human life chances in accordance to money income of the individuals. As a result, the distribution of basic human needs on the urban space has remained a physical expression of the economic status. Thus, the pernicious urban disparities and the socio-spatial inequities in Khartoum urban area have been the outcome of the preservation of the colonial social and economic policies, as manifested in the planning system.

Initially, societal and spatial reforms are complementary steps for the public good and for a just distribution of social welfare. But lag of effective societal reform has remained the main constraint on the way of the partial attempts made for improving and reorganizing the spatial structures in Khartoum urban area. The manifestation of this fact is the drastic failure of the government policy in housing programmes, replanning schemes, elimination and rehousing of squatter settlements and in the implementation of the proposed Master Plans. In consequence, the features of urban disparities in post-colonial period have become not different in their cause and effects from the colonial ones. The physical and social environment of the Old Deims slums in early conlonial Khartoum is typical of many parts of the present slums and squatter settlements. For instance, in Social Survey Area of western Umm-Badda, similar to the Old Deims,

the housing unit is a single room without a compound, latrine, bathroom or a kitchen.

Similarly, one of the main features of the existing planning system resulting from absence of comprehensive planning is unguided provision of basic services. Such a policy, has left the urban poor deprived of these services. Moreover, unguided supply of water, electricity and construction of roads-in absence of comprehensive planning has facilitated land speculation at the outskirts of the Three Towns.

8.1. Major Implications of the Applied Planning System in Khartoum Urban Area:

In the existing planning concepts and practices in Greater Khartoum, the following are the major implications:

1. Emergence of community planning within self-help programmes(1). Unlike the expansion of squatter settlements which has resulted from

(1) M.E.Abu Sin and S.A.Awadall, 'Community Sub-urban Planning in Greater Khartoum and its Environmental Consequences', (Contibution to the First National Engineering Conference – Sudan Engineering Society, Dec. 1984). Institute of Environmental Studies, University of Khartoum, 1984.

the failure of urban planning policy, the emergence of community planning is not a negative reaction. As mentioned earlier, the emergence of self-help programmes for the purpose of provision of some basic social services has been a response to the failure of the authorities to provide the masses with such services. Similarly, inefficiencies and slow movement of government planning agencies have led people at the local level to take initiative steps in community planning process. Community representative at local level, particularly in replanned areas and reorganized squatter areas like Umm Badda, Haj Yousif and Kalakalat, have become the movers of many development schemes. The construction of community buildings and roads are taking place within the optimum of the community resource and organizational capability. Thus, inspite of lack of experience in management and technology and shortage in funds, community planning is taking place-outside the legal and administrative frameworks of planning in an attempt to meet the community aspirations and needs. However, community planning can represent the root of local leadership required if a responsive planning policy was adopted.

2. Power of bureaucracies and domination of technocratic planning style. Planning problems are seen in terms of technical analysis unrelated to the actual and prevailing circumstances of the community. The governing planning law has empowered the Minister

and the planning boards to delegate their powers to ad-hoc committees or foreign experts to formulate and prepare specific planning programmes (article 5 in 1961 Act, and also in article 4 in the 1980 proposed planning law). This technocratic planning style has become associated with power of bureaucracies in the planning system. Public bureaucracies in the administrative framework of planning are creating a huge gap between the planning process and the public. Lack of information flow and communication between policy makers, town planners and the public prevail, despite the fact that public authorities are the only power that make decisions on spatial arrangements. Unlike Western market societies, decision-making within Khartoum planning system tends to be political and administrative rather than purely economic. But the government is not keen enough to take advantage of this power because of the jurisdictional, difinitional and socio-political bases of planning itself. As a result extreme secrecy has surrounded, and still surrounds, the details of the Master plans, town development plans, housing projects and replanning schemes. All these documents are often pigeon-holed by the concerned persons and committees.

3. Absence of planning law for unplanned areas. In replanning areas, incorporated sub-urban areas and squatter settlement, vital issues are managed by local orders becuase of absense of planning law in these lands. This has led to legalization of many uncontrolled sub-urban dwellings whose inclusion in the urban

areas was based on a mere local political support to thegovernment by establishing the basic units of the Socialist Union. This process has led to the increase of such dwellings in size and number, like the Kalaklat on the White Nile. However, responsibility for provision of public utilities to such dwellings is not defined in planning law and regulations.

4. Inadequacy of information and lack of communication. Planning activities in replanning, incorporation of sub-urban dwellings into the urban area, town development plans and housing projects are based on inadequate data bases and insufficient knowledge of the inhabitants size and economic and social conditions. In general, these projects tend to assume that their delimited areas are closed systems, without regard to the possible effectes, implications and linkages with adjacent areas or the migrants. Beside inadequacy of information there is a lack of communication among the legal, political, administrative and technical channels of planning. This is due to absence of relevant goals for the long term, and of specified objectives for the short term. Therefore, there is no common language among planning bodies at the top level. At the local level, technical terms and legends and the legal clauses are not understandable to the people's representatives.

5.   Contradiction among planning rules, Political objectives and planning finance. The country has not witnessed any comperhensive socio-economic development programmes based on political commitment to provision of equitable services. The repetition of this outlook in urban planning system is expressed in the planning rules in which provision of social services is determined by class of residence. Also, provision of social services is the responsibility of local authorities according to planning rules. But central government fails to provide local authorities with the required revenues to finance needed services. Such contradiction has remained the most destructive element to the welfare of the urban poor in Khartoum urban Area.

6.   Lack of citizens participation in the planning process. It is evident that to most ordinary men, town planning is a mysterious and unknown activity, and most people, including some officials, do not know what planning is all about. The authorities ignore to educate the public about the need for an the functions of planning. In the schemes made for replanning, elimination of squatter settlement and provision of some services, the dwellers are neither consulted, nor enlightened on the means and ends of the schemes.

Thus, the causes of failure of the adopted planning system along with the above mentioned implications reveal that the adoption of urban planning in Khartoum urban area has not been a deliberate political decision to distribute social services on equal bases. Instead, urban planning exists as a legal and administrative inheritance, checked in theory by foreign consultancy (Doxiadis and Mefit).

We know about actions taken for squatter clearance, and self-help programmes - even among the low and very low income groups - to satisfy social services. But we do not know about urban plans and economic plans related to concrete and positive social policy.

Laws and administrative regulations of the existing planning system as prepared by town planners, architects and administraters are not solving the causes of disparities in Greater Kharoum. What is really required, is a political will and responsive scientific and ideological grounds on which solutions are to be founded not only for social justice within urban areas but also for balanced regional development.

8.2. The Need for a Responsive Urban and Planning Policy :

Urban and planning policies of different political-economic, socio-political and ideological backgrounds are reflections of development strategies and legislations on economic development, land, population movements, employment and the desired pattern of human settlement at rural and urban levels. It follows that, urban planning system and town planning principles are inseparable from the national urban question.

In the Sudan's development strategy, and in the Economic Development Plans there has been no commitment for equitable development for regions and communities. It follows that, there has never been a concrete definition in the whole national policies for development, of the positive contents, means and ends of spatial plannning at the national level. The repetition of this outlook at the micro level, over the control and distribution of human activities and social needs, has produced the restrictive urban planning approach.

The need for an effective and positive planning in Khartoum urban area has become more urgent because of the remarkable deterioration of urban services and the prevalence of urban disparities. Because the shift from restrictive to positive planning approach cannot be separated from the national urban

policy, two basic points of departure, which are by necessity a policy-oriented paradigm, are required :

1.   to appose on solid ideological grounds the existing social and economic policies in order to cope with local needs within the available resources, and

2.   to measure on solid moral grounds how much the planned spatial organization could stress quality of life and equity.

At the national level, the creation of efficient urban centres cannot be achieved without changing the existing urban system which hinders the overall socio-economic transformation. Fundamentally, a prerequisite for an effective national urban policy is to develop an internal oriented economy with primary focus on the patterns of production, distribution and consumption; in which measures of socio-economic development are local, but not foreign. The adoption of such policy could lead to an independent and well-managed economy and a well-guided distribution of people and economic activities. In his regard, there are three basic elements required for effective structural transformation in the spatial organization of the country:

1. the formulation of well-defined goals and objectives for the well-being of the whole people on the national space,

2. a well directed and controlled utilization of the national space-economy for achievement of those defined goals, and,

3. working the appropriate political, economic, social and spatial policies for the implementation of those identified objectives and goals.

In this way, a responsive national urban policy and deliberate programme for an integrated urban and rural economy can aim at achieving the following objectives:

1. to relate the urbanization process to the national development goals by defining the role of towns in the national economy and national life as a whole,

2. to provide a framework for the distribution and growth of towns and to link this framework with the programmes for economic development and communication networks,

3. to create an institutional framework for the integration of development at the national, regional and local levels, and,

4. to establish specialized bodies and to train the required personnel in the technical and administrative fields for the implementation of those well-defined goals.

In the existing urban system in the Sudan, the absence of the positive objectives for rural transformation is attributed to the unidentified economic role of cities. If urban areas are considered as growth centres for their respective wider regions, there will be a steady promotion in the concept of urban responsibility and a remarkable change from centrality of administration, commerce and services, to a responsibility of diffusionof modernization into rural areas. This positive step depends on the above mentioned elements for structural transformation which requires a new outlook over the behaviour of the four spatial processes of urbanization: the spatial distribution of power and decision-making; the location of economic activities; the pattern of spatial diffusion of innovations; and the patterns of settlements and migration trends.

A comprehensive urban policy could deal with spatial development at both the macro and micro levels as they constitute a whole spatial system. Therefore, the failure to promote concrete policy instruments for constructive urban-rural relationship, is repeated at the micro level in the planning system in Khartoum urban area. Thus, similar to the need for a responsive national urban policy, a complete departure from the existing planning mode is required in order to cure the ills and disparities of the capitalist - colonialist - oriented planning system. This is so, because eliminating sharp differences between urban and rural areas, and between rich and poor areas within cities are usually built upon the same spatial conception stemming from typical concepts, social system and economic base.

Spatially, urban primacy and polarized development at the national level in the Sudan are not different from socio-spatial inequities and socio-economic stratification in Khartoum urban area.

The dominance of the colonial-oriented planning has been criticized at the international level in a conference organized by the United Nations, which reported that

" Planning must be applied to human settlements and urbanization with a view to avoiding adverse effects on the environment and obtaining maximum social, economic and environmental benefits for all. In this respect, projects which are designed for colonialist or racist domination must be abandoned"(2).

Abandonment of the colonial-oriented planning which remains unresponsive to the basic human needs is determined by the degree of basic change in the conceptual and institutional frameworks of planning. Initially, the heart of planning mechanism is development control which depends on well-defined goals and a well-managed cyclic process.(3)

(2) Athens Ekistics Centre, "United Nations Conference on the Human Environment - Declaration on the Human Environment", Ekistics, No. 208, 1973, pp 116-117.

(3) J.B. McLouglin, 1969, Op,Cit., pp.104-118.

societed reform.

Regarding the required goals, the departure from the existing system needs a new outlook towards the goals of town planning by a commitment to socially integrative value of housing and a wide and just range of social services. In this way regularization of land-use could be directed toward the following goals:

1. integration of the various physical plants in the urban area in order to increase the interaction of the town in social and economic behaviour,

2. accessibility to work places and basic services by linking housing schemes, employment and transportation routes; and by distributing essential services without land and social class divisions,

3. improvement of aesthetic quality and sanitation conditions in all sectors of the town,

4. satisfaction of all social needs of individuals and groups in a comprehensive plan, and

5. preparation of local programmes to challenge the pernicious
    legacy of the inherited colonial-oriented spatial
    structures. This main goal cannot be achieved without
    rejecting the rule of land-class segregation in planning,
    and without working tighter policies for eliminating the
    features of urban inequities in housing, transportation and
    services.

Conceptualization and legalization of those responsive goals
form the point of departure in the cyclic process of urban
planning. However, the cycle of planning process is expected to
be effective in the planning framework, if these stages were
strictly followed:

1. commitment to adopt a responsive mode of planning,
2. formulation of such planning contents and goals on political
    and legal bases,
3. establishment of a powerful and lawful body for following up
    planning practices in order to maintain continuous
    refinement and to avoid errors and stagnation, and
4. taking action in comprehensive steps through coordination
    among the administrative, technical and financial sequences.

In the first stage, the concept of commitment should become the most critical of all because it is influenced by governmental decision-making which stems from socio-political bases of society. At this stage no detailed plan is sought, and instead, conceptualization of urban policy and elements of town planning is expected to develop on basis of comprehensive social and economic planning. In the existing planning system in Khartoum urban area, the concept of commitment to provision of basic services is absent. This is because despite the vague regulations in this matter, commitment is not a decision to perform an action but the actual performing of it. Thus, in the planning process the steps from conceptualization to taking action should be governed by the concept of commitment.

In the second stage, the formulation of planning contents on legal bases - the planning law and regulations - should reflect the desires and needs of the whole urban communities. In the colonial-oriented planning, no reference was made to housing, while housing policy is built upon administrative actions based on class of land and income. If housing and other basic services became a major part of planning contents and principles on legal bases and equal rights for individuals, this step would become the sole guarantee for equal distribution of social welfare. However, such legislative step could not be taken without political commitment to positive planning.

In the third stage, the establishment of a powerful and
lawful body that could link planning decision and action, is
vital in the cycle of planning process. The absence of this body
in the existing planning system has led, for instance, delays in
and neglection of replanning schemes. When sufficient powers are
delivered to a lawful and authoritative board solely devoted to
planning, this could facilitate tighter control over events
taking place on space, and could solve the problems of
relationships between bureaucracies and individuals.

In the fourth stage, taking of action is based on the
previous steps and considerations. Implementation of the desired
plan and the translation of the theoretical concepts of
responsive planning into practice depends on co-ordination among
the concerned bodies-technical, administrative and financial -
through the central board. In the existing planning mode, missing
of this step has led, for insteance, to the failure of all
attempts to eliminate and to rehouse the squatter settlements.

The traditional town planning perspectives and assumptions,
as adopted in Khartoum Urban Area, are no more relevant to the
well-being of all sectors of the urban population. The planning
process is increasingly becoming inter-disc iplinary in approach.

Various disciplines in social sciences, environmental sciences, engineering and architecture are expected to introduce experiences and knowledge of local conditions. The local situations should be utilized in promoting a responsive and purposeful planning style which could replace the existing system and combine social planning, economic planning and physical planning to create a more humane settlement for our people.

Such radical shift from the existing planning system requires a new outlook towards optimization of human activities within a spatial framework, stemming from a conceptual system, based on social justice. A model for realization of such system in its physical form can be designed in a direct and tight way to optimize the related subsystem in the landscape, through the above mentioned responsive social goals and well-managed cyclic process. The first task in such alternative planning system is a statement of policy in a structural plan for the whole region displaying major land use and spatial relations of places of work, residence and service. This should be followed by district plans and neighbourhood plans with the required details and needs. With a conceptualized and legalized commitment to social welfare and social justice, every blueprint for action area plans becomes a relaization of integrative value of housing at the structural plan level, and a wide and just range of community buildings and social services at the neighbourhood level.

However, realization of such a model in its subsystem forms in the landscape requires not only the above mentioned radical shift at the top level, but also the realization of community participation in social and civic development.   Therefore, the existing local community planning requires three governmental actions for proper functioning of this vital development potential:

1. The creation of an institutional structure for community action in order to support local leadership and to organize the objectives of local community planning.

2. Commitment of the authorities to utilize this positive reaction by providing such committees with the required management, available technology and funds.

3. Introduction of essential changes in the approach and methods of urban planning and urban management in order to facilitate the task of peoples' local planning committees, through effective coordination among the bodies concerned, instead of the existing bureacracies.

In this way, the application of a positive system of planning by radical changes in the political concept at the top level can be associated with down-to-earth decisions through local community planning.

A P P E N D I C E S

A P P E N D I X 1

THE TOWN REPLANNING ORDINANCE, 1950

An Ordinance to provide for the improvement of the lay-out of towns in the public interest.

BE IT HEREBY ENACTED in accordance with the provisions of the Executive Council and Legislative Assembly Ordinance 1948 as follows:-

1. This Ordinance may be cited as the Town Replanning Ordinance.

2. In this ordinance unless the context otherwise requires:-
    Interpretation,

    "area" means the area to be replanned as shown on the general plan.

    "commission" means the Replanning Commission constituted under section 12.

    "general plan" means the plan of the new lay-out of the area approved in accordance with section 8.

    "land" includes buildings and things permanently attached to land, and includes every estate and interest in land.

    "person interested" means a person who is registered in the Land Registry as having any title, right or interest in or over any land within the area and includes also the properly constituted guardian or agent of the person interested.

"scheme" means the scheme to be prepared by the Commission in accordance with section 16.

"town" means a town for which a plan showing classification of land is required to be deposited under any Local Government enactment for the time being in force.

3. Notice of intention to replan area.

If it appears to the Governor that the replanning under the provisions of this ordinance of an area in any town in his Province is desirable either in the interests of public health, or amenities or development he shall cause notice thereof to be published in the Gazette and in such other manner as he considers appropriate to bring it to the attention of the persons interested.

4. Interim prohibition of building.

After the publication of the notice referred to in section 3 no person shall begin any new building or boundary wall or any structural repairs to any existing building or boundary wall except with the written permission of the Governor.

5. Preparation of draft general plan.

The Governor, after publishing the notice referred to in section 3, shall, unless he cancels the said notice, cause a draft general plan of a new lay-out of the area to be prepared in which the classification of the land may also be altered.

In preparing the draft general plan the Governor shall consult the Local Government Authority and give all persons interested an opportunity to make representations concerning it.

without agreed amendments, it shall submit the same for approval to the Governor-General through the Minister of Finance.

8. **Order of Governor General that general plan be carried into effect.**

   (1) If the Governor-General approves the general plan, he may order that the general plan be carried into effect, and in that event the provisions of this ordinance shall apply to the area.

   (2) Such order shall be published in the Gazette and shall include:-

       (a) a description of the area, and

       (b) notification of the place where the general plan may be inspected.

9. **Local publication of order.**

   The Governor shall publish such order locally in such manner as he may consider appropriate to bring the same to the notice of the persons interested.

10. New building prohibited after publication of order.

No person shall, after publication of the order under section 8, commence or continue any new building or make any structural alternations to an existing building or construct or reconstruct a boundary wall from or above ground level within the area save with the written permission of the District Commissioner.

11. Appointment of Replanning Officer.

Upon or so soon as convenient after the appointment of the Replanning Officer, there shall be constituted a Replanning Commission which shall consist of the Replanning Officer as President and two members.

12. Constitution of Replanning Commission.

(1) Upon or so soon as convenient after the appointment of the Replanning Officer, there shall be constituted a Replanning Commission which shall consist of the Replanning Officer as President and two members.

(2) One such member shall be appointed by the Governor, and the other member shall be appointed by the Replanning Officer who in making such appointment shall so far as practicable take into consideration and give effect to the wishes of the persons interested.

13. Publication of programme by Commission.

(1) The Replanning Officer shall time to time on behalf of the Commission publish a notice containing a summary of the order made by the Governor-General under section 8, setting by the Commission and calling upon persons interested in the land situated in the area, or such part thereof as is specified in the notice, to appear personally or by agent before the Commission at the time and place stated therein.

(2) Such notices shall be posted at the District Commissioner's Office and at the Land Registry Office in which places, if any, as the Replanning Officer thinks fit.

14. Representation of persons interested before Commission.

(1) If land is held by heirs in undivided shares, the Replanning Officer may appoint any adult heir to represent for the purposes of this ordinance any of his co-heirs who has not appeared in person or by properly constitued guardian or agent.

(2) If an agent or guardian has been duly appointed by a competent Court to act generally for any person interested who is absent or a minor or under any other legal disability, such agent or guardian may represent the person interested before the Commission for the purposes of the ordinance.

(3) Any person interested may appear before the Commission by an agent lawfully appointed and authorized in writing to act for him either generally or for the purpose of this ordinance.

(4) Any agreement made by any such guardian or agent with the Commission shall bind the person interested in like manner and to the same extent as if it had been made by the person interested and such person had been present and of full age and not under disability.

15. Power of Commission perliminary to preparation of scheme.

(1) The Commission may administer oaths in any enquiry held by it for the purpose of this ordinance and may issue summonses, notices or orders requiring the attendance of such persons or the production of such enquiry, and such summonses, notice or orders shall so far as possible be served in the manner provided by the Civil Justice Ordinance.

(2) The Commission and any person authorized in that behalf by the Replanning Officer may enter upon, inspect, survey, set out and mark the boundaries of any land situated within the area, and may do all other acts which may be necessary or convenient for the preparation of the scheme.

16. Preparation of scheme by Commission.

(1) The Commission, after holding all necessary enquiries and hearing all persons interested who wish to be heard, and making all necessary inspections and surveys, shall replan the layout of each block or other division within the area in conformity with general plan, giving due consideration to the wishes of the persons interested and so as not to interfere with private rights without good cause. The Commission may also alter the classification of any land in the area in confromity with the general plan.

(2) The Commission shall incorporate their detailed proposals for replanning the area in a scheme, which may be prepared either as a whole, or by sections corresponding to blocks or to such other divisions of the area as may be convenient. The scheme, which shall contain a full description of the new lay-out, with reference to a plan, shall be made available for inspection by persons interested at the places provided for posting of notices under section 13.

17. Governor's approval of scheme required.

No scheme (which word hereinafter includes any separate section of a scheme) under this ordinance shall be put into effect unless it have received the approval of the Governor. Notice of such approval shall be published in the Gazette.

(2) The Governor shall not approve any scheme unless he be satisfied that there is available in the area or elsewhere adequate suitable alternative accommodation for all (if any) persons who as result of the putting into effect of the scheme will lose their existing accommodation.

18. Power of Commission.

(1) For the purpose of effecting the alterations in lay-out and other improvements proposed in the scheme the Commission may by order provided for:-

(a) the variation and re-alignment of the boundaries of any plot, by the serverance therefrom of any part thereof, or by the addition thereto of any adjoining land, so as to render such plot or any adjoining plot more suitable in size, shape and dimensions for development, or to provide street frontage or convenience of access or any other improvement;

(b) the elimination of any plot the size, dimensions or situation of which renders it unsuitable for development, or the elimination of which is otherwise desirable for the purpose of the scheme;

(c) the opening of new streets and lanes or widening or re-alignment or closing of existing streets and lanes;

(d) the opening of new drains or the widening, deepening, re-alignment or closing of existing drains;

(e) the creation or extinction of rights of way or of drainage or rights to light or other easements in favour of any plot over any other plot;

(f) the demolition by its owner within a specified time of any boundary wall or other building, and the building of a new boundary wall;

(g) the cancellation or variation of any of the terms, including the rent, of any lease or tenancy agreement;

(h) the alteration of the classification of any land in the area.

(2) If and so far as may be necessary for the execution of any order made under the preceding sub-section, the Commission may by order expropriate to the Government any land in the area, or transfer Government land or the land of any person interested to any other person interested.

19. Assesment of loss or enhancement and of compensation.

(1) The Commission shall assess the extent to which every person interested is affected by any loss or enhancement in the value of his land resulting from any order made under section 18.

(2) In the case of any person interested who has lost the whole of his land the Commission shall assess his loss at the value of the land at the date of publication of the notice under section 3 and in all other cases shall assess the loss or enhancement at the difference between the value of the land at that date and value of the same land or of any land representing it after the scheme has been carried into effect.

In fixing the value of any land at the date of the notice no account shall be taken of any effect upon the value of the land due to knowledge that the scheme was contemplated or to anything done as a result of such knowledge.

(3) The Commission shall award compensation to any person interested who has spent money in complying with anyorder under section 18 (f) or who has suffered substantial damage by disturbance in consequences of any order under section 18.

(4) the Commission may also award compensation to any other person who has suffered substantial damage in consequence of any order under section 18.

20. Payment of loss, enhancement and compensation.

(1) The Commission shall order payment by the Government to any person to whom any loss or any compensation has been assessed or awarded under section 19 of all amounts so assessed or awarded or, if enhancement has been assessed to the same person which is less than such loss or compensation or than the total of both in any case in which both are payable, of the difference between such enhancement and such loss or compensation or such total; or, with his consent, it may order that he be given satisfaction in land either wholly or in part:

Provide that the Commission may, if it considers it just, order that payment be postponed for any period not exceeding ten years.

(2) The Commission shall order payment to the Government by any person to whom any enhancement has been assessed under section 19 of the amount of that enhancement, or if any loss or any compensation have been assessed or awarded to the same person which, or the total of both of which in any case in which both are payable, is less than such enhancement, of the difference between such loss or compensation or such total and such enhancement: Provided that the Commission may if, it considers it just, allow postponement of payment or payment by instalments but in either case if the land be sold any sum remaining upaid at the date of sale shall become immediatley due and payable.

Any sum of money due to the Government under this section shall be charged on the land in respect of which it is due and shall rank in priority next after any charges already registered at the date of the order under section 18.

(3) If any person against whom an order for payment of enhancement has been made satisfy the Governor that the enforcement of such order would be unjust or harsh by reason of his poverty, the Governor shall either cancel the order or amend it by reducing the amount therein ordered to be paid: Provided that if at any time within five years from the date of cancellation or amendment the land be sold, liability to pay any sum originally ordered shall revive.

21. Enforcement of orders of Commission.

(1) An order made by the Commissioner under section 19 or 20 shall bind the Government and all persons whether or not such persons received notice under section 13 or appeared before the Commission under section 18 and shall have the force of a decree of a civil court and may enforced in the manner provided by the Civil Justice Ordinance.

(2) Save as provided in the next succeeding sub-section any order made by the Commission affecting the title to anyland in the area shall be registered in the appropriate register under the Land Settlement and Registration Ordinance, and registration thereunder shall operate without any conveyance or transfer to vest the said land in person or persons specified in the order (including, in the case of an order for expropriation, the Government) to the full extent of the title, right or interest therein specified but not further or otherwise.

(3) An order creating new roads, lanes open space within the area shall not require to be registered and shall operate without registration to vest such roads, lanes or open spaces in the Government in full ownership free from incumbrances.

(4) At any time after the expiration of the time specified in an order made under section 18 (1) (f) requiring demolition or building to be carried out by the owner of any land, the Governor or any person authorized by him may, if such demolition or building shall not then have been carried out, enter upon such land and carry out the same, and may recover the cost of so doing from the owner; and such cost shall constitute a charge upon the land of the owner within the area, and may be registered accordingly.

22. Appeal to High Court.
Any person aggrieved by any assessment or award made by the Commission under section 19 or failure to make an assessment or award or any order of the Commission under section 20 may appeal to the Judge of the High Court.

23. Regulations.
The Minister of Justice may make regulations not inconsistent with this ordinance for the purpose of giving fuller effect to the provisions hereof, and in particular and without prejudice, to the generality of the foregoing may by such regulations provide for the rules to be followed by the Commission in making assessments under section 19.

NOTE :– The Orders made under section 8 (1) of the Town Replanning Ordinance, being of local application, will found in the supplementary volume under the appropriate province heading.

APPENDIX II

THE TOWN AND VILLAGE PLANNING ACT, 1961

(1961, Act No. 27)

AN ACT to repeal and re-enact with amendment the Town and Village Planning Act 1956.

In excercise of the powers conferred on him by constitutional Order No. 1, the President of the Supreme Council for the Armed Forces hereby makes the following Act:

1. This Act may be cited as the Town and Village Planning Act, 1961.

2. In this Act unless the context otherwise requires:

" Board " means Central Town Planning Board constituted by Section 5.

"Council" has the same meaning as in L.G.Ordinance.

"Minister"Means the Minister of Local Government.

" Land " includes buildings and things permanently attached and things permanently attached to land and every estate and interest in land.

3. Functions of the Minister:

The Minister shall be responsible for the direction and control of all town and village planning for central and local planning authirites and for securing as high degree of initiative as is consistant with development on sound and uniform principles of planning.

4. Powers of the Minister:

In addition to any general powers necessary in this Act the Minister may:

a. from time to time vary the boundaries of any town or village, classify previously unclassifed land and reclassify already classified land.

b. make such regulations, as in his opinion are necessary for the discharge of his functions under this Act and may in such regulations provide penalties for and for the remedying of breaches thereof or of any local or other orders made to give effect thereto:

5. Central Town Planning Board:

There shall be, and there is hereby contituted a board be known as the Central Town Planning Board which shall consist of:

(a)   Five ex-officio members who shall be:

    The Director, Ministry of Local Government.

    The Director of surveys.

    The Director, Ministry of Health.

    The commissioner of Lands.

(b)   Any number not exceeding five of members appointed by the Minister from among persons qualified by specialised knowledge or by experience to assist in the work of the Board; every member shall hold office for a period of three years from the date of his appointment and shall be eligible for re-appointment for a like term on any one or more occasions.

Every ex-officio member may appoint an offical of his Department to represent him on the Board either generally or for a particular occasion.

6.   In the discharge of his functions under this Act the Minister shall in all matters act in consultation with the Board to which he may delegate any of his functions or powers except those of making regulations and fixing and village boundaries.

7. The Minister shall appoint Chairman of the Board which may regulate its own procedure, and which may appoint such Committees as it may think fit and, with the consent of the Minister, may delegate to any such committee any of the functions or powers delegated to it by the Minister.

8. Notice of every proposal to excercise any of the planning powers conferred by this Act, together with a plan giving particulars of such proposed excercise, shall be published by the Minister in such manner as he considers most appropriate for bringing it to the attention of persons interested.

9. Where the excercise of such planning powers causes loss or enhancement of value to any privately-owned land, the following provisions shall apply:

   (a) The amount of such loss or enhancement shall be the difference between the value of the land at the date of publication of the notice required by Section 8, and the value of the same land immediately after the coming into effect of the plan thereby notified.

Provided that:

(i) in the case of any land required for use as roads, including their verges and open spaces in accordance with an approved layout of the relevant planning authority, the amount of loss or enhancement shall be nil.

(ii) in determining the value of the land at the date of the publicationof the said notice, no account shall be taken of any effect upon such vlaue due to knowledge that the exercise of such powers was proposed, or to anything done as a reult of such knowledge.

(b) If the owner or, where there are more than one, all the owners of any such land and the Council agree as to the amount of the said loss or enhancement, such amount shall (subject to a power in the Minister to set aside such agreement and to require the amount to be assessed as provided in the following paragraph) be the amount of loss or enhancement for the purpose of this Section. Provided that nothing in this paragraph shall make it necessary for a Council to attempt to reach agreement as to the said amount before having recourse to the procedure of the following paragraph.

(c) (i) If agreement as to the amount of loss or enhancement is either not sought or not obtained, such amount shall be assessed by a Commission constituted for the purpose by the Province Authority and consisting of a Chairman appointed by it and two similarly appointed members of whom one shall be a member of the Council, and the other shall as far as is reasonably practicable be a representative of the persons interested.

(ii) The Commission shall be constituted and shall complete its work as soon as is reasonably possible after the publication of the notice referred to in Section 8.

(iii) Any person, including the Government, affected by any such assessment may within one month of receiving notification thereof appeal against it to a Judge of the High Court who may set aside, amend or confirm the same.

10. (1) In the case of loss, the full amount thereof shall be payable by the Government to the owner of the land.

(2) In the case of enhancement 75 per cent of the amount of the enhancement shall be payable by the owner of the land to the Government.

(3) The amounts so payable in respect of loss or enhancement of value of any land shall be paid to or by the owner thereof within the period of six months from the date of service on the owner of a notice signed by the Minister.

Provided that the said notice shall not be issued before the registration of the land in accordance with the plan.

Provided further that in any case in which in his opinion the payment of the amount of enhancement within the period of the said notice, would cause undue hardship, or would retard development, the Minister may, subject to such terms, if any, as to interest (which shall not exceed 5 per cent.) as he may think just, postpone the payment thereof for a period not exceeding ten years from the date of its becoming due, or permit the payment thereof by instalments over such period.

11.   (I) Whenever the Minister exercise his powers under Section 4 (a) to classify previously unclassified land, whether such land is already within the boundaries of any town or village, or is being brought within such boundaries by an exercise of the powers to fix or vary such boundaries under the said paragraph, the Council of Ministers may acquire such land under the provisions of the Land Acquisition Ordinance as if the land is required for a public purpose; and in such case the provisions of Sections 9 and 10, with regard to assessment and payment of loss or enhancement of value.shall not apply.

(2)   In the assessment of compensation under the said Ordinance, and notwithstanding the provisions of Section 19 thereof, there shall not be taken into consideration any increase in the value of the land which has accrued from the exercise by the Minister of his power to classify such land or to include if within the: boundaries of a town or village, or from any anticipation of the intention of the Minister to exercise such power.

12.   (I) In this Section "undeveloped land" means any land which has not been physically altered in the manner and for the purposes for which it had been classified; and it is immaterial that the failure to effect such physical alteration is not due to any neglect or default of the owner or that he was prevented from effecting it by reasons beyond his control.

(2) Wherever any classified land (whether classified before or after the date of the coming into force of this Act) has remained as undeveloped land in the hands of private owners, the Council of Ministers may at its option either:-

> (a) acquire such land under the provisions of the Land Acquisition Ordinance as if for a public purpose, or

> (b) require such owners to pay to the Government the amount of the enhancement of value in respect of such land.

(3) In the event of acquisition, notwithstanding the provisions of Section 19 of the Land Acquisition Ordinance, the compensation payable thereon shall be :-

> (a) as regards areas acquired for the purpose of roads, including their verges and open spaces in accordance with an approved lay-out of the relevant planning authority, nil.

> (b) as regards all other areas 25 per cent of the market value thereof at the date of such acquisition.

(4) In the event the Council of Ministers requiring payment of the amount of enhancement of value of the land under Sub-section (2) (b), the following provisions shall apply :-

(a) The enhancement shall be assessed by a Commission constituted in accordance with the provisions of Section 9 (c).

(b) The enhancement shall be deemed to be the difference between the present value of the land on the basis that it were still unclassified, and the existing market value of the land as classified but undeveloped.

(c) The amount payable to the Government shall be 75 per cent of the enhancement so assessed.

(d) The said amount shall be paid by the owner to the Government within the period of six months from the date of service on the said owner of a notice signed by the Minister. The Minister may on reasonable cause shown to him by the owner on or before the expiry of the notice extend same to another period not exceeding six months.

(e) Upon failure of the owner to pay the said amount of enhancement within either of the two periods specified in the preceding paragraph, the Council of Ministers may on the recommendation of the Minister, review its decision previously taken under Sub-section (2) and may alter the same to acquire the land.

(f) The provisions applicable to acquisition of the land under Sub-section (2) shall apply to acquisition ordered on review under the preceding paragraph.

(g) Notwithstanding the preceding provisions the Council of Ministers may authorise the Minister to accept payment of the said amount of enhancement by instalments to be fixed by him subject to such terms and conditions as he thinks fit.

13. Whenever at the date of any reclassification, the whole of any area, however small, is used for a particular purpose and it is proved that such area has been continuously so used for the ten years immediately preceding the reclassification, it shall be conclusively presumed that such area had been duly classified in a manner permitting such user, irrespective of the actual classification of any adjoining area.

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خـــلاصــــه

بعد دخول الاستعمار للسودان في نهاية القرن الماضي نشأ نظام حضرى جديد نتج عن المعطيات السياسيه والاقتصاديه الوافده . وقد ارتبط هذا النمط الحضرى الجديد بنشأة مدن اختلفت عن المدن السابقه لها في بنيتها المورفولوجيه والوظيفية . وقد أفرزت الايدلوجيه الاستعماريه - بنظامها السياسي والاقتصادى - نمطا من تحديث الاقتصاد والنمـــو النسبي للعمران أدت الى التنميه الغير متكافئه بين أقاليم السودان .

وارتبطت سياسة الانتشار الحضرى الاستعمارى هذه بغرض أسلــوب ومبادئ في تخطيط المدن فى الخرطوم الكبرى مبني أيضا على الفوارق الاقتصاديه الاجتماعيه وني ظاهرة لم يكن لها وجود في المدينه السودانيه من قبل .

ولم تحافظ الحكومات الوطنية بعد الاستقلال على السياسات الاستعمارية المتعلقة بالنمو الحضرى في البلاد فحسب بل جعلت من تخطيط المدن ارثا قانونيا وإداريا يرتبط بالخبرة الأجنبية في اطار الفلسفة الاجتماعية الموروثة .

ولهذا فان مبادئ تخطيط المدن في الخرطوم الكبرى لم تصبـــح قرارا سياسيا فعالا لحل المشكلات الحضريه وتوزيع الخدمات الأساسية علـى أسس عادلة . فقد حلت القرارات المجزأة محل الاستراتيجية الشاملــــه - انعكاسا لفلسفة وقوانين التخطيط السائدة - ما أدى لتعميق مظـاهــر الظلم الاجتماعي في السكن والخدمات الأساسية .

لقد ظلت مظاهر الظلم الاجتماعي انعكاسا للنظام الاجتماعي كمــا

صاغته فلسفة وقوانين التخطيط الحضرى في اطار السياسة القومية للعمــــران والتخطيط الاقتصادى . ومن الأمثلة الواضحة على فشل نظام التخطيـــط الحضرى خارج هيكله الموروث ما آلت اليه محاولات اعادة التخطيط فـي المناطق القديم من الخرطوم الكبرى ، وازالة واعادة تخطيط منـاطـق السكن العشوائي وكذلك مخطط " دوكسيادس " و " مفت " .

ان قبول التبعية في السياسة العمرانية ـ في اطار التبعية الاقتصادي والفكرية ـ أدى الى بقاء الأطـر الايديولوجية والقانونية والادارية للتخطيـط الحضرى دون تغيير جذرى يخلق نظاما ينبع من واتـع الظـروف المحلية للبلاد ويقـود لحـل مشكلاتـه .