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Locality Arises from Motion: The Transformative Trajectory of Khartoum's Meaning among Returnees to Juba, South Sudan[1]

My presentation aims to show the process of locality formation through the activity and discourse of returnees to Juba, South Sudan, which is the newest capital city in the world. In particular, I will focus on people from Equatoria, and returnees from Khartoum, which is the capital city of North Sudan.

Let me start my presentation with the background of my study.

1. The background of my study: The history of the population flow in Khartoum

Khartoum had been the place in which people from both the North and South met.

Khartoum had been the capital of Sudan since 1822［Holt & Daly 2000: 52］. Now, its population is nearly 530,000. The greater Khartoum metropolitan area is composed of three districts: Khartoum, Khartoum North, and Omdurman.

The various peoples of Greater Sudan or the Two Sudans have been interchanged with one another because of their history of colonization, slave trade, and modernization. Then, of course, Africa's longest civil war caused a large number of Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs) South to North.

Khartoum was not always a big city. When Catholic missionaries came to Khartoum in 1848, the population of the city was around 15,000.

Though it began as a very small city, it has grown into a cosmopolitan city, and has a played an important role in the slave trade. In his book about the history of slaves in Sudan, Sikainga described how some slave traders established their headquarters in the city, from which they sent expeditions to the south, and stated that merchants from the northern part of Sudan were called 'Khartoumers'. In 1883, the slave population in

[1] This paper is based on my own research during July 2010–January 2011 and Sept. 2011–Aug. 2012 in Khartoum, and Juba. I used mainly English, Juba Arabic, Khartoum dialect and Bari language for my research. This research was funded by the Japan Science Society and the Japan Society for the Promotion of Science.

"Greater Sudan" refers to both North and South Sudan.

Khartoum was estimated to be 27000, or two-thirds of the total population. These slaves were captured in South Kordfan or Blue Nile and South, and then they were sent to Khartoum［Sikainga 1996: 24］. This means that, even in colonial times, Khartoum was already a multi-ethnic city.

During the Mahdī Movement, which was an anti-colonial movement from 1882–1899, slaves were one of the main populations of Khartoum. Many slaves escaped from their masters during the battle in Omdurman.

After the Anglo-Egyptian conquest, the government began to repatriate slaves or ex-slaves to their original homes. This reduced the total numbers of slaves. However, some ex-slaves resettled in Khartoum, and they became wage labourers.

The number of southerners and Nubas in Khartoum increased after Sudan gained independence from Great Britain in 1956. The initial population flow was caused by economic factors, but it continued for educational reasons during the 1960s.

The motivation behind migration changed during the second civil war in 1983, and the drought that hit much of southern Sudan the mid-1980s. These events caused many southerners to take refuge in Khartoum. They lived in the suburbs of Khartoum, which are called displaced camps or squatter settlements, and engaged in the informal sector, assuming unskilled and atypical work. However, some people came to Khartoum from the South for educational or economic reasons. I would like to propose that we call them not IDPs or refugees, but migrants, because their migratory backgrounds may vary. The places they settled should then be referred to as migrant areas. As of 2006, before the start of the massive influx of returns, around 2,000,000 migrants lived in Khartoum.

2. The meaning of Khartoum for migrants in the city: Between settle and return

If you asked migrants in Khartoum about their impressions of the life in the city, they are likely to say the following:

(1) It is too hot! But, in the wintertime, it becomes too cold,
(2) It is too dry,
(3) During the rainy season, the road becomes a river, and it has a bad smell. This is not a place for human residence.

Life in Khartoum was not easy for migrants in the migrant area. Sometimes the Khartoum government came to the migrant areas, destroyed their houses, and took the people who had been living there to another location. Both southerners and westerners were citizens of Greater Sudan; however, they had to show their identification papers

frequently upon the request of the authorities. Southerners who were educated in English could not get proper work because the main official language in Khartoum was standard Arabic.

An “Arab”-Muslim, emblematic of the dominant population of Khartoum, usually had little regard for life in the migrant areas. Migrants were considered unknown and dangerous. Migrant areas were like another world to them. They were aware that there *were* migrants who came from the south or west, that many of them were Christian, and that they provided cheap labour, but that was the limit of their knowledge. The history of the migrants in Khartoum illustrates this fact. Their lives do not cross, but follow parallel lines. There are some instances of Southerners and northern Arabs forging relationships, but these are very rare cases.

This situation and the relationship between “Arab-Muslims” and “migrant” are the source of the migrants’ negative attitudes toward Khartoum.

Conversely, another aspect of their lives in Khartoum encourages a different attitude.

One day, a pastor said, ‘We, the displaced, have to go South, and teach people in the South true Christianity,’ at the Sunday prayer held in the migrants’ area.

The pastor specified his groups’ identity, ‘we’, as displaced, as opposed to people in the South. This indicates that migrants in Khartoum think people in that city are different from people in the South or returned from Uganda.

The migrants in Khartoum created different kinds of communities and networks. A typical example is an ethnic-based community. During colonial times, the British government governed Sudan by *indirect rule*. The British put chiefs at the head of each ethnic group, and governed them through those chiefs. The influence of this policy remained, even after the independence of both the North and South［Pantriano et al. 2011, Leonardi 2013］. Therefore, migrants organized and managed ethnic communities through chiefs in Khartoum. These chiefs tried to improve the situation of their people, and became the facilitators of mutual aid.

Through the activities of these communities, people began to define their experiences of life in Khartoum.

They shared a collective memory of a life of suffering in Khartoum.

As mentioned above, their reasons for coming to Khartoum are varied. Some came to Khartoum to receive a good education, and others to take refuge. They did not mind these differences. Whatever their reasons for being there, they constructed networks or communities as members of ethnic or religious groups and started a new life.

In August 2010, a celebration ceremony was held at the church in the migrant area.This church belonged to the Episcopal Church of Sudan, and was known as the

Kuku Church, Kukus which is an ethnic group of Central Equatoria State It was planned in celebration of a pastor earning a PhD. He came to Khartoum from Juba in the 1990s to enter the University. On the day of the ceremony, many people gathered in the church, singing and dancing with each other. Near the end, the wife of the paster stood to give a speech, and said the following:

'I thank you for attending the cerebration. After coming to Khartoum, we had experienced a life of suffering in Khartoum. My husband could not get work; I had to work. Sometimes, I worried my children's future. However, my husband obtained a PhD, and today we could celebrate it. I really thank God for it.'

People in the church heard her speech, and were very glad; they danced and did zaharūla[2].

The pastor did not reside in the migrant area; he lived in another part of Khartoum because he did not come to Khartoum to take refuge. However, he has a history of spending time in Khartoum with people from the South. Therefore, people recognized him as part of their community. They also share the memory of a life of suffering in Khartoum.

After the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA), travelling between the North and South became easier than before. Some people visited their homeland in the South for a short time; others came to Khartoum from the South for various reasons. They noticed differences between those from the South or Uganda and those from Khartoum through meeting with each other. At the same time, they tried to unify as citizens of South Sudan.

The Sudanese have experienced a difficult and dynamic history during the interim period. The autonomous government of the South was established, and a referendum deciding between unity or secession of the North and South would be held after six years. Migrants in Khartoum—especially those coming from the South—regarded this change carefully. They became worried about their security in Khartoum.

Actually, a return support project had been in place since the CPA was contracted, but the return process had not progressed rapidly. Because many people were worried about security in the South, life after their return, and having enough money for the return, returnees needed a substantial amount of money for transportation, housing, etc. Most of the people who originated from Central Equatoria wanted to go to Juba, the capital

[2] Zaharūla is an action performed by women. The women made a noise from their throats when they heard the speech or song to express that they were rejoicing.

city of southern Sudan, but commodity prices in Juba were so high that if they did not have relatives to help, land, or jobs in the city, their lives in there would be difficult. That is why the return project was slow to progress.

This situation changed completely after October 2011, when many people began to think in earnest about returning, and talked about it constantly.

There are two major reasons for this shift. First, people would have been anxious over the situation after the referendum in Khartoum. Second, the southern Sudan Relief and Rehabilitation Committee (SSRRC) and some international organizations started a joint program of return in October 2010.

I cannot explain all of the details of this return support project because of time constraints. To explain briefly—the southerners in Khartoum regarded themselves as South Sudanese through this return support project. As more people started to consider returning, one by one they returned to the South. As people saw their neighbours leave Khartoum to return south, they started to think of returning as well.

I would like to discuss one woman who lived in the migrant area. I will refer to her as 'A'.

A was born in Central Equatoria in the 1970s and grew up in Eastern Equatoria and Juba. A came to Khartoum from Juba in 1997. She was a retailer. She had a house in Juba; during her stay in Khartoum, she rented her house to other family. At the time the support project started, she thought she would go to the South in March 2011, because of her daughter would be finishing school that month. However, she was not willing to go to the South. She said to me, 'Khartoum is good. If we go to the south, there are no jobs, and the school is not certain. How can we do that?' At that time, the South was not regarded as a good place for her to live. If she had trouble with the Arabs in the city of Khartoum, she could talk about it with her neighbour in the migrant area. If she went to church, she had Christian friends there to support her. The ethnic community would protect her family. For her, Khartoum was a good place.

However, the situation in Khartoum had changed rapidly. Many people registered with the return project; her neighbours came to her house one after another to say their farewells. In January 2011, she said to me, 'Yuko, I will go to the South in February. All the people have gone; how we can survive?' After the other southerners went away, Khartoum became another place for her. The place she would reside would be the South. The referendum began on January 9, 2011. Most people did not want to vote on the referendum in Khartoum because they were afraid of the consequences of their vote. Additionally, they were too busy preparing to move back to the south, and hoped to vote for the referendum there.

3. The meaning of Khartoum in Juba: After the return

Juba is the largest city in South Sudan, and serves as its capital. This city has a unique history. It has been the stronghold of Northern government in the South for a long time. The Sudan People's Liberation Army (SPLA) entered Juba just nine years ago—after the CPA—but southerners had formed a relationship with the city in their own way. Now, Juba has developed rapidly, with many people gathered from various places. According to one report, as of 2004, the population of Juba was 250,000, and as of 2009, it reached approximately 400,000 [Martin & Mosel 2011: 3] . Of course, too rapid a population flow will cause some problems; Juba was not an exception of this. People faced many difficulties, including a high rate of commodities, traffic jams, and poor infrastructure. Juba is the capital of South Sudan—a city of the South. It is obviously a very different place than Khartoum. Arabic is not the only main language in Juba. English and other ethnic languages are also spoken frequently.

How did returnees fare after arriving in Juba?

Table 1. Situation of Families after the 'return'

Name	Date	Place	Situation
B	Mother, Daughter, Son: 12. 2010 Father: 3. 2011	Juba	They registered the project. And mother, daughter went to Juba by the project, and after arrive at Juba, they started the life with father's relatives.
C	Daughter: 12.2010, Mother: 10. 2011. Son: in Khartoum	Juba	Father died during the war. Daughter went to Juba at first, and she stayed her ancle's house. After that, mother came to Juba and she stayed at same house.
D	First Son, Daughter: 10. 2010, Mother and Second Son: 4.2011	Juba	Father stayed at Khartoum, but separated with mother and children. First son and daughter went to Juba by themselves and stayed with their ancle's family. After mother and second son arrived at Juba, they rent a house in Juba. But finding a job was difficult to mother. So, they sometimes depended on mother's brother.

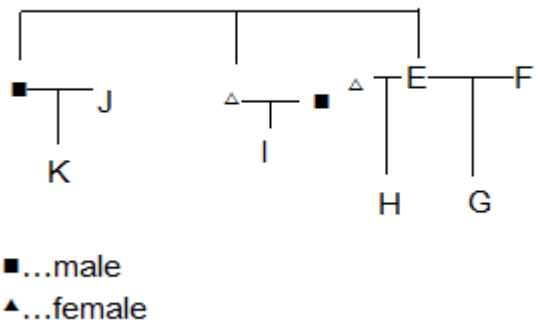
This table illustrates the returnees' situation after their return. We can see that all returnees try to make relationships with their family or relatives in the south at first. Consequently, they have had to live with people who have a different migrant

experience.

Table 2. The changing members in one house

Name	Places of stay before coming to Juba	3.2010	12.2010	9.2011	1.2012	4.2012	6.2012	2.2013
E	Kajo-keji, Khartoum	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
F	Kajo-keji, Khartoum	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
G	Khartoum	○	○	○	○			
H	Kajokeji Uganda			○	○	○	○	○
I	Kajo-keji Kampala		○	○	○	○		
J	Khartoum			△ (10. 2010-)	○	○	○	○
K	Khartoum		○	○	○	○	○	

Table 3. A Family Tree of Family 'E'



This table shows the population flow of a family in Juba chronologically. Many people stayed in one house, coming from various places. In their daily lives, they recognized the differences of experience among their family. Life in Juba helped build deeper relationships between relatives in contrast to life in Khartoum. In some cases, people who came from Khartoum, which is the biggest city in the Greater Sudan, and now live in Juba felt the difference with lifestyle in their home was in the countryside.

Living with among others, did the meaning of Khartoum for returnees actually change? We must understand their complex situations before answering this question. I would like to explain it using the situation of A's family.

She started her new life in Juba living at her house in Munuki payam. Munuki is in the northern part of Juba, and is mainly a residential area. She called relatives from her home area, and opened a restaurant in front of her house. In addition, she started gathering crushed iron from children and selling it for a company in Uganda. Her

daughter re-started her schooling in Juba.

There were always some people from her home area in her house, and she could visit her home area more easily than before. At the same time, she has continued to keep in touch with people who returned from Khartoum by attending funerals or other gatherings. Furthermore, her daughter has continued to have contact with her friends in Khartoum through a mobile phone. She spoke with me, saying, 'When we lived in Khartoum, I had to sell alcohol. Now I need not sell it; I just sell tea. It's enough to eat. It is really good.' Her new life in Juba is not so bad; however, they do not forget about Khartoum.

In October 2011, I attended a birthday prayer for her grandson in her house. She invited approximately 30 people. Some people were the same age as A; others were young. Almost all of the people were returnees from Khartoum and more than two-third of the guests belonged to the same ethnic group as A.

A facilitator of prayer there said, 'We came back from Khartoum, and are now living in different place in Juba. I'm happy for people gathering here, today. The boy was born in Khartoum, came to Juba, and grew up well. I would like to thank God for this.'

The prayer was delivered mainly in Juba Arabic; only A's speech was in the Bari language—it was her ethnic language. A made some sweets for her guests; it was the same way in Khartoum. People asked about each other's recent situation and talked about life in Khartoum.

They selected Arabic for prayer, despite many of the people there speaking Bari.

Khartoum became the spiritual nourishment for their future in Juba. However, we must not forget that Juba and Khartoum are now separate nations. They recognized themselves as South Sudanese; it was the reason they came to Juba. They recognized Juba as their place of residence. They knew well that Khartoum was far, both physically and spiritually. I believe this prayer shows an aspect of Juba's locality. Khartoum serves as the background of this locality. We can find a carved seal of migration from there. I think the aspect that I showed is one of the several types of *locality* in this world.

4. Closing remarks

I would like to sum up my presentation.

From the colonial time, meaning of Khartoum for the migrants had changed. Some factors were related with this process, And meaning itself was also multilayered. I illustrated by diagrams.

In the recent history of anthropology, the term *local* or *locality* has changed. As you may know, globalization has had a huge influence on this process.

For example, Appadurai talked about the process of making *locality* from the interaction with the system of nation-state, the influence of new media, and people's migration ［Appadurai 1996］. Wendy James emphasized the significance of people's memories for the understanding of contemporary war and migration related to society ［James 2007］.And then, Urry said places should be thought of as being placed in relation to sets of objects rather than being fixed through subjects and their uniquely human meanings and intractions［Urry 2000: 134］.All these arguments have the relationships with mobility.

Currently, when we think about the term *locality*, we have to think about people's motion. And need to pursuit of the formation process of *locality.*

I described the trajectory of changing the meaning of Khartoum, and the formation process of the *locality* of Juba through this trajectory. This case study shows the process of developing *locality* arises from motion in the current ethnological situation of the Two Sudan Sudan. Of course, this case study described just a small part of the variety of Juba's locality. My future project will be to study yet another aspect of it.

As you may know, South Sudan is now experiencing another war. I think the situation in Juba will once more be changed. I pray for a peaceful life to come to the people of South Sudan.

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