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Overview of the Sudan Uprising

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Overview of the Sudan Uprising

By

Prof. Dr. Samia Satti Osman Mohamed Nour

(February 20, 2020)

Overview of the Sudan Uprising

Prof. Dr. Samia Satti Osman Mohamed Nour¹

(February 20, 2020)

Abstract

This paper provides an overview of the Sudan Uprising and discusses the major causes, factors that contributed to the success of Sudan Uprising and potential opportunities and major challenges following the Sudan Uprising. We improve understanding, fill the gaps in the literature and provide an extremely valuable contribution to the literature by presenting a new and more comprehensive analysis and investigation of the factors that caused and those contributed to the success of Sudan uprising and potential opportunities and major challenges following Sudan uprising. A novel element in our analysis is that we investigate the various causes including economic causes, social and human development causes, political causes, institutional causes and the causes related to the lack of freedoms that caused the Sudan uprising, we examine the dynamic interaction between the internal factors (youth, women, ICT, the Sudanese Professional Association, and University of Khartoum Teaching Staff Initiative), and external factors (diaspora) that contributed to supporting Sudan uprising and we explain potential opportunities and major challenges following Sudan Uprising. From policy perspective, the relevance of our analysis is that we explain the causes of Sudan uprising, the internal and external factors that supported Sudan uprising and potential opportunities and major challenges following Sudan uprising. Our findings support the first hypothesis that a combination of mixed factors and causes including economic causes, social and human development causes, political causes, institutional causes and the causes related to the lack of freedoms caused the Sudan uprising. Our results corroborate the second hypothesis that the dynamic interaction between the internal factors (youth, women, ICT, the Sudanese Professional Association and University of Khartoum Teaching Staff Initiative) and external factors (diaspora) contributed to support Sudan uprising and potential transformation in Sudan. Our results support the third hypothesis concerning the potential opportunities and major challenges following the Sudan uprising. One major policy implication from our findings is that the lack of peace, freedom, and justice motivated the mass street demonstrations and Sudan uprising that called for the achievement of peace, freedom, and justice for all people in Sudan. Another major policy implication from our findings is that it is important for policymakers in Sudan to adopt sound and coherent policies to consider potential opportunities and challenges to achieve comprehensive economic, social, political and institutional reform, to achieve the potential transformation, fulfil the objectives of Sudan Uprising (peace, freedom, and justice) and achieve inclusive growth and sustainable development in Sudan.

Keywords: Economic development, social and human development, sustainable development, youth, ICT, Sudan.

JEL classification: O1, O10, O11, O15, O43, O55, I3, P16

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Overview of the Sudan Uprising

Introduction

This paper aims to provide an overview of the Sudan Uprising and discuss the major causes, factors contributed to the success of the Sudan Uprising and potential opportunities and major challenges following of the Sudan Uprising.

1. The relevance, importance, objectives, hypotheses and structure of the research

This issues discussed in this paper are both timely and relevant in view of the increasing interest to improve the understanding about the Sudan Uprising at the international level. This paper aims to fill the gap in the literature by providing a new contribution to the literature and presenting a more comprehensive analysis of the factors that caused and those contributed to the success of the Sudan Uprising and the potential opportunities and major challenges following the Sudan uprising. We improve understanding, fill the gaps in the literature and provide an extremely valuable contribution to the literature by presenting a new and more comprehensive analysis and investigation of the factors that caused and those contributed to the success of Sudan uprising and the potential opportunities and major challenge following Sudan uprising. A novel element in our analysis is that we investigate the various causes including economic causes, social and human development causes, political causes, institutional causes and the causes related to the lack of freedoms that caused the Sudan uprising, we examine the dynamic interaction between the internal factors (youth, women, ICT, the Sudanese Professional Association, and University of Khartoum Teaching Staff Initiative), and external factors (diaspora) that contributed to supporting Sudan uprising and we explain potential opportunities and major challenges following Sudan Uprising. From policy perspective, the relevance of our analysis is that we explain the causes of Sudan uprising, the internal and external factors that supported Sudan uprising and potential opportunities and major challenge following Sudan uprising. Our findings support the first hypothesis that a combination of mixed factors and causes including economic causes, social and human development causes, political causes, institutional causes and the causes related to the lack of freedoms caused the Sudan uprising. Our results corroborate the second hypothesis that the dynamic interaction between the internal factors (youth, women, ICT, the Sudanese Professional Association and University of Khartoum Teaching Staff Initiative) and external factors (diaspora) contributed to support Sudan uprising and potential transformation in Sudan. Our results support the third hypothesis concerning the potential opportunities and major challenges following the Sudan uprising.

We are aware of the fact that the lack of analysis of the consequences and impacts of Sudan uprising may constitute a limitation of our analysis in this paper. However, in this paper we did not focus on the consequences and impacts of Sudan uprising only because of lack of adequate and reliable data covering the short time period following Sudan uprising. We believe that given the short time since the success of Sudan uprising, it is probably too early to assess the impacts, since full assessment of the consequences and impacts would be more practical only after a reasonable time period. Therefore, we plan to provide a more comprehensive analysis of the consequences and impacts of Sudan uprising in our future studies when adequate and reliable data are available within a reasonable time period.

Regarding the research method this paper uses new secondary data and uses both the descriptive and comparative approaches to provide overview of the Sudan uprising. As for the structure, the rest of this paper is organized as follows: Section 1 presents the introduction. Section 2 shows the general political context and socio economic characteristics of Sudan. Section 3 investigates the major causes including economic causes, social and human development causes, political causes, institutional causes and the causes related to the lack of freedoms that caused the Sudan uprising. Section 4 discusses the internal and external factors that contributed to the uprising in Sudan (including the role of youth, women, ICT, the Sudanese Professional Association, University of Khartoum Teaching Staff Initiative, and diaspora). Section 5 explains the potential opportunities and major challenges confronting the transition period following the Sudan uprising. Finally, Section 6 provides the conclusions.

2. General political context and socio-economic characteristics of Sudan

Before assessing the factors that caused and those contributed to the success of uprising in Sudan, it is useful to start by explaining the general political context and socio-economic characteristics of Sudan.

Sudan was the largest country in Africa and the Arab world until 2011, when South Sudan separated as an independent country, following an independence referendum. Sudan is now the third-largest country in Africa (after Algeria and the Democratic Republic of Congo) and also the third largest country in the Arab world (after Algeria and Saudi Arabia).² The political context in Sudan is characterised by a long history of political instability and continuous complex conflict.³ Even after the independence of Southern Sudan in 2011, Sudan still endures political instability, a lack of good governors, a lack of sound and systematic institutions and a lack of a commitment to implementing long-term sustainable and balanced economic development plans and strategies. This implies that the interaction between these political, economic and institutional factors together have unfortunately continued to contribute to a low standard of economic development in Sudan as explained below.⁴

Concerning the general socio-economic characteristics and economic development context in Sudan, Table 1 illustrates the substantial gap between Sudan and the world regions in standard of economic development, as measured by Gross National Income (GNI) per capita and the human development index (HDI). In general, Sudan is characterized by low standards of economic development together with high population. For instance, Table 1 below shows the low GNI per capita income in Sudan which is in excess of only the least developing countries, low human development, and Sub-Saharan Africa (SSA) countries, but less than all other world regions. According to the World Bank classification of economies, Sudan is classified among the lower medium-income economies. According to the classification of the UNDP-HDI, the human development index for Sudan is classified among the world's low-income and low- human development index group and is, on average; lower than average for world countries.⁵ According to UNDP-HDR (2019) Sudan is still classified amongst the low human development countries

² In Sudan the available natural resources include agricultural, water and rivers, in addition mineral resources include petroleum and crude oil, natural gas, gold, silver, asbestos, manganese, gypsum, mica, zinc, iron, lead, uranium, copper, kaolin, cobalt, granite, nickel, tin, chrome, and aluminum.

³ As for the political context since independence in 1956 and over the past five decades, Sudan was ruled by three civilian governments (1956-58, 1964-69 and 1985-89) and four military governments (1958-64, 1969-85; 1989-2019) (April 2019- August 2019).

⁴ See Nour (2013, 2015)

⁵ The World Bank and United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) Human Development Report classifies world countries differently according to income level. We use the World Bank classification of economies that puts Sudan in the lower middle-income category or group.

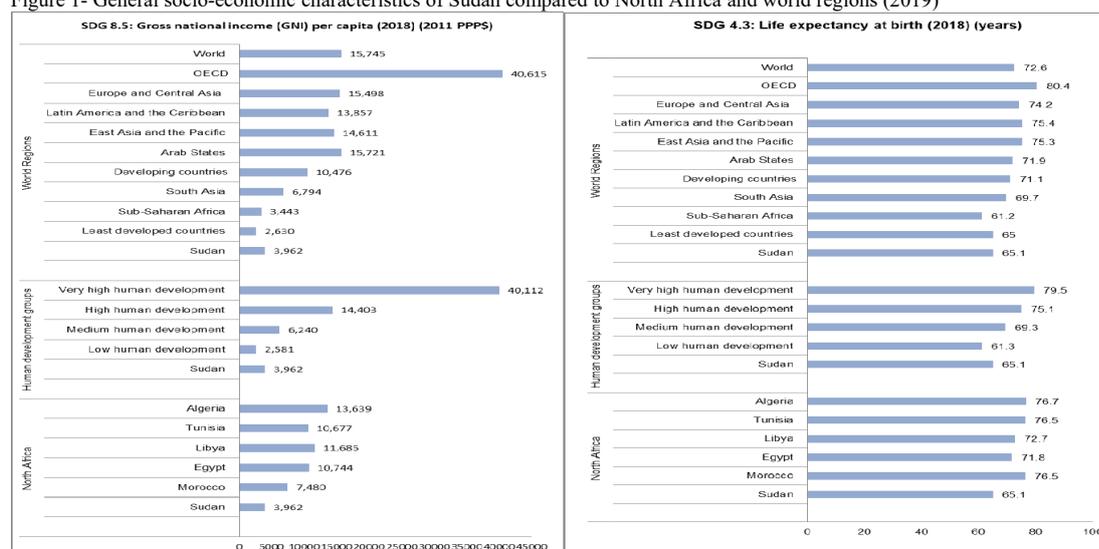
and the bottom of developing countries in terms of HDI (0.507), as it ranked 168 out of 189 countries.⁶ Furthermore, average life expectancy, mean years of schooling, expected years of schooling, literacy rate and gross enrolment ratios in primary, secondary and tertiary education for Sudan fall behind the standard rate of the world regions and North Africa region (see Table 1, Figure 1).

Table 1: General socio-economic characteristics of Sudan compared to North Africa and world regions (2019)

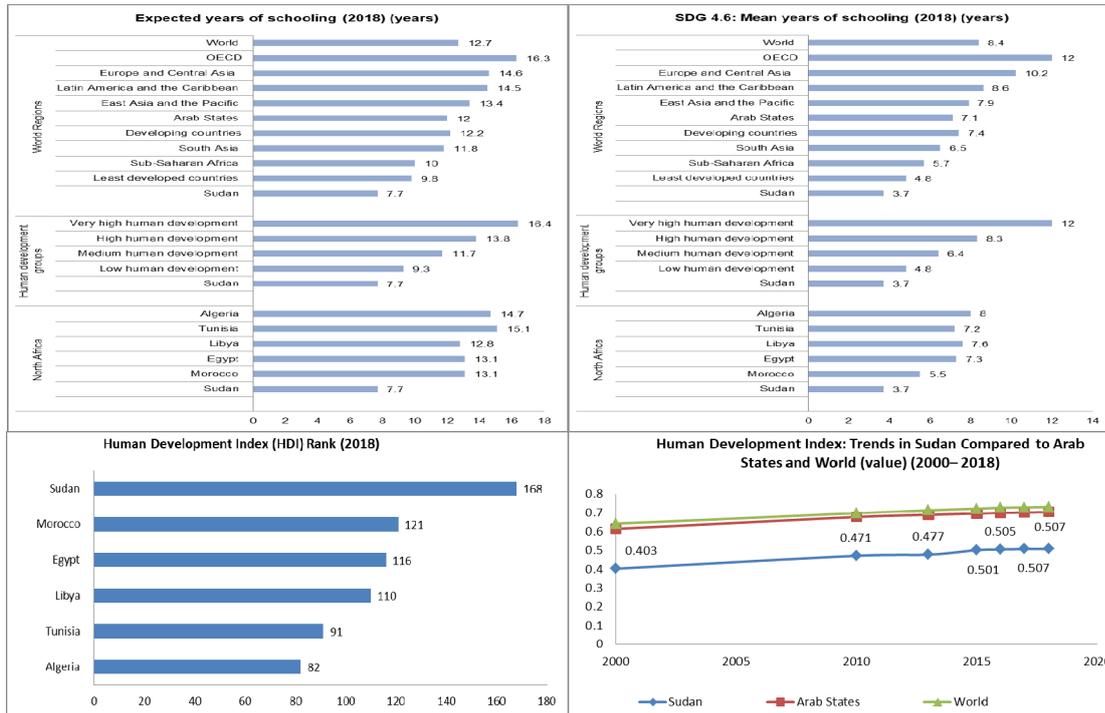
	Population ¹	Gross national income (GNI) per capita ²	Human Development Index (HDI) ²		Life expectancy at birth ²	Expected years of schooling ²	Mean years of schooling ²
	Total (millions)	(2011 PPP \$)	Value	Rank	(years)	(years)	(years)
	2018	2018	2018	2018	2018	2018	2019
Sudan	41,801.53	3,962	0.507	168	65.1	7.7	3.7
Morocco	36,029.14	7,480	0.676	121	76.5	13.1	5.5
Egypt	98,423.60	10,744	0.7	116	71.8	13.1	7.3
Libya	6,678.57	11,685	0.708	110	72.7	12.8	7.6
Tunisia	11,565.20	10,677	0.739	91	76.5	15.1	7.2
Algeria	42,228.43	13,639	0.759	82	76.7	14.7	8
Very high human development		40,112	0.892		79.5	16.4	12
High human development		14,403	0.75		75.1	13.8	8.3
Medium human development		6,240	0.634		69.3	11.7	6.4
Low human development		2,581	0.507		61.3	9.3	4.8
Developing countries		10,476	0.686		71.1	12.2	7.4
Regions							
Arab States	419,790.59	15,721	0.703		71.9	12	7.1
East Asia and the Pacific	2,328,220.87	14,611	0.741		75.3	13.4	7.9
Europe and Central Asia	918,793.59	15,498	0.779		74.2	14.6	10.2
Latin America and the Caribbean	641,357.52	13,857	0.759		75.4	14.5	8.6
South Asia	1,814,388.74	6,794	0.642		69.7	11.8	6.5
Sub-Saharan Africa	1,078,306.52	3,443	0.541		61.2	10	5.7
Least developed countries	1,009,662.58	2,630	0.528		65	9.8	4.8
Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development	1,303,529.46	40,615	0.895		80.4	16.3	12
World	7,594,270.36	15,745	0.731		72.6	12.7	8.4

Sources: (1) the World Bank, World Development Indicators database (2020), access on February 16, 2020, and (2) UNDP (2019), PPP – purchasing power parity. pp. 300-303. United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) "Human Development Report (2019) "Beyond income, beyond average, beyond today: Inequalities in Human Development in the 21st century," UNDP: New York, USA. pp. 300-303.

Figure 1- General socio-economic characteristics of Sudan compared to North Africa and world regions (2019)



⁶ The human development index (HDI) provides a composite measure of three dimensions of human development: living a long and healthy life (measured by life expectancy), being educated (measured by adult literacy and enrolment at the primary, secondary and tertiary level) and having a decent standard of living (measured by purchasing power parity, PPP, income). See UNDP-HDR (2019), pp. 300-303.



Source: Adapted from UNDP - Human Development Report (2019)

3. The Causes of the Sudan uprising

This section discusses the several major causes of the Sudan uprising. It discusses the first hypothesis that a combination of mixed factors and causes including economic causes, social and human development causes, political causes, institutional causes and the causes related to the lack of freedoms caused the Sudan uprising.

3.1. Economic causes (economic mismanagement, weak and deterioration of economic indicators in Sudan)

From economic perspective, the economic causes including for instance, the intensification of economic crisis, prevailing economic structure, economic mismanagement and deterioration of all economic indicators (including for instance, major currency devaluation; high inflation; rising costs of basic goods; implementation of austerity measures to end subsidies to wheat and fuel; banks limitation on money withdrawals, shortage of hard currencies, deficiency of labour market, deficiency of fiscal, monetary and trade policies etc.) and other economic issues that contributed as the major economic causes of Sudan uprising.

The structure of Sudan economy contributed to the prevailing economic crisis, for instance, data from Sudan's Central Bureau of Statistics and Ministry of Finance and Economic Planning (2019) about the structure of Sudan's economy indicates the dominance of services (59.8%, 57%, 58.2%) and agricultural (22.6%, 24%, 21.8%) sectors and low share of industrial sector (17.7%, 19%, 20%) in GDP in 2017, 2018 and 2019 respectively (see Table 2, Figure 2).⁷ The structure of Sudan economy implies that the Sudan economy is classified as a rent-seeking economy and a primary exports economy that suffers from uncertainty and high fluctuation in economic growth and macroeconomic instability. Sudan's economy has been characterised by low GDP per capita income, the presence of

⁷ See Sudan Central Bureau of Statistics and Ministry of Finance and Economic Planning, 2019, p. 47.

high rates of poverty, unemployment and inequalities in resources sharing. The independence of the South in 2011 has had immediate negative fiscal and balance of payments implications for North Sudan [because of the loss of the bulk of the oil production and export revenues, because about 75 per cent of Sudan's oil revenues generated from southern oil production].^{8,9} Thus, the prevailing economic structure in Sudan contributed to the prevailing economic crisis that hinders the allocation of sound resources to achieve inclusive and sustainable development in Sudan.¹⁰

Sudan economy suffers from both economic mismanagement and economic volatility that appears from the longstanding failure to implement sound and coherent policies to stabilize the economy and sustain economic growth. According to the World Bank's classification, Sudan economy was listed amongst the least developed poor and highly indebted economies, but following the exploitation of oil and improvement of its economic performance during the period (2000-2010), Sudan economy has turned from a low income economy into a lower medium income economy according to the World Bank classification. However, the improvement of Sudan's rank in the World Bank classification should not hide the serious economic mismanagement problem. For instance, one example of economic mismanagement is proven by the failure of previous governments to make optimal utilisation of the short period of oil exports and the wealth from oil exports (2000-2011) to contribute to reform of economic structure and long run stabilization of Sudan economy. The failure to utilise the short wealth from oil exports (2000-2011) appears from the expansion of the rent seeking economy and rent seeking activities including rising services sector and commercial activities instead of promotion of agricultural and industrial activities that lead to continuous deterioration and turned to be the major cause of economic crisis in Sudan. In addition, economic mismanagement also appears from the lack of rationality to utilise the wealth from oil revenues for promotion of the provision of health and education services instead of increasing military expenditures. After the independence of South Sudan, the decline in oil revenues caused a major adjustment to the Sudan's fiscal situation and prompting financial austerity measures. After the secession of South Sudan in 2011, Sudan economy suffered from shortage of financial resources, as Sudan government revenues declined by about 75%. The decline in revenues from oil and the declining economic conditions lead to continuous deterioration of economic indicators including deterioration of GDP, GDP annual growth rate, revenues and gross capital formation over the period (2010-2018) (see Table 2, Figure 2). The misallocation of the short wealth from oil resources (2000-2010) and deterioration of economic conditions after the loss of oil revenues caused intensification of vulnerabilities and little progress in social indicators in Sudan that apparent from the massive inequality (gender, rural-urban, and regional inequalities and inequalities in resources sharing) and high poverty rates, for instance, about 65 per cent of population in Sudan are living below the poverty line and 52.3 per cent of population in Sudan are living in multidimensional poverty. The intensification of massive inequality and immense poverty implies economic mismanagement and failure of previous governments.

Another recent example of economic mismanagement appears from the failure of Sudan's previous governments in implementation of economic reform and economic stability and economic growth in 2018. Particularly, to confront the economic crisis, in October 2018, the Sudan government implemented a major devaluation of the Sudanese

⁸ See International Monetary Fund IMF (2013) "Sudan Interim Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper" IMF Country Report No. 13/318, October 2013: <http://www.imf.org/external/pubs/ft/scr/2013/cr13318.pdf>, accessed on September 04, 2014, p. 6.

⁹ See Nour (2018).

¹⁰ See Nour (2011, 2013, 2015)

pound (SDG) compared to US dollar, which was the third documented devaluation since January 2018. The devaluation implies the exchange rate (Sudanese pound SDG per US Dollar) devaluated from 6.7 SDG in December 2017, to 18.6 SDG in January 2018 and then again to 47.5 SDG in October 2018 per US dollar. The economic mismanagement is demonstrated not only from the large serious devaluation of the Sudanese pound, but also from the large and rising discrepancies between the official exchange rate and parallel market exchange rate. The large devaluation of the Sudanese pound and the large and rising discrepancies between the official exchange rate and parallel market exchange rate and the shortage of hard currencies leads to serious deterioration in the imports of inputs, investment and production of both the agricultural and industrial sectors. As a result of economic mismanagement and continuous major devaluation the Sudanese economy continued to suffer not only from continuous devaluation of the Sudanese pound, but also continuous and rising inflation that increased from 12.5 per cent in December 2015 to 25.2 per cent in December 2017, to 66.8 per cent in August 2018 and then again to 72.9 per cent in December 2018. Both the continuous devaluation of the Sudanese pound together with the rising inflation lead to high increase in prices of basic goods and high costs of living that resulted in the continuous deterioration of the situation for many people that motivated serious mass demonstration among people in Sudan. Many factors caused protests, but the major cause of protests that lead to the collapse of the previous regime was the increasing prices of bread that increased by threefold in December 2018. The demonstration of Sudanese citizens started in December 2018 and continued until and even after the downfall and overthrow of the previous regime.

During this same period along with both economic mismanagement and problematic economic structure, Sudan economy continued to suffer from deficiency of labour market and vulnerability in work and employment. For instance, deficiency of labour market and vulnerability in work and employment appears from high unemployment rates (13.3%), mainly, youth unemployment rates (40%), high share of vulnerable employment that constitutes 40 per cent of total employment, widespread and predominance of informal employment in non-agricultural sectors that constitutes 77.3 per cent of total employment in non-agricultural sectors and minor share of industry (15%) compared to high share of agriculture (43.1%) and services (41.9%) in total employment in Sudan.^{11, 12} (see Figure 2).

The deficiency of fiscal policies appears from the continuous increase in the budget deficit due to increase in total expenditures that continued to rise above the total increase in revenues (2017-2018). The deficiency of monetary policies appears from the continuous increase in the money supply and failure to control inflation and devaluation of Sudanese Pound (2017-2018). The deficiency of trade policies appears from the continuous increase in trade deficit due to increase in total imports that continued to rise above the increase in total exports (2017-2018). (See Table 2, Figure 2).

Finally, one of the major problems that contributed to the longstanding problematic economic crisis in Sudan is deterioration in Sudan's global economic links. For instance, data from the World Development Indicators database

¹¹ The share of vulnerable employment (%) is defined by total employed people engaged as unpaid family workers and own account workers as a percentage total employment. The Proportion of informal employment in non-agriculture employment (%) is defined by the proportion of informal employment in non-agriculture employment as a percentage of total employment in non-agriculture. The share of employment in agriculture, services, and industry are defined by the total employment in agriculture, services and industry as percentage of total employment (%) respectively. (see ILO (2019). ILOSTAT database. www.ilo.org/ilostat. Accessed 17 June 2019).

¹² See Nour (2011, 2013, 2014)

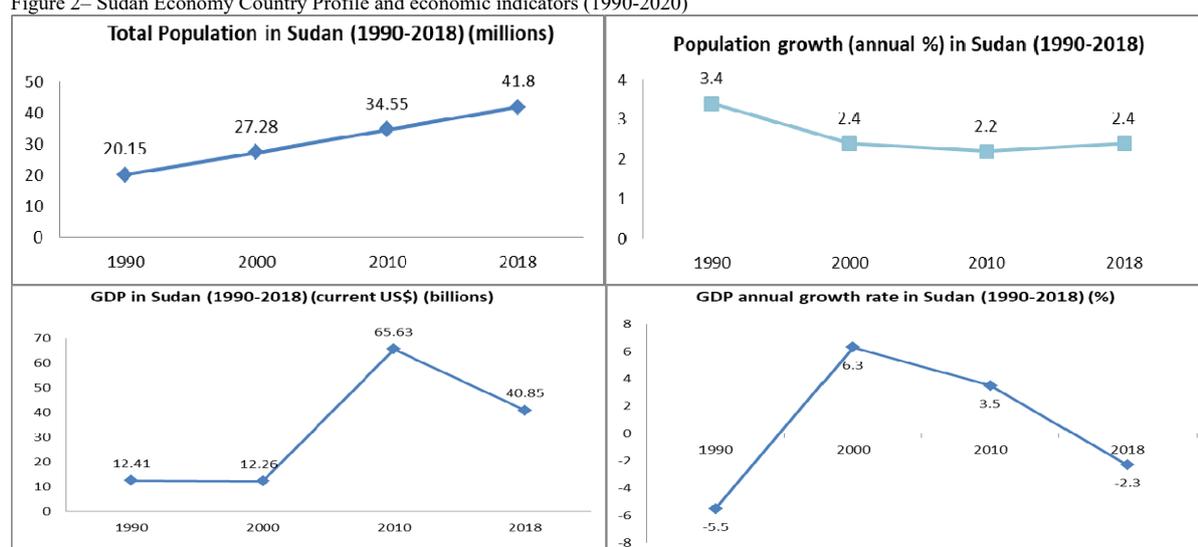
(2019) shows the deterioration of Sudan's global links during the period (2010-2018) that appears from the deterioration of merchandise trade (% of GDP), total external debt stocks, net migration, personal remittances received, foreign direct investment, net inflows and the received net official development assistance. (See Figure 2) The deterioration of Sudan's global economic links also appears from the continued US economic sanctions since the 1990s that put several serious limitations and major restrictions on inflow of international or foreign capital from other world countries to Sudan. Although in October, 2017, the United States indicated that it cancelled the US economic sanctions on Sudan, but Sudan economy continued to suffer from several serious limitations on inflow of international or foreign capital from other world countries to Sudan.

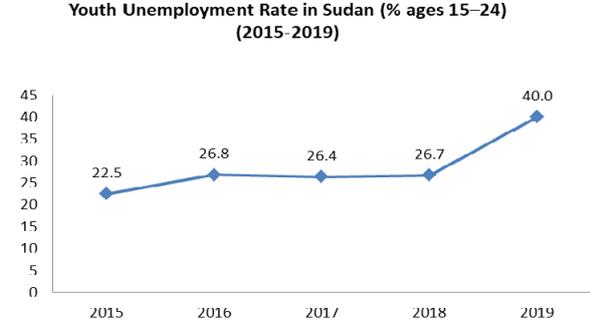
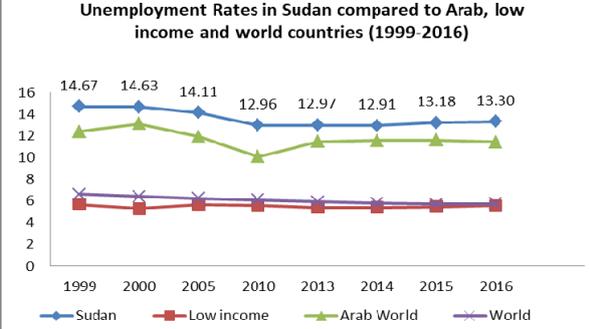
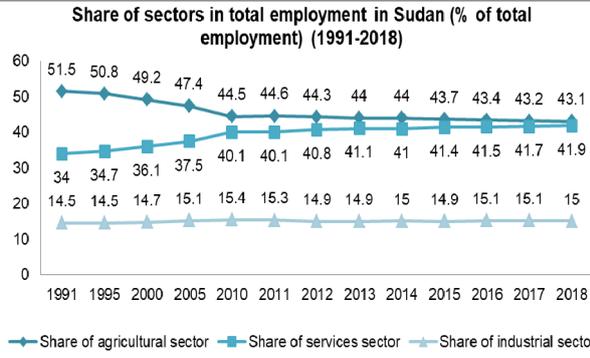
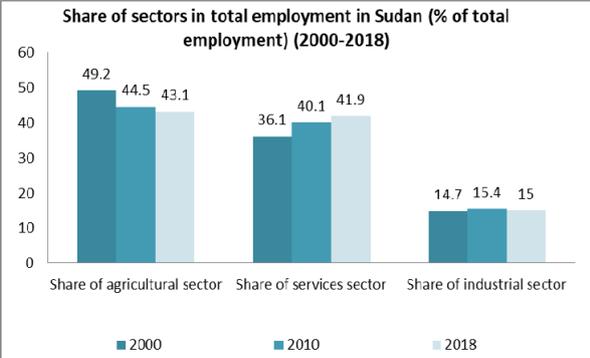
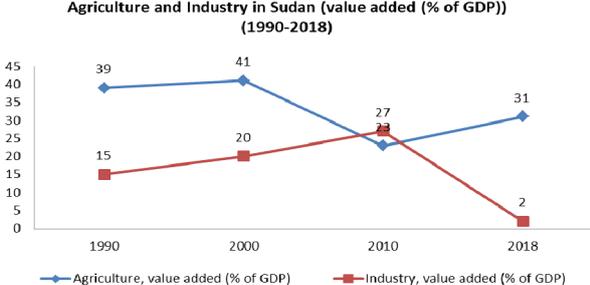
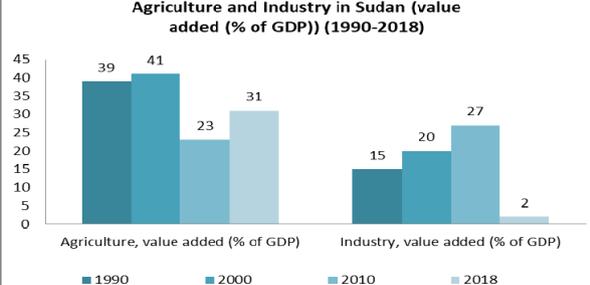
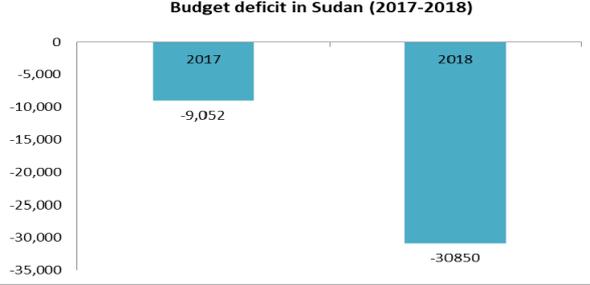
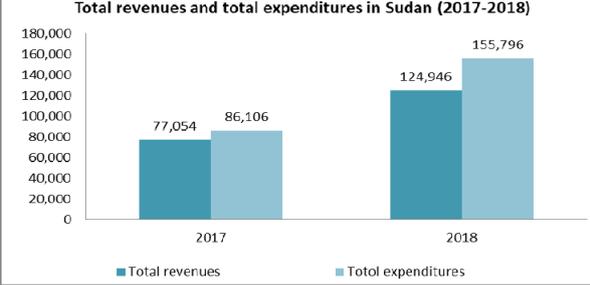
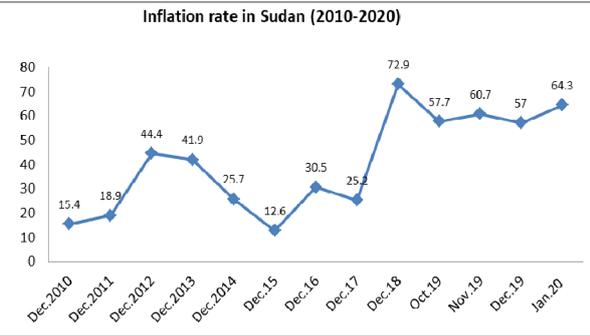
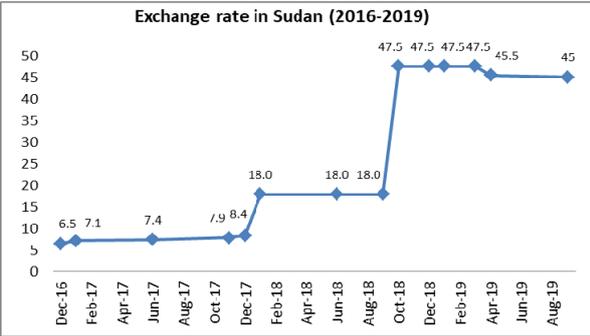
Table 2 - Economic Indicators in Sudan (2017-2020)

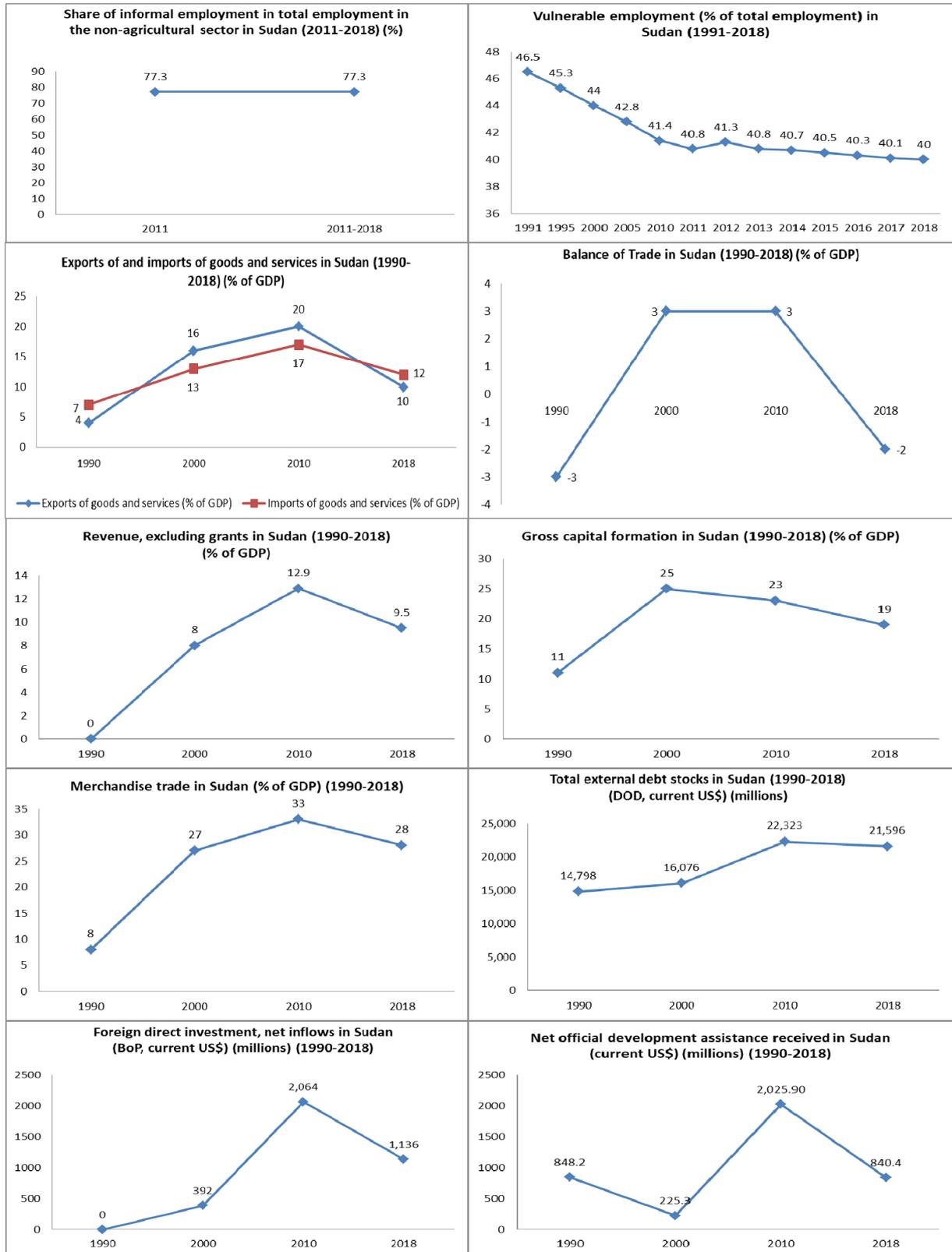
		2017	2018	2019	2020
Gross Domestic Product (GDP) (Current Price)	SDG (000 million)	957.9	1176.1	1470.9	2079.6
Gross Domestic Product (GDP) (Constant Price)	SDG (000 million)	36.2	36.0	35.7	36.8
Growth Rate	%	4.4	2.2	0.9	3.1
Inflation Rate	%	34.1	61.9	53.9	28.7
Money Supply	SDG (000 million)	95.5	419.0	684.8	1088.8
Growth Rate of Money Supply	% of GDP	68.4	439.0	63.4	59.0
Revenues	% of GDP	7.0	9.6	9.4	13.8
Revenues and Grants	% of GDP	8.0	10.6	10.3	29.4
Expenditure	% of GDP	9.0	13.2	14.0	32.2
Deficit	% of GDP	-0.9	-2.6	-3.7	-2.8
Share of Agricultural Sector (%)	% of GDP	22.6	24.0	21.8	22.6
Share of Industrial Sector (%)	% of GDP	17.7	19.0	20.0	21.5
Share of Services Sector (%)	% of GDP	59.8	57.0	58.2	55.9
Exports	% of GDP	6.4	9.0	8.8	9.0
Imports	% of GDP	(13.6)	(14.1)	(10.1)	(14.5)
Balance of Trade	% of GDP	(7.5)	(0.6)	(1.3)	(5.5)
Current Account	% of GDP	(7.1)	(3.9)	(5.3)	(8.5)
Total Balance	% of GDP	(-5)	(-0.3)	2.3	5.0
Growth Rate of Total Investment	% of GDP		1.8	-4.6	12.6

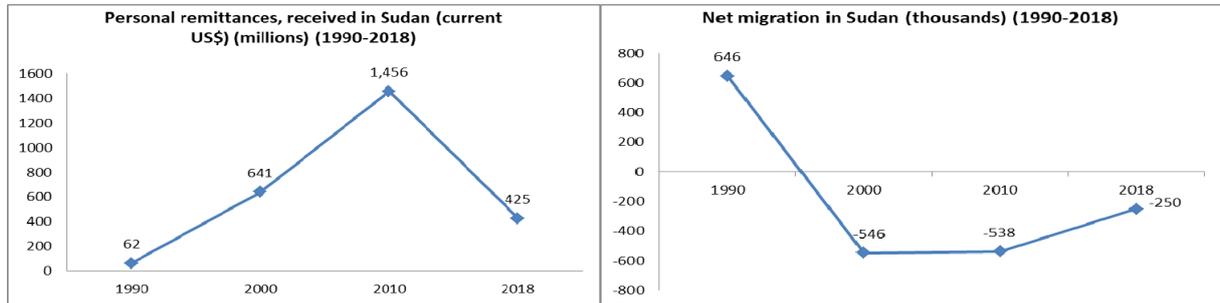
Source: Sudan Central Bureau of Statistics and Ministry of Finance and Economic Planning (2019) 'Sudan Economy between the current challenges and broad prospects: the road map and the 2020 budget 2020', Khartoum, December 2019, p. 47. Table 1: Economic Indicators. Note: 2020 indicators are estimated by macroeconomic and financial model for Sudan.

Figure 2- Sudan Economy Country Profile and economic indicators (1990-2020)









Source: Adapted from (1) the World Bank, World Development Indicators database (2020), (accessed February 16, 2020), (2) ILO (2019). ILOSTAT database. www.ilo.org/ilostat. (Accessed June 17, 2019), (3) The Central Bank of Sudan: The Economic Review: A Periodical Review Issued by Statistics Department, Issue No. 01/2020, Reporting period: 01-31/01/202 p.4.

3.2. Social and human causes (weak social and human development, immense poverty and massive inequality in Sudan)

Weak social and human development leads to increasing vulnerabilities that appears from several indicators including the widespread poverty and inequality and weak performance in Human Development Index (HDI).¹³

Sudan continued to suffer from high rates of poverty, according to Sudan Central Bureau of Statistics Household Survey Report (2009), in 2009 about 46.5 per cent in northern Sudan are estimated to be living below the poverty line of less than US\$ 1 a day and according to Sudan Central Bureau of Statistics and Ministry of Finance and Economic Planning (2019), in 2019 about 65 per cent in Sudan are estimated to be living below the poverty line of less than US\$ 1 a day. This implies not only high but also substantial increase and intensification of poverty rates from about 46.5 per cent in 2009 to 65 per cent in 2019. Moreover, Sudan suffers from high proportion of population in multidimensional poverty that appears from the high Multidimensional Poverty Index (MPI) for Sudan (52.3%) that implies that more than half of Sudan's population suffers from multidimensional poverty.¹⁴ The most recent survey data that were publicly available for Sudan's MPI estimation refer to 2014 indicates that in Sudan, 52.3 per cent of the population (21,210 thousand people) are multidimensionally poor while an additional 17.7 per cent are classified as vulnerable to multidimensional poverty (7,158 thousand people). The breadth of deprivation (intensity) in Sudan, which is the average deprivation score experienced by people in multidimensional poverty, is 53.4 per cent. The MPI, which is the share of the population that is multidimensionally poor, adjusted by the intensity of the deprivations, is 0.279, above the level of Yemen that has an MPI of 0.241. Table 3 compares multidimensional poverty with income poverty, measured by the percentage of the population living below PPP US\$1.90 per day. It shows that income poverty only tells part of the story. The multidimensional poverty headcount is 37.4 percentage points higher than income poverty. This implies that individuals living above the income poverty

¹³ Human Development Index is a composite index measuring average achievement in three basic dimensions of human development—a long and healthy life, knowledge and a decent standard of living. 1=the most developed. See <https://knoema.com/atlas/Sudan/Human-development-index>, access on 16 February 2020.

¹⁴ The 2010 HDR introduced the MPI, which identifies multiple overlapping deprivations suffered by individuals in three dimensions: health, education and standard of living. The health and education dimensions are based on two indicators each, while standard of living is based on six indicators. All the indicators needed to construct the MPI for a country are taken from the same household survey. The indicators are weighted to create a deprivation score, and the deprivation scores are computed for each individual in the survey. A deprivation score of 33.3 percent (one-third of the weighted indicators) is used to distinguish between the poor and non-poor. If the deprivation score is 33.3 percent or greater, the household (and everyone in it) is classified as multidimensionally poor. Individuals with a deprivation score greater than or equal to 20 percent but less than 33.3 percent are classified as vulnerable to multidimensional poverty. Finally, individuals with a deprivation score greater than or equal to 50 percent live in severe multidimensional poverty. The MPI is calculated for 101 developing countries in the 2019 HDR. (See UNDP HDR 2010)

line may still suffer deprivations in health, education and/or standard of living. Table 3 and Figure 3 also show the percentage of Sudan's population that lives in severe multidimensional poverty. The contributions of deprivations in each dimension to overall poverty complete a comprehensive picture of people living in multidimensional poverty in Sudan. The most recent data from UNDP shows that during the period (2007-2018) the proportion of multidimensional poverty in Sudan (52.3%) is above the proportions in North Africa countries (see Figure 3).. Particularly, the proportion of population in multidimensional poverty in Sudan (52.3%) is more than ten times above the proportion of population in multidimensional poverty in Egypt (5.2%), although the population in Sudan (41.8 million) is less than half the population in Egypt (98.42 million) in 2018 Therefore, in Sudan 65 per cent of the population lives below the poverty line in 2019 and 52.3 per cent of population live in severe multidimensional poverty in the period (2007-2018) implies weak progress in social development towards ending poverty.

Table 3- Sudan's IHDI, GDI, GII and MPI for Sudan relative to selected countries and groups (2018)

IHDI (2018)											
	IHDI value	Overall loss (%)	Human inequality coefficient (%)	Inequality in life expectancy at birth (%)	Inequality in education (%)	Inequality in income (%)					
Sudan	0.332	34.6	34.3	27.4	42.5	33					
Yemen	0.316	31.8	30.9	24.7	46.1	21.8					
Arab States	0.531	24.5	24.2	15	32.5	25					
Low HDI	0.349	31.1	30.9	30.4	37.4	25					
GDI (2018)											
	F-M ratio	HDI values		Life expectancy at birth		Expected years of schooling		Mean years of schooling		GNI per capita	
	GDI value	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male
Sudan	0.837	0.457	0.546	66.9	63.3	7.7	8.3	3.2	4.2	1,759	6,168
Yemen	0.458	0.245	0.535	67.8	64.4	7.4	10.1	1.9	4.4	168	2,679
Arab States	0.856	0.634	0.74	73.8	70.2	11.7	12.3	6.4	7.8	5,338	25,343
Low HDI	0.858	0.465	0.542	63	59.7	8.5	9.9	3.8	5.8	1,928	3,232
GII (2018)											
	GII value	GII Rank	Maternal mortality ratio	Adolescent birth rate	Female seats in parliament (%)	Population with at least some secondary education (%)		Labour force participation rate (%)			
						Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male
Sudan	0.56	139	311	64	31	15.3	19.6	24.5	70.3		
Yemen	0.834	162	385	60.4	0.5	19.9	35.5	6	70.8		
Arab States	0.531	—	148	46.6	18.3	45.9	54.9	20.4	73.8		
Low HDI	0.59	—	557	101.1	21.3	17.8	30.3	58.2	73.1		
MPI											
	Survey year	MPI value	Head count (%)	Intensity of deprivations (%)	Population share (%)			Contribution to overall poverty of deprivations in (%)			
					Vulnerable to multidimensional poverty	In severe multidimensional poverty	Below income poverty line	Health	Education	Standard of living	
Sudan	2014	0.279	52.3	53.4	17.7	30.9	14.9	21.1	29.2	49.8	
Yemen	2013	0.241	47.7	50.5	22.1	23.9	18.8	28.3	30.7	41	

Source: UNDP – HDR – Brief Sudan (2019), pp. 5-7

Table 4 - Global Multidimensional Poverty Index (MPI) in Sudan

Area	Multidimensional Poverty Index (MPI)	Incidence of poverty (H)	Average intensity of poverty (A)	Vulnerable	Severe Poverty	Population Share
National	0.280	52.4%	53.4%	17.6%	30.9%	100.0%
Urban	0.122	26.5%	46.1%	20.2%	10.0%	31.0%
Rural	0.351	64.0%	54.8%	16.5%	40.3%	69.0%

Sources: Oxford Poverty and Human Development Initiative (2018). "Sudan Country Briefing", Multidimensional Poverty Index Data Bank. Oxford Poverty and Human Development Initiative, University of Oxford. Available at: www.ophi.org.uk/multidimensional-poverty-index/mpi-country-briefings/. December 2018, p.1 (2) MICS (2014).

Table 5 - Global Multidimensional Poverty Index (MPI) in Sudan by Subnational Region

Region	Multidimensional Poverty Index (MPI)	Incidence of poverty (H)	Average intensity of poverty (A)	Vulnerable	Severe Poverty	Population Share
Blue Nile	0.371	70.6%	52.6%	15.6%	40.9%	4.3%
Central Darfur	0.492	83.8%	58.7%	11.5%	62.9%	1.6%
East Darfur	0.451	76.8%	58.7%	17.1%	54.1%	3.1%
Al Qadarif	0.388	70.4%	55.2%	16.3%	47.7%	5.1%
AlJazirah	0.167	34.8%	48.1%	22.0%	15.4%	17.6%
Kassala	0.362	65.6%	55.1%	13.6%	42.5%	4.0%
Khartoum	0.071	16.3%	43.8%	16.6%	5.3%	14.5%
North Darfur	0.444	83.8%	53.0%	10.7%	51.2%	6.9%
North Kurdufan	0.334	63.1%	53.0%	19.8%	37.2%	6.2%
Northern	0.034	8.1%	41.7%	20.4%	2.1%	2.2%
Red Sea	0.227	44.3%	51.3%	21.8%	26.0%	2.3%
River Nile	0.086	18.4%	47.0%	20.3%	6.9%	3.8%
Sennar	0.271	51.3%	52.8%	17.1%	29.6%	3.7%
South Darfur	0.400	72.3%	55.3%	17.8%	44.5%	7.7%
South Kurdufan	0.408	70.4%	58.0%	20.6%	46.1%	3.0%
West Darfur	0.452	78.3%	57.7%	12.1%	54.3%	3.1%
West Kurdufan	0.469	81.4%	57.6%	13.0%	55.4%	5.7%
White Nile	0.258	51.8%	49.8%	22.9%	25.3%	5.0%

Sources: Oxford Poverty and Human Development Initiative (2018). "Sudan Country Briefing", Multidimensional Poverty Index Data Bank. Oxford Poverty and Human Development Initiative, University of Oxford. Available at: www.ophi.org.uk/multidimensional-poverty-index/mpi-country-briefings/. December 2018, p. 8 (2) MICS (2014).

Initially, Sudan suffers not only from high poverty rates but also widespread serious inequalities that appears from several inequality measures including for instance, Gini coefficient, Palma ratio, quintile ratio and the share of national income held by the poorest 40 per cent of the population (see Figure 3).¹⁵ For instance, the income inequality in Sudan (2017) appears from the fact that the richest top 10 per cent of the population held 42 per cent of the national income, followed by the middle 40 per cent of the population that held 41.4 per cent of the national income, while, the poorest bottom 50 per cent of the population held only 16.6 per cent of the national income. This implies that the national income held by the richest top 10 per cent of the population and the middle 40 per cent of the population are more than twice above the national income held by the poorest bottom 50 per cent of the population in Sudan in 2017. This also implies that the national income held by both the richest top 10 per cent of the population and the middle 40 per cent of the population together are more five times above the national income held by the poorest bottom 50 per cent of the population in Sudan in 2017. The massive inequality also appears from rural-urban and regional multidimensional poverty index, incidence of poverty, average intensity of poverty, vulnerable population, severe poverty and population share) (see Tables 4-5, Figures 3). The Global multidimensional poverty index in Sudan by rural-urban residence areas reveals serious regional inequality not only in the share of population but also in poverty. For instance, although the share of population in rural area are more

¹⁵ Income inequality as measured by Gini coefficient measures the deviation of the distribution of income among individuals or households within a country from a perfectly equal distribution. A value of 0 represents absolute equality, while, a value of 100 absolute inequality. Income inequality as measured by Palma ratio is defined by the ratio of the richest 10 per cent of the population's share of gross national income (GNI) divided by the poorest 40 percent's share. It is based on the work of Palma (2011). Income inequality as measured by quintile ratio is defined by the ratio of the average income of the richest 20 per cent of the population to the average income of the poorest 20 per cent of the population. Income inequality as measured by income share held by poorest 40% is defined by the share of national income held by the poorest 40 per cent of the population. Income inequality as measured by income share held by richest 10 % is defined by the share of national income held by the richest 10 per cent of the population. See the World Bank (2019a): World Development Indicators database. Washington, DC. [Http://data.worldbank.org](http://data.worldbank.org), (Accessed 21 June 2019). World Bank (2019a): World Development Indicators database. Washington, DC. <http://data.worldbank.org>, (Accessed 15 July 2019) and the HDRO calculations based on data from World Bank (2019a): World Development Indicators database. Washington, DC. <http://data.worldbank.org>, (Accessed on 15 July 2019).

than double the population in urban area, but also the rural-urban massive poverty and immense inequality appears from the fact that the multidimensional poverty index and incidence of poverty in rural area more than twice above the urban area, average intensity of poverty and the proportion of vulnerable population in rural areas are above the urban area, and severe poverty in rural area are more than four times above urban area. Moreover, Global multidimensional poverty index in Sudan by subnational region reveals serious regional inequality not only in the share of population, but also in multidimensional poverty index, incidence of poverty, average intensity of poverty the proportion of vulnerable population and severe poverty. (See Tables 4-5, Figure 3)

The extensive inequality is related to regions, gender, rural-urban residence, etc. The reported inequality extended beyond income inequality to include human capital inequalities (inequality in HDI, supply of and demand for education and health (see Nour, 2019) (see Figures 3-5) and also regional, gender and rural-urban inequality in access to ICT in Sudan (see Nour, 2015) (see Figure 7).

Since long, the inadequate and inequitable provision of education, training and health services are critical impediments for social and sustainable development in Sudan. The growth in the provision of these services in the past years should not hide the prevailing and growing inequalities in Sudan. For instance, the regional inequality in the provision of education appears from the supply-demand sides of education. The regional inequalities in the supply of education appears from the great regional disparity and inequalities in the distribution of infrastructure, financial and human resources (public and private educational investment and spending on education as a percentage of GDP, the percentage share of public and private education institutions and human resources (teaching staff)) in Sudan. The regional inequalities in the demand for education appears from the great regional disparity, inequalities and variation across the main regions in public and private enrolment ratios of students in basic, secondary, technical, vocational and tertiary education in Sudan (see Figures 4-5). The regional inequalities in the provision of health services appears from the inequitable distribution of health facilities as measured by the coverage of health insurance, the number of health centres, clinics, and hospitals and the distribution of health manpower and health workers across regions in Sudan (see Figure 5).¹⁶ UNDP Sudan Human Development Report (2012) indicates the regional inequalities in HDI and its components in Sudan. In our view the regional inequality in HDI and its components lead to serious implication in Sudan. For instance, Sudan's HDI for 2018 is 0.507. However, when the value is discounted for inequality, the HDI falls to 0.332, a loss of 34.6 per cent due to inequality in the distribution of the HDI dimension indices; this implies that the human inequality coefficient for Sudan is equal to 34.3 per cent. The loss of HDI as a result of inequality in Sudan (34.6 per cent) is above the losses due to inequality that reported in Yemen (31.8 per cent), low HDI countries (31.1 per cent) and Arab States (24.5 per cent). (See Table 3, Figure 3) In addition to the prevailing regional inequality in the demand for education, further evidences on inequality in the demand side appears from the gender differences in educational attainment as measured by the gross enrolment ratio of female for primary, secondary and tertiary education. Further evidences on gender inequality appears from HDI defined by gender, for instance, the 2018 female HDI value for Sudan is 0.457 in contrast with 0.546 for males, resulting in a GDI value of 0.837 (see Table 3). Sudan has a GII value of 0.560, ranking it 139 out of 162 countries in the 2018 index. In Sudan, 31.0 per cent of parliamentary seats are held by women, and 15.3 per cent of adult

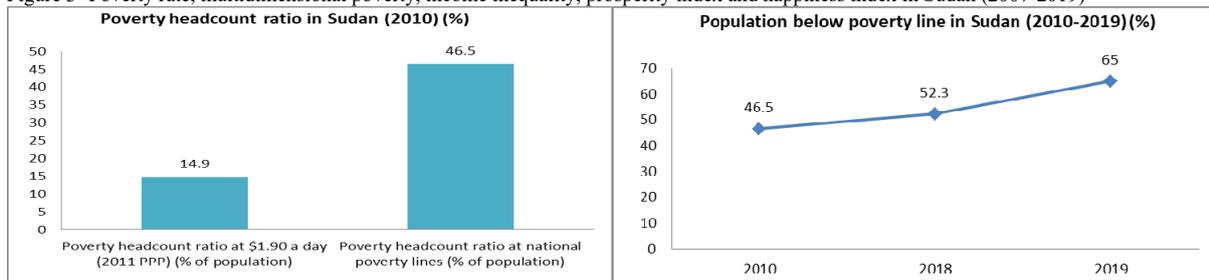
¹⁶ See Nour (2019, 2013, 2011)

women have reached at least a secondary level of education compared to 19.6 per cent of their male counterparts. Female participation in the labour market is 24.5 per cent compared to 70.3 for men (see Table 3, Figure 6).

Furthermore, the weak performance in human development index appears from the classification of Sudan among the low human development group of countries and also appears from the deterioration of Sudan's ranking in HDI from 167 to 168 out of 189 world countries included in UNDP-HDI in 2017 and 2018 respectively. The trend of human development index over the period (2000-2018) implies that the low human development indicators of Sudan continued to fall below the Arab states and world average level (see Figure 3 below), for instance, in 2018 Sudan's HDI score (0.507) is below the average of Arab States (0.703). In 2017-2018, HDI for Sudan (0.507) shows stagnating trend and no significant improvement (see Figure 4).

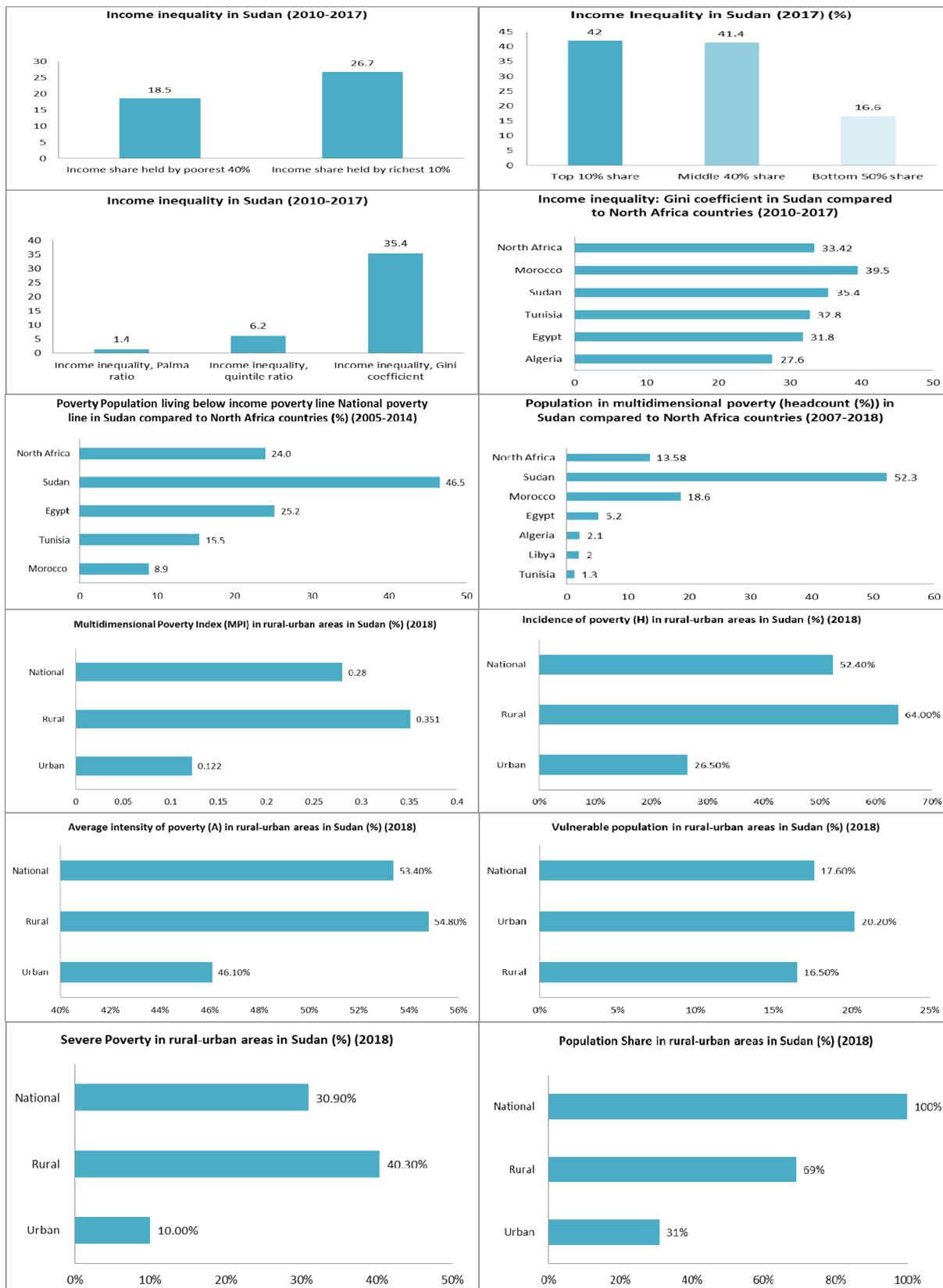
As a result of weak economic, social and human development indicators, it is not surprising that Sudan shows poor performance regarding both the Prosperity index and Happiness index. For instance, in 2019, the score of prosperity index for Sudan was 36.68, though Sudan prosperity index score fluctuated substantially in recent years, it tended to decrease through the period (2010-2019) ending at 36.68 in 2019. During the period (2015-2017) the score of Sudan regarding happiness index remained unchanged at level (4.14) that implies that Sudan shows stagnating trend and shows no significant improvement in terms of happiness index over the period (2015-2017) (see Figure 3).^{17, 18}

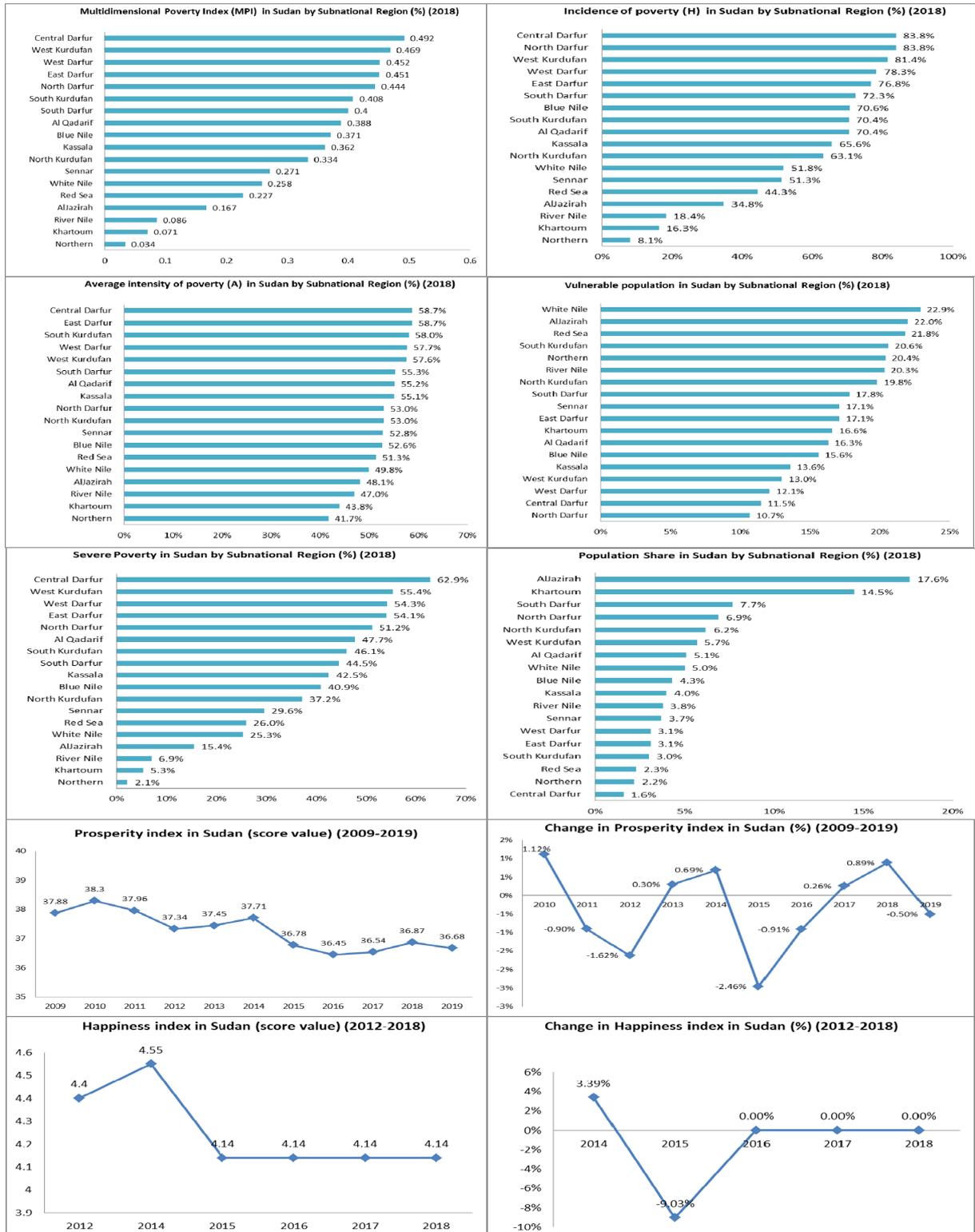
Figure 3- Poverty rate, multidimensional poverty, income inequality, prosperity index and happiness index in Sudan (2007-2019)



¹⁷ The Legatum Prosperity Index is the only global index that measures national prosperity based on institutional, economic, and social wellbeing. It seeks to redefine the concept of national prosperity to include, as a matter of fundamental importance, factors such as democratic governance, entrepreneurial opportunity, and social cohesion. National success is about more than just wealth. And yet, traditionally we have used narrow measures of wealth (such as GDP) as the benchmark to determine the success of nations. The Legatum Prosperity Index goes beyond this to measure countries' success against a broad set of metrics covering areas such as health, education, governance, personal freedom, and more. See <https://li.com/research/centre-for-metrics/prosperity-index/>, accessed on 24 February 2020. The Legatum Prosperity Index analyses the performance of 167 nations across 65 policy-focused elements, measured by almost 300 country-level indicators. The Index enables us to construct a thoroughly comprehensive picture of prosperity, across its institutional, economic, and social dimensions. It is useful for leaders around the world to use the Index to help set their agendas for growth and development. See <https://li.com/reports/2019-legatum-prosperity-index/>, accessed on 24 February 2020. See also <https://knoema.com/atlas/Sudan/Prosperity-index>, accessed on 16 February 2020.

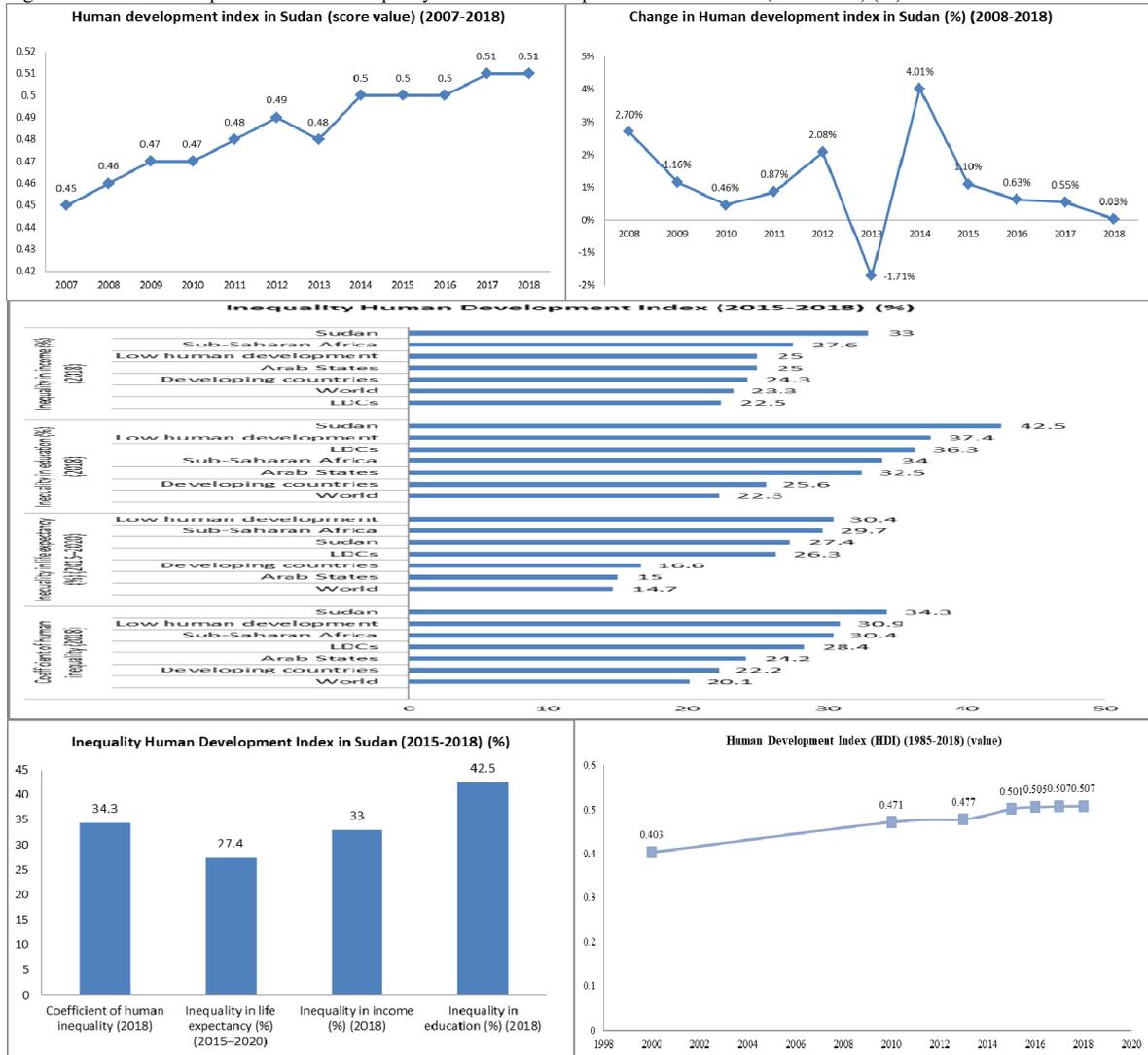
¹⁸ The World Happiness Report is a landmark survey of the state of global happiness that ranks 156 countries by how happy their citizens perceive themselves to be. The report is produced by the United Nations Sustainable Development Solutions Network in partnership with the Ernesto Illy Foundation. See <https://worldhappiness.report/download/>, accessed on 24 February 2020. Data is collected from people in over 150 countries. Each variable measured reveals a populated-weighted average score on a scale running from 0 to 10 that is tracked over time and compared against other countries. These variables currently include: real GDP per capita, social support, healthy life expectancy, freedom to make life choices, generosity, and perceptions of corruption. See https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/World_Happiness_Report#2018_report, accessed on 24 February 2020. The happiness index is a comprehensive survey instrument that assesses happiness, wellbeing, and aspects of sustainability and resilience. The Happiness Alliance developed the Happiness Index to provide a survey instrument to community organizers, researchers, and others seeking to use a subjective well-being index and data. This instrument can be used to measure satisfaction with life and the conditions of life. It can also be used to define income inequality, trust in government, sense of community and other aspects of wellbeing within specific demographics of a population. See Musikanski et al., (2017). The happiness index implies that the higher the score the higher the happiness level. See <https://knoema.com/atlas/Sudan/Happiness>, accessed on 16 February 2020.





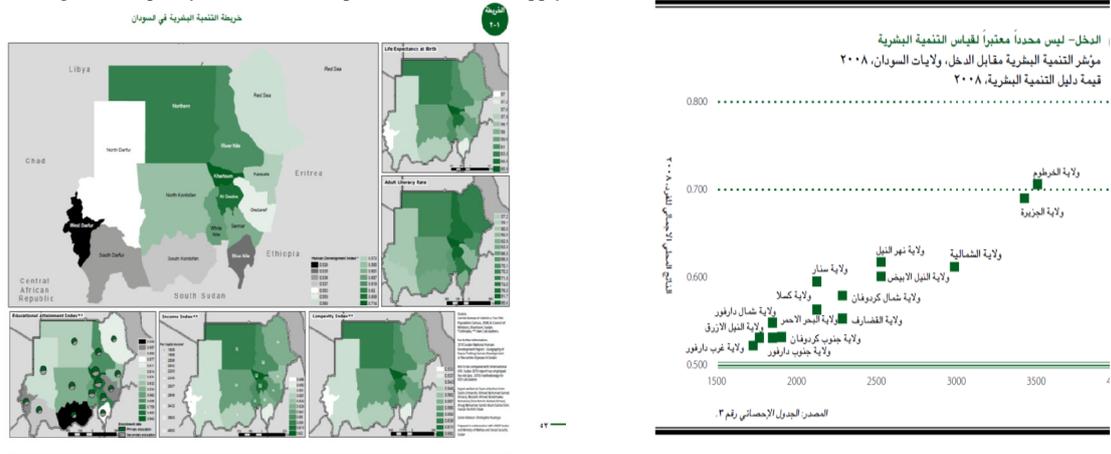
Sources: Adapted from (1) The World Bank, World Development Indicators database (2020), (2) The World Bank (2019a), World Development Indicators database. (3) The HDRO calculations based on data from the World Bank (2019a): World Development Indicators database (4) World Inequality Database (2018), (5) Sudan Central Bureau of Statistics and Ministry of Finance and Economic Planning (2019). (6) UNDP – HDR – Brief Sudan (2019), (7) The Legatum Prosperity Index (2019) (8) The World Happiness Report (2018) (9) UNDP-HDR (2019): Country Profile: Sudan (10) Oxford Poverty and Human Development Initiative (2018). (11) MICS (2014).

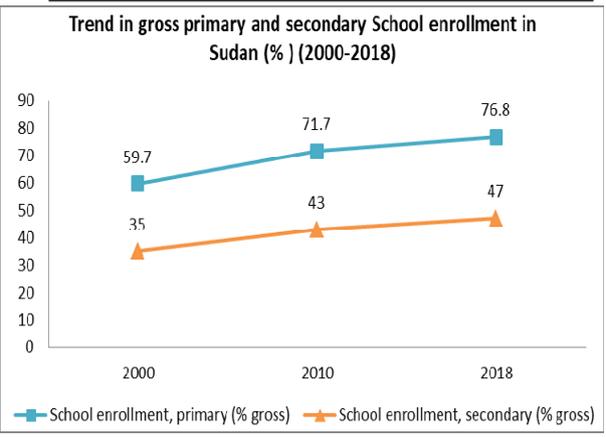
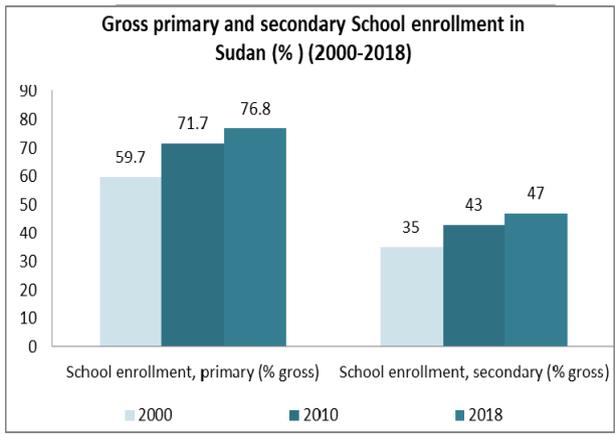
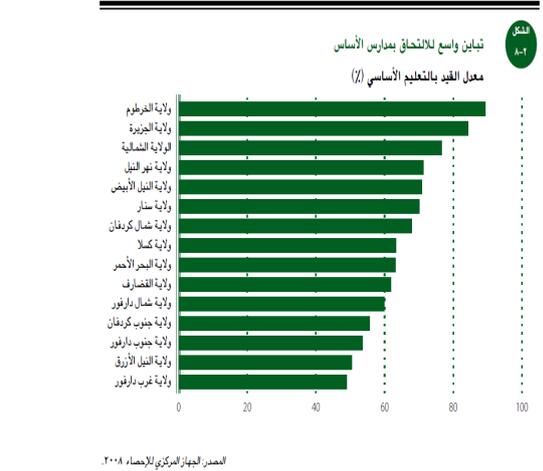
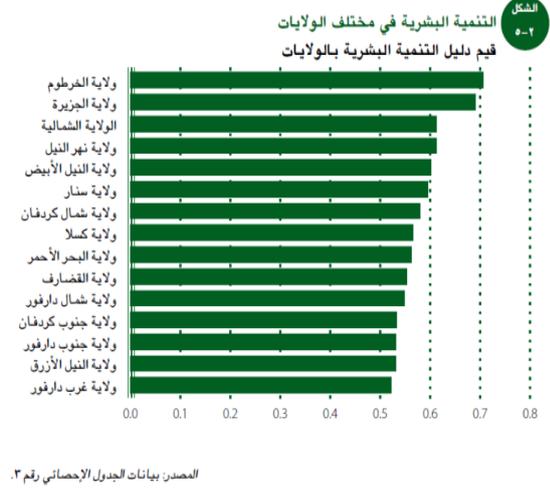
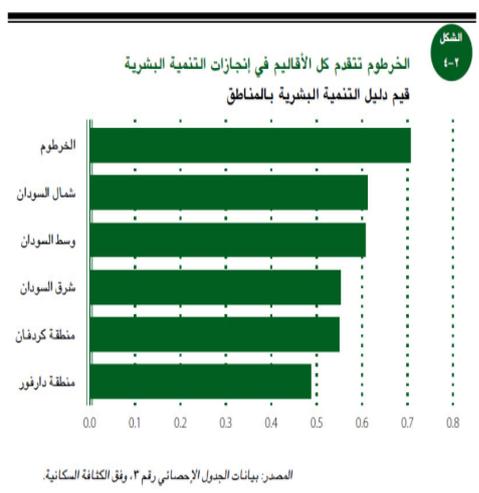
Figure 4- Human Development Index and inequality in Human Development Index in Sudan (2007-2018) (%)

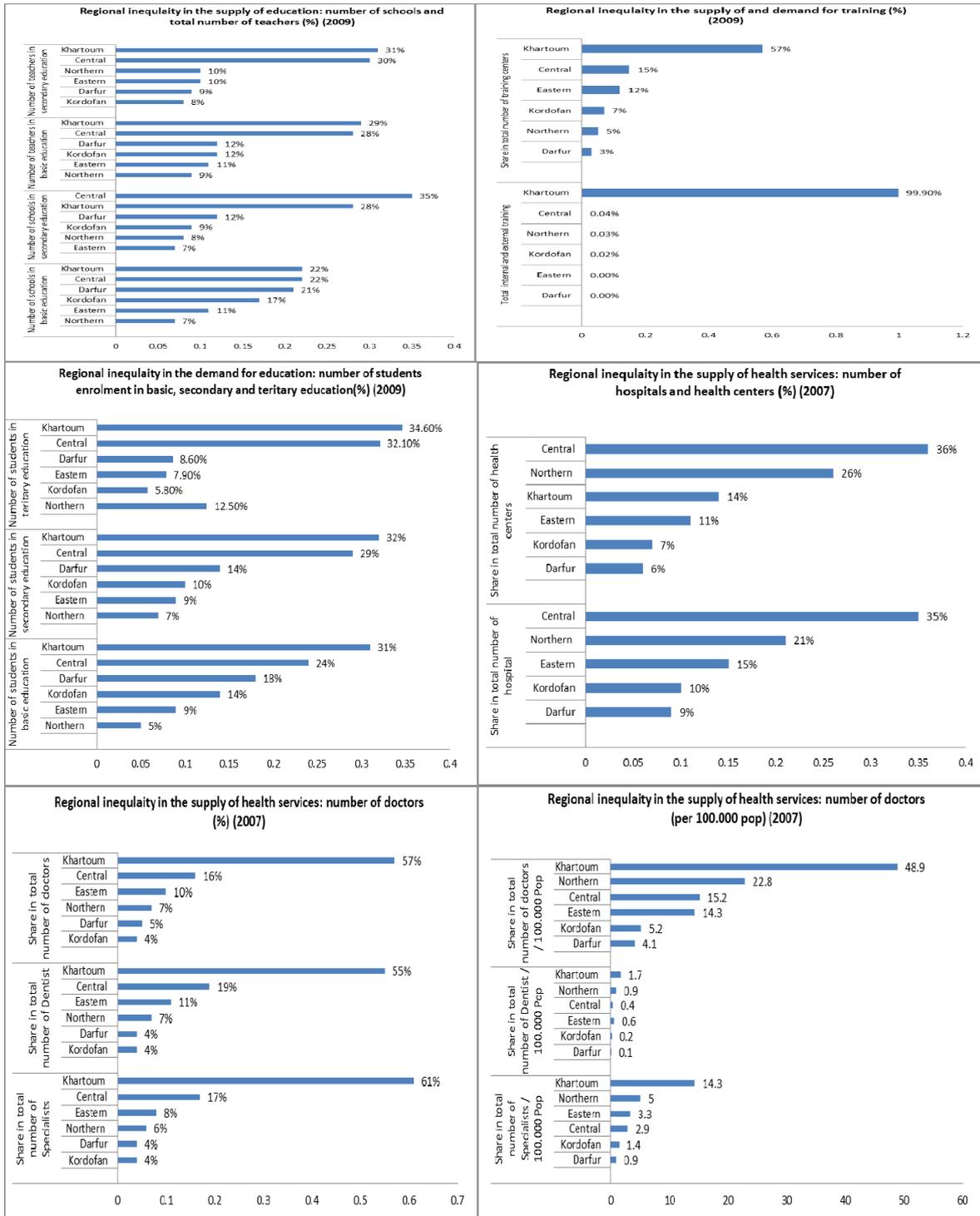


Source: Nour (2019): Adapted from UNDP - Human Development Report (2019)

Figure 5- Regional inequality in human development and in the supply of and demand for education and health services in Sudan:

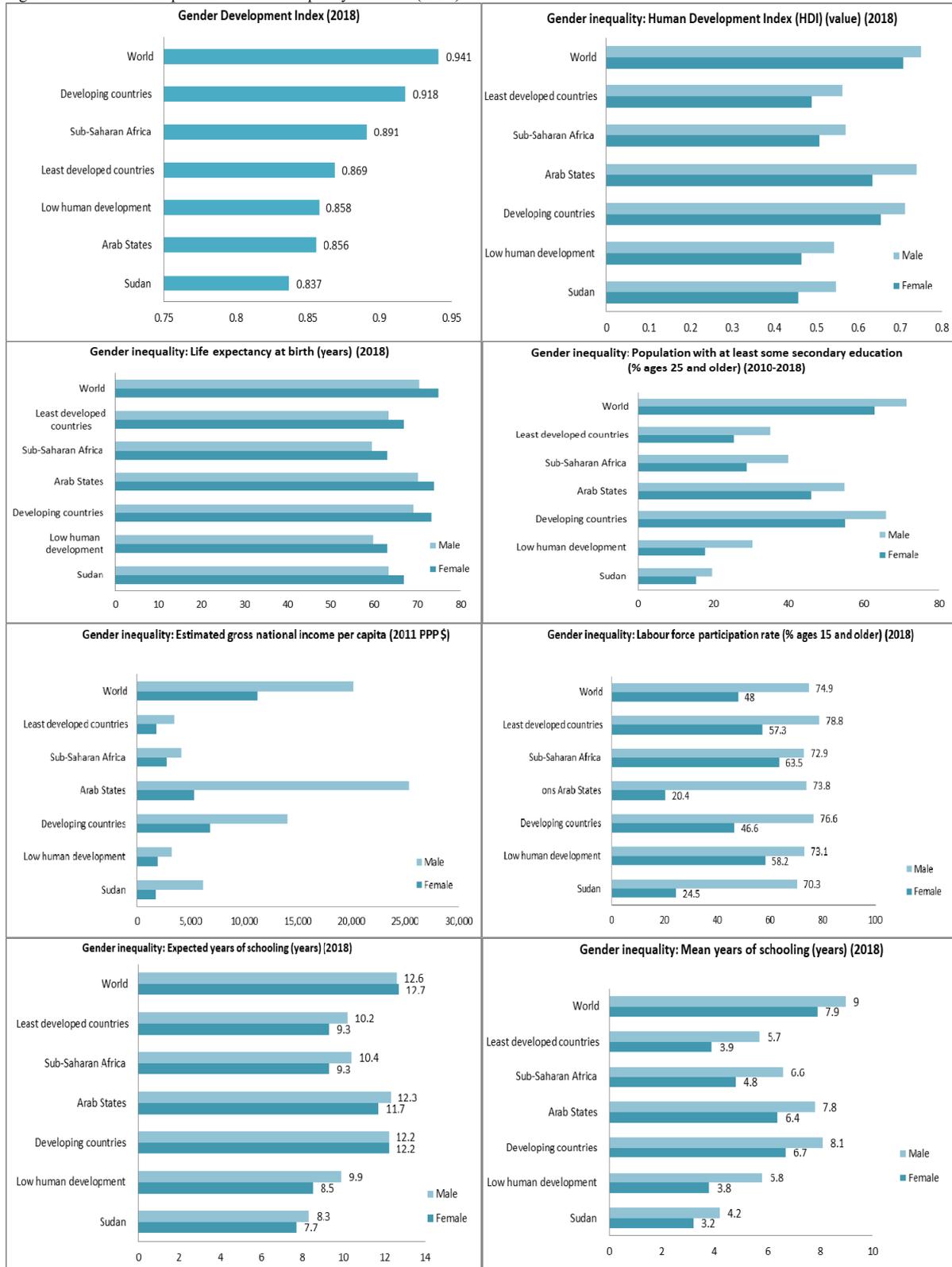






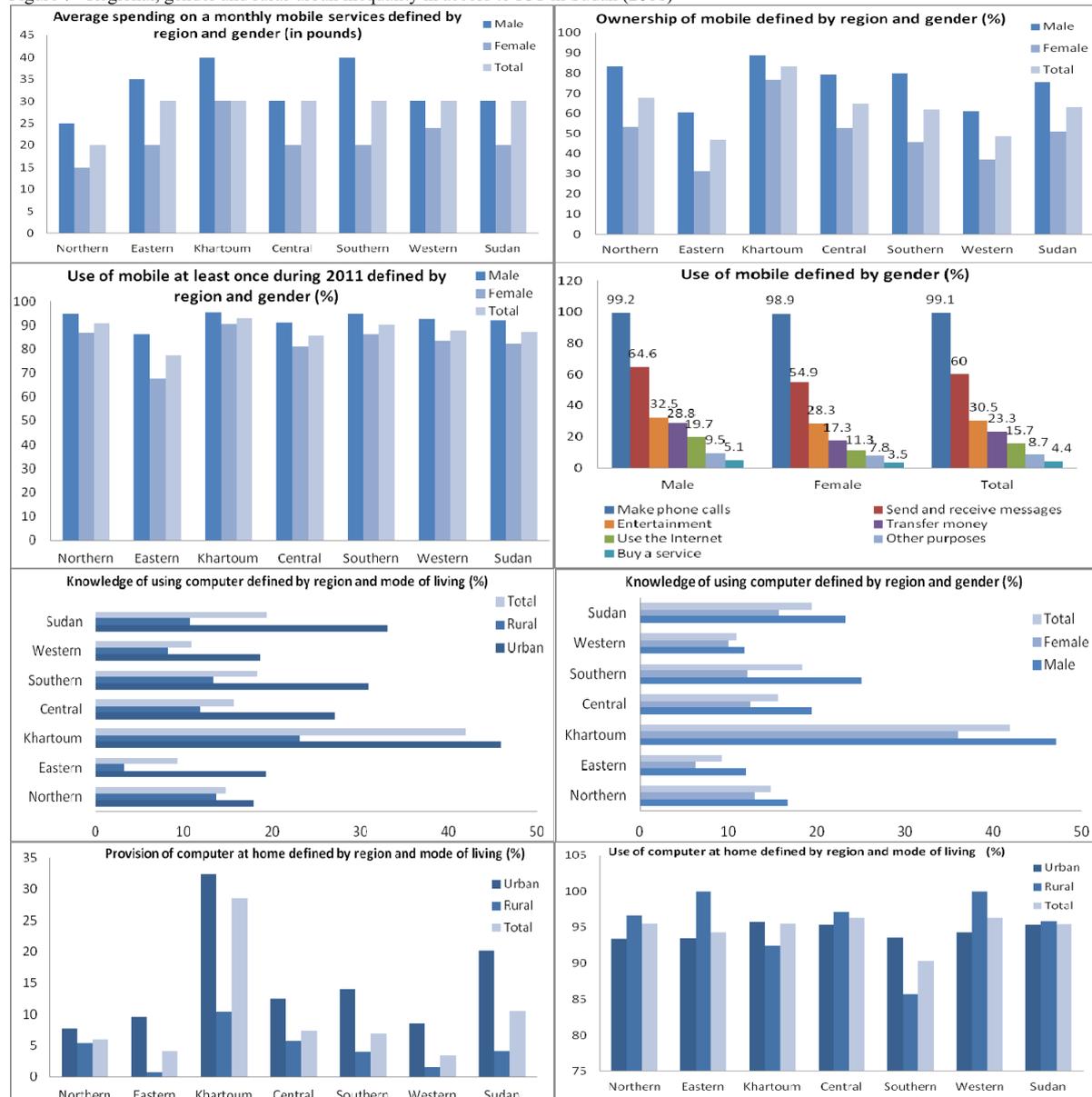
Sources: Adapted from (1) UNDP Sudan Human Development Report (2012), (2) Annual Education Reports and Sudan Ministry of Finance and National Economy Reports, (3) Annual Health Reports and Sudan Ministry of Finance and National Economy Reports, (4) Nour (2019, 2013).

Figure 6- Human Development – Gender Inequality in Sudan (2018)



Source: Adapted from UNDP - Human Development Report (2019)

Figure 7 –Regional, gender and rural-urban inequality in access to ICT in Sudan (2011)



Source: Nour (2015); adapted from National Telecommunication Corporation (NTC) (2012) "Households and individuals ICT survey 2012,"

3.3. Political causes

The political context in Sudan is characterised by a long history of political instability. Even after the independence of Southern Sudan, Sudan still endures political instability, a lack of good governors and a lack of sound and systematic institutions. The failure of the political system and institutions appears from the fact that the previous regime through its only party (the National Congress Party (NCP)) banned the presence of multiparty system and continued to maintain its full control and predominance over the political field in Sudan for nearly three decades (1989-2019). The failure of the political system and institutions is demonstrated from the lack of democratic institution and the predominance of undemocratic institutions in Sudan. The political causes including the

longstanding failure of political institutions, political instability, dominance of one political party system and autocracy, political repression, and human rights abuses, including violent government suppression on protesters lead to great frustration among the people in Sudan and motivated the protestors to insist on an absolute comprehensive change of the political regime as one of the top objective of the Sudan uprising. While, the Sudan uprising motivated initially by economic causes when protests started over the rising costs of bread and fuel in December 2018, but the motivation of protests have widened to insist on overthrowing of the previous political regime and bring down of predominance of only one ruling party for nearly three decades since 1989. Data from the Global Innovation Index (GII) Report (2015) profile for Sudan implies serious weakness or weak performance (in terms of institutions, political environment and political stability).¹⁹ For instance, of the general ranking of the whole sample of 141 economies included in the calculation of the GII (2015), Sudan exhibits the fourth weak position in terms of institutions pillar (138), especially, because of its weak position at the bottom place in terms of political environment (141), and the third weak position in terms of political stability (139), bottom place in terms of government effectiveness (141), and also eleventh weak position in terms of regulatory environment (130), especially its fifth weak position in terms of rule of law (137), and its sixth weak position in terms of regulatory quality (136) and poor business environment (118), especially weak position in terms of time to start a business (112). (See Table 6)

Table 6– Institutions and Political environment Pillars in Sudan (2015)

	Key indicators	Score or value (0–100)	Rank
1.	Institutions	32.5	138
1.1	Political environment	4.9	141
1.1.1	Political stability	9.7	139
1.1.2	Government effectiveness	0.0	141
1.2	Regulatory environment	38.1	130
1.2.1	Regulatory quality	9.4	136
1.2.2	Rule of law	14.3	137
1.2.3	Cost of redundancy dismissal, salary weeks	26.0	111
1.3	Business environment	54.5	118
1.3.1	Ease of starting a business	74.7	112
1.3.2	Ease of resolving insolvency	26.5	131
1.3.3	Ease of paying taxes	62.3	106

Source: The Global Innovation Index Report (2015): Country/Economy Profiles Sudan, p. 279.

¹⁹ The Institutions pillar focus on nurturing an institutional framework that attracts business and fosters growth by providing good governance and the correct levels of protection and incentives is essential to innovation. The Institutions pillar captures the institutional framework of an economy. The Political environment sub-pillar includes two indices: the first is the political, legal, operational or security risk index that replaces the political stability and safety indicator, reflecting more on the likelihood and severity of political, legal, operational or security risks impacting business operations; the second reflects the quality of public and civil services, policy formulation, and implementation. The Regulatory environment sub-pillar draws on two indices aimed at capturing perceptions on the ability of the government to formulate and implement cohesive policies that promote the development of the private sector and at evaluating the extent to which the rule of law prevails (in aspects such as contract enforcement, property rights, the police, and the courts). The third indicator evaluates the cost of redundancy dismissal as the sum, in salary weeks, of the cost of advance notice requirements added to severance payments due when terminating a redundant worker. Political and operational stability Index captures perceptions of the likelihood that the government will be destabilized or overthrown by unconstitutional or violent means, including politically motivated violence and terrorism. Government effectiveness Index captures perceptions of quality of public and civil services and the degree of their independence from political pressures, the quality of policy formulation and implementation, and the credibility of the government's commitment to such policies. Regulatory quality Index captures perceptions of the ability of the government to formulate and implement sound policies and regulations that permit and promote private-sector development. Rule of law Index captures perceptions of the extent to which agents have confidence in and abide by the rules of society, in particular the quality of contract enforcement, property rights, the police, and the courts, as well as the likelihood of crime and violence. Ease of starting a business related to the ranking of economies on the ease of starting a business is determined by sorting their distance to frontier scores for starting a business. These scores are the simple average of the distance to frontier scores for each of the component indicators. See Global Innovation Index (GII) Report (2019), p. 206.

3.4. Institutional causes (widespread corruption, financial mismanagement and lack of political integrity) in Sudan

The institutional causes including the incidence of high corruption and lack of political integrity implies failure of previous official efforts to end government corruption, a lack of trust in institutions and a lack of political integrity that demonstrated from the fact that Sudan failed to significantly improve its Corruption Perceptions Index (CPI) scores since 2017. For instance, according to data obtained from the 2019 Corruption Perceptions Index issued by Transparency International Secretariat (2019)²⁰, Sudan is among a vast majority of countries that are stagnating or showing signs of regressing in their anti-corruption efforts and that do not engage the most relevant political, social and business actors in political decision-making. Over the period (2018-2019) Sudan is ranked among the top ten highly corrupted (lowest scoring) countries in the world, namely, Somalia, South Sudan, Syria, Yemen, Afghanistan and Sudan respectively. Sudan failed to dropping out of the top ten highly corrupted countries on the CPI in the world since 2017. For instance, in 2019, the CPI ranks 180 countries and territories by their perceived levels of public sector corruption, in 2019 Somalia, South Sudan, Syria, Yemen, Afghanistan and Sudan are at the bottom of the index, with 9, 12, 13, 15, 16, 16 points, respectively. In 2019, out of 180 countries with a score of 16 Sudan is ranked in (173) at the sixth place from bottom. Over the period (2005-2019), CPI of Sudan fell gradually from 21 score in 2005 to 16 score in 2019. Over the period (2017-2019) with a fixed score of 16 Sudan show stagnating trend, implies that Sudan show no significant improvement in CPI score value. (See Figure 8)

The failure of previous official efforts to control corruption in Sudan can be explained by the fact that most probably because of the lack of or poor enforcement of comprehensive and systematically regulations. The lack of real progress against the profound and the prolonged corruption caused a great frustration, disappointment, dissatisfaction and deep negative effects on people in Sudan along with increasing awareness that the opportunity of ending corruption, restoring trust in politics, improving political integrity and improving living conditions and welfare for citizens in Sudan dependent on changing the political regime and that motivated the uprising in Sudan.

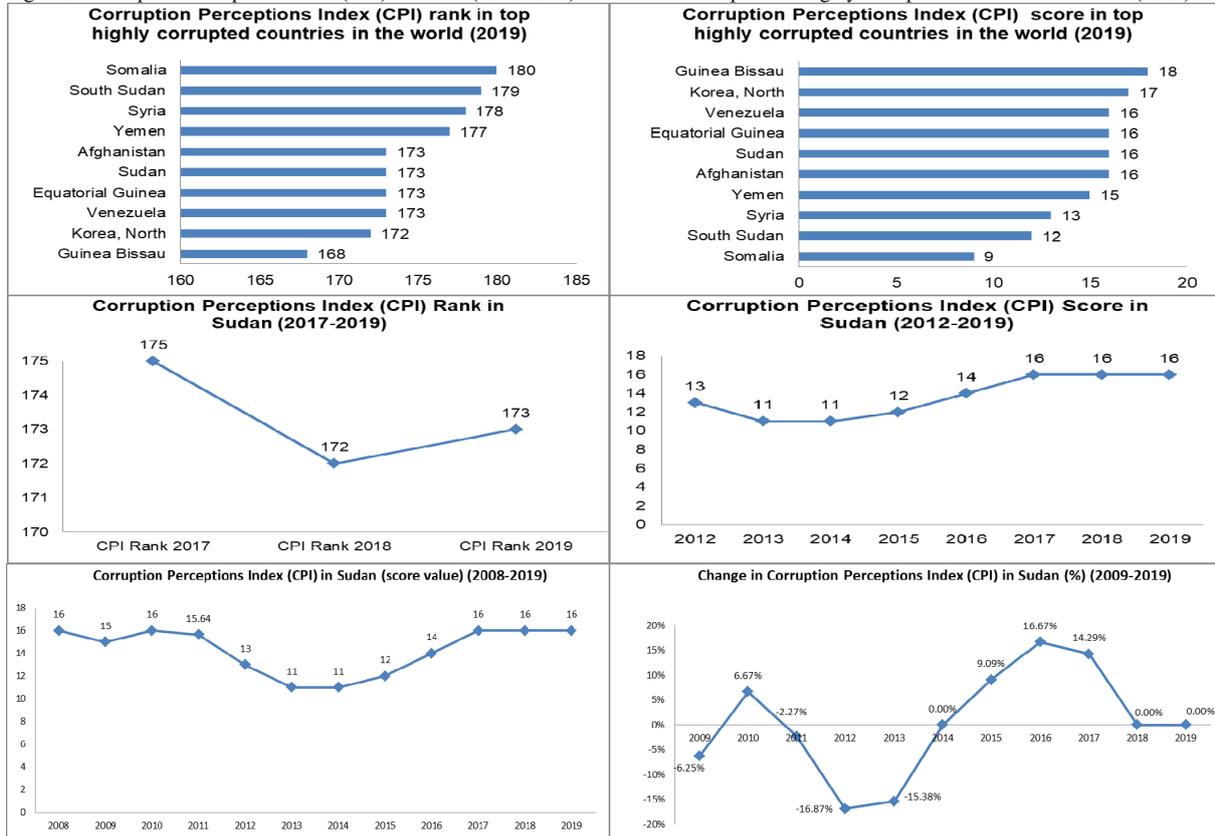
In Sudan the incidence of corruption is also problematic for protecting democracy in view of the fact that the CPI (2018) analysis reveals that corruption contributing to a global crisis of democracy and that the continued failure of most countries to significantly control corruption is contributing to a crisis of democracy around the world, corruption damages democracy to produce a vicious cycle, where corruption undermines democratic institutions and, in turn, weak institutions are less able to control corruption.²¹

²⁰ Since its inception in 1995, the Corruption Perceptions Index (CPI), Transparency International's flagship research product, has become the leading global indicator of public sector corruption. The index offers an annual snapshot of the relative degree of corruption by ranking countries and territories from all over the globe. In 2012, Transparency International revised the methodology used to construct the index to allow for comparison of scores from one year to the next. The 2019 CPI draws on 13 surveys and experts assessments to measure public sector corruption in 180 countries and territories, giving each a score from zero (highly corrupt) to 100 (very clean [or (highly clean)]). See https://www.transparency.org/news/pressrelease/2019_CPI_efforts_stagnate_in_G7, accessed on 6 February 2020. See also https://www.transparency.org/news/pressrelease/corruption_perceptions_index_2018, accessed on 6 February 2020. See also <https://knoema.com/atlas/Sudan/Corruption-perceptions-index>, accessed on 16 February 2020.

²¹ Concerning the relationship between corruption and the crisis of democracy cross analysis with global democracy data reveals a link between corruption and the health of democracies. Full democracies score an average of 75 on the CPI; flawed democracies score an average of 49; hybrid regimes – which show elements of autocratic tendencies – score 35; autocratic regimes perform worst, with an average score of just 30 on the CPI. CPI research makes a clear link between having a healthy democracy and successfully fighting public sector corruption, “Corruption is much more likely to flourish where democratic foundations are weak and, as we have seen in many countries, where undemocratic and populist politicians can use it to their advantage. (Delia Ferreira Rubio, Chair of Transparency International, 2019)” See <https://www.transparency.org/>.

In Sudan, the low CPI score comes at a time when the Sudan is experiencing deterioration and registered its lowest score for political rights. These ratings reflect the deterioration of rule of law and democratic institutions, as well as a rapidly shrinking space for civil society organisations and free and independent media, in Sudan.

Figure 8- Corruption Perceptions Index (CPI) in Sudan (2018-2019) and in Sudan compared to highly corrupted countries in the world (2019)



Sources: Adapted from Transparency International Corruption Perceptions Index Report (2019, 2018)

Kukutschka (2017)²² provides a general overview of the nature and extent of corruption in Sudan, as well as its presence across different sectors of the economy in Sudan. He indicates that corruption is present in all sectors and across all branches and levels of government in Sudan: public servants are known to demand bribes for services that individuals or companies are legally entitled to; government officials hold direct and indirect stakes in many enterprises, which distorts the market through patronage and cronyism; and the head of state and government is believed to have embezzled up to US\$9 billion from oil revenues. The human rights situation in the country continues to deteriorate. In 2011, Freedom House ranked Sudan as one of the nine countries judged to have the worst human rights record, with its inhabitants suffering from intense repression (Martini 2012). He indicates that concerning the nature and extent of corruption in Sudan, corruption in Sudan is a systemic issue. The country is perceived as one of the most corrupt in the world: Transparency International's 2016 Corruption Perceptions Index (CPI), for example, gives the country a score of 14, ahead only of North Korea, Somalia, South Sudan and Syria

²² For all this section see Kukutschka (2017), pp. 2-8.

(Transparency International 2017). The World Bank's Control of Corruption indicator also places the country among the 10 most corrupt countries on the planet. These results are hardly surprising given that, Sudan is also considered a fragile state under "very high alert" by the Fund for Peace (2016) and as noted by Transparency International (2011) "fragile, unstable states ... linger at the bottom of the index ... demonstrate[ing] that countries which are perceived to have the highest levels of public sector corruption are also those plagued by longstanding conflicts which have torn apart their governance infrastructure"..... Corruption takes a variety of forms in Sudan, ranging from petty forms of corruption, such as bribery, to grand corruption (e.g. embezzlement and theft of public funds involving high-level officials) and political corruption, i.e. "the manipulation of policies, institutions and rules of procedure in the allocation of resources and financing by political decision makers, who abuse their position to sustain their power, status and wealth" (Transparency International 2009). He indicates that the main drivers of corruption in Sudan include absence of checks and balances [to hold the government accountable], systematic violations of human rights [which make it difficult for a strong media and civil society to flourish], lack of political opposition and absence of rule of law and the close ties between business and politics, among others. In addition to excessive administrative burden, for instance, several studies have shown that there is a strong association between bureaucracy and corruption. This is mostly attributed to the fact that excessive regulation increases administrative discretion thus generating opportunities for corruption (Mungiu-Pippidi 2013). According to figures provided by the World Bank's Ease of Doing Business Survey, administrative burden in Sudan ranks among the worst in the world and has worsened over the years. Starting a business, for example, takes 36 days and 10 procedures, and can cost around 25% of the business owner's income. Paying taxes is another complicated process which requires making 42 payments per year and an investment of 180 hours. While these figures are not uncommon in sub Saharan African countries, they still lag international best practices and provide incentives to pay bribes to "speed up" processes. He also illustrates how corruption, in its different forms and shapes, is present across many sectors of the economy and can be considered a normal occurrence. Concerning corruption by sector, in extractive industries sector the lack of transparency and accountability in the extractive sector generates a very high risk of corruption and political interference (GAN Integrity 2016), and corruption has been reported all along the production chain, including volume, reporting, reserves, entitlements of foreign companies, as well as allocations to producing states and distribution companies (Sudan Democracy First 2016). In 2009, for example, Global Witness published an analysis of Sudan's oil figures and showed discrepancies between the figures of the Sudanese government and those released by the Chinese National Petroleum Corporation (Global Witness 2009). The report said there were discrepancies ranging from 9% to 26% between 2005 and 2007. Even after losing around two-thirds of its known oil reserves and three-quarters of its oil revenues in 2011, following the secession of South Sudan, the allegations of corruption in the sector continue. In 2014, for example, the auditor general accused the Ministry of Finance and the Sudanese Oil Foundation of spending raw oil revenues to repay a Chinese loan for the Khartoum refinery without keeping accounts. Furthermore, he revealed "a mismatch in the oil accounts in the period 1996-2012, pointing to an amount of US\$628 billion that was classified as 'operating expenses'" (Dabanga 2014). There have also been reports stating that more than 60% of oil companies operating in Sudan engage in tax evasion and that less than a quarter of the total oil revenues get deposited in the public treasury (Dabanga 2014)..... He provides another example of

corruption in the health sector and indicates that because of the widespread practice of bribery and other corrupt dealings, the access to the public healthcare system does not live up to the standards of justice, fairness and equality. Instead nepotism, bribes and favouritism prevail and access to healthcare is a luxury for those who can afford it. He provides another example of corruption in land tenure system and land use and agriculture sector and indicates that Sudan's land holds great agricultural potential, but the accelerated land acquisition by foreign investors is problematic for local farmers who find their land rights disregarded (Bertelsmann Stiftung 2016). In recent years, corruption in land governance in the country has come under greater scrutiny due to the increased commercial value of agricultural and urban land. There are concerns that corruption plays a role in facilitating large-scale land acquisition by investors. Although allegations of corruption are extremely sensitive and hard to prove, the principal conclusion is that corruption is most evident at the higher level of the investment chain, associated with deal-making in establishing partnerships, joint ventures, land acquisition and project planning with concession holders and project managers. This is supported by investment finance originating higher up the chain, with a governance system that favours those belonging or connected with the political establishment as a prime enabler of corrupt practice (Sudan Democracy First Group 2016b).

3.5. The lack of freedoms causes in Sudan

Over the past years Sudan suffers not only from the deterioration of economic indicators, economic and financial mismanagement, high corruption and widespread inequalities but also suffer from the lack of economic, political and civil freedoms. That demonstrated from the rank and weak performance of Sudan compared to world countries in terms of various index of freedoms including, index of economic freedom, political rights index, civil liberties index and press freedoms index as explained below.

3.5.1. Lack of economic freedoms weak Index of economic freedom²³

Regarding the index of economic freedom, over the period (2017-2019), Sudan revealed deterioration in the index of economic freedom (see Figure 9). For instance, in 2019, Sudan index of economic freedom was at level of 47.7 score. Sudan index of economic freedom declined from 49.4 score in 2018 to 47.7 score in 2019; this implies a

²³ The definition of the index of economic freedom is based on the fact that economic freedom is the fundamental right of every human to control his or her own labour and property. In an economically free society, individuals are free to work, produce, consume, and invest in any way they please, with that freedom both protected by the state and unconstrained by the state. In economically free societies, governments allow labour, capital and goods to move freely, and refrain from coercion or constraint of liberty beyond the extent necessary to protect and maintain liberty itself. Economic freedom brings greater prosperity. The Index of Economic Freedom documents the positive relationship between economic freedom and a variety of positive social and economic goals. The ideals of economic freedom are strongly associated with healthier societies, cleaner environments, greater per capita wealth, human development, democracy, and poverty elimination. The index of economic freedom is based on 12 quantitative and qualitative factors, grouped into four broad categories, or pillars, of economic freedom: (1) Rule of Law (property rights, government integrity, judicial effectiveness), (2) Government Size (government spending, tax burden, fiscal health), (3) Regulatory Efficiency (business freedom, labour freedom, monetary freedom), and (4) Open Markets (trade freedom, investment freedom, financial freedom). Each of the twelve economic freedoms within these categories is graded on a scale of 0 to 100. A country's overall score is derived by averaging these twelve economic freedoms, with equal weight being given to each. The Index of Economic Freedom considers every component equally important in achieving the positive benefits of economic freedom. Each freedom is weighted equally in determining country scores. Countries considering economic reforms may find significant opportunities for improving economic performance in those factors in which they score the lowest. These factors may indicate significant binding constraints on economic growth and prosperity. According to the index classification of world countries: free countries (score 80-100), mostly free countries (score 79.9-70), moderately free countries (score 69.9-60), mostly un free countries (score 59.9-50) and repressed countries (score 49.9-0). See the Heritage Foundation: see <https://www.heritage.org/index/about>, accessed on 24 February 2020. The index of economic freedom score 100 represents the maximum freedom. See <https://knoema.com/atlas/Sudan/Index-of-economic-freedom>, accessed on 6 February 2020.

decreasing change of 3.44%. Over the period (1995-2019) (with score less than 50.0 (39.4-47.7)) Sudan continued among the weak ranked countries in the index of economic freedom. This implies that the classification of the World countries according to the index of economic freedom puts Sudan among the persisted repressed world countries. In 2019, Sudan show weak performance in the four broad categories or pillars of economic freedom including: rule of law, government size, regulatory efficiency, and open markets, that are below the world average (see Table 7, Figure 9).

Sudan's economic freedom score is 47.7, making its economy the 166th freest in the 2019 Index. Its overall score has decreased by 1.7 points, with sharply lower scores for fiscal health and trade freedom outweighing an increase in government integrity. Sudan is ranked 41st among 47 countries in the Sub-Saharan Africa region, and its overall score is well below the regional and world averages.... Years of social conflict and civil war in Sudan have undermined investor confidence. The petroleum sector provides some economic stability, but other sectors face serious structural and institutional deficiencies. Currency risk was heightened in 2018 after repeated devaluations due to persistent hard currency shortages. Coupled with rising inflationary pressures, this further undermined investor sentiment and reduced private consumption and thus growth. Poor governance, weak rule of law, rigid labour markets, and an inefficient regulatory regime have impeded economic diversification and created a large informal economy.... Decades of economic mismanagement and corruption precipitated an economic crisis in 2018 that featured inflation, food and water shortages, and street protests. The oil sector has driven much of Sudan's GDP growth, but the secession of South Sudan cost Sudan two-thirds of its oil revenue. Close to half of the population is at or below the poverty line and reliant on subsistence agriculture. [Sudan's performance regarding the rule of law implies that] there is little respect for private property, and enforcement is uneven. The judiciary is not independent, and years of political conflict have deformed the legal framework. Sudan is one of the world's most corrupt nations. It was ranked 175th out of 180 countries in Transparency International's 2017 Corruption Perceptions Index. Power and resources are concentrated in and around Khartoum. [Sudan's performance concerning the government size implies that] the top personal income tax rate is 10 per cent, and the top corporate tax rate is 35 per cent. The overall tax burden equals 6.7 per cent of total domestic income. Over the past three years, government spending has amounted to 10.6 per cent of the country's output (GDP), and budget deficits have averaged 1.6 per cent of GDP. Public debt is equivalent to 126.0 per cent of GDP. [Sudan's performance regarding regulatory efficiency implies that] the poor governance and inefficient regulations impede the development and diversification of the private sector. A large informal economy remains trapped by business regulations that inhibit registration and a rigid labour market that discourages formal hiring. In 2018, the government's decision to remove fuel subsidies and eliminate wheat subsidies spiked inflation and led to widespread and violent street protests. [Sudan's performance concerning open market implies that] the combined value of exports and imports is equal to 21.5 per cent of GDP. The average applied tariff rate is 17.5 per cent, and nontariff barriers impose additional severe impediments on trade flows. Investment remains largely reserved for the hydrocarbon sector. Access to credit remains limited. About 17 per cent of adult Sudanese have access to an account with a formal banking institution.²⁴ (See Table 7, Figure 9)

²⁴ For all this section see The Heritage Foundation (2019): '2019 Index of Economic Freedom: Sudan' heritage.org/Index (2019). pp. 390-391, Accessed February 20, 2020.

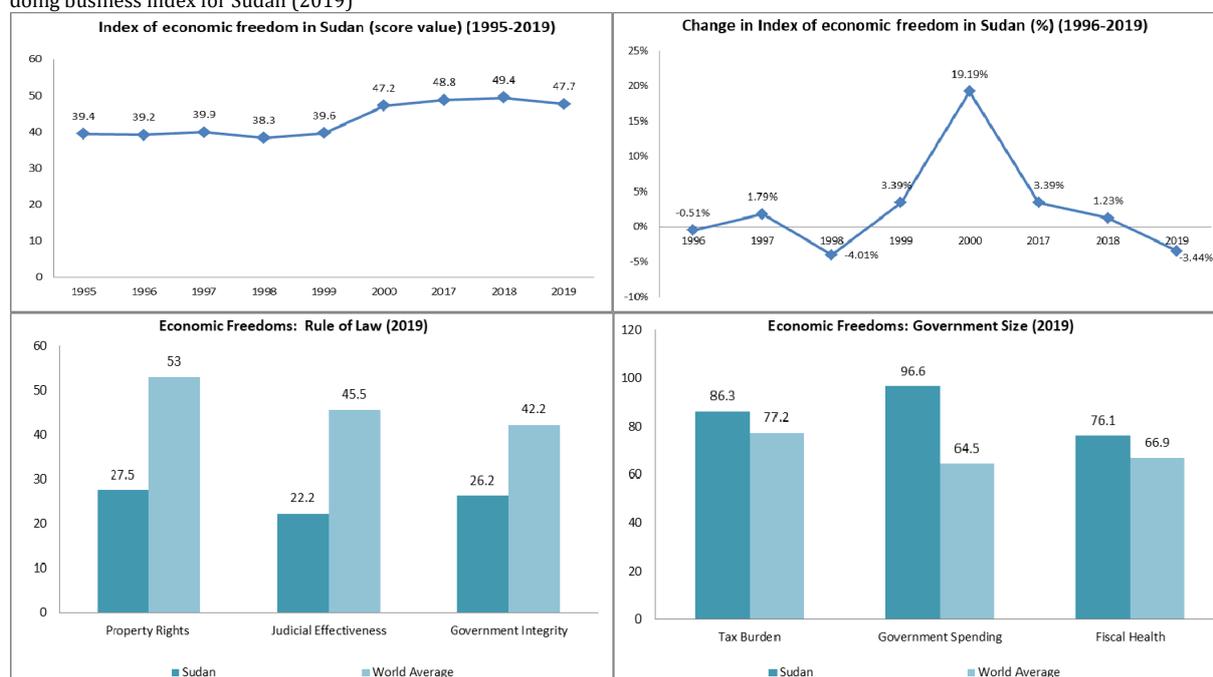
The weak performance in economic freedom related to weak business freedom proven by weak performance in ease of doing business index.²⁵ For instance, in 2019, ease of doing business index for Sudan was 48.02 score, although, Sudan's performance in ease of doing business index increased from 45.52 score in 2016 to 48.02 score in 2019 growing at an average annual rate of 1.86%, but Sudan's performance is below the world average (see Figure 8).

Table 7- Economic Freedoms in Sudan compared to the world average (2019)

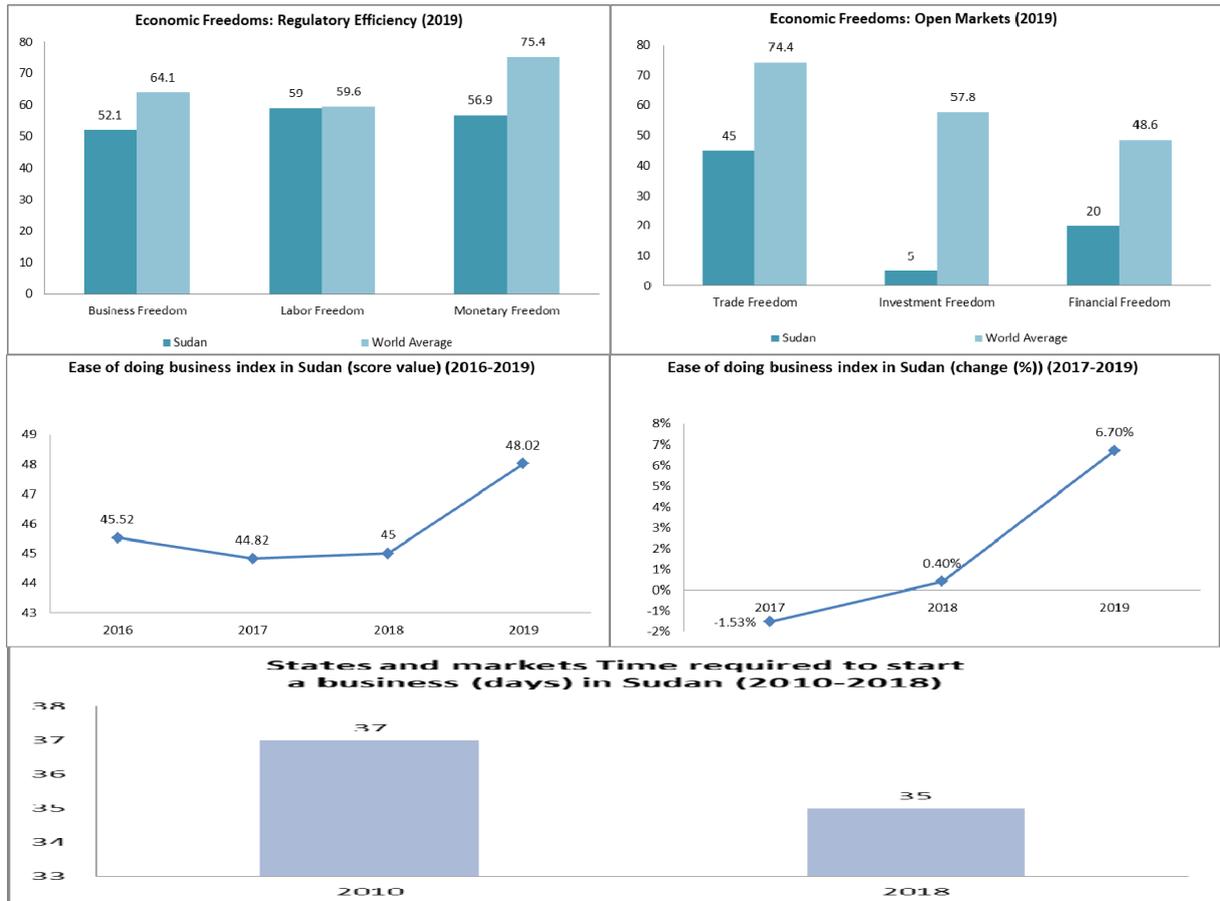
Overall Score	47.7	
World Rank	166 out of 180 (186)	
	Sudan	World average
Rule of Law		
Property Rights	27.5	53
Judicial Effectiveness	22.2	45.5
Government Integrity	26.2	42.2
Government Size		
Tax Burden	86.3	77.2
Government Spending	96.6	64.5
Fiscal Health	76.1	66.9
Regulatory Efficiency		
Business Freedom	52.1	64.1
Labour Freedom	59.0	59.6
Monetary Freedom	56.9	75.4
Open Markets		
Trade Freedom	45.0	74.4
Investment Freedom	5.0	57.8
Financial Freedom	20.0	48.6

Source: Adapted from the Heritage Foundation: <https://www.heritage.org/index/country/sudan>, accessed 24 February 2020

Figure 9 - Index of Economic Freedoms in Sudan (1996-2019 and economic freedoms in Sudan compared to world average (2019) and ease of doing business index for Sudan (2019)



²⁵ Economies are ranked on their ease of doing business, from 1–190. A high ease of doing business ranking means the regulatory environment is more conducive to the starting and operation of a local firm. The rankings are determined by sorting the aggregate scores on 10 topics, each consisting of several indicators, giving equal weight to each topic. The rankings for all economies are benchmarked to May 2019. See <https://www.doingbusiness.org/en/rankings>, accessed on 16 February 2020. See also <https://knoema.com/atlas/Sudan/Ease-of-doing-business-index>, accessed on 16 February 2020.



Sources: Adapted from (1) Heritage Foundation: <https://www.heritage.org/index/country/sudan>, accessed 24 February 2020, and (2) The World Bank (2019)

3.5.2. Lack of political and civil freedoms: weak political rights index²⁶, civil liberties index²⁷ and press freedom index²⁸

The lack of political rights, political freedom and civil liberties in Sudan are demonstrated from the Freedom House data related to political rights index and the civil liberties index. For instance, in 2019, the political rights index for Sudan was 7.00 score and the civil liberties index for Sudan was 7.00 score. Over the period (2007-2019) the

²⁶ The Political Rights from the Freedom House evaluates three categories: electoral process, political pluralism and participation, and the functioning of government. The index ranges from 1 (strong rights and highest degree of political freedom) to 7 (weak rights and weak political freedom). See https://www.theglobaleconomy.com/rankings/political_rights/, accessed on 24 February 2020. See also https://www.theglobaleconomy.com/Sudan/political_rights/, accessed on 24 February 2020. See <https://knoema.com/atlas/Sudan/Political-rights-index>, access on 16 February 2020.

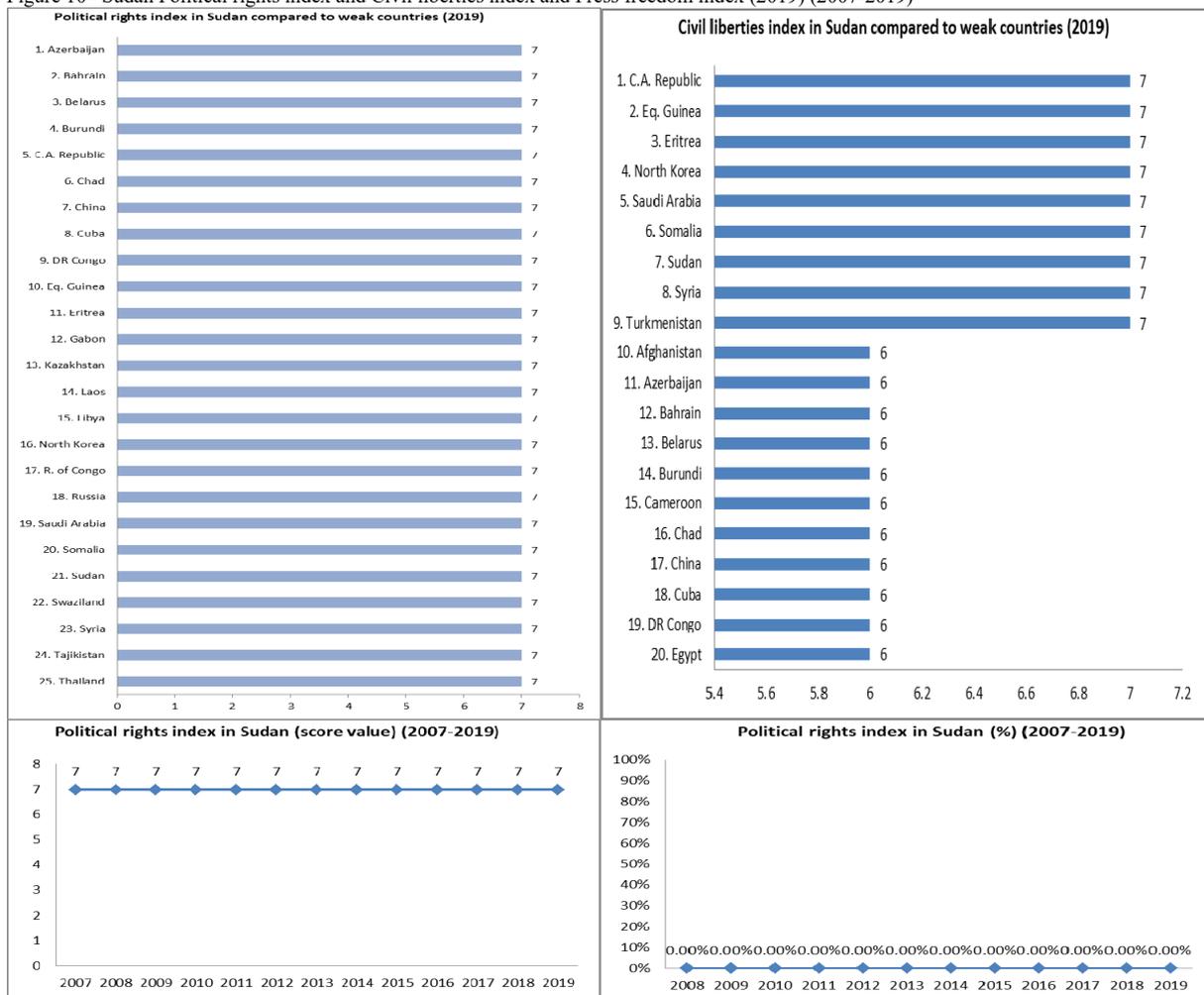
²⁷ The Civil Liberties index from the Freedom House evaluates the freedom of expression and belief, associational and organizational rights, rule of law, and personal autonomy and individual rights. The index rating ranges from 1 (strong liberties and highest degree of freedom) to 7 (no liberties and no freedom). See https://www.theglobaleconomy.com/rankings/civil_liberties/, accessed on 24 February 2020. See also https://www.theglobaleconomy.com/Sudan/civil_liberties/, accessed on 24 February 2020. See also <https://knoema.com/atlas/Sudan/Civil-liberties-index>, accessed on 16 February 2020.

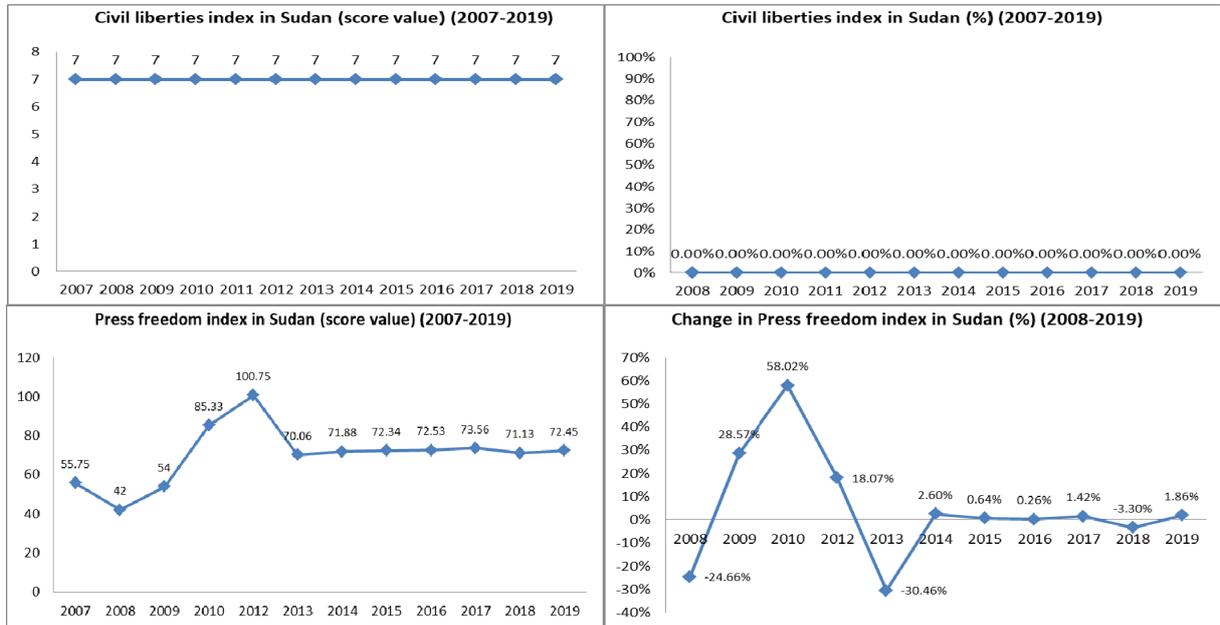
²⁸ Published annually by Reporters without borders (RSF) since 2002, the World Press Freedom Index measures the level of media freedom in 180 countries. It assesses the level of pluralism, media independence, the environment for the media and self-censorship, the legal framework, transparency, and the quality of the infrastructure that supports the production of news and information. It does not evaluate government policy. The global indicator and the regional indicators are calculated on the basis of the scores registered for each country. These country scores are calculated from the answers to a questionnaire that is completed by experts throughout the world, supported by a qualitative analysis. The scores measure constraints and violations, so the higher the score, the worse the situation of press freedom. Because of growing awareness of the Index, it is an extremely useful advocacy tool. See <https://rsf.org/en/2019-world-press-freedom-index-cycle-fear>, accessed on 24 February 2020. See also <https://knoema.com/atlas/Sudan/Press-freedom-index>, accessed on 16 February 2020.

Freedom House data for both indicators for Sudan implies that Sudan political rights index and Sudan civil liberties index both showed constant trend and remained fixed at around 7 score, this also implies that both the weak political rights, weak political freedom and no civil liberties showing no significant improvement in Sudan. (See Figure 10) In 2019, out of 190 countries with a political rights index score of 7 Sudan is ranked in (21) place from bottom and among the top 30 world countries with weak political rights. Similarly, in 2019, out of 190 countries with a civil liberties index score of 7 Sudan is ranked in (7) place from bottom and among the top ten world countries with no civil liberties (see Figure 10.).

Over the past years Sudan suffered not only from the lack of political rights, political freedom and civil liberties but also suffered from the lack of press freedom. Mainly, the lack of press freedom appears from the poor performance in Press freedom index. For instance, data from Reporters without borders (RSF) indicates that in 2019, press freedom index for Sudan was 72.45 score. Though Sudan press freedom index fluctuated substantially in recent years, it tended to increase through the period (2004- 2019) ending at 72.45 score in 2019 that implies the constraints, violations and worse situation of press freedom in Sudan. (See Figure 10)

Figure 10– Sudan Political rights index and Civil liberties index and Press freedom index (2019) (2007-2019)





Source: The Freedom House

Therefore, our findings in this section support the first hypothesis that a combination of mixed factors and causes including economic causes, social and human development causes, political causes, institutional causes and the lack of freedoms causes caused the Sudan uprising. We observe that the lack of peace, freedom, and justice led to great frustration that motivated the mass street demonstrations and the Sudan uprising that called for the achievement of peace, freedom, and justice for all people in Sudan (December 2018- April 2019).

4. The interaction between the internal and external factors contributed to the success of the Sudan Uprising

This section discusses the interaction between the internal factors (the role of youth, women, ICT the Sudanese Professional Association (SPA), University of Khartoum Teaching Staff Initiative (UKTSI), and diaspora) that support the Sudan uprising. We examine the second hypothesis that the dynamic interaction between the internal factors (youth, women, ICT, the Sudanese Professional Association (SPA) and the University of Khartoum Teaching Staff Initiative (UKTSI)) and external factors (the diaspora) contributed to support the Sudan uprising.

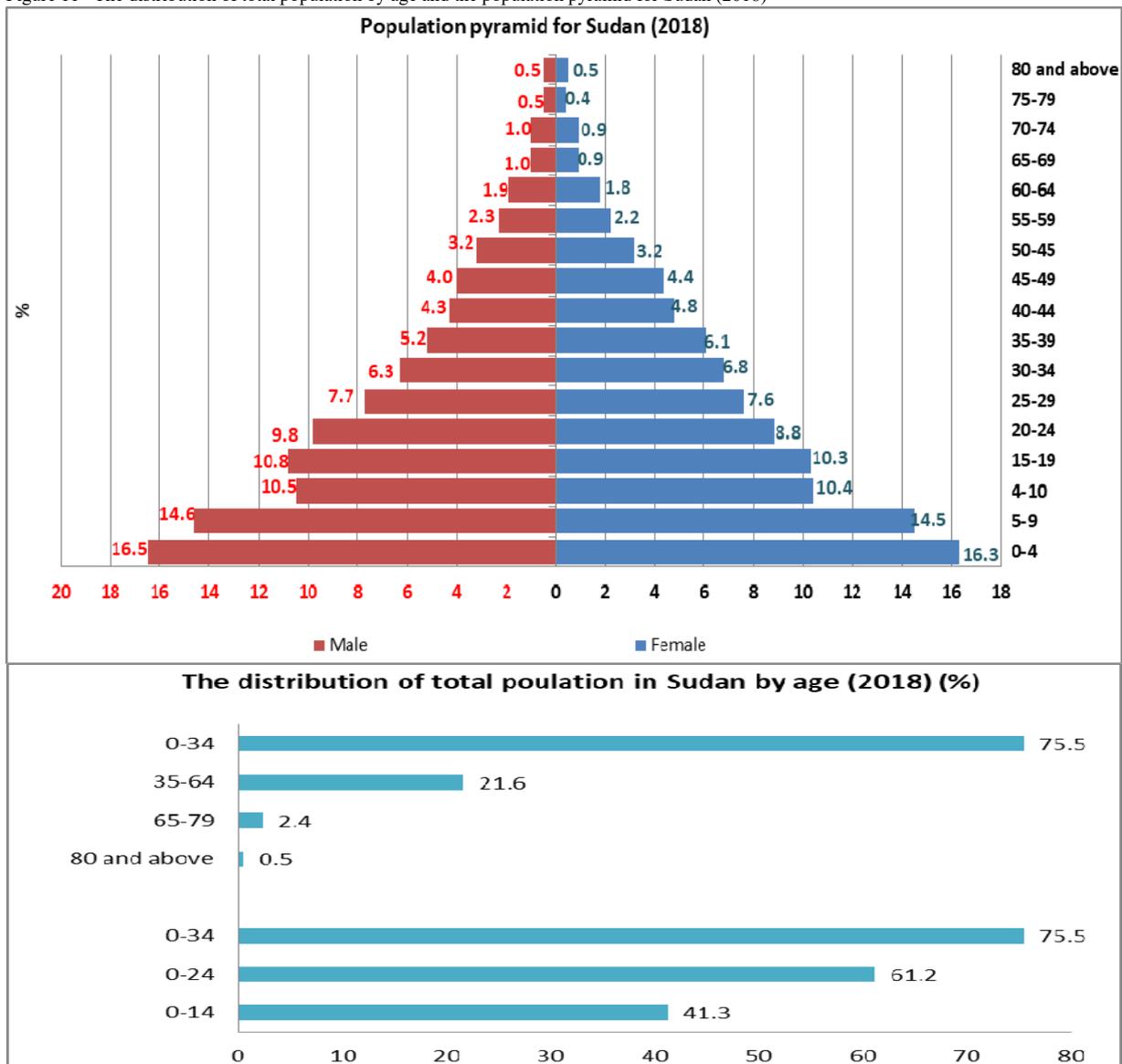
4.1 The role of youth in Sudan Uprising

The role of youth for supporting the successful transition in Sudan is important and inspiring for other African countries. The distribution of population by gender and age and the population pyramid for Sudan (2018) indicates that the Sudanese nation is a young nation, the share of population age (0-14) contributes 41.3 per cent, the share of the population age (0-24) contributes 61.2 per cent, and the share of population age (0-34) contributes 75.5 per cent (see Figure 11). We observe that in view of the fact that the demographic structure implies high share of youth (population age (0-24)) that contributes 61.2 per cent of total population in Sudan; it is not surprising that the youth turn out to be the most effective population group that support the Sudan uprising. It is widely recognized that the rational for the great enthusiasm and motivation for the extensive participation of youth in Sudan uprising is most

probably related to the increasing interest among youth to achieve better future for youth. Inspired by the Arab Spring of 2011, previous unsuccessful revolution efforts in Sudan in September 2013, and the increasing awareness among youth, the youth generation was becoming more persistent to continue the revolution and demonstrations to change and overthrow the previous regime. The significant commitment for participation in the revolution among youth is demonstrated from the fact the majority of documented victims and death was among the youth generation. The significant contribution of youth in the revolution is also demonstrated from the intensive participation of different age groups of youth generation, the high participation of youth generation from different education and occupation backgrounds, and the high participation of higher education students from the public and private universities. In the past the higher education students from the public universities have a longstanding contribution in previous Sudanese revolutions in 1964 and 1985. In the recent revolution the significant contribution from the higher education students from private universities is widely recognized to be very important and new aspects that significantly indicate the national unity among the youth generation in Sudan. The significant contribution of youth in the revolution is also demonstrated from the youth proposal for adoption of a new political, economic and social contract to achieve freedom, peace and equality. For instance, from the youth perspective the proposal for the Ministry of Finance and Economic Planning is grounded on social protection for the poor through supporting the poor by adoption of cooperative social responsibility principle ‘those who have should give, and those who need should take’. The significant contribution of youth in the revolution is also demonstrated from the persistent gathering of youth in the Army Headquarter for nearly 57 days. The gathering of youth in the Army Headquarter was characterised by a unique social and national unity among youth from different regional, social and economic backgrounds and that implies the potential success of youth in establishing equality and overcoming the longstanding discrimination based on regional, social and economic backgrounds. The gathering was also characterised by high level of coordination that implies the success of youth generation in managing the demonstrations activities even under a very hard and complex situations in Sudan. In addition, the young volunteers arranged the various revolution activities with great interest and high coordination, for instance, young volunteer doctors and pharmacists arranged for a pharmacy to provide medication to those who need it, companies and volunteers individuals arranged with young volunteer doctors and pharmacists to facilitate the provision of medicine free of charge and young volunteers individuals arranged with young volunteer doctors to facilitate provision of blood donation to ensure availability of blood for the needed injured individuals during the protests. In addition to coordination between young volunteers and volunteers individuals to ensure the availability and arrange for provision of cash, water and food donations to those who need it for free during the uprising period. The gathering of the young Sudanese ‘revolutionaries’ in the Army Headquarters from April 06, 2019 – June 02, 2019, revived the national unity in Sudan, for instance, the arrival of the Atbara train, together with the arrival of various regional representative from the northern, central, eastern, western Sudan implies the increasing awareness about the importance of national unity to support the success of the revolution and the potential peaceful transition. The young Sudanese ‘revolutionaries’ are praised for overcoming and breaking the wall of fear and for being very brave, peaceful, very cooperative and for committing to unity and solidarity that deserved the appreciation from both local and international communities. The high organisational and management skills and ability of youth also was

successful to attract the interest of the international community and also attract the representative diplomats in Sudan that visited the gathering of the young in the Army Headquarter to support the Sudan uprising and the Sudanese youth revolution. Several evidences shows that the young Sudanese ‘revolutionaries’ in the Army Headquarters attracted the interest from the international community. For instance, the European and American Journalist following the Sudanese Revolution were assigned the view of the entrance of the train carrying the revolutionaries of Atbara City to the sit-in-area, as the most beautiful and harmonious revolutionary scene of its moment in the world. Moreover, at the end of April 2019, the British newspaper the Guardian newspaper selected the picture of the night gathering of the young Sudanese ‘revolutionaries’ in the Army Headquarters among the 20 pictures that influenced the week of 22/23 April 2019.

Figure 11– The distribution of total population by age and the population pyramid for Sudan (2018)



Sources: Adapted from (1) Sudan Central Bureau of Statistics and (2) Central Bank of Sudan Annual Report (2018), p. 139.

The Names of the Sudanese martyrs of the massacre of the Army headquarter- 29 Ramadan (June 03, 2019) and Sudanese Revolution (December 19, 2018-May 19, 2019)



Source: Sudanese Medical Syndicate (June 2019)

The significant contribution of the Sudanese youth and youth martyrs in Sudan Uprising and Revolution (December 2018-June 2019)



Sources: <https://www.facebook.com>; <https://www.themantle.com/international-affairs/sudanese-people-want-real-government>

The significant contribution of Sudanese demonstrators and protesters in Army Headquarter in Khartoum, Sudan (April 06, 2019– June 02, 2019)







SUDAN
REVOLUTION
Nile Flood

عندما يفيض الماء والإنسان فاعلم انه السودان





Khartoum, Sudan

Protesters light up the 'million-strong' march with their phones outside Sudan army headquarters in the capital Khartoum demanding that the ruling military council cede power.

Photograph: Ozan Köse/AFP/Getty



Sources: The Guardian, April 2019; Ola Alsheikh; <https://africanarguments.org/2019/04/08/sudan-uprising-verge-history-world-looks-away/>; The European and American Journalist (2019); <https://flows.hypotheses.org/3746>; <https://www.facebook.com>; <https://reemgaafar.com/category/sudanuprising>; <https://litci.org/en/sudan-diary-of-a-revolution-2/>; <http://500wordsmag.com/sudan-news/everything-you-need-to-know-about-the-sudan-revolution/>; <https://www.dabangasudan.org/en/all-news/article/sudan-uprising-mass-action-following-100-days-of-demonstrations>; <https://www.pmldaily.com/news/2019/04/one-army-one-people-tension-in-sudan-as-protesters-stage-mega-rally-outside-army-base.html>; <https://www.dabangasudan.org/en/all-news/article/sudan-uprising-timeline-of-tumultuous-change>; <https://www.usnews.com/news/world/articles/2019-04-13/sudan-activists-regime-kills-16-after-al-bashirs-ouster>; <http://www.asianage.com/world/africa/180419/one-week-after-bashir-ouster-sudan-revolution-still-unfinished.html>; <https://www.newsclick.in/arab-spring-and-geopolitics-sudan>; <https://www.pinterest.com/pin/327285097921314303/>; <https://foreignpolicy.com/2020/02/12/sudan-government-foreign-policy-sovereign-council-icc-bashir/>; <https://www.monitor.co.ug/News/World/One-week-after-Bashir-ouster-Sudan-revolution--unfinished/688340-5076898-13h88gd/index.html>; <https://www.youthkiawaaz.com/2019/07/how-social-media-changed-the-face-of-sudan-revolution/>; <https://www.dabangasudan.org/en/all-news/article/sudan-uprising-protest-marches-sit-ins-unabated>; <https://img.alarab.qa/story/1356799/>

4.2. The significant role of women in Sudan Uprising

Since long the role of women has been widely recognized in political, economic and social development in Sudan. The historical contribution of women has been widely recognized and documented in the Sudanese literature. The role of women in the recent Sudan uprising has been widely acknowledged and recognized at the national, regional and international levels. The majority of women are interested in leading the revolution to support the downfall of the previous regime. The Sudanese women's role in leading the uprising against the previous regime contributed to the success of the uprising. The spirit of revolution spread among the majority of people in Sudan, including men and women. In particular, women's participation reveals significant contribution in the leadership of the political and social transformation in Sudan. Women are more motivated and interested to support the protest movement because women suffered from the previous regime, mainly suffered from the lack of proper support for women in all aspects. The reasons behind the significant contribution of women in Sudan's uprising can be explained by the fact that the Sudanese women suffered from the long standing gender gap in education and employment and the inadequate participation of Sudanese women in the political, economic and social activities in Sudan as we explained above (see Figure 6).²⁹ In addition, also the large number of victims from youth motivated women to continue their leading role to support demonstrations to force the collapse of the previous regime. The important role of women is demonstrated from the extensive contribution of women at different ages and occupation levels to support protest movement since the end of December 2018. For instance, Sudanese women working in medical fields contributed to the provision of medical services for the protestors, similarly, Sudanese women working in different occupations significantly contributed according to their abilities. In the International Women Day (March 08, 2019) the participation of Sudanese women in celebration of the international women day (8 March 2019) reveals strong commitment of women to support the Sudan Uprising and potential transition for better future for Sudanese women.

Participation of Sudanese women in Sudan uprising and revolution and Sudanese women participation in international women day 8 March 2019



²⁹ See also Nour (2014)



Sources: Author's own photo, Author's own photo of the revolution drawing by the Sudanese revolutionaries, Aljazeera (2019): <https://www.aljazeera.net/news/politics/2019/5/5>³⁰.

4.3. The significant role of ICT in Sudan Uprising

We observe that in view of the fast diffusion of ICT and increasing utilization of ICT, in particular, mobile and internet in Sudan during the period (1990-2018) (see Figure 12), it is not surprising that ICT turn out to be extremely important instrument for supporting Sudan uprising and potential transformation. . The transitional military council shut down of the Internet to limit the influence of the revolution, although impeded the contact between the revolutionaries but also motivated the revolutionaries to continue the revolution to fulfil all the objectives of the revolution. The increasing use of ICT facilitates connection and coordination between the Sudanese Professional Association, youth, women and diaspora to support the Sudan uprising. ICT facilitates the arrangements of various revolution activities including protesters movements and shift. Without the use of ICT it would have been impossible to arrange for the various activities and to make the protestors movement successful for the achievement of the revolution objectives. That implies an outstanding and full utilization of ICT to support the uprising and the potential transformation in Sudan. The use of ICT not only facilitates the connection and coordination between the revolutionaries, but also between the revolutionaries and their families, and the revolutionaries in side Sudan, and the revolutionaries in the diaspora to increase the involvement of diaspora in supporting the revolution. The high share of youth in the participation in the revolution implies that the use of ICT is of great benefit for the successful

³⁰ See Aljazeera (2019): <https://www.aljazeera.net/news/politics/2019/5/5/%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%B3%D9%88%D8%AF%D8%A7%D9%86-%D8%A7%D9%84%D9%86%D8%B3%D8%A7%D8%A1-%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%AB%D9%88%D8%B1%D8%A9-%D8%A7%D9%84%D9%86%D8%B8%D8%A7%D9%85-%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%B9%D8%A7%D9%85-%D9%82%D8%A7%D9%86%D9%88%D9%86>. (Accessed January 10, 2020)

achievement of the revolution objectives. In particular, the role of youth in using ICT to support the Sudan uprising is not surprising in view of the extensive use of ICT by young population as explained in the Sudanese literature (see Nour, 2015). For instance, Nour (2015) finds negative relationship between the use of ICT defined by mobile, computer and Internet (the proportion of individual use of computer at home and outside home, the Internet and Mobile) and age. Nour (2015) finds that the proportions of individuals used computer at home and outside home, the Internet and mobile decreases with the increase of age (see Table 8, Figures 13-14). Nour (2015) finds that the relative distribution of individuals used mobile, computer at home and outside home and the Internet defined by age is higher for young population age (15-24) followed by age (25-34), (35-44), (45-54), (55-64), (65-74), and (75) respectively. (See Table 8, Figures 13-14)^{31,32, 33, 34, 35}

The role of ICT is demonstrated from the contribution to improve awareness national and regional awareness about Sudan uprising through the widespread use of social media hashtags to support the Sudan uprising, including for instance the following hashtags: [#IAmSudaneseRevolution](#) [#PrayforSudan](#) [#SudanMassacre](#) [#BlueForSudan](#). For instance, according to Patrick (2019) People on social media are turning their profile pictures blue to stand in solidarity with Sudan and bring awareness to the uprising that is currently sweeping the North African country. This began after Mohamed Hashim Mattar, 26, was allegedly shot dead by the Sudanese paramilitary Rapid Support Forces during a crackdown on protesters in the country's capital, Khartoum, on June 3. Mattar's favourite colour, blue, was used on all his social profiles, and his friends and family put up this colour on their profiles to honour his death. It soon spread among social media users who used the colour not only to honour Mattar but other martyrs of the Sudan uprising. Hashtags like [#BlueForSudan](#) have gained momentum on social media, with [some world] stars putting up the colour and using the hashtag to bring awareness to the situation in Sudan.³⁶ Moreover, according to the Belam (2019) social media users use the [#BlueforSudan](#) hashtag to show solidarity for protester the [#blueForSudan](#) hashtag has also been used to raise awareness about the protests in the country. People on social media are turning their profile avatars blue and posting blue-themed artwork in memory of 26-year-old Mohamed Mattar, who was killed during an attack by security forces in Sudan at the beginning of June. The hashtag [#blueforSudan](#) has been trending internationally on Twitter as people seek to raise broader awareness of the situation in the country. The colour has been chosen because it was the Instagram avatar of Mattar, an engineering graduate. The internet movement started when Mattar's friends turned their profile pictures the same colour as the avatar on his [mattar77](#) account. The [mattar77](#) Instagram account has inspired the [#BlueforSudan](#) hashtag. The [#blueforSudan](#) hashtag first started appearing in English on Twitter on 11 June, and by the following day had become a rallying point for Sudanese activists on social media to remember Mattar and to make a broader point about the situation. Many of the people using the hashtag have been posting it alongside a series of blue artworks

³¹ As indicated by 43.5, 29.2, 14.3, 9, 3.4, 0.5 and 0.1 65 respectively for at home.

³² As reported by 45.1, 31.3, 14.6, 6.8, 1.8, 0.3, and 0.1 respectively for outside home.

³³ As indicated by 45.7, 30.6, 14.6, 6.7, 2, 0.4, and 0.1 respectively for Internet.

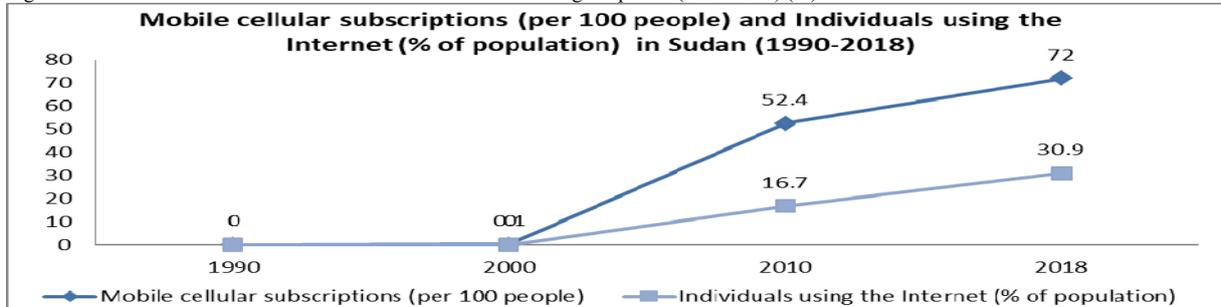
³⁴ As reported by 33.5, 24.1, 18.1, 12.9, 6.8, and 3.3 respectively.

³⁵ See also Nour (2015)

³⁶ See Patrick, A. (2019) 'why social media is going blue for Sudan,' CNN, June 13, 2019: <https://edition.cnn.com/2019/06/13/africa/sudan-social-media-campaign-intl/index.html>, Accessed February 20, 2020.

symbolising the protests in Sudan. The hashtag has become a rallying point for Sudanese nationals outside the country, with users encouraged to share statistics of victims of the government’s crackdown alongside the images.³⁷

Figure 12 - The fast diffusion of mobile and Internet in Sudan during the period (1990-2018) (%)



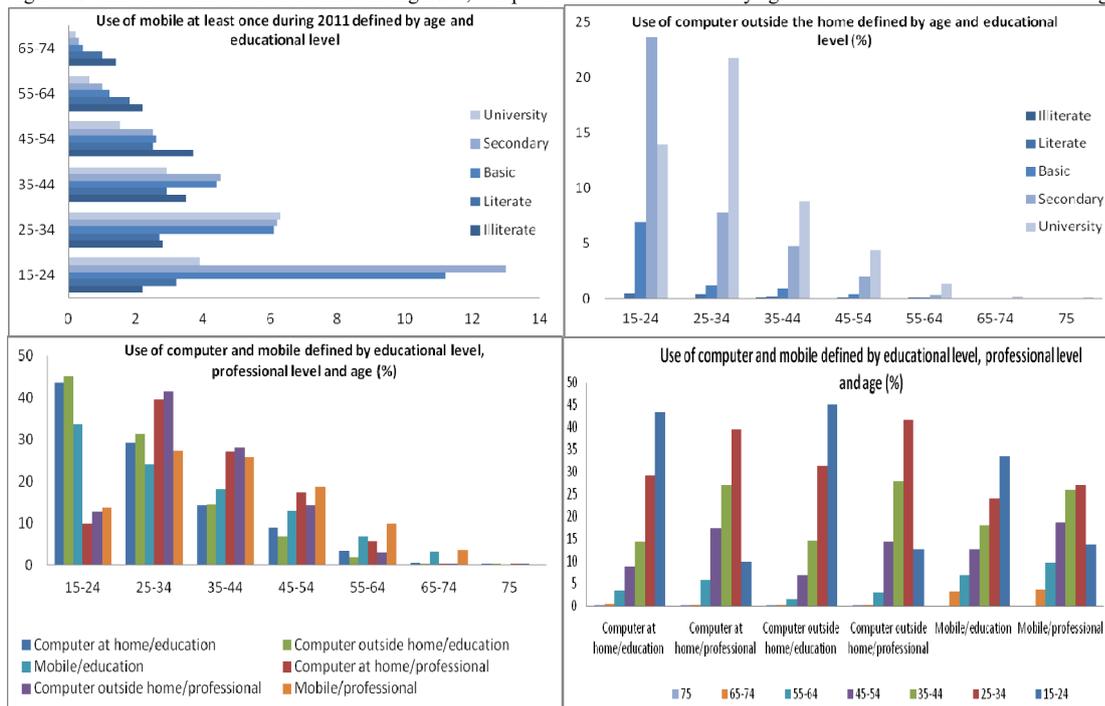
Adapted from (1) The World Bank, World Development Indicators database (2020), (Accessed on February 16, 2020)

Table 8 - The use of mobile at least once during 2011, computer and Internet defined by age and educational level in Sudan during 2011

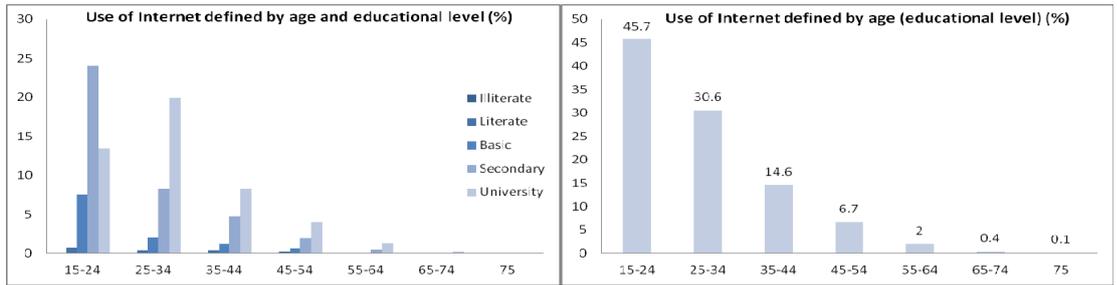
	15-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65-74	75	Sudan
used a mobile	33.5	24.1	18.1	12.9	6.8	3.3	0.1	100
used a computer at home	43.5	29.2	14.3	9	3.4	0.5	0.1	100
used a computer outside home	45.1	31.3	14.6	6.8	1.8	0.3	0.1	100
used the Internet	45.7	30.6	14.6	6.7	2	0.4	0.1	100

Source: Nour (2015): adapted from National Telecommunication Corporation (NTC) (2012)"Households and individuals ICT survey 2012,"

Figure 13- The use of mobile at least once during 2011, computer and Internet defined by age and educational level in Sudan during 2011

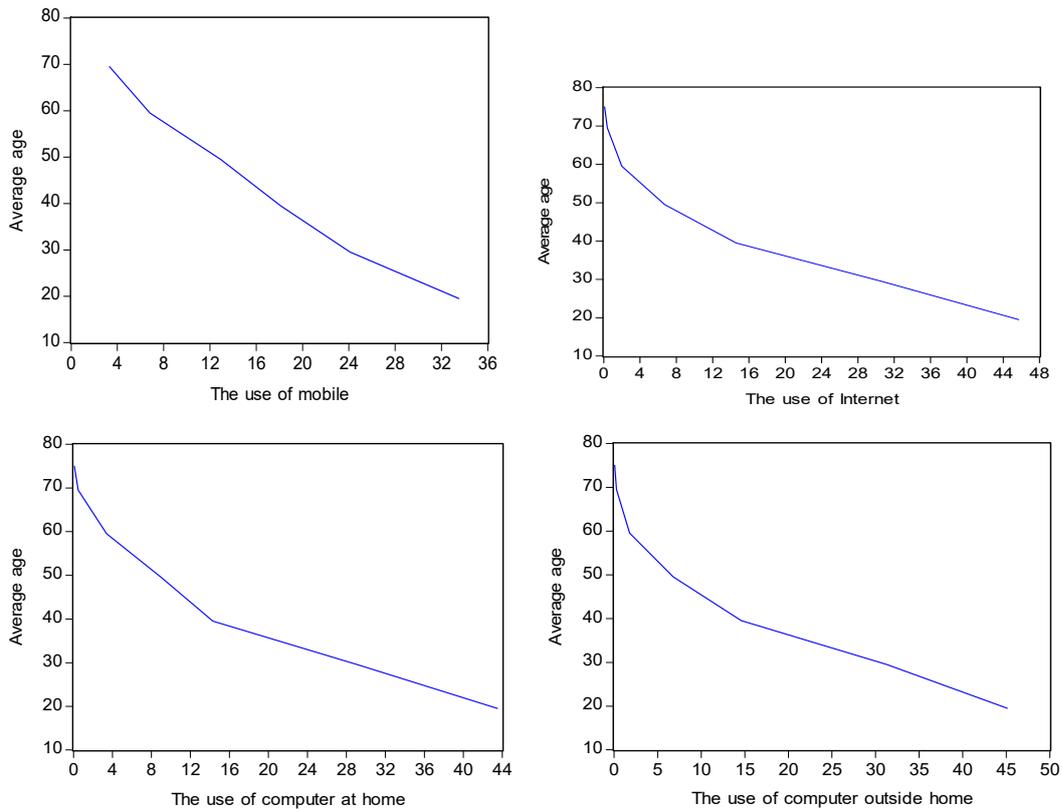


³⁷ See Belam, M. (2019) ‘BlueforSudan: social media users show solidarity for protester’ the Guardian, June 14, 2019: <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2019/jun/14/blueforsudan-social-media-users-show-solidarity-for-protester>, Accessed February 20, 2020.



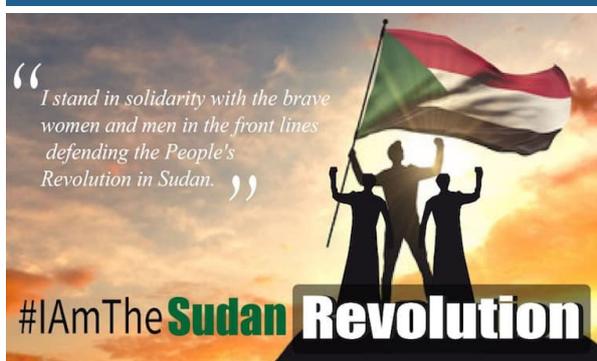
Source: Nour (2015); adapted from National Telecommunication Corporation (NTC) (2012)"Households and individuals ICT survey 2012,"

Figure 14- The use of mobile at least once during 2011, computer and Internet defined by age and educational level in Sudan during 2011



Source: Nour (2015); adapted from National Telecommunication Corporation (NTC) (2012)"Households and individuals ICT survey 2012,"

The role of social media -#BlueForSudan hashtag- raised awareness about Sudan Uprising and attracted support from International community



Source: <https://www.deccanchronicle.com/world/africa/140619/hashtags-for-hope-the-reason-why-social-media-is-turning-blue-for-sud.html>

Sources: <https://www.facebook.com/1189935681208785/photos/a.1189935744542112/1189936864542000/?type=1&theater>

Source: <https://thisisafrica.me/politics-and-society/iamthesudanrevolution-call-to-action-on-sudan-uprising/>.

<https://beautyandtipswithwiki.wordpress.com/2019/06/15/what-is-happening-in-sudan-currently/>, Facebook (2019): www.facebook.com

Google:

4.4. The significant role of the Sudanese Professional Association (SPA) in Sudan Uprising

The Sudanese Professionals Association (SPA) was formed in 2016 as an alliance of professional groups which includes staff from the universities; SPA had a lead role in anti-government protests that started on 19 December 2018.³⁸ The significant contribution of the Sudanese Professional Association (SPA) is demonstrated from their

³⁸ The Sudanese Professionals Association traces its roots to October 2016, when an alliance charter was drafted and approved by three of Sudan's largest professional groups. Namely, the Central Committee of Sudanese Doctors, the Sudanese Journalists Network, and the Democratic Lawyers Association. The Sudanese Professionals Association (SPA) is a continuation of the long history of Sudanese professionals' persistent attempts to form independent trade unions and bodies to defend their rights and seek to improve their working conditions. Several attempts to

increasing efforts and involvement to provide well planned guidance for demonstrators to increase the widespread series of mass demonstrations that remained active during and after the period (December 2018-April 2019). SPA provided significant guidance for the mass demonstration that initially started in the city of Atbara in December 2018 and continued to spread in other regions including the capital in Khartoum. The Sudanese Professionals Association (SPA) is an umbrella association of 17 different Sudanese trade unions. In December 2018, the group called for the introduction of a minimum wage and participated in protests in Atbara against the rising cost of living. The SPA came to take an increasingly prominent role in the 2018–2019 Sudanese protests against the government of Omar al-Bashir during 2019. After the 19 December 2018 Atbara protests started during the 2018–19 Sudanese protests, the SPA initially decided to coordinate with the protestors, by adding a call for an increased minimum wage. After discussing with the protestors, they decided to support the calls for "regime change".³⁹ The Sudanese Professional Association not only provided continuous guidance for the streets mass demonstration but also provided a well-defined vision for the a comprehensive reform and transition for rebuilding the country after the success of the revolution. This appears from the 'Declaration of Freedom and Change' arranged by the Sudanese Professional Association in Khartoum, in 1st January 2019. Through the Declaration of Freedom and Change the Sudanese Professional Association confirmed the continued efforts to support the mass demonstration and continued peaceful struggle until the totalitarian regime is removed and the achievement of three following goals. Including (1) The immediate and unconditional end of General Omar Al Bashir's presidency and the conclusion of his administration, (2) The formation of a National Transitional Government (this transitional government will be formed of qualified people based on merits of competency and good reputation, representing various Sudanese groups and receiving the consensus of the majority, their role is to govern for a term of four years, until a sound democratic structure is established, and elections held), and (3) Putting an immediate end to all violations against peaceful protesters, repealing of all laws restricting freedoms of speech and expression; and bringing the perpetrators of crimes against the Sudanese people to fair trials in accordance with accepted national and international laws.⁴⁰ Following the 3 June 2019 Khartoum massacre, the SPA called for "complete civil disobedience and open political strike" on the grounds that the Transitional Military Council was responsible for two days of mass murder, and violent repression of workers' strikes. The SPA called for the Sudanese to follow the method of peaceful nonviolent resistance and to support the transition period following the success of the uprising.⁴¹

form such bodies were made in the past; most notably the attempts to form a professional alliance in 2012 and 2014. Both failed to achieve their goal because of the regime's opposition which extended to the persecution and arrest of key founding members. The SPA is currently comprised of many bodies united under an agreed upon charter and common goals. These were announced in June of 2018. The following groups are backers of or are officially under the umbrella of the SPA: Teachers' Committee, Central Committee of Sudanese Doctors, Democratic Lawyers Association, Sudanese Journalists Network, Association of Democratic Veterinarians, University Professors Association, Sudanese Doctors Syndicate (the legitimate), Committee for the restoration of the Engineers Syndicate, Central Pharmacists Committee, Sudanese Engineers Association, Sudanese Plastic Artists Association, Association of Animal Production Specialists, Health Officers Association, Central Committee of Medical Laboratories, Professional Pharmacists Assembly, Association of Professional Accountants, Association of Agricultural Engineers. See <https://www.sudaneseprofessionals.org/en/about-us/>. Accessed February 20, 2020.

³⁹ See https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sudanese_Professionals_Association, Accessed February 20, 2020.

⁴⁰ See <https://www.sudaneseprofessionals.org/en/declaration-of-freedom-and-change/>, Accessed February 20, 2020.

⁴¹ See https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sudanese_Professionals_Association, Accessed February 20, 2020.

4.5. The important role of the University of Khartoum Teaching Staff Initiative (UKTSI) in Sudan Uprising

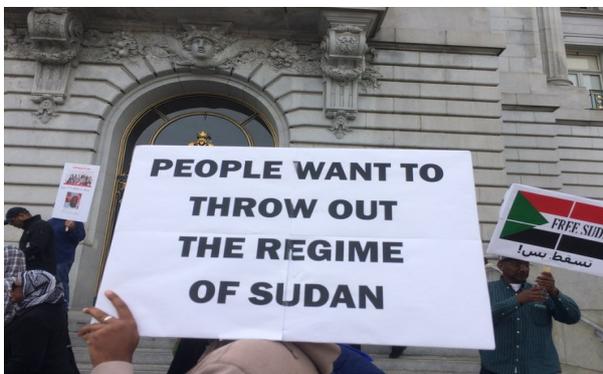
The UKTSI is a group of faculty members at the University of Khartoum founded in December 2018, have expressed their conscience, but to rise up and support the peaceful popular movement that began in December 2018 in fulfilment of the message that the University of Khartoum has been for decades in the service of society. In this initiative, they pledge to harness all their knowledge and energy to achieve the noble goal to continue working for the benefit and the service of society in Sudan.⁴² The important role of University of Khartoum Teaching Staff Initiative (UKTSI) proven by the fact that UKTSI provided an inspiring well planned and organized road map from the university elites perspective to support comprehensive change and to facilitate peaceful transition during the critical period of mass demonstrations (December 2018-April 2019). Based on University of Khartoum Teaching Staff Initiative (UKTSI) road map, University of Khartoum teaching staff increasingly involved in supporting the demonstrators and uprising. The University of Khartoum Teaching Staff Initiative (UKTSI) not only provided continuous support for the streets mass demonstration but also provided the university elites perspective and vision for comprehensive reform and transition for rebuilding the country after the success of the uprising. This appears from the continued efforts and increasing contribution through the arrangement of series of more specialized workshops with active participation from academic teaching staff to provide more practical and useful policy recommendations to support solving various problems confronting the transition period following Sudan uprising.

4.6. The significant role of diaspora in Sudan Uprising

We observe that in view of the increasing number of the Sudanese diaspora, it is not surprising that the diaspora turn out to be extremely important external factor for supporting the Sudan uprising and potential transformation. The significant contribution of the Sudanese diaspora for supporting the Sudan uprising and potential transformation in Sudan is not surprising in view of the fact that since long the received personal remittances sent by the Sudanese diaspora continued significant contribution to economic and social development in Sudan (see Figure 2). The increasing number of the Sudanese diaspora and the increasing use of ICT facilitate connection and coordination between the Sudanese Professionals Association youth, and the Sudanese diaspora to facilitate the arrangements of various revolution activities including protesters movements and shift. During the Internet shutdown the support of the diaspora significantly contributed to make the protestors movement successful for the achievement of the revolution objectives. The high share of the diaspora is demonstrated from the direct financial support to the revolution as well as direct support in the form of participation in the increasing awareness in the international level about the importance of supporting Sudan Uprising. For instance, the Sudanese diaspora in the United States and the Sudanese Doctors in United Kingdom, Ireland and Gulf countries coordinated various initiatives for the collection and provision of direct financial support to support the Sudan uprising. In addition to other initiative for provision of indirect and non-monetary support, for instance, the Sudanese diaspora in Saudi Arabia coordinated an initiative for facilitating the provision of access to electricity services during the shortage of the supply of electricity services during the critical time during the civil disobedience during in Sudan during the Sudan uprising.

⁴² See <https://sudannextgen.com/members/u-of-k-teaching-staff-initiative-%D9%85%D8%A8%D8%A7%D8%AF%D8%B1%D8%A9-%D8%A3%D8%B3%D8%A7%D8%AA%D8%B0%D8%A9-%D8%AC%D8%A7%D9%85%D8%B9%D8%A9-%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%AE%D8%B1%D8%B7%D9%88%D9%85/>. Accessed February 20, 2020.

The significant role of Sudanese Diaspora organise Protests against Sudan Massacre and increase international awareness about Sudan Uprising





Sources: <https://medium.com/@kesterratliff/sudan-uprising-reading-list-ce93e78cb794>; <https://menasolidaritynetwork.com/2019/02/08/join-the-protests-in-solidarity-with-sudan-uprising-9-february/>; <https://www.africanews.com/2019/04/26/stc-the-apolitical-translators-embedded-in-sudan-uprising/>; <https://500wordsmag.com/sudan-news/sudanese-diaspora-organise-protests-against-sudan-massacre/>; Accessed February 20, 2020, <http://www.sudanunlimited.com/take-action>; <https://www.oxfordmail.co.uk/news/17354629.sudanese-community-oxford-stand-support-uprising-sudans-president-bashir/#gallery0>; <https://www.alamy.com/london-uk-2nd-february-2019-supporters-of-the-alliance-of-sudanese-political-forces-aspf-protest-in-traffic-jam-against-the-government-of-omar-hassan-ahmad-al-bashir-and-in-solidarity-with-the-sudanese-people-credit-mark-kerrison-alamy-live-news-image234462817.html> .

Therefore, our results in this section corroborate the second hypothesis that the dynamic interaction between the internal factors (youth, women, ICT, the Sudanese Professional Association (SPA) and the University of Khartoum Teaching Staff Initiative (UKTSI)) and external factors (the diaspora) contributed to support the Sudan uprising and the potential transformation in the Sudan.

5. Potential Challenges and Opportunities for the transition period following the Sudan Uprising

This section discusses the major challenges and potential opportunities for the transition period following the Sudan Uprising. We investigate the third hypothesis concerning the potential opportunities and major challenges confronting the transition period in Sudan following the Sudan uprising.

5.1. Major challenges for the transition period following the Sudan Uprising:

From economic perspective, the major challenge confronting the transitional period in Sudan is the intensification of the economic crisis that was the major cause of the Sudan uprising as explained in section 3 above. Even after the overthrow of the previous regime the deterioration in economic conditions continued to put increasing pressures on the transitional period. In particular, over the past months the continuous deterioration in economic indicators including the large devaluation and rising inflation (see Table 2), rising costs of living and scarcity and shortage of basic goods put increasing pressures on both the people and the transitional government in Sudan. This challenge also includes the rising poverty and vulnerability conditions among the people. The Ministry of Finance and Economic Planning (2019) proposed the road map and recommended the implementation of several policies to deal with the economic crisis and reform Sudan economy. For instance, the Ministry of Finance and Economic Planning (2019) recommended the removal of subsidies, based on the argument that the removal of subsidies is expected to support the economic reform by decreasing the pressures on the government budget. The Ministry of Finance and Economic Planning (2019) simultaneously also recommended strengthen social protection policies to support the poor through the provision of direct financial subsidies for the poor to help the poor to overcome the expected negative impacts of increasing prices of basic goods as a result of the removal of subsidies. In our view, while the implementation of removal of subsidies policies is essential for supporting the economic reform, but the implementation of social protection policies most probably will be impeded by the widespread and predominant informal employment in non-agricultural sectors that constitutes 77.3% of total employment in non-agricultural sectors. This implies that the implementation of the planned social protection measures to protect the poor from the negative impacts of the removal of subsidies on basic goods will be impeded by the difficulty of processing the benefits from the direct financial support for the large majority of poor people involved in informal employment in non-agricultural sectors. From economic perspective the economic reform policies are also largely impeded by the shortage and limitation of the financial resources for the transitional government to cover the priorities in government spending and to implement the economic reform policies and also to reduce military spending and increase spending on health, education, science, technology and innovation. From economic perspective the reform of economic structure are also largely impeded by the lack of explicit long run sound and systematic strategy for the transition from the current dominance of the rent seeking economic structure to a knowledge-based economy.

From political and institutional perspectives, other challenges confronting the transitional period in Sudan is the achievement of comprehensive institutional reform, ending corruption, achievement of political stability, ensuring sound and sustainable democratic civil institutions, and ensuring political and civil freedoms to fulfil one of the objectives of the uprising to ensure freedoms for all people in Sudan. Another challenge confronting the transitional period in Sudan is the achievement of sustainable peace to help ending of the root causes and the negative consequences of previous conflicts and fragile conditions over the past years and also achieve one of the objectives of the uprising to ensure sustainable peace for all people in Sudan. Another challenge confronting the transitional period is ensuring the separation of the legislative, executive and judiciary powers. Another challenge confronting the transitional period is the problems created by the beneficiary groups from the previous regime that not only rejecting the change but also using their resources to hinder proposed economic, political and institutional reforms.

From social, human and sustainable development perspective, other challenges confronting the transitional period in Sudan is the improvement in social indicators such as ending poverty and ending inequality to help achieve SDGs indicators and achieve inclusive growth and sustainable, equitable and balanced development. Mainly, because the major challenge facing Sudan's progress towards the SDGs is the challenges to end poverty and to end gender, rural-urban, and regional inequalities in various development aspects as explained in section 3 above. Ending inequalities in income distribution and in social and human development will help to achieve one of the major objectives of the uprising to ensure justice and equality for all people in Sudan.

From social justice perspective, another challenge confronting the transitional period in Sudan is related to ensuring independent judicial authorities to ensure full accountability and ensure the achievement of justice for all the victims affected by violations of human rights during the previous regime (1989-2019) as well as all the victims during the uprising and even after creation of the transitional period (December 2018– August 2019). Particularly, the priority for achievement of justice for the Sudanese martyrs of the massacre of the Army headquarters- 29 Ramadan (June 03, 2019). That also helps to achieve one of the objectives of the uprising to ensure justice for all people in Sudan.

5.2. The major potential opportunities for the transition period following the Sudan Uprising

From economic perspective, the transition period provides an opportunity for implementation of sound, coherent and comprehensive economic reform policies to end the economic crisis that was the major cause of the Sudan uprising as explained in section 3 above. This includes for instance, provision of incentives for enhancing productivity of agricultural and industrial (mainly manufacturing), enhancing marketing, sectors, and enhancing agricultural-based industries such as sugar industries and food industries, in addition to enhancing the textile industries and leather industries, etc. and encouraging utilisation of agricultural resources for enhancing agricultural productivity and ensuring food security in Sudan. In addition to counteracting devaluation, inflation, balance budget deficit (by increasing revenues and reducing expenditures) and balance of trade deficit (by promoting exports and reducing imports), controlling money supply, improving availability of basic goods for all people in Sudan, removal of subsidies along with ensuring increasing social protection for all poor people in Sudan. Another potential opportunity related to reducing government expenditure and enhancing rational allocation of government spending by reducing military expenditure and increasing expenditure to improve health and education services and social development to

reduce poverty and vulnerability in Sudan. Another potential opportunity is that the transition period provides opportunity for enhancing the efficiency of the labour market by supporting creation of employment opportunities to reduce unemployment rates and particularly, youth unemployment rates and by enhancing employment in the formal sector and reducing employment in the informal sector. Another potential opportunity is that the transition period provides opportunity for reforming economic structure by supporting explicit long run sound and systematic strategy to ensure managing the transition from the current dominance of rent seeking economic structure to a knowledge-based economy (knowledge-based economy based on knowledge, science, technology, Research and Development (R&D), innovation and skill).⁴³ Another potential opportunity is that the transition period provides opportunity for building sound and resilient infrastructure and reforming the large public sector schemes such as Aljazera scheme. From political and institutional perspectives, the transition period provides an opportunity for the achievement of political stability, achievement of institutional reform, building sound and sustainable civil democratic institutions and ending corruption. Another potential opportunity is the achievement of sustainable peace and ending of the root causes and negative consequences of previous conflicts and fragile conditions over the past years in Sudan. From social, human and sustainable development perspectives, the transition period provides an opportunity for improvement of social indicators such as ending poverty and ending inequality and achievement of inclusive growth, and equitable, balanced and sustainable development and SDGs in Sudan. In view of high poverty rate and massive inequality, the potential opportunity is that ending poverty and ending inequality will support progress towards achievement of SDGs and inclusive and sustainable development in Sudan. Moreover, from gender perspective, the transition period provides opportunity for women empowerment and involvement to support the transition period in Sudan in view of significant support of women to uprising as explained in section 4 above. From youth perspective, the transition period provides an opportunity for enhancing involvement of youth to support the transition period in Sudan. In view of the fact that the demographic structure implies high share of youth (population age (0-24)) that contributes 61.2% of total population in Sudan and given the effective participation and substantial contribution of youth in the Sudan uprising, the involvement of youth will greatly support comprehensive economic, political, social and institutional changes during the transition period in Sudan. The transition period provides an opportunity for supporting small size entrepreneurship projects and creation of additional employment opportunities for youth that will contribute to support effective utilisation of youth capacities, reduce unemployment among youth, and increase the involvement of youth in building Sudan. This expectation is based on the argument that during the past years young volunteers provided high significant and well-coordinated contribution to support a voluntary organization ‘Shari Alhawadith’ supported by companies and individuals, the young volunteers including young volunteer doctors and pharmacists well-coordinated the provision of medicine, emergency medical needs and medication provided for free to those who need it among the marginalized and poor population in Sudan. From higher education institutions perspective, the transition period provides an opportunity for enhancing the involvement of higher education institutions and universities elites to support the transition period in Sudan. For instance, University of Khartoum Teaching Staff Initiative (UKTSI) founded in December 2018 provides a model for the positive contribution of universities teaching staff and universities elites to support the transition period in

⁴³ See Nour (2011, 2012, 2013)

Sudan. According to UKTSI Report (2019) the contribution of UKTSI appears from the arrangement of series of more specialized workshops with active participation from academic teaching staff to reflect the university elites perspective and vision to provide more practical and useful policy recommendations to support comprehensive reform and solution of the various problems confronting the transition in Sudan, including for instance, workshops on economic reform, infrastructure services, road map for reform local and federal state, reform of health sector, reform of education sector, energy and mining sector in Sudan.⁴⁴

From the diaspora perspective, the transition period provides an opportunity for enhancing the involvement of diaspora to support the transition period in Sudan. For instance, the diaspora initiative ‘Dollar Alkaram’ aims to provide significant financial contribution to support rebuilding Sudan during the transition period. This significant initiative from the diaspora is not surprising in view of the fact that since long the personal remittances sent by the Sudanese diaspora continued significant contribution to economic and social development in Sudan (see Figure 2). Further evidence of the involvement of diaspora appears from the contribution of the diaspora initiative ‘Sudan Nextgen’, which is composed of Sudanese diaspora experts, organizations and communities ready to transform Sudan, moving Sudan to the next level. Sudan Nextgen vision is to transform and leapfrog Sudan in pursuit of being one of the leading countries and economies in Africa, making Sudan a thriving African economy with educated, engaged citizens and making a positive impact on the world.⁴⁵ During the transitional period Sudan Nextgen will focus on ten priority areas including: sustainable peace, stabilize the economy, fight corruption, law and justice, women representation, reform institutions, foreign policy, social development, youth employment and constitution and elections (Source: Atlantic Council Meeting, December 05, 2019). To achieve Sudan Nextgen vision Sudan Nextgen will focus on these overarching objectives during the transitional period, including: fulfilling the covenant of martyrs and for the sacrifices of the Sudanese people, celebrate diversity and pluralism, and respect and promote dignity and human rights, comprehensive participation and shared social responsibility. justice and equality, transparency and financial and managerial accountability, establish and respect the principle of the rule of law, dialogue, solidarity, cooperation and communication, commitment, professionalism and credibility, promote peace and forgiveness, promotion of the national interest, and optimism and positive spirit, and Innovation and creativity.⁴⁶ From the professional perspective, the transition period provides an opportunity for enhancing the involvement of the Sudanese Professionals Association to support the transition period. In view of the important contribution of the Sudanese Professionals Association to support Sudan uprising as explained in section 4 above, the Sudanese Professionals Association is expected to continue its leading role to enhance the contribution of various professional groups to continue supporting the comprehensive reform during the transition period following Sudan uprising. Finally, from the other perspective, the transition period provides an opportunity for enhancing the involvement of the civil society to support the transition period. In view of the important contribution of the civil society to support Sudan uprising, the civil society is expected to continue its leading role to support the transition period following

⁴⁴ See University of Khartoum Teaching Staff Initiative (UKTSI) Report (2019) University of Khartoum Teaching Staff Initiative – Department of Planning and Programme Report (August, 2019), pp. 1-97. Khartoum, Sudan, 2019.

⁴⁵ See <https://sudannextgen.com/members/u-of-k-teaching-staff-initiative-%D9%85%D8%A8%D8%A7%D8%AF%D8%B1%D8%A9-%D8%A3%D8%B3%D8%A7%D8%AA%D8%B0%D8%A9-%D8%AC%D8%A7%D9%85%D8%B9%D8%A9-%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%AE%D8%B1%D8%B7%D9%88%D9%85/>. Accessed February 20, 2020.

⁴⁶ See Sudan Nextgen Urban Development Projects: Expert and citizen teams advising the government, Accessed February 20, 2020.

Sudan uprising. The transition period also provides an opportunity for enhancing the involvement of the private sector and enhancing public-private sector partnership to share the responsibilities to rebuild Sudan and support the transition period following Sudan uprising. The transition period provides an opportunity for the involvement of the international community to support the transition period following Sudan uprising.

Therefore, our findings in this section support the third hypothesis concerning the potential opportunities and major challenges confronting the transition period in Sudan following the Sudan uprising.

6. Conclusions

This paper provides an overview of the Sudan Uprising and discusses the major causes, factors that contributed to the success of Sudan Uprising and potential opportunities and major challenges following the Sudan Uprising. We improve understanding, fill the gaps in the literature and provide an extremely valuable contribution to the literature by presenting a new and more comprehensive analysis and investigation of the factors that caused and those contributed to the success of Sudan uprising and potential opportunities and major challenges following Sudan uprising. A novel element in our analysis is that we investigate the various causes including economic causes, social and human development causes, political causes, institutional causes and the causes related to the lack of freedoms that caused the Sudan uprising, we examine the dynamic interaction between the internal factors (youth, women, ICT, the Sudanese Professional Association, and University of Khartoum Teaching Staff Initiative), and external factors (diaspora) that contributed to supporting Sudan uprising and we explain potential opportunities and major challenges following Sudan Uprising. From policy perspective, the relevance of our analysis is that we explain the causes of Sudan uprising, the internal and external factors that supported Sudan uprising and potential opportunities and major challenges following Sudan uprising. Section 1 presents the introduction. Section 2 shows the general political context and socio economic characteristics of Sudan. Section 3 investigates the major causes including economic causes, social and human development causes, political causes, institutional causes and the causes related to the lack of freedoms that caused the Sudan uprising. Our findings in Section 3 support the first hypothesis that a combination of mixed factors and causes including economic causes, social and human development causes, political causes, institutional causes and the causes related to the lack of freedoms caused the Sudan uprising. We explain that from economic perspective, the economic causes including for instance, the intensification of economic crisis, prevailing economic structure, economic mismanagement and deterioration of all economic indicators (including for instance, major currency devaluation; high inflation; rising costs of basic goods; implementation of austerity measures to end subsidies to wheat and fuel; banks limitation on money withdrawals, shortage of hard currencies, deficiency of labour market, deficiency of fiscal, monetary and trade policies etc.) and other economic issues that contributed as the major economic causes of Sudan uprising. We find that the social and human development causes include the weak social and human development that leads to increasing vulnerabilities that appears from several indicators including the widespread poverty and inequality and weak performance in Human Development Index (HDI). We find that the political causes include political instability, the lack of democratic institution and the predominance of undemocratic institutions in Sudan. We explain that the institutional causes include the widespread corruption, financial mismanagement and lack of political integrity in Sudan. We explain

that over the past years Sudan suffers not only from the deterioration of economic indicators, economic and financial mismanagement, high corruption and widespread inequalities but also suffer from the lack of economic, political and civil freedoms. For instance, the lack of freedoms is demonstrated from the rank and weak performance of Sudan compared to world countries in terms of various index of freedoms including, index of economic freedom, political rights index, civil liberties index and press freedoms index as explained below. We observe that the lack of peace, freedom, and justice led to great frustration that motivated the mass street demonstrations and the Sudan uprising that called for the achievement of peace, freedom, and justice for all people in Sudan (December 2018-April 2019). Section 4 discusses the internal and external factors that contributed to the uprising in Sudan (including the role of youth, women, ICT, the Sudanese Professional Association, University of Khartoum Teaching Staff Initiative, and diaspora). Our results in Section 4 corroborate the second hypothesis that the dynamic interaction between the internal factors (youth, women, ICT, the Sudanese Professional Association and University of Khartoum Teaching Staff Initiative) and external factors (diaspora) contributed to support Sudan uprising and potential transformation in Sudan. Section 5 explains the potential opportunities and major challenges confronting the transition period following the Sudan uprising from various economic, social and human development, political, institutional and sustainable development perspectives. We explain that from economic perspective. Our results in Section 5 support the third hypothesis concerning the potential opportunities and major challenges following the Sudan uprising. One major policy implication from our findings is that the lack of peace, freedom, and justice motivated the mass street demonstrations and Sudan uprising that called for the achievement of peace, freedom, and justice for all people in Sudan. Another major policy implication from our findings is that it is important for policymakers in Sudan to adopt sound and coherent policies to consider the potential opportunities and challenges to achieve the comprehensive economic, social, political and institutional reform, to achieve the potential transformation, fulfil the objectives of Sudan Uprising (peace, freedom, and justice) and achieve inclusive growth and sustainable development in Sudan.

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