



National Identity Crisis Among Refugees Diaspora

South Sudanese Refugees Diaspora of Denmark

A qualitative study on the experience of South Sudanese refugee's diaspora of Denmark. How do South Sudanese refugee's diaspora of Denmark construct their nationality and belonging? What challenges do South Sudanese experiences concerning their national identity?

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“Ubuntu! I Am because you are!” (AFN, 2020).

Abstract

We live in a society where belonging to a nation-state or being a citizen of a nation-state is being positively embraced and often celebrated. We assume that everyone more or less has an idea of where they belong to, based to a high degree on the place they were born, their Heimat. Yet, the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees statistics for 2020 has shown that 80 million people are today internally and externally displaced, and 4.2 million people are currently residing in 79 countries. Many of these people are stateless, although according to the United Nations, "everyone has the right to a nationality". But currently, there are more than 500,000 stateless people living in Europe. UNHCR statistics show that 69 percent of the displaced people originate from five countries: South Sudan is one of them. Yet, there is limited research done on the South Sudanese diaspora population and in Denmark, you can hardly find any record online about the South Sudanese diaspora.

This thesis investigates how South Sudanese refugee's diaspora in Denmark construct their nationality and belonging. With a sub-question: What challenges do South Sudanese experience concerning their national identity?

To answer the research question, I did qualitative research with a semi-structured interview, where I interviewed twenty-one South Sudanese in Denmark. To supplement the interview data, I provide a historical overview of South Sudan and a historical overview of Danish immigration history. The historical overview aims to provide background knowledge for a better understanding of the situation in South Sudan and the situation of South Sudanese in Denmark.

Theoretically, I use three theories to analyze the data collected from the interviews. Social identity theory and nationalism are used to analyze how the South Sudanese diaspora of Denmark construct their nationality and belonging. And postcolonialism is used to analyze the challenges South Sudanese are facing in Denmark.

The analysis demonstrates that all twenty-one interviewees have multiple senses of belonging. Some of them are confused about their belonging, but they all feel more connected to Denmark as they have lived in Denmark for an extended period of time. Their sense of belonging is both formal and informal. Their sense of national identity in South Sudan is informally constructed based on the stories, cultural, and traditional values their parents passed on to them. However, most of the interviews do not have clear proof of their nationality and citizenship. The ones who got citizenship are happy to have evidence that they have a country they belong to. They are all striving to obtain Danish citizenship to have a clearer sense of their belonging. The analysis has also shown that all the interviews experience challenges. Still, most of the difficulties they experience have nothing to do with their national identity, but rather with their skin colour. This shows that racism is present in Denmark even though you do not hear much about it.

I conclude that a large number of the South Sudanese diaspora of Denmark have a multiple sense of belonging. Yet, most of them are not recognized as citizens of any country. Having a refugee's background, they cannot go to South Sudan to claim their South Sudanese nationality. Gaining citizenship in Denmark is also challenging for them because of all the restrictions implemented in the past decades. Therefore, the South Sudanese diaspora of Denmark, which neither has obtained a permanent residence, nor citizenship, lives in constant fear of being thrown out of the country at any moment and with nowhere else to go. Hence, in their heart desires to get recognition and citizenship; for them, "a citizenship is not just a piece of paper, it is proof that they have a country they belong to."

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Acronyms

UN	United Nations
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
OCHA	United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs
SPLM	Sudan People's Liberation Movement
SPLA	Sudan People's Liberation Army
SPLA/M	Sudan People's Liberation Army/Movement
CPA	Comprehensive Peace Agreement
WIPO	World Intellectual Property Organisation
IRC	International Rescue Committee
IOM	International Office for Migration
EEA	European Economic Area
KPG	Kylin Prime Group
DNA	Deoxyribonucleic Acid
IR	International Relations
AFN	The Australasian Facilitators Network

1. Introduction

We live in a society where belonging to a nation-state or being a citizen of a nation-state is being positively embraced and often celebrated, for instance, during sports tournaments, such as World Cups and Olympics, where nearly all the world's countries are present and represented. In such events, different countries present their national anthems, together with their flags in front of the TV cameras, while marching happily to represent their country in their sports discipline. Having citizenship is also often referred to as having a national identity. To many it might seem that attaining nationality, or having a citizenship is something everyone has access and right to. Nevertheless, there are still groups of people in the world who, for several reasons, do not have a clear sense of belonging or a national identity as such. Often, these are refugees who might not have formal citizenship to any country, neither a formal state belonging in the country of origin or in their host one (McCrone & Bechhofer, 2015, p. 1).

According to the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees [UNHCR] statistics, in 2020, about 80 million people were forcibly displaced worldwide (UNHCR, 2020). About 67 percent of the people originate from only five countries, among which South Sudan is one of them (UNHCR, 2020). Some of the refugees are internally displaced, while the rest fled to their neighboring countries. And some are resettled in western countries such as Denmark through the United Nations [UN] program. In the same year, 2020, UNHCR recorded "4.2 million stateless people residing in 79 countries in mid-2020." (UNHCR, 2020). The official definition of a stateless person is "a person who is not considered as a national by any State under the operation of its law". (UNHCR, 2021a). In a juridical language, this means stateless persons do not have a nationality to any country. It also means "they are not recognized as citizens by any state." (European Network on Statelessness, 2021b).

Countless reasons cause statelessness; some people are born stateless for instance, Palestinians are automatically born stateless. Meanwhile, others become stateless through "discrimination against minorities, state secession, conflict of laws between states, or deliberate policies by states to strip people of nationality. (European Network on Statelessness, 2021*). The above reasons made the entire population of South Sudanese stateless, as the ruling power of former Sudan did not recognize their belonging to former Sudan. More on this is in the historical section (see here pp. 16-17).

Scholars McCrone and Bechhofer (2015), in their book titled "Understanding National Identity", argue that "having a national identity is a bit like having an old insurance policy. You know you've got one somewhere, but often you're not entirely sure where it is." (McCrone & Bechhofer, 2015 p.1). According to the statement, national identity seems like something everyone has, whether they are aware of it or not. But is a national identity what everyone has? What about the 80 million displaced people, or the 4.2 million stateless people? Do they really have any sense of their national identity and belonging? Countries such as South Sudan that have been experiencing conflict for the last five decades, where many of its people are born and brought up in the diaspora, might find it challenging to have a clear understanding of their national belongings. Thus, this thesis investigates how refugees understand their national identity. This thesis uses the case of the South Sudanese diaspora in Denmark to navigate through the question raised above. This is done by posing the following research question.

How do South Sudanese refugee's diaspora of Denmark construct their nationality and belonging?

The problem formulation above comes together with a sub question:

- *What challenges do South Sudanese experience concerning their national identity?*

I focus on the South Sudanese diaspora of Denmark because most South Sudanese came to Denmark as UN quota refugees. "A quota refugee is a refugee who is transferred from their first country of asylum to another country that is ready and willing to grant them a residence permit, following an agreement with the UNHCR or a similar international organization." (Ministry of Interior Finland, 2021: New to Denmark, 2021a). This means that most South Sudanese in Denmark already had refugee status in another country, before transferring to Denmark. Thus, they were all registered as Sudanese, since Sudan was by then one nation-state.

However, former Sudan was divided into two in 2011 where, the Southern part of Sudan became an independent country: South Sudan. As a result, people were divided into two nation-states, that is Sudan and South Sudan. This is not only challenging South Sudanese in Denmark and causing a national identity crisis amongst them. It is also challenging the Danish Immigration Office because they provide the wrong information about South Sudanese when asked to provide information about South Sudanese, who are officially registered as Sudanese. For instance, in connection with my part-time job as a translator, I was translating in a courtroom. I have experienced a situation where a judge had to postpone a hearing because the prosecutor provided the wrong information about a client. The client was registered as Sudanese though he was

originally from the Southern part of former Sudan. When the defendant pointed out that the client was not from Sudan but South Sudan the information collected prior to the trial could not be used in court. Also, during project work, I tried to reach out to Statistics Denmark to attain some data about Sudanese/ South Sudanese in Denmark, but there was nothing to be gathered there (Vuga, 2021). Thus, to avoid the situations mentioned in the two examples, I believe it would be helpful to have information about this group of people to make everyone's work easy. For that reason, in my thesis, I would dig deeper into the issue of a "National Identity Crisis among 'South' Sudanese diaspora of Denmark."

Methodologically this paper uses qualitative and quantitative research design. Second source quantitative research is used to collect information about the demography of South Sudanese in Denmark, who are officially registered as Sudanese. The qualitative part of the research is used to collect in-depth information on the experience of South Sudanese in Denmark about national identity through semi-structured interviews. Theoretically, this paper uses Social Identity Theory, Nationalism, national identity and postcolonialism to analyze the data collected from the interview.

Before going into depth with the situations of South Sudanese in Denmark, I start by providing an overview of South Sudan. As mentioned, South Sudan is one of the youngest countries on earth, if not the youngest. Also, there is not much research done on South Sudan, which means there is very little information about it on the internet. Therefore, it is crucial to provide some basic information about South Sudan to the readers to better understand the situation of South Sudanese in Denmark. Thus, the following sections start by giving some facts about South Sudan, followed by its history and ends with what is currently happening in South Sudan. The historical overview is followed by; methodological overview, theoretical overview; data presentation and analysis, and discussion and conclusion.

2. Historical overview

This section provides an overview about South Sudan and its history which is intertwined with the history of Sudan.

2.1. Facts about South Sudan

South Sudan, sometimes referred to as Southern Sudan, is geographically located in the north-eastern part of Africa, whose capital is Juba. South Sudan was part of former Sudan until 2011, when South Sudan became an independent country (Voller, 2019, p. 54). The country shares borders with Sudan in the north, Ethiopia in the east, the Democratic Republic of Congo, Kenya, and Uganda in the southern part, and the Central African Republic in the western part. South Sudan is mainly settled by native Africans, who are mainly Christian or animist believers. Like many countries in the Sub-Saharan region, South Sudan was colonized by the British through former Sudan in the late 19th century. (Collins, 2019).

According to Jok (2012), South Sudan is more than a geographical expression. It comprises more than sixty cultural and linguistic groups. The largest ethnic group is the Dinka which consists of 35.8 percent of all the ethnic groups in South Sudan, followed by the Nuer, which consists of 15.6 percent and the other smaller ethnic groups consist of 48.6 percent (Collins, 2019). The two largest ethnic groups are mainly settled in the northern and eastern part of South Sudan. The other ethnic groups such as Bari, Ma'di and Acholi are mainly settled in the Equatorial region, which is in the southern part of South Sudan. (United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs, 2021 (OCHA, 2021)).

During colonization period the British only put their efforts into modernizing the northern part. In the southern part they only focused on maintaining order among the people. This led to the underdevelopment of South Sudan. Also, when former Sudan gained independence from the British colony, governing power was given to the northern government. The Khartoum government excluded the southerners from major decision making, by introducing Arabic as the main communication language. In the attempt to expand Arabianism and Islamisation, the Khartoum government brutally subjected the Southerners to slavery, discrimination, and oppression mainly based on race and religion. This resulted in two main liberation conflicts. (Collins, 2019). The Anya Nya liberation war led by General Lagu Joseph started in the early

1950s. It ended in 1972 when Anya Nya leader signed the Addis Ababa accord and the Khartoum government gave South Sudan autonomy. (Pire, 2000).

Yet, a second civil war broke out in 1983 when former Sudanese President Nimeiri attempted to impose Sharia law. (Pire, 2000). This time, the Sudan People's Liberation Movement (SPLM) or Sudan People's Liberation Army (SPLA), led the liberation movement. The SPLA was formed in 1983 by Lieutenant Colonel John Garang. (Pire, 2000). The second conflict ended in 2005, when the SPLA/M and the Khartoum government signed the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA). (Collins, 2019). South Sudan was the main battlefield for all the liberation conflicts. As a result, when South Sudan became independent in 2011, it inherited a fragile country with "poor infrastructure, a volatile political climate, limited capacity for governance, weak state institutions, a financial crisis, and violent ethnic divisions." (Jok, 2011, p. 2). This resulted in the outbreak of the 2013 internal conflict in South Sudan.

2.1.1. Recent development in South Sudan

According to the recent estimates the 2013-conflict has caused the lives of over 383, 000 South Sudanese (Global Conflict Tracker, 2021). About 4 million people were displaced from their homes. (Global Conflict Tracker, 2021). Besides, displacement of millions of people, the conflict also led to shortage of food in the country as farmers were prevented from cultivating their lands. (Global Conflict Tracker, 2021). According to Global Conflict Tracker (2021) the UN declared South Sudan's food crisis to be "the worst in the world." In 2017 about five million South Sudanese were at risk of food shortage. In 2018 the country continues to face a food crisis and aid agencies state there could be more than seven million people at the risk of food shortage as the dry season approaches in 2018. (Global Conflict Tracker, 2021).

In 2018 the international and regional communities pressured President Salva Kiir and the former Vice President Riek Machar to resolve the conflict and sign a peace agreement. As a result in June 2018 the president and former vice-president agreed to participate in a peace talk mediated by Uganda. Hence, a peace agreement was signed by the two at the end of June in 2018. The agreement is officially known as the Khartoum Declaration of Agreement, the agreement demands for cease-fire and negotiation of power sharing between Kiir and Machar and put an end to five years of conflict in South Sudan. (Global Conflict Tracker, 2021). However, the implementation of the peace agreement did not take place. There is still no power sharing between Kiir and Machar,

the four millions people who are displaced still remain in their place of refuge, and attacks on civilians and aid workers continue. (Human Rights Watch, 2021).

2.2. History of South Sudan

The history of South Sudan and Sudan are interconnected. As stated by Zambakari (2015), the crisis in South Sudanese citizenship is "linked to the history of the state of the formation of Sudan." (Zambakari, 2015, pp. 73). Thus, in order to make sense of the crisis in citizenship in South Sudan, it is significant to understand the challenges that Sudan and other nation-states are facing in the Sub-Saharan region as they struggle in nation-building. (Zambakari, 2015, p. 73). Zambakari further argues that the crisis of national identity in Sudan had its roots in the colonial period, when the British sought to bring people with a history of hostility and diverse ethnic groups under one nation-state. In order to make a clear sense of South Sudanese history it is significant to understand the history of Sudan. Because South Sudanese early history, which is her history before 2011 is written in former Sudan's history as it used to be one country. Hence the next section provides an overview of Sudan's history.

2.2.1. Early history of (South) Sudan

This section provides an overview of South Sudan's early history through Sudan's history starting from Islamic period and Mahdhiya rule of Sudan, followed by the Ottoman Empire and lastly the Anglo-Egyptian period in former Sudan.

2.2.2. Islamic period and the Mahdiya rule of Sudan

According to Discovery Sudan (2021), Egypt's Mamluk ruled the northernmost part in the 14th century. In the 15th century their power emerged southward and came to control a large part of the Middle Nile valley together with the Sultanate of Darfur in western part of former Sudan. The Mamluk and the Sultanate power extended to the western part of former Sudan in the region of the Shilluk and the Dinka tribes in the south. The region then became a field for different interests. In 1517 the northern region of former Sudan which is closer to Egypt was conquered by the Ottoman Empire. The Mamluk remained a semi-autonomous ruler until the invasion of Egypt by France in 1798. (Discovery Sudan, 2021). When the France were expelled, by an Albanian commander of the Ottoman Empire by the name Muhamed Ali who gained power in 1821. Muhamed Ali expelled the Mamluks from Nubia where they took refuge and he brought all the tribes and the kingdoms in the region under his control. (Discovery Sudan, 2021). Hence, Sudan became a Turkish-

Egyptian province and they occupied Sudan. According to Fanack (2016), the main reason for Ottoman occupation was to control the material and human resources of Sudan. (Fanack, 2016).

2.2.3. The Ottoman Empire

The Ottoman Empire occupation of Sudan happened gradually; the last area for them to occupy was Darfur, Bahr al-Gazal, and Equatoria region in the present South Sudan. After occupying the whole country the empire introduced a political system that opened Sudan up to the rest of the world. (Fanack, 2016). Which means Sudan turned from having a limited relation with the rest of the world to having more relation to the world. During this period the country started integrating into both regional and international markets and trade. New modernised ways of administration were introduced together with new crops and new ways of cultivating the land and expansion in foreign trade. (Fanack, 2016). During this period European explorers started entering Sudan in the attempt to reach the sources of the Nile. The Turkish rule was harsh on the Sudanese it depends on forced labour and forced tax collection regardless of the locals ability to provide it. The Sudanese resistance of the new regime resulted in an uprising rebellion which paved the way to the rise of the Mahadist revolution of 1881. (Fanack, 2016).

2.2.4. Mahadist Revolution

In 1881 a Sudanese religious leader by the name Mohamed Ahmed Ibn Abdallah declared himself a Mahdi. Mahdi literally means “The Guided One”. The title is related to a “messianic descendent of a prophet” whom the Muslims were expecting to come and redeem and bring justice to the world during this period. (Discovery Sudan, 2021). Ahmed Ibn Abdallah won the faith of many and gained many followers, the followers refer to themselves as Ansar. The movement grew quickly, they invaded several towns. The Mahdi movement became a threat to the British who were administering the Turco-Egyptian Sudan. In 1883 the British made an attempt to attack the Ansar, but they failed as a result the British fled Sudan. Mahdi died in 1885, after his death a rivalry arose among the three deputies he elected before his death. The rivalry lasted until 1891, then Abdallahi Ibn Mohamed overpowered the opposition and appointed himself a Khalifa meaning Successor. However, internal fights among the Ansar continued and in 1898 the British returned to Sudan. Horatio Herbert Kitchener, a commander of another Anglo-Egyptian army, defeated the Ansar. (Discover Sudan, 2021).

2.2.4. The Anglo-Egyptian rule

In 1898 Herbert Kitchener became governor general of Sudan. During this period the British and the Egyptian decided to join the governance of Sudan. During this time Sudan was under British colony. The uneven development of Sudan continues under the Anglo-Egyptian rule. The South and the North were treated differently. In other words, the north and the south are “administered as separate provinces of the condominium”. (Discovery Sudan, 2021).

Abdullahi Gallab, who is an expert in Sudanese study, argued that to understand the current identity crisis in South Sudan, it is significant to understand the role a central state plays in Sudanese life from 1821 to the contemporary totalitarian Islamic regime dating from 1989 up to today (Gallab, 2011). This means one has to go back to when the Ottoman Empire first invaded Sudan in 1821 – 1875. Or the Turkiyya period, which was followed by the Mahdiyya, who ruled from 1898 – 1956. Sudan gained independence from the British colony in 1956. (Gallab, 2011). This means the Mahdiyya regime ruled at the same time as the British colony. Thus, Sudan was colonized by two colonial powers, that is the al-Turkiyya al-Sabiqa from 1821 to 1875, and al-Turkiyya al-lahiqa partly ruled with the British from 1898 to 1956. (Gallab, 2011).

Both colonies played a significant role in the construction of circumstances and dynamics that led to Sudan's creation. The al-Turkiyya al-Sabiqa established the boundaries of former Sudan. Khartoum was appointed the capital of former Sudan in 1830. The area around Khartoum developed faster than other regions of the country. The evidence of the underdevelopment of other regions of former Sudan can still be seen today. For instance, the Southern region is the least developed part, as it is quite far from Khartoum. During the Ottoman Empire, the state was under military rule. According to Gallab (2011), during this period, the Muslim Arab who settled in former Sudan chose to forcefully assimilate with the Sudanese people rather than building a more inclusive country. This resulted in resistance from the minority group, which are the black African South Sudanese, they were excluded politically, socially, and economically. (Zambaraki, 2015, p. 73).

According to Gallab, former Sudan heavily relies on producing and using slaves. Non-Arab Black South Sudanese being enslaved by the Arabs. Hence, Sudan “emerged and continued to act as a vessel for extraction, a major manufacturer of inequalities, racial engineering and social stratification on a grandiose scale.” (Gallab, 2011). Instead of creating an inclusive nation-state, the British colony equally adopted the method of politicization of ethnicity, which led to the

division of Sudan along ethnic lines. This includes things such as categorizing people through census according to their race and tribes. When Sudan got independence from the British in 1956, the Khartoum government did not reform the British structure of governing.

Zambaraki (2015) further argues that:

“Sudan is based on a racialized state’s attempt to impose a single identity through force upon a multi-ethnic society: ‘an ideology of hierarchy, which assigned a subordinate status for the people of southern Sudan was historically constructed and politically institutionalized’” (Zambakari, 2015, p.70).

Thus, the post-colonial leaders-built Sudan after 1956 on the history of slavery and used civil and military power to build the nation through forceful Arabization and Islamization on the minority. (Zambakari, 2015, p. 70). Despite the independence in 1956, inequality, oppression, and racialization continued against the Southerners. This resulted in two liberation movements that caused more than 50 years of brutal civil war between South and North Sudan from 1955 to 1972 and 1983 to 2005. (Zambakari, 2015, p. 69).

The nearly half a century conflict ended on January 9, 2005, when the Comprehensive Peace Agreement was signed (CPA). According to Zambakari, the conflict between North and South Sudan was one of the deadliest and longest wars in the last five decades. (Zambakari, 2015, p. 69). This conflict is just one example of a conflict caused by the inheritance of colonial governance legacy. Many countries in the Sub-Saharan region inherited the institutional legacy of colonialism and instituted governance as states established distinction law that denationalizes a group of people and stripping of their citizenship rights. The excluded group of people are excluded from the rest of the population either for exploitation or cleansing in worse cases. (Zambakari, 2015, p. 73).

2.2.5. Postcolonial Sudan

In former Sudan, two laws were governing the country. On the one hand, the common law is governing the central urbanised population. On the other hand, the customary law is governing the rural native population. “Customary law is a set of customs, practices and beliefs that are accepted as obligatory rules of conduct by indigenous peoples and local communities.” (World Intellectual property Organization, 2021, p.1). Unfortunately, the customary law discriminates against the native population, here native refers to the black African South Sudanese who were excluded from the common law’s governance. Stripping of citizenship rights from an entire community by a

ruling power such as the government could lead to statelessness. That is why during this period of oppression and discrimination under the Khartoum government, many South Sudanese lacked documentation of their nationality. For instance, when South Sudan became an independent country in 2011, the people had to apply for citizenship, and the only proof they had was their tribe belonging, being one of the tribes found in South Sudan. Authorities had thus to rely on the individual's oral narratives as proof of them being South Sudanese.

As a result, the Southern Sudan Referendum Act of 2009 created the following criteria to identify South Sudanese citizens:

- “Be born to parents both or one of them belonging to one of the indigenous communities that settled in Southern Sudan on or before January 1, 1956, or whose ancestry is traceable to one of the ethnic communities in Southern Sudan.
 - Be a permanent resident, without interruption, or any of whose parents or grandparents reside permanently, without interruption, in Southern Sudan since January 1, 1956.
- (Zambakari, 2012, p.75)

According to Zambaraki (2012), despite passing the South Sudan Nationality Act in 2009, South Sudan still faces some challenges with two types of citizenship in the country. One is the citizenship question based on ethnicity and the second one is citizenship based on residence. Zambaraki argues that “the first is a legacy of the colonial rule while the second is a post-colonial nationalism product. (Zambakari, 2012, pp. 75-76).

2.2.6. 2013-South Sudanese conflict

Based on the challenges listed above, it emerges that South Sudan's governing system's new state is not different from the former Sudan's governing system. It equally defines citizenship based on territorial citizenship (Zambaraki, 2013, p. 17). In the attempt of wanting to build a federal state, states are divided based on ethnicity. This was problematic as it is difficult to draw a clear borderline based on ethnic groups. This has created ethnic tensions. For instance, the 28 states system is causing problems among states such as Western Bahr el Ghazal and Upper Nile. Another issue connected to the division of states is deciding on the number of states. (Stimson Center, 2016, p. 1). It seems like the president and his cabinet members could not agree on how many states they should create and how these should be divided.

“The head of the Dinka Council of Elders said that it had proposed a 23-state plan to increase the number to 24 in response to feedback from the President's office and only

discovered that Kiir had changed the number to 28 when he announced the new system publicly.” (Stimson Center, 2016, p. 2).

The president taking a final decision without consulting with the other cabinet members could be the main cause of the country’s current political instability. The same behaviour led to the outbreak of 2013-conflict when the president accused the former vice-president Riek Machar and other ex-cabinet ministers and officials of the ruling Sudan SPLA/M of attempting a coup. (Johnson, 2014, p. 1). Consequently, military members loyal to the president started targeting and killing the Nuers in Juba. Here it is worth mentioning that the president comes from the largest ethnic groups in South Sudan, namely Dinka. Meanwhile, the former-vice president originates from the second largest ethnic group Nuer. However, the coup was meant to have started after Riek Machar and the accused plotters boycotted a meeting between the SPLM’S National Liberation Council and Salva Kiir. This resulted in a fight between the Dinka and Nuer soldiers in the presidential guard. (Johnson, 2014, p. 1). SPLA/M is the dominant political party in South Sudan, consisting of a political and a military wing.

Jok (2011) argued that historically South Sudanese have a strong loyalty to their ethnic group more than loyalty to the nation-state. (Jok, 2011, p. 3). This means political parties are formed based on a common ethnic background rather than having a common ideology. This means there is a higher practice of neo-patrimonialism in the government. Neo-patrimonialism refers to a patronage system where leaders use their political power to “enrich members of their own ethnic group rather than act in the interest of the country as a whole.” (Anderson, et al., 2015, p.490). According to Johnson (2014), rumours were going on that the president was misusing his power to recruit people from his own community only. (Johnson, 2014, pp. 7-8). Similarly, Jok (2012) states that “Claims of corruption, nepotism, exclusion, and domination of government and business by some ethnic groups all seemed to erode the public’s enthusiasm for the upcoming transition, despite the initial excitement” (Jok, 2011, p. 3).

Thus, the main causes of the 2013-conflict, which led to contemporary political instability, could be summarized as the colonial and post-colonial governing system’s inheritance. And a combination of nepotism, corruption, exclusion based on ethnicity, gender, lack of meritocracy in hiring, and lack of accountability, responsibility and suspicions among the SPLA/M party. (Jok, 2011, p.3).

2.2.7. Recent developments in 2013-conflict

The 2013-conflict has caused the lives of about 400, 000 people and millions were displaced. (Human Rights Watch, 2021). As mentioned above in 2016 an attempt was made for a peace agreement between Machar and Kiir. Another peace deal was made in February 2020 by the parties to the 2018 peace deal. The main purpose of the 2020 peace deal was to create a transitional government of national unity where Salva Kiir will be the president with former president Riek Machar as the first vice president followed by four other vice-presidents who will all come from the opposition parties. (Human Rights Watch, 2021). However, the implementation of the 2020 peace agreement is being delayed. Despite pressure from the international community Aljezeera states that “ the government has failed to achieve many reforms, including completing the unification of army command, graduating a unified force, and reconstituting the Transitional National Legislative Assembly.” According to Aljazeera (2021), the international community and the UN-Security council have shown concern about the political leaders and military leaders ability to bring a sustainable peace to South Sudan and call the president and former vice president to step down. The UN also fears an outbreak of “large scale conflict” in South Sudan if the tension between Kiir and Machar continues as it is now. (Aljazeera, 2021).

Furthermore, Aljazeera has added that the political, military and ethnic division in South Sudan keeps on increasing. The division has caused a series of violence in the country in 2020. The issue of food insecurity is increasing among the displaced population of South Sudanese. (The Humanitarian News, 2021). The International Rescue Committee [IRC] pointed out that due to the economic crisis, flood and Covid-19 more than seven million people are in danger of being affected by famine in 2021. (IRC, 2021). Also, the recruitment of children to war is still rampant in the country. There is a lack of freedom to press, and freedom of speech in the country authorities detained anyone including journalists who criticize the government. Schools have been closed for over six months due to Covid-19. There are poor health facilities in the country and there is limited access to Covid-19 related information and it is also impossible to get tested. Violence on civilians and aid workers is common. (New Humanitarian, 2021).

Generally, since the outbreak of the 2013-conflict until now South Sudan still remains a politically unstable country. A country whose government is incapable of protecting her own citizens. A country that abuses all aspects of human rights, even basic rights such as the right to food and

selter. Starvation keeps on spreading in the country even aid-workers are starving. Ethnic, political and military tensions keep on increasing.

After providing some detailed background about South Sudan I will now give a brief overview about Denmark where I provide an overview about the Danish immigration history. This section helps in understanding the situation of South Sudanese immigrants in Denmark.

2.3. Danish Immigration History

This section provides an overview of the Danish immigration history from before the 1950s until 2021.

According to The International Office for Migration [IOM] the Danish immigration has been a net emigration until 1950. (IOM- UN Migration, 2021). Which means there were more Danes moving out to other countries rather than immigrants moving to Denmark. In the beginning of the 1960s most of the immigrants migrated to Denmark from the United States, the United Kingdom and other Scandinavian countries such as Norway and Sweden. However, the immigration flow changed in the late 1960s because of change in the labour market and economic growth. (IOM- UN Migration, 2021). Thus, Denmark started recruiting foreign workers from Yugoslavia, Turkey and Pakistan. During this period the immigration of non European Economic Area [EEA] citizens was restricted. Later the immigration movement changed into family reunification for immigrants who possess permanent residence in Denmark.

Nevertheless, in the 1990s a new wave of immigration emerged in Denmark. The new immigration wave mainly consists of refugees from non EEA citizens. These were refugees from Vietnam, Chile, Iran, Sri Lanka, Poland, and stateless Palestinians from Lebanon. In the same year the number of refugees from Somalia and other African countries have grown. From 1995 to 1996 residency permits were granted to former Yugoslavian refugees. In the 2000s the flow of immigrants from Africa decreased while the flow of immigrants from other European Countries, the United States and Asia remained constant. (IOM- UN Migration, 2021).

Until 2016, Denmark received about 500 quota refugees per year according to the agreement they made with the UNHCR. From 2016 until 2019 Denmark postponed its agreement with the UNHCR.(The Local, 2021a). According to *The Local* the Danish minister of foreign affairs and Integration Mattias Tesfaye “informed the UN on July 11th 2019 that Denmark wishes to accept a small group of quota refugees who require special [medical, ed.] assistance from 2019.” (The Local, 2021b). The main argument for suspending receiving quota refugees in 2016 was that

quota refugees are challenging to integrate into Danish society, as most of them do not have a western background. (Skærbæk, 2019). Hence, it is meant that the cultural gap is too big, and that refugees also have a lower level of education, making it difficult for them to adapt to the Danish culture or learn the danish language within the three years period appointed for integration. Thus, most of them depend on the government for help as they cannot get a job. It is also tricky for quota refugees to gain a permanent residence permit. According to Morten Skærbæk the reporter of the Danish newspaper *Politiken* in january 2019 the government introduced a new law that put quota refugees on the same level as other refugees. The former minister of foreign affairs and Integration Inger Støjberg states that “We wish to send a very clear signal to refugees that, if you are given permission to stay in Denmark, this is temporary, and this also applies to quota refugees,” (Cited in The Local, 2019: Skærbæk, 2019). Which means the general understanding about quota refugees being granted a long-term or permanent resident is broken. (The Local, 2019). Thus, quota refugees are left to live in a constant fear of their residence permit being revoked at any moment.

Following Denmark's immigration history, one realizes that the immigration rules keep changing more and more and towards a stricter and stricter regime; throughout the years, more restrictions are being added. The most recent change is the so-called paradigm shift, where politicians voted for a radical change in refugees asylum policies. The government made it more difficult for quota refugees to gain a permanent residence permit and even more challenging to achieve Danish citizenship. One's stay in Denmark must be at least eight years, before applying for permanent residence. (New to Denmark, 2021b). When applying for a permanent residence permit, refugees need to pass a test and the fee is between DKK4,365 and 6,370DKK (New to Denmark, 2021b), and they should not have gotten any form of support from the government in the last three years and have a clean criminal record. After successfully gaining a permanent residence permit, one will have to take a citizenship test and pass it before being allowed to apply for citizenship. Apart from that, the ‘applicant’ must pay for the citizenship test. And then pay an amount of about 3800 DKK for applying for citizenship. Besides the requirements, the process for assessing citizenship can easily take up to two years. This means many immigrants in Denmark do not have citizenship as it might be unaffordable for many. (Udlændinge-og Integrationsministeriet, 2020a).

Besides the difficulties in gaining a permanent residence permit and citizenship, the law for gaining temporary residence permit status has also changed. In 2019 a new discourse 'paradigm shift' was introduced into the Danish Asylum policy; the 'Aliens Act of 2019.' "The purpose of the amendment was to increase the opportunity to revoke refugees' asylum permits, which, according to the legislator, were within the Danish international obligations." (Petersen, 2021, p. 3). Thus, the refugees knowing that their permit could be revoked at any moment make them live in constant fear of not being able to live up to the rules. Worse of all, the fear of risking being deported (eventually with family members) to a politically unstable country such as South Sudan or Sudan cause personal crisis, as the refugees might not have a clear sense of where he/she belongs to and he/she is unable to plan for his/her future and that of the children.

2.3.1. Current development

Recently there has been a tremendous drop in the number of asylum seekers in Denmark, where in 2020 Denmark received about 1,547 asylum seekers. According to Marion MacGregor the number is the lowest since 1998. According to Tasfaye the reason for the decline was the danish strict immigration policy which made Denmark less attractive. However, the decline in the number of asylum seekers could also be Covid-19 related which hindered movement across borders. (MacGregor, 2021).

Furthermore, Prime minister Mette Frederiksen states that "We cannot promise zero asylum seekers, but we can set up that vision, as we did before the elections," Frederiksen said. "We want a new asylum system, and we will do what we can to introduce it." (Cited in InfoMigrant, MacGregor, 2021). Based on the statement it is quite clear that Denmark has a vision of going back to having a net emigrant as it was before the 1960s. Currently, despite evidence of poor living conditions and persecution by Bashar al-Assad's regime in Damascus, Denmark has declared Damascus safe enough to repatriate over 100 Syrians. Subsequently, 94 Syrians were stripped their residency permit to Denmark. (Bendixen, 2021).

After providing an empirical overview on the history of South Sudan and the current occurings in South Sudan together with the immigration history of Denmark and its current migration and asylum policies the next section provides an overview of the methodological framework applied in this paper.

3. Methodological framework

This section provides an overview of the necessary methodological consideration taken during the research period. It explains the methods used for data collection, and includes reflections about how the data were collected, who was interviewed, why, and how the collected data were analyzed.

3.1. Considerations

Two main drivers inspired me to write my thesis on this topic: the first one being the lack of information about the South Sudanese diaspora in Denmark on the internet; the second reason being my experience with how filed cases of South Sudanese are being accessed and managed without considering the differences between Sudan and South Sudan. Seemingly, authorities lack awareness of South Sudan becoming an independent country in 2011. They ignore that some of the quota refugees who arrived in Denmark before 2011 were registered as Sudanese citizens also when they originated from South Sudan. Notably, decisions about their status were often made oftentimes unaware and not considering these factors. I hope this research paper can create awareness and shed light on the challenges faced by South Sudanese in Denmark, but I also hope it can open a new field of research on the South Sudanese diaspora, not only in Denmark, but in other parts of the world as well.

Initially, the idea was to write the paper in collaboration with *Statistics Denmark* and the *Danish Immigration Office* (Udlændingestyrelsen). I was hoping that the Danish Immigration office would help me provide some information or data on South Sudanese or Sudanese in Denmark. I mailed them, but never received a reply. I also sent an email to Statistics Denmark; they were not interested in collaboration. Nevertheless, they provided me with some information on how Statistics Denmark collects, categorizes and uses data on countries of origin. They also provided examples of countries that have been in the same situation as South Sudan. Therefore, I decided to write the paper through the guidance given by Statistics Denmark as for what concerns the quantitative data of this study. I use a quantitative and qualitative research method to collect data about Sudanese in Denmark.

3.2. Data collection

The data used in research mainly comprises secondary and primary data. The secondary data primarily consists of data collected from the Primo Aalborg University library website. Other

secondary data originated from Google Scholar and websites such as 'New to Denmark', UNHCR, and other similar websites. These websites are chosen because they mainly publish academic articles and peer-reviewed articles, which makes them trustworthy. Also, papers published on the webpages mentioned above are written primarily by experts, which adds to the validity of the data obtained from them. Nevertheless, it is always important to remain critical of the data and to check the background and the primary purpose of the researcher or the publisher when selecting and reading the articles.

The primary data here consists of data collected from the semistructured interviews. The validity of the preliminary data depends on the quality and the quantity of the data obtained from the interview. The validity of the data is based on the common patterns of the interviewees' answers.

3.2.1. Qualitative and quantitative research

I use both qualitative and quantitative research approaches to collect data. I use qualitative data to get in-depth and descriptive information on the topic. According to Punch (2014), qualitative research is based on an in-depth and holistic understanding of a given case; the case could be a person, or a group of people (Punch, 2014, 160). In this case, qualitative research is used to collect in-depth information on the challenges the South Sudanese diaspora faces in Denmark relating to their national identity. This information is collected through interviews. Individual interviews are used to compare different experiences and look at similar patterns in the interviewees' answers. (Bryman, 2012, p. 472).

Additionally, I supplement the qualitative research approach with quantitative research. "Quantitative research methods are designed to collect numerical numbers that can be used to measure variables." (SurveyMonkey, 2021). It is more statistically structured; hence the results of quantitative research are objective and conclusive. (Bryman, 2012, p. 470). I use quantitative research to measure variables such as age, year of arrival in Denmark, demographic variables such as gender, and civil status to give an overview on the composition of the South Sudanese diaspora in Denmark.

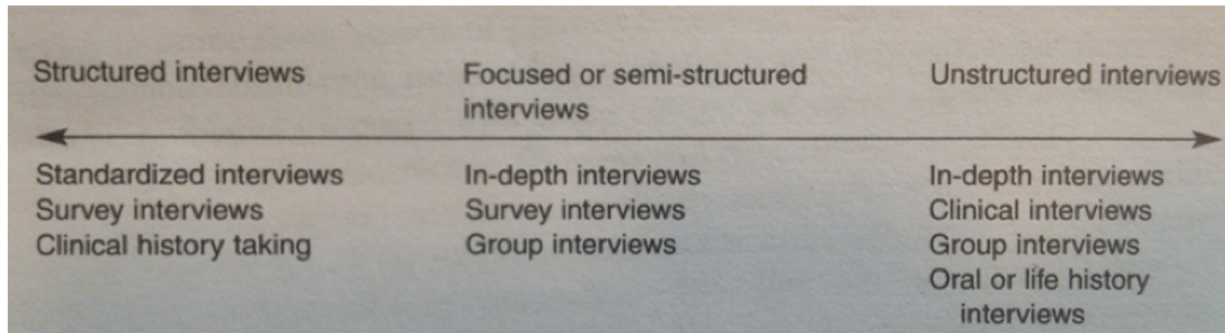
The qualitative research method approach is often criticized for being too broad as it deals with a case study and examines it in its contexts. Different researchers might get a different conclusion. It might also be challenging to apply the same method in similar cases. Nevertheless, I believe that this paper can help give a picture of the challenges South Sudanese in Denmark face based on their sense of belonging and national identity. Similarly, the quantitative research method

is also criticized for being too numerical and statistical. However, in this paper, the quantitative approach is a good supplement for the qualitative research method. Mixing the two methods provides more understanding of the topic; also, the two methods strengthen and compensate each other. (Punch, 2014, p. 303)

3.2.2. The interview

Punch (2014) describes an interview as "the most prominent tool in qualitative research ...for accessing people's perceptions, meanings, definitions of situations and construction of reality." (Punch, 2014, p.144). He added that interviews are the most powerful way of understanding others. Meanwhile, interviewing is more than just asking and answering questions. Hence, there are many interviews, such as face-to-face interviews, group interviews, structured, semi-structured, and unstructured interviews. Bryman (2012) argued that there are a series of factors that one must consider when planning an interview. These could be the target group, how to get hold of interviewees, and the interview guide. The interview guide refers to how one should construct the questions that are structured, which are already coded, or semi/unstructured. (p. 473, 479-481).

Figure 1 summarizes the differences between structured, semi-structured, and unstructured interviews. In this paper, I mainly use face-to-face verbal interaction and semi-structured interviews. Nevertheless, due to the Covid-19, all the interviews were carried online; hence there were no physical face-to-face meetings but visual face-to-face interviews; more on this is written under ethical considerations.



(Punch, 2014, p.145)

Figure 1: *Illustrates the differences between structured, semi-structured, and unstructured interviews.*

3.2.3. Semi-structured interview

In semi-structured interviews, the questions are prepared in advance. However, there is still room for asking sub-questions and follow-ups, if the interviewees' answers raise further issues and topics worth being discussed. This provides in-depth answers; hence there is room to ask the interviewee to expand on their answer. A semi-structured interview also minimizes misunderstandings between the interviewer and interviewee as both can request elaboration. (Bryman, 2012, p. 470-71). I use this type of interview because I am dealing with people in the diaspora who might not be fluent in neither English, nor Danish, hence ensuring that they understand the question and feel free to ask for elaboration if they are in doubt. (Punch, 2014, p., 145). This also gives room for comfort, which is further discussed in the ethical section.

3.2.4. Interview respondents and managing

I started by sending invitations out through Facebook groups of South Sudanese associations in Denmark. I discovered two Facebook groups, one for Equatoria and one for all South Sudanese in Denmark. I got responses from very few people through sharing on Facebook groups and messengers. Then I decided to send an invitation to people privately. I got more answers compared to the invitation through groups. I sent the group invitation out on March 12 2021; I did not get any response until Monday, March 15 2021. By that time, I started getting frustrated about the low reaction to my request. Then I decided to send invitations to people individually. As a result, I got responses from more than ten people, some people were interested, others declined.

Consequently, I managed to schedule seven interviews, which were done Monday March 16th. Three more interviews were scheduled for the next day, Tuesday, March 17. I did interviews for that whole week and some in the following week. All in all I interviewed twenty one people in the period of one and half weeks. After the interview, I asked my interviewees if they knew other South Sudanese who could be interested in taking part in the research. I also ask them to share the information with some of their friends and family members. All the interviewees are willing to spread the news, which helped me reach out to South Sudanese whom I did not have contact with previously.

3.2.4. Criteria for taking part in the interview

The main criteria for taking part in the interview was that the interviewee had to be 18 years old, or older. They should be of a South Sudanese background, which means to have both of their parents, or eventually one born in South Sudan. Lastly, they should be living in Denmark. These

criteria are chosen to ensure that the participants are mature enough. And since the main focus of the paper is to get an insight of identity construction among South Sudanese in Denmark, hence, it is significant that the interviewees have some connection to South Sudan through at least one of their parents and they should be living in Denmark.

3.2.5. Interview questions

The interview questions consist of background information and attitude/behavioural questions (See Appendix 2). The qualitative part seeks to answer the question about identity, and provides in-depth answers to the interviewees' experience with their national identity (Bryman, 2012, p.470). Background questions ask for basic information about the interviewees, for instance, their age, gender, the year they came to Denmark. The essential information is used to compare between the interviews and see whether people from different age groups have different experiences when it comes to their identity. The question about age is also connected to the participants' age when they arrive in Denmark and shows how this might have affected their sense of belonging and national identity. The question about which year one came to Denmark attempts to examine if there are differences in interviewees' answers based on the number of years they have lived in Denmark. Lastly, the question about Danish citizenship seeks to answer if gaining Danish citizenship affects one's sense of belonging. Also, how does the type of residence permit affect one's sense of belonging?

3.3. Recording and transcriptions

According to Punch (2014), it is significant to consider how to record interview data when planning an interview (Bryman, 2012, p. 473). The consideration of collecting data is even more important when the interview is semi-structured, which is not pre-coded (Bryman, 2012, p. 470). Hence, I decided to take notes during the interview and voice-record the interview on my phone with the interviewees' consent. After recording the interview, I transcribed most of the recordings manually. I used programs such as Sonix.ai to transcribe one of the interviews where the whole interview was in Danish. The quality was not good, I had to rewrite most of the transcripts. For the one in English I used Otter.ai for transcription, the quality of the transcript was good compared to the Danish one. When transcribing, I tried to reproduce more or less the exact words being said, but I did not record breaks and overlaps in the transcription as the purpose of the paper is not to do discourse analysis. Nevertheless, recording and transcription could be time-consuming as well.

Hence, the transcript is not translated into English. Also i did not edit the entire transcript i only edited the few lines i cited from. (Bryman, 2012, pp. 482-484).

3.4. Ethical considerations

Regarding ethical consideration, I pay special attention to the recent Danish Personal Data Act. (Datatilsynet, 2021). According to the Act, there are two categories of personal data: non-sensitive personal information and sensitive personal information. Non-sensitive personal data could include name, address, CV, job title, economic status, voice and others that could be used to identify someone. Meanwhile, sensitive personal information consists of things such as (Datatilsynet, 2021);

- A. Race and ethnic background
- B. political orientation
- C. religious background
- D. biometrics data
- E. health information
- F. sexual relation or orientations, genetic data
- G. trade union affiliation
- H. philosophical belief.

I processed the non-sensitive and sensitive information following Bryman (2012), who states that one of the criteria for a successful interview is "ensuring the interviewee appreciates what the research is about, its purposes and that his or her answers will be treated confidentially." (Bryman, 2012, p. 475). Therefore, firstly, I created a consent letter that acts as a contract/deal between the participants and me (see Appendix 1). I mentioned their participation was voluntary; they could decline to answer the questions they do not feel comfortable answering. They can still track back their answers within the first week after the interview. I ensured that what they shared with me would be confidential, and their anonymity was granted.

Secondly, during the interview, I asked for their consent before I started recording the interview. Also, I informed them that I am the only one who has access to the interview's voice recording. However, I have a transcript of the interview where their names were changed, and some personal information that could expose their identity is removed. The transcript is to be found in the appendix (See Appendix 3) enclosed to the final thesis' document. The appendix will be deleted from the Digital Exam after the exam period.

Another ethical issue that I took into consideration during the interview is the comfort of the interviewees. Even though the interviews took place online, and all the interviewees were in their homes, I found it relevant to let themselves choose the interview time and space. Particularly for those with children. Thus, I was flexible with the time; hence, there were interviews done in the evening after the children had gone to bed, while some others were conducted on the weekends. Furthermore, participants were asked to choose a platform of their choice: Messenger, Skype, Zoom, Google meet, or WhatsApp; they even had the opportunity to choose any medium that is not mentioned in the list as long as they felt comfortable with it.

Issues of the language barrier: To solve this issue, I created two sets of interview questions, one in English and one in Danish; since the participants are either bilingual or multilingual, I thought they should choose the language of their choice. Some were neither fluent in Danish nor English; hence, I let them speak their native languages with a translator's help when I did not understand their native language.

Additionally, I always started asking how my interviewees were doing, as I believe this is a polite way of starting a conversation in a South Sudanese culture, which also helps make people feel more at ease. That way it helped me create a safe space and mutual trust. I also tried to make sure to start mildly by briefly introducing myself and the purposes of my research, then I asked if they had read and understood the consent letter and to tell me if they felt ready before I started asking the questions. In most cases I started with the qualitative questions first and ended with the background ones, being these latter also of a personal character disclosing identity and location. I also did not hang up right after the interviews, but I usually stopped the recording and just talked freely about the research topic or any topic of their choice for a while.

3.5. Limitations and validity

Initially, I planned to interview everyone registered as Sudanese in Denmark and determine how many of them identify themselves as South Sudanese. However, I had to decline this plan due to the low turnout of participants. To add to that, all my interviewees identify themselves as South Sudanese. The quantitative data I collect on the number of Sudanese would not represent the number of Sudanese in Denmark. Thus, I have to only focus on the challenges South Sudanese face in Denmark concerning their national identity and belonging. Despite the number being relatively small, their story can still help create awareness about the challenges they are facing in their life; this could be a kind of steppingstone for more research on the topic.

To ensure the validity of data and to make sure that the interview data are somehow representable, I compared the results to some research on the challenges of national identity, citizenship, and the sense of belonging experienced by other groups of people in diaspora.

3.6. Avoiding bias

Avoiding bias is one of the most critical parts of this project, as I have to be subjective and be professional while also showing some compassion. Bryman (2012) stated that it is significant not to indicate agreement or disagreement with the interviewee. Not indicating agreement or disagreement with the interviewee was the most challenging bias for me to avoid during the interview since I share a common background with them. Some of them asked if I have experienced something similar. I tried to look at their questions as rhetorical questions and let them keep on talking to ensure that I did not influence their answers. And when they were done, I just moved on to ask the next question. However, after the interview, I commented on some of their answers and discussed some of the problems they raised during the interview concerning my own personal experience. I also had to make sure that I did not ask leading questions. And try to stay focused and in line with the questions. (Bryman, 2012, pp., 475).

3.7. Qualitative Data analysis

This paper uses qualitative data analysis to analyse the data collected from the interviews. Qualitative data analysis consists of three main components which are; data reduction, data display, and lastly drawing and verifying conclusions. (Punch, 2014, p.171). Data reduction takes place throughout the analysis. It happens through coding and memoing of the data, it also takes place when finding common patterns, themes and clusters in the data. Data reductions continue all the way to the final stage of the analysis when conceptualising and explaining the data. Data reduction can also be used in quantitative analysis despite the name being qualitative analysis. (Punch, 2014, p.172). That is why it is a suitable analysis tool for a combined research approach as it can be used in the analysis of both qualitative and quantitative analysis.

Data display mainly “organise, compress and assemble information” (Punch, 2014, p.171). Like data reduction data display also happens in all stages of analysis. Data display is a suitable tool in handling a bulk or large amount of data collected from qualitative research. There are unlimited ways of doing data displays such as “graphs, charts, diagrams of different types.”(Punch, 2014, p.171). Data display helps in organising and summarising data. Drawing and verifying conclusions: reduction and display of data paves the way for drawing conclusions. Concussion and

verification happens more or less at the same time as data reduction and data display. According to Punch (2014) drawing conclusion and verification requires “developing propositions and is conceptually distinct from other stages, but again it happen concurrently with them.” (Punch, 2014, p.172).

However, before presenting the data and its analysis I would like to first introduce the theories used in the analysis of the data. Thus, the next section provides an overview on the theories used in the analysing of the data collected from the semi-structured interview.

4.Theoretical framework

This section provides an overview of the theories used in this paper. Firstly, it starts by conceptualising the concept of diaspora which is one of the key concepts used in this paper. Then I provide an overview of Social Identity Theory, followed by Nationalism, and Postcolonialism/Post-colonialism theory.

4.1. Conceptualization of diaspora

This section provides an overview of the South Sudanese diaspora around the globe.

Adamson and Demetriou state that; “diaspora can be identified as a society collectively that exists across state borders and has succeeded over time to:

- “sustain a collective national, cultural or religious identity through a sense of internal cohesion and sustained ties with a real or imagined homeland, and
- display an ability to address the collective interests of members of the social collective through a developed internal organizational framework and transnational links”. (cited in Kainova, 2013, p.434-435)

Seeberg and Goździak (2016), in their research on South Sudanese diaspora children in the United States of America, pointed out that diaspora is an everyday discourse that is used both in Omaha and South Sudan to describe these South Sudanese children. According to Seeberg and Goździak (2016), one of the criteria for their categorization as a diaspora or a refugee diaspora is; “they are groups that are recently displaced due to conflict—or “a well-founded fear of persecution,” in accordance with domestic and international legal standards—and that often maintain considerable material connections to the home state”. (Seeberg & Goździak, 2016).

Therefore, in this paper, I define diaspora as “a group of refugees and their descendants who sustain a collective national or cultural identity through a sense of internal cohesion with a

real or imagined identity which they refer to as homeland somewhere.” (Kainova, 2013, p. 434: Seeberg & Goździak, 2016).

The definition is chosen because most South Sudanese diasporas worldwide have refugee backgrounds with a common identity, as most often referred to as homeland.

4.2. South Sudanese Diaspora

The South Sudanese diaspora had its origin in the two Civil Wars of former Sudan. Both fought between the north and south. That is to say, the first Civil war from 1955 to 1972 and the Second Civil War from 1983-2005 (Seeberg & Goździak, 2016, p. 65). These two brutal conflicts resulted in about two million people’s deaths and the displacement of about four million South Sudanese people, both internally and externally. When the Comprehensive Peace Agreement [CPA] was signed in 2005, about 1.5 million South Sudanese returned home. However, there are still many South Sudanese that remain in the diaspora within and outside Africa (Seeberg & Goździak, 2016, p. 65). The largest South Sudanese diaspora population in Africa are found in Kenya (57,276), Uganda (201,937), Ethiopia (230,134), and Sudan (231,652). (Frouws, 2016). The data on the population of South Sudanese within Africa was collected after the 2013-conflict. The South Sudanese diaspora’s external population outside Africa in 2012 is estimated at 400,000-600,000 mainly in Australia, New Zealand, North America, and Western Europe (The Hand Foundation 2015-2016).

A 2011 research report from Government and Social Development Resource Centre indicates that:

“Most statistics relating to the Sudanese diaspora do not disaggregate between North and South, but OECD statistics from 2000 and 2001 show that the largest groups of Sudanese diasporas are found in the US (20,350), the UK (10,671), Canada (7,490), Australia (4,662) and the Netherlands (4,042).” (Walton, 2011).

Australian census which was done in 2011 right after the secession of South Sudan showed that 3,489 people were born in South Sudan and 19,370 were born in Sudan (Medium, 2019). However, a similar census carried out in 2016 showed an increase in the number of people born in South Sudan, where the number grew from 3,489 to 7,697 (Medium, 2019). Meanwhile, there was a decrease in the population of people born in Sudan, where the number decreased to 17,029. (Medium, 2019). The article does not explain the growth of the numbers of people of South Sudanese origin in Australia. But I argue that this could be because most people were not aware

of South Sudan's existence as an independent country, or they just answered based on what was written on their document when they came to Australia.

It seems Australia is the only western region that has a systematic registration on the number of both Sudanese and South Sudanese diaspora available online. I can hardly find any information about the population of Sudanese or South Sudanese diaspora on the internet. This could be due to the lack of research done on this particular group of people or it could also be because their number is so small that there is no need to research them. In some western research, they are registered under non-western migrants or African migrants.

4.2.1. South Sudanese Diaspora in Denmark

Denmark is one of the countries that have not clearly stated the number of Sudanese or South Sudanese diasporas in Denmark. It seems South Sudanese are still registered under non-western migrants (Sudan), as can be seen in this 2019 OECD report from International Migration: Denmark. (Ministry of Immigration and Integration, 2019, p.13-14). Looking at the African diaspora in Denmark in general, the diaspora had its origin from the 80s and 90s (Plaza & Ratha, 2011, p. 148). In 2008 the total number of African migrants in Denmark was about 45,562, which is 9.1 of the total percentage of immigrants and their descendants in Denmark. There has been an increase in the number of African migrants and their descendants in 2008. (Plaza & Ratha, 2011, p., 148).

After establishing an overview of the South Sudanese diaspora in Denmark and other parts of the world the next sections provide an overview of the main theories used in the analysis and discussion of this study. That is *Social Identity Theory*, *Nationalism*, and *Postcolonialism*. Each section starts by introducing each theory, providing the key concepts of the theories and a brief explanation of how each theory will be used in the analysis of the case of South Sudanese diaspora in Denmark.

4.2.2. Social Identity Theory

Social identity theory was founded by social psychologists Henri Tajfel and John Turner in the 1970s. (Vinney, 2019). Social identity theory refers to "a person's sense of who they are based on their group membership(s)." (McLeod, 2019). Group membership could be social groups, such as families, communities, football teams, or social class; yet a 'unit' one is proud to be part of and to belong to. These groups give people a sense of their social identity, or individual and collective belonging. People often divide their social world into "us" versus "them" through the process of

social categorisation. Henri Tajfel refers to the process of categorising people into social groups as part of people's cognitive process that reminds of stereotyping (Vinney, 2019). People tend also to exaggerate their categorisations and simplification processes by putting things into groups/categories. (McLeod, 2019).

4.2.3. Stereotypes

Stereotypes are often based on two categories that are "(1) the differences between groups (2) the similarities between things in the same group." (McLeod, 2019). The two categories of stereotyping are often referred to as in-group (us) and out-group (them). According to social identity theory, members of the same in-group will seek to find negative stereotypes to describe members of the out-group to improve the in-group image. (McLeod, 2019). It is believed that when this kind of prejudiced approach takes place between i.e. cultures, it could lead to descrimination and racism, and in the worst case genocide, for instance, this is what happened with the genocide between the Hutus and the Tutsis in Rwanda and the Bosnian and Serbs genocide in former Yugoslavia (Bielicki, 2018). People tend to categorise people in the same way they view the group they mean they belong to as their in-group, and believe that their group members have similar characteristics as themselves. Therefore, social categorisation is often used to explain prejudiced attitudes between people, such as "us" versus "them" behaviours, resulting in the formation of in-groups and out-groups. (McLeod, 2019).

In the analysis of the case of South Sudanese diaspora in Denmark this approach will be used to identify which group(s) they identify with. How do they construct their belonging to the group(s) they identify with, what factors influence the way they construct their belongings to the group(s), and which group is their in-group and which one is their out-group and why? In other word, this approach helps in the analysis of how South Sudanese diaspora of Denmark relates to Danish and other groups they might belong to in Denmark.

4.3.4. Social Categorisation

Social identity theory consists of three stages: 1. Social Categorisation; 2. Social Identification; 3. Social Comparison. These three stages are considered to be the psychological process that takes place in the above order when human beings evaluate others or categorise others into "us" versus "them" groups, which are in-groups and "out-groups". (McLeod, 2019).

Human beings tend to categorise things to make sense of themselves, or to be able to identify themselves and where 'they belong to'. The same mentality applies when people categorise

themselves and other people to make sense of their social environment, for example, Christians, Muslims, Students, Nuer, and Dinka. By assigning categories to others, people can tell things about the people they categorise. Additionally, people know something about themselves by knowing what category they belong to. Appropriate behaviours are defined based on the norms of their in-group. However, this can only be done by identifying the individuals of one's group. One can belong to more than one in-group. (McLeod, 2019).

According to socio-anthropologist Richard Jenkins (2000), social categorisations take place in three orders: the *individual order*, the *interactional order* and the *institutional order*. The three stages are strongly intertwined and by means of this people produce and reproduce their identity through individual interaction and institutionalised contexts. (Jenkins, 2000, p. 15). The individual order consists of what goes on in individual minds. The *interaction order* refers to what goes on between people. Lastly, the institutional order refers to the normative ways of doing things, those mainly decided at the institutional level. (Jenkins 2000, p. 10). In the *individual order*, one identifies oneself in comparison to others. Jenkins (2000) also refers to individual socialisation as primary socialisation or 'primary identity "such as personal selfhood, gender, proper human-ness, and possibly ethnicity or race."' (Jenkins, 2000, p. 15). Jenkins states that the sense of selfhood is usually developed during early childhood development. He further argues that social identification is both formal and informal; Jenkins (2000: 11) further describes formal social identification as traditional socialisation between a child and a caretaker; meanwhile, he demonstrates a casual form of social identification with the relationship between a parent and a child.

According to Jenkins (2000), in the *interaction order*, the self-image meets the individual's public image. Self-image is the way we see ourselves and the way we wish others should see us. (Jenkins, 2000, p.11), while our public image refers to how other people see or categorise us. There are often no similarities between the self and public image. One of the most challenging aspects to understand public image is knowing what other people think about you. However, people still expect some kind of overlap between their self-image and public image. Therefore, people constantly reflect on their self-image compared to the public image and try to adjust or re-unjust their social identity based on their understanding of what others think about them. The big question taken up by Jenkins (2000) is who actually shapes the public image, or who has the authority to make decisions that "count in the social construction of the self-image and the public image, and

they are coming together as social identity?" (Jenkins, 2000, p. 13). This paves the way to the next order of social order, which is *the institutional order*.

Jenkins (2000) defines an institution as the aspects of local - and wider - social reality in terms of, and with references to, which decisions are made, action-oriented, and resources and penalties distributed." (Jenkins, 2000, p. 13). According to Jenkins (2000), all groups are institutions. The patterns that identify a particular group are created over time in a given social context and the members of the group might be aware of the context. Yet social categories are not always institutions; some group members may belong to a social category without either having a membership of it or having the slightest knowledge of the group's existence, for instance, epidemiological categories, census categories, and income tax bands. (Jenkins, 2000, p.13). According to Jenkins (2000) "group identification and categorisation are utterly interdependent." (Jenkins, 2000, p. 9).

In this paper I use social categorisation to analyse how interviewees categorise their social groups. I also use it to explain how the respondents construct their formal and informal belongings to their in-groups and out-groups. Furthermore, social categorisation is used to study the interaction between the interviewee's self-image and public-image.

4.3.5. Social Identification

In the second stage of social identity theory, human beings adopt the identity of the group they identify themselves with. For instance, if one identifies oneself as a Danish person, one will have to behave like a Danish person, or act according to what is believed and constructed as being Danish. This is done by adjusting to the norms of the Danish people. Once one has identified with the group, he/she belongs to an emotional attachment created with the in-group. This contributed to the individual's self-esteem and will also be attached to the group the person identifies him/herself being a member of. (McLeod, 2019).

In this project social identification is used to identify the group the individuals identify themselves with and how do they adjust themselves to fit into the norms of the group(s) they feel they belong to. Also, analyses what kind of emotional attachment is involved to the group they perceived to be their in-group.

4.3.6. Social Comparison

Once people identify their social group, they then get to the third and final stage. According to Mcleed (2019), people start to compare their in-group with their out-group in the social

categorisation stage. To maintain self-esteem, one's in-group should be comparably better than the out-group. The social categorisation stage is significant in the understanding of prejudice, since as soon as two groups identify themselves as rivals/in opposition to one another, they have to compete with each other to maintain their status constantly. For instance, the case between Northern Sudan and South Sudan, who identified themselves as rivals after Sudan's independence in 1956 they constantly continued competing until the secession of South Sudan in 2011. The competition and hostility between groups are not just resources but are also matters of identities. (McLeod, 2019). In the analysis of this paper I use social comparison to examine how the South Sudanese diaspora of Denmark compare themselves with other groups. Also, examine what challenges the individuals face as they struggle to maintain their self-image and improve their public image at the same time.

Although identification is often used to make sense of individuals, it could also be used as "something else, collectively and history - may also be at stake" (Jenkins, 2014, p. 4). Inspired by Hegel, Francis Fukuyama (2018) states that the human struggle for recognition has been the ultimate driving force of human history. Thus, it is a vital issue in the understanding of the emergence of the modernisation era. I believe that the same driving force for recognition is equally important in understanding the contemporary world. This is based on the fact that recognition is rooted in identity, which Fukuyama (2018) refers to as "a growth of a distinction between one's true inner self and outer world of social rules and norms that does not adequately recognise that inner self-worth or dignity." (Fukuyama, 2018). The inner parts seek recognition and dignity from others as self-worth alone is not enough if not acknowledged by others; self-esteem also rises in self-worth once others acknowledge one's existence. Thus, the same behaviour also applies to the existence of nations (Fukuyama, 2018). Hence, the following section discusses nations, nationalism and national identity construction.

4.3. Nationalism and national identity

This section provides an overview of nationalism and national identity. It starts by conceptualising the concept of nations, followed by national identities, lastly, nationality and citizenship

4.3.1. Nations

Before going into depth with the theory of national identity nationalism I will start by defining the concept of 'nations' as it is a keyword. In this project a nation is referred to as; "a group of people who recognize each other as sharing a common identity, with focus on homeland." (Baylis et al., 2017, p. 441).

Woolf (2014) argues that history has always played a significant role in developing nations. Hence, the shared past plays a role in shaping the identity of a nation. Contrarily he argued that nations also play a part in historiographical development, meaning nations determine how maps are drawn. (Woolf, 2014). For instance, one could argue that most Western European nations are formed while most of the Global South were imposed on them during the Berlin conference and the scramble for Africa in 1884, when colonial powers such as Britain and Germany claimed a large part of Africa and Asia for themselves. (Lumencandela, 2021). The people occupying the territory did not play any role in drawing the borders of their nation-states.

4.3.2. National identities

National identities are traditions and values that define a given nation. "National identity starts with a shared belief in the legitimacy of the country's political system". (Fukuyama, 2018). National identity is embodied in the realm of cultural traditional values that are based upon the stories people tell about themselves and their communities. For instance, where they come from, what holidays they celebrate and how they celebrate them, their shared history, and what they expect from others to become part of the nation-state. (Fukuyama, 2018). Therefore, it could be argued that national identity is the criteria that a group of people occupying a specific territory reproduces. The criteria are, as mentioned above, having a common value, a shared culture, shared history and traditions and language. However, it is significant to keep in mind that not all nation-states possess all the criteria mentioned here. Nation-states such as South Sudan might have shared history, shared cultural values but not shared linguistic background as mentioned in the historical section (See here pp. 11-12) in South Sudan there are more than sixty spoken languages and ethnic groups. Even European nation-states such as Belgium consist of more than one language.

Nevertheless, institutionally, the system appoints one or two official languages as the country's official language. Thus, in a way, the language can equally be used as a criterion for the country's national identity and as a factor shaping belonging and common origins and background. (Fukuyama, 2018). People in the various diasporas use national identity to feel an ancestral connection and know where they come from. According to Fukuyama (2018), people keep this connection even if they no longer live in the same communities. These connections are kept by telling stories about life in the country of origin, teaching the language and traditional practices to their children born outside the country. (Fukuyama, 2018). For instance, in *"the Storyteller's Daughter"* (Facing History and Ourselves, 2021), Saira Shah recalls listening to her father's

“magical tales while the two of them cooked together in their British kitchen, surrounded by the smells of Afghani spices rising from their pots.” (Facing History and Ourselves, 2021). Seira Shan's father's example is just one illustration of how parents in the diaspora struggle to maintain their national identity through storytelling. Nevertheless, for how many generations of storytelling can be used to preserve and transmit national identity can be debated.

Similarly, Condor (1996) states that a “comprehensive analysis of national identity includes several variations” (Condor, 1996, p. 44). According to her, variations of social or national identity include shared historical and ideological variations, family structures, and geographical locations. National identities are described with gender, ethnic and class identities. (Condor, 1996, p. 44). For instance, a European identity is based on the geographical location of being a member of a member state of Europe and keeping the values and traditions that are assumed as part of the European identity. The symbol used to analyse a national identity can be both visually and verbally. Visually it could be the national flag or national dress such as a *bunad* which is the Norwegian traditional folk costume normally worn on the Norwegian national day. Here one can argue that the *bunad* visually represents the Norwegian national identity. (Life in Norway, 2019). The verbal national identity could be the Norwegian language.

In this paper I use national identity to analyse how the South Sudanese diaspora of Denmark describes their national identity. I also look at how they constructed their belonging to their national identity and how they kept it. I use national identity together with social identity theory to examine the perceptions of the interviewees on their national identity.

Despite the positive aspects of national identity, identity constructions based on national belonging got negative views and implications as well. National identity is being used to exclude other nationals based on their ethnic background, also referred to as ethnonationalism (Baylis et al., 2017, p. 535).

4.3.3. Nationalism/Nationals

According to Woolf (2014), the idea of nationalism or nationals arose when people became more conscious about their identity. The idea originated among the middle classes at the beginning of the Renaissance and in particular during the Industrial Revolution. (Woolf, 2014, p.8). Nationalism has two aspects. The first one is "that the world is divided into nations that provide the overriding focus of political identity and loyalty, which in turn demands national self-determination. Secondly, nationalism is the form of a strong sense of identity or organisation and movements

seeking to realise this idea." (Baylis et al., 2017, p. 541). Similarly, Miscevic (2020) argues that the ideology of nationalism came into existence through philosophical debate in the nineties. He further argued that nationalism focuses on two main issues; the first issue is member states' attitudes in the way they show their affection to their nation and their national identity. The second focus is the action taken by member states to achieve their goal for the nation-state. This could be becoming a sovereign state or maintaining their sovereignty. (Miscevic, 2020).

Additionally, Baylis et al. (2017) state that "there is no single dominant form of nationalism. It can be ethnic or civic, elite or popular, and it may support or oppose existing states." (Baylis et al., 2017, p. 441). Civic nationalism is the member's commitment to the nation-state and its values. In a multi-ethnic migrant society such as in the United States, the state's membership determines one's nationality. Meanwhile, Ethnic nationalism is the commitment of people to a group that one assumed to descend from or have common descent. (Baylis et al., 2017, p. 435). The dissimilarities between civic and ethnic nationalism portrays that there can be substantial approaches to the way nationalism and national belongings are constructed and to what extent they are more inclusive or exclusionary. Thus, in this project I use nationalism to first and foremost identify how the South Sudanese diaspora of Denmark construct their national belonging. This is done by looking at the language use, such as otherness. Which means I use nationalism together with social identity theory to analyse this aspect of national belonging of the South Sudanese diaspora of Denmark.

4.3.4. Nationality and citizenship

Nationality and citizenship are often confused and perceived to mean the same. However, nationality and citizenship are two different concepts. As mentioned, nationality has to do with being a member of a specific nation-state. According to The Economist, nationality is acquired from birth, adoption or marriage; however, this varies from one country to another. (The Economist, 2017). Nationality plays a significant role in the international community, and according to Article 15 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights declaration; "Everyone has the right to a nationality. No one shall be arbitrarily deprived of his nationality nor denied the right to change his nationality." (United Nations, 2021). The dictionary defines nationality as "the status of belonging to a particular nation, whether by birth or naturalisation". (Dictionary.com, 2021). In other words, nationality is a status of belonging to a particular nation which one can either acquire by birth or by following some legal procedures to become a national of the state.

Whilst citizenship is a complex aspect and narrower compared to nationality. The contemporary understanding of citizens is divided into three parts, 1) *Ius Doni* which is citizenship by investment, 2) *Ius Soli* which is citizenship by birth, 3) *Ius Sanguinis* which is citizenship by blood. In other words, the definition of citizenship is no longer restricted to place of birth or bloodline. For instance, in Denmark citizenship is granted to individuals who meet certain requirements, such as having a Danish permanent residence, being an independent and active member of the society, and passing the Danish nationality test to prove one's loyalty and commitment to the country. (Kylin Prime Group, 2021). Similarly, "Kostakopoulou (2008) defines citizenship as 'equal membership of a political community from which enforceable rights and obligations, benefits and resources, participatory practices and a sense of identity flow.'" (cited in Sindic, 2011, p. 1). Based on the two definitions, citizenship refers to a relationship between individuals and the state that provides them with certain rights and responsibility.

In this project I use nationality and citizenship to discuss how the diaspora society of Denmark constructs and defines their nationality. The discussion is mainly done from contemporary concepts of citizenship. That is to say whether it is citizenship by birth, blood, or investment. I will also look at how their citizenship status affects their self and group identity.

Nationalism has been criticised for being of a Eurocentric origin. As Michael Billig puts it in his essay "Banal Nationalism"; "nationalism is defined in this way, the ideology, by which established Western nations are reproduced as nations, can be taken for granted." (Billig, 2010, p. 9). Thus, nationalism as a Western ideology can hardly be used to describe the events after decolonisation and conditions in the Sub-Saharan region. Consequently, theories such as postcolonialism were created to get an insight into the events of the postcolonial era. In this paper, I use postcolonialism as a theory to supplement nationalism, to ensure that both perspectives are represented in this paper. Thus, the next section provides an overview of post-colonialism and postcolonialism theory.

4.4. Post-colonialism and postcolonialism

This section provides an overview of post-colonialism and postcolonialism. It starts by briefly introducing the origin of the theory and explaining the differences between hyphenated post-colonialism and postcolonialism without hyphen.

4.4.1. Post-colonialism

Post-colonialism is a new approach to the study of International Relations (IR). It entered the field of IR in the 1990s (Baylis et al., 2017, p.175). Post-colonialism was introduced as a counterfeit to mainstream IR theories such as realism, Marxism, and liberalism that dominated the study of IR before the 1990s. However, these standard theories of IR could not be used to explain events in the 1990s, such as the fall of the Berlin Wall, the struggle for decolonisation, the fall of the Soviet Union, and the end of the Cold War. (Baylis et al., 2017, p. 175).

4.4.2. Post-colonialism versus postcolonialism

Notice that there are differences between post-colonialism with hyphen and postcolonialism without the hyphen. Postcolonialism without the hyphen indicates the contemporary global era or postcolonial period. Postcolonial indicates colonial heritage such as hierarchies of race or colourism, class, and gender in the current postcolonial period. (Baylis et al., 2017, p. 175). Whilst hyphenated post-colonialism is the study of colonialism and anti-colonialism in IR. Postcolonialism without the hyphen is currently used to understand and theories how colonial conditions of the past influence the present relations of globalisation such as empire, war, migration, and identity politics. It also indicates that the current postcolonial era both continues and discontinues colonisation.

Regarding the case of the South Sudanese diaspora of Denmark, unhyphenated postcolonialism is used to analyse the changes the interview participants are facing in Denmark. In other words, it is used to examine how colonial conditions from the past influence the challenges migrants are facing today by utilizing the example of South Sudanese migrants in Denmark. And I discuss how the challenges the South Sudanese experience in Denmark shapes the way they construct their identity and belonging.

4.4.3. Postcolonialism

According to Nair (2017), the idea of postcolonialism was inspired by orientalist Edward Said's work. Said portrays how Western media, film industry, academia and policy elites are used to form the history and the culture of Middle Eastern people, particularly the Arabs and Islam. Said refers to the Western portrayal of the Middle East as Orientalism. This is because the portrayal constructs a specific perspective of the Orient from a Eurocentric perspective different from the West. Orients are often categorised "as exotic, emotional, feminine, backward, hedonistic, and non-rational." (Nair, 2017, p. 2). Hence post-colonialism points out the existence of the oriental view of the Arabs

and Islam in contemporary society. Hence, representation and perceptions are significant in postcolonialism to highlight what the West normalises in the current society. In connection to the case study, this paper uses postcolonialism to examine the role the media plays in the portrayal of South Sudanese diaspora. For instance, by looking at the use of rhetoric such as “quota refugees being difficult to integrate due to their non- western background or different cultural background”. Which discriminates them from Western migrants (See here pp. 21-22).

Moreover, Nair (2017) mentioned that Said was inspired by anti-colonial and nationalist writers such as Frantz Fanon and Albert Memmi, who both discussed the power of "othering". (Nair, 2017, p. 2). Fanon pointed out how race shapes how the colonists and the colonised relate to each other. During the colonisation period, the colonists developed the idea that the dark colour is inferior to the white European colour. For instance, "Fanon explains that the 'black man' is made to believe in his inferiority to the 'white colonisers". (Nair, 2017, p. 2). Thus, here I use this approach to examine how race shapes the history of the South Sudanese diaspora of Denmark. I also look at how South Sudanese migrants relate to Danish people and other migrants. Postcolonialism also helps in identifying the challenges they face and how the challenges affect their sense of belonging to Denmark.

Generally, postcolonialism investigates a hierarchical world order where powerful Western states are the main actors. It challenges the mainstream theories of IR that ignore the legacy and the impact of European colonisation and imperialism. Postcolonialism asks questions such as how and why the hierarchical world order emerged. Postcolonialism forces contemporary society to consider issues such as injustice, gender inequality, oppression, and racism. Postcolonialism sheds light on how imperialism and colonialism still affect contemporary society. Postcolonialism gives voice to the less powerful as it includes, the less powerful perspectives in its analyses. (Nair, 2017, p. 1-5). It looks at the historical relations between the colonial powers and their colonies to provide both the colonised and the colonists' perspectives. The post-colonial analysis also uses narratives, novels, diaries, testimonies as sources of valuable information for the analysis compared to earlier theories that completely ignored the history of colonisation.

Postcolonialism is used to supplement nationalism which, according to postcolonial scholars, has a Eurocentric perspective. Meaning, using nationalism alone to analyse the South Sudanese diaspora's national identity would not provide a whole picture of their national identity crisis. This paper uses postcolonialism to present the South Sudanese diaspora's perspectives

concerning their national identity and the challenges they experience. I use the narratives of the interviewees to examine how postcolonialism influences the way the South Sudanese diaspora of Denmark construct their national identity and national belonging. Which means I combine postcolonialism together with social identity theory to examine and discuss the challenges the interviewees are facing in Denmark.

Now that I have explained the theories used in this paper and how they are being utilized in this study, in the next section I will present the data collected from the semi-structured qualitative interview and its analysis.

5. Data presentation and analysis

The next section provides an overview of the semi structured interview and its analysis. Table 1 and Table 2, Table 1 is divided into two tables 1a and 1b. Table 2 is divided into 3 tables 2a, 2b, and 2c. The tables are broken into smaller parts to make it easier to read. Table 1 provides an overview of the interview respondents. Table 2 illustrates how interviews define and construct their social and national belonging.

5.1. Facts about interview participants

Table 1 provides an overview of the participants of the qualitative interview. Columns one, two and three show the names (anonymised), gender and age of the interviewees, which ranges from 19 to 57 years. Participants are geographically spread all over Denmark. However, most of them are from Northern Denmark and Central Denmark. The location of the interviewees is defined according to macro-regions instead of the town or cities where the respondents live; this in order to protect their identity. Since Denmark is a small country, the South Sudanese population in Denmark is relatively tiny, which according to their Facebook sites is about 200 people. Thus, one can assume that “everyone knows everyone, or some knows someone who knows somebody”. Hence, to avoid revealing (also indirectly) the identity of the interviewees to other South Sudanese, the location, and other relevant information about their condition and identity remains undisclosed. This is also why the names of participants provided in this project are fictitious names to ensure anonymity. The names are common names used in the Equatoria region of South Sudan.

Regarding civil status, the qualitative interview data have shown that 10 of the participants are married and they are above 25 years, with the exception of two who are respectively 27 and 52

years who are not married yet. Meanwhile, nine of the participants who are not yet married are below 25 years. (See Appendix 3).

Name	Gender	Age	Location	Nationality	Danish Citizenship (yes/no)	Year of arrival in Denmark	Type of residence permit	Civil status
1. Iracaya	Female	Late 20s	Northern Denmark	Registered as Sudanese but refers to her nationality as South Sudanese	No	2007	Temporary	Married
2. Bayoa	Female	Early 40s	Southern Denmark	Was registered as Sudanese but she refers nationality as Danish national	Yes	1995		Married
3. Angucia	Female	Mid 20s	Central Denmark	She registered as Sudanese, but she refers to her nationality as a Danish national	Yes	2001		Single
4. Dallala	Male	Early 30s	Southern Denmark	He registered as Sudanese, but he refers to himself as a South Sudanese national	Yes	1992		Single
5. Doroteo	Male	Mid 20s	Northern Denmark	He registered as both Sudanese and South Sudanese but he refers to his nationality as South Sudanese	No	2007		Single
6. Draga	Male	Early 40s	Capital Denmark	He registered as Sudanese but he refers to himself as South Sudanese	Yes	1996		Married
7. Geri	Male	Early 20s	Northern Denmark	He registered as Sudanese but he refers to himself as a South Sudanese national	No	2007	Permanent	Single
8. Ochekele	Male	Mid 20s	Northern Denmark	He registered as Sudanese but he refers to himself as a South Sudanese national	No	2007	Temporary	Single
9. Langoya	Male	Early 20s	Northern Denmark	He registered as Sudanese but she refers to himself as South Sudanese national	No	2007	Permanent	Single
10. Limiyo	Female	Early 20s	Northern Denmark	She registered as Sudanese but she refers to herself as South Sudanese national	No	2007	Temporary	Single

Table 1a: Provides basic information about the South Sudanese diaspora in Denmark.

Name	Gender	Age	Location	Nationality	Danish Citizenship (yes/no)	Year of arrival in Denmark	Type of residence permit	Civil status
11. Magendo	Male	Late 20s	Central Demark	He registered as Sudanese but, he refers to himself as South Sudanese	No	2006	Temporary	Single
12. Edema	Male	Mid 20s	Central Denmark	He registered as Sudanese but he refers to himself as South Sudanese but now Danish national	Yes	2007		Single
13. Oola	Male	Late teens	Northern Denmark	He registered as Sudanese but he refers to himself as a South Sudanese national	No	2006	Temporary	Single
14. Atuku	Female	Early 20s	Central Denmark	She registered as Sudanese but she refers to herself as a South Sudanese national	No	2006	Temporary	Single
15. Malera	Female	Mid 30s	Central Denmark	She registered as Sudanese but she refers to herself as a South Sudanese national	No	2011	Temporary	Single
16. Juan	Female	Early 50s	Central Denmark	She registered as Sudanese but she refers to herself as a South Sudanese national	Yes	1999		Married
17. Adama	Female	Early 50s	Northern Denmark	Refers to her nationality as Sudanese (originally from the southern part)	Yes	2001		Married
18. Tadrupasi	Male	Early 30s	Northern Denmark	He registered as Sudanese but he refers to himself as South Sudanese national	No	2007	Temporary	Married
19. Wani	Male	Late 50s	Central Denmark	He registered as Sudanese but he refers to himself as a South Sudanese national	Yes	1991		Married
20. Hadiya	Female	Late 20s	Northern Denmark	She registered as South Sudanese and also refers to herself as South Sudanese national	No	2019	Temporary	Married
21. Amito	Female	Late 50s	Northern Denmark	She registered as Sudanese but, she refers to herself as a South Sudanese national	No	2007	Temporary	Married

Table 1: Provides basic information about the South Sudanese diaspora in Denmark.

6. Analysis and discussion

Following sections present the analyses and discussion of the data.

6.1. How do the interviewees describe their nationality?

The column about nationality shows how interviewees describe their nationality. Twenty out of twenty-one interviewees replied to the nationality question saying South Sudanese. However, they all admitted that according to their document they are registered as Sudanese or Danish nationals. When asked why, they answered that it was either because they were born in South Sudan, or they are having their ancestral roots or some blood connection to South Sudan. None of the participants was born in Denmark, the youngest of them were between two and ten years old when they arrived in Denmark some came to Denmark as teens that is between the age of eleven and nineteen. The age of their parents is today below 60 and most have not stayed in Denmark for more than 20

years. This indicates that the parents came to Denmark during their 30s and 40s. Thus, the large population of South Sudanese in Denmark could be categorized as first-generation migrants. (See Appendix 3).

Half of the participants were born in a refugee camp placed in Uganda and have either spent their entire childhood, or early childhood in Uganda before moving to Denmark. Meanwhile, half of them were born in South Sudan and moved to Uganda with their parents during their childhood. Of the younger generation born in South Sudan, the youngest was three months when they moved from South Sudan to Uganda, and the oldest was around eight to nine years old. (Appendix 3). The interviewees fled South Sudan in the early 90s, and it could be argued that this migration was triggered by the Second Sudanese Civil Conflict, which broke out in 1983 due to Nimeiri's attempt to impose Sharia law in former Sudan (See here, pp. 11-12). According to the interview data, the first South Sudanese who moved to Denmark in the 1990s came in the following years: 1991, 1992, 1995, 1996, 1999. (Appendix 3). The ones who migrated in 2002s came in the following years: 2001, 2006, 2007, 2011 and 2019. (Appendix 3).

According to the interview data, a large portion of the South Sudanese population in Denmark today came in the 2000s, particularly in the years 2006 and 2007. I argue that this could be one of the reasons for the growth in the number of African migrants in the year 2008 (Plaza & Ratha, 2011, p. 148). The group who arrived in 2007 seems to be the last group to be relocated to Denmark through the UN quota program. 18 out of 20 participants were relocated to Denmark through the UN- quota refugees' program. Most of them came from refugee's camps in Uganda. Two of the interviewees came through family reunification. The 18 people who went through the UN program came from the year between 1991-2007. Meanwhile, the other two arrived here through family reunification, which is through marrying a South Sudanese who got a refugee's status in Denmark; they came in 2011 and 2019. Thus, more than half of the interviewees have lived in Denmark for more than ten years. All 21-participants including those having a Danish citizenship answered 'South Sudan' to the question concerning their country of origin. Eight of the interviewees are Danish Citizens. Four of the interviewees answered that according to their passport they are Danish nationals. This means four out of eight interviewees with Danish citizenship still define their nationality as South Sudanese, regardless of what is in their passport.

6.2. Citizenship status in Denmark

Regarding the column about citizenship, eight of the participants have obtained Danish citizenship. Four of them came to Denmark in the 1990s and the other arrived in Denmark in the 2000s. Among the participants without Danish citizenship only two of the interviewees currently have a permanent residence permit and the rest are carrying temporary residence permits. I define the citizenship status of participants without Danish citizenship with no citizenship, that is stateless persons. This means they are not “considered as a national by any State under the operation of its law”. (UNHCR, 2021b). For instance, Tandrupasi argued during the interview that, “I do not know where I belong, because I do not longer belong to Sudan, and I do not have anything to proof that I am South Sudanese and I do not have a Danish citizenship when I am thrown out of Denmark, I will have no were to go.” (Appendix 3, p. 59, L. 1669-75). Tandrupasi and the rest without Danish citizenship all lack proper documentation that indicates their citizenship or belonging to any country. They do not have a Sudanese passport, neither South Sudanese passport, nor Danish passport that can verify their national or citizenship belonging. The only documentation is their residence permit and *alien passport*, where their nationality is indicated as Sudanese.

Considering that a citizenship is an “equal membership of a political community from which enforceable rights and obligations, benefits and resources, participatory practices and a sense of identity flow.” (cited in Sindic, 2011, p. 1). I argue that the participants with no citizenship do not have a membership to any state. Therefore, they do not have formal rights, unless those rights are granted to stateless persons. They have fewer rights or obligations and limited rights to vote or to elect a representative on their behalf. Now the question is how do the respondents of the qualitative interview construct their national belonging without proper documentation? The next section displays how the interviewed South Sudanese Diaspora of Denmark identify and make sense of their social and national belonging.

6.3. Identity and sense of belonging

In this section I present how the interviews construct their belongings, which are portrayed in Table 2a, 2b, and 2c. After the presentation I analyze and discuss the information provided in Table 2 through the use of *social identity theory*, *nationalism* and *postcolonialism*. Table 2 gives an overview of the identity and the sense of belonging of the interviewees. Seventeen of the interviewees were relocated to Denmark from a refugee's camp in Uganda. Thus, their self

expressed “belonging” is differently divided between Denmark, Uganda, and South Sudan. (Appendix 3).

Name	Denmark vs South Sudan	Denmark vs Uganda	South Sudan vs Sudan	Refugees	Confusing/ can't choose	Mixed Belonging	African	
1. Iracaya	I feel at home in Denmark. Only heard about South Sudan through Stories from parent as she left when she was only 3 months old.	Feel home in Denmark and feel more danish as she has lived in Denmark longer than Uganda. Have some connections to Uganda as it is her childhood home	Can only identify with South Sudan and desire to change nationality to South Sudan			Uganda, South Sudan and Denmark		
2. Bayoa	I was born in South Sudan but now I am Danish	I feel home in Denmark because I have my nuclear family here.					African	
3. Angucia	Feel home in Denmark because she grew up in Denmark and is used to being home in Denmark	Did not come through Uganda	All the same, there is no benefit for belonging to one or the other.					
4. Dallala	Not clearly indicated	Did not come through Uganda	All the same as he has family living in both countries.					
5. Doroteo	Culturally and lifestyle wise more danish than South Sudanese. Based on the stories from parents he feels more connection to South Sudan than any other country	Divided feelings refer to both as motherland.	Emotionally he has nothing to pick from Sudan; it lies far away from my identity. Have changed nationality to South Sudanese	Refugee's		South Sudan, Uganda, and Denmark		
6. Draga	Sudanese and Danish. The feeling is 50/50, cannot tell if he feels more Danish or South Sudanese	Feel more Ugandan than South Sudanese, because he left South Sudan at a young age and lived his entire childhood in Uganda. He claims to feel more at home in South Sudan than Uganda because South Sudan is his ancestral land.	Feels no connection to Sudan because he does not originate from there.			Uganda, South Sudan and Denmark		
7. Geri	Not clearly indicated	Not clearly indicated	Desired to change nationality to South Sudan					

Table 2a: An overview on how respondents describe their sense of belonging.

Name	Denmark vs South Sudan	Denmark vs Uganda	South Sudan vs Sudan	Refugees	Confusing/ can't choose	Mixed Belonging	African
8. Ochekele	The feeling keeps on changing depending on mood. But feels more South Sudanese because his mum is from South Sudan.	The feeling depends on his mood	Have changed nationality to South Sudan			Mixed identity, Uganda, South Sudan and Denmark	
9. Langoya	Not clearly indicated	Not clearly indicated	Does not matter whether he is referred to as Sudanese or South Sudan, he has never been in either country. In the process of changing nationality to South Sudan				
10. Limiyo	Finds it difficult to identify herself as Danish because she is constantly being reminded of not being a Dane.	She feels most at home in her circle of friends in Denmark	It is important to refer to her as South Sudanese because that is where she is from.				
11. Magendo	Hard to tell, but he feels more African because of the culture he was brought up in.	The feeling is 50/50	In a process of changing nationality to South Sudanese			Uganda, South Sudan and Denmark	African & East Africa
12. Edema	He feels more Danish, because he has been living in Denmark for many years. Fled South Sudan at a very young age.	Feel home in Uganda because of childhood memories.	Can only identify himself with South Sudan, he Does not have any connection to Sudan.			Uganda, South Sudan and Denmark	
13. Oola	Do not know, but feel cultural connection to both Denmark and South Sudan	Mixed feelings between Uganda and Denmark	Identifies himself with South Sudan, because that is where his roots come from.			Uganda, South Sudan, and denmark	African
14. Atuku	Difficult to describe her connection to South Sudan as she has never been there.		Working on changing national identity to South Sudan			Denmark, Uganda, and South Sudan.	African

Table 2b: An overview on how respondents describe their sense of belonging.

Name	Denmark vs South Sudan	Denmark vs Uganda	South Sudan vs Sudan	Refugees	Confusing/ can't choose	Mixed Belonging	African
15. Malera			Desire to change national identity to South Sudan		She cannot tell, if she feels more Danish, South Sudanese, or Ugandan		
16. Juan	Divided feeling between Denmark and South Sudan	Did not come to Denmark through Uganda	Desire to change nationality to South Sudan Cannot identify with Sudan because she experienced discrimination when she was in Khartoum				
17. Adama	Feel home in Denmark because she has her family here	Did not come through Uganda	All the same, she has a feeling that the country will be reunited again.				
18. Tadrupasi	The feeling is divided		Cannot no longer identify with Sudan. He is a South Sudanese now and owes nothing to Sudan. Desire to change nationality to South Sudanese		No clear sense of belonging due to lack of documentation.		
19. Wani			Cannot identify with Sudan, because of the history. Feel more connection to South Sudan. Desire to change nationality to South Sudan.				
20. Hadiya	Not clearly stated	Not clearly Stated	Not clearly States				
21. Amito	Feel home in both places	Do not feel home in Uganda. She feels most connected to South Sudan.	Do not feel any connection to Sudan, because she does not come from there.				

Table 2c: An overview on how respondents describe their sense of belonging.

The participants who are between 18-45 years (See Table 1a and 1b for the age of the participants) have never experienced life in South Sudan, but they strongly feel some connection to South Sudan. They claim to have this connection through the stories told to them by their parents. For instance, one of the interviewees Iracaya stated:

"I remember my father once told me that they grew up in a beautiful country [South Sudan] with more fun, people used to dance all night and it was fun to be young. It is a pity I never experienced it. It is so beautiful the way my father describes it and that is the emotion planted in me during childhood, and it remains in me until today. So, the feeling of belonging to the country from which they [the parents] come

from, so no matter how many years I have lived in Denmark, what I have learned as a child, will remain in my heart." (Iracaya, p. 2, L. 47-53).

Iracaya's feeling is shared by most of the interviewees around her age. Interviewees who left South Sudan during their childhood, that is from three months to around ten years, state that their connections to South Sudan is based on the stories told by their parents and the values and feelings that their parents passed orally on unto them throughout their childhood and teenage years. The practices of the parents passing on their values and identity to their children through storytelling continues in Denmark as well. For instance, Atuku, Adama, Oola, Langoya, and Geri, who came to Denmark when they were below the age of ten, explain their connection to South Sudan through the stories their parents told them. They all long and miss the experience of the beauty and of the life their parents lived and keep on reminding them about. (Appendix 3)

Additionally, Juan, Wani, and Amito who are between the age of 50-60 portray the act of storytelling in their answers during the interview as well. When asked about place of origin or their nationality: all three started by narrating a long story about how proud they are of their country, how good and welcoming the South Sudanese culture was, particularly before foreign invasion. Juan strongly emphasized on passing on the South Sudanese culture to her children. Here it is quite clear that South Sudanese in diaspora keep their identity alive mainly through storytelling and story sharing from generation to generation from a very young age. (Appendix 3). The example of parents in diaspora, keeping their connection to country of origin through story telling is similar to the example, Saira Shah who likewise "recalls listening to her father's magical tales, while the two of them cooked together in their British kitchen, surrounded by the smells of Afghani spices rising from their pots." (Facing History and Ourselves, 2021).

It could be argued that the South Sudanese diaspora in Denmark keep their connections to South Sudan through telling stories about life in the country of origin, teaching the language and traditional practices to their children born outside the country even though they no longer live there. For instance, Juan mentioned teaching her children Sudanese culture of showing respect to elders, regardless of them being their parents or not (Appendix 3, p. 53). Oola, Magendo, and Dallala all mentioned celebrating birthdays, Christmas and other social events together with other South Sudanese. Usually, in such gatherings traditional South Sudanese dishes are served and different traditional dances are represented to give the younger generation a glimpse of South Sudanese culture and traditions. (Appendix 3, p. 53).

In the next section I analyze and discuss the participants' construction of social and national belonging to the places they claimed to have some sense of belonging to. This is done by using social identity theory.

6.3.1. Social identity theory

In this section I analyse and discuss how the South Sudanese diaspora of Denmark constructs their national and social identity through the use of main concepts of social identity theory such as in-group and out-groups, social identification, social classification and social comparison.

6.3.1.1. In-group and Out-group

As mentioned above almost all the interviewees who came to Denmark through Uganda share a sense of belonging that is divided between three countries, that is: South Sudan, Uganda, and Denmark. Some of them define themselves as African or East African. One of the respondents, Doroteo even identified himself as a refugee, as he feels wherever he goes he will always feel like a refugee.

6.3.1.2. Sense of belonging to South Sudan

Despite more than half of the interviewees having never spent time in South Sudan, majority of them still identify themselves as South Sudanese and have more or less some connections to the country. In other words, they identify their in-group with South Sudan. They feel that they have gotten a lot in common with South Sudan. For instance, Dallala states that, "I feel like I have a lot in common with other South Sudanese although we have different tribes but in the end the culture is very much the same." (Appendix 3, p. 12, l. 328-329). Similarly, Atuku also stated that many Danes fail to understand her when she talks about where she comes from. Also, Doroteo, Adama, and Limiyo talk about feeling at home around people with whom they have "a shared background". Thus, interviewees such as Bayoa, Oola, Atuku, and Magendo, use Africa and East Africa to describe their regional identity. Magendo states for instance that: "... I define myself first and foremost as an African because that is what I'm called here in Denmark, African. And when I go into depth with Africa, I say I'm from East Africa." (Appendix 3, p.35, l. 925-927). Notice that in Magendo's statement African identity is what is assigned to him in Denmark, or it is what he is 'being called' by others in Denmark.

From a social identity theory perspective, the interviewees sense of belonging can be divided into three processes of social identification. First of all, individual order which is what goes on in the mind of the individuals interviewed. This describes the participant's self-identity as

South Sudanese. According to Jenkins (2000), the primary identity "such as personal selfhood, gender, proper humanness, and possibly ethnicity or race" (Jenkins, 2000, p. 15) develops during childhood. Seventeen of the interviewees who all left South Sudan at a young age pointed out learning about their South Sudanese identity right from childhood through their parents. This was done through teaching them the language, the food and practicing some of the cultures at home both individually and with other South Sudanese. This is done to ensure that their children do not forget where they come from.

Secondly, the *interaction order* which is what goes on between people. This could be seen as the identity assigned to the interviewees by others. In other words, the public image assigned to them. As people constantly strive after matching their self-image with public image some of the interviewees have added the broader African identity to their identity. Hence, interviewees such as Doroteo go as far as assigning himself a refugee's identity, that is accepting a fluid nationality or belonging. However, the refugees' identity could be both interactional and institutional. The *institutional order*, the third order of social identity theory which is the normative ways of doing things, those mainly decided at the institutional level. I refer to the refugee's identity as institutional because it is often a formal status, or an identity assigned by an institution.

6.3.1.3. The sense of belonging to Uganda

Another in-group that the interviewees identify themselves with is Uganda. Most of the interviewees between 18-50 years identifies themselves as Ugandan; this is again based on their childhood. They were either born in Uganda or moved to Uganda at a very young age. However, the identity as Ugandan is based on what goes on in their mind, rather than the identity assigned them by others. I call it self assigned identity in most cases without legal paper. Thus, the Ugandan identity is rather the result of a process of social identification that sometimes also deals with their past experience.

6.3.1.4. The sense of belonging to Denmark

When talking about their connection to Denmark, all the interviewees both include and exclude themselves by using languages such as 'they', and 'we'. 'We' is both used as in 'we' Danish people and 'we' as in 'we' South Sudanese people. This variation of language depends on their perception of the Danes about them versus their perception of themselves as both South Sudanese and Danish. As Bayoa first states:

"Well, I was born in Sudan, but now I'm Danish done." (Appendix 3, p. 71.198). Later on, she states: "Yes, I have the skin color I have, whether my lifestyle is Danish, ... I feel that people look at me crookedly because I am African." (Appendix 3, p.8, l. 214-216).

Limiyo stated the same thing about never feeling hundred percent Danish because the Danish society will never accept her as a Dane. Geri mentioned people being afraid of him because of how he looks. Here it could be said that Denmark is both an in-group and an out-group. The interviewees individually identify themselves as Danish, but the Danish people do not recognize their belonging to Denmark. Respondents remark they are often getting asked about their origin, looked down at, forced to work harder than the rest, and discriminated against at their job place. (Appendix, 3). Edema also pointed out that the grey Danish foreign passport that is officially called an "Alien passport" also gives the impression that one does not belong here, or they come from a foreign universe such as Planet Mars. (Appendix 3, p. 40). Thus, Denmark is the out-group the participants compare themselves with. They work very hard to ensure that their individual identity matches with their public image. Here they are working toward erasing the public image of non-danish-ness.

6.3.1.4. The sense of belonging to Sudan

Twenty out of twenty-one participants do not feel any connection to Sudan at all. They always exclude themselves from Sudan when talking about it. One of the main reasons for exclusion is not having any ancestral connection to Sudan. They use languages such as, 'I owe nothing to Sudan', 'my parents are not from there', 'I do not have any blood connection to it', 'my root is not from there'. These languages are commonly used by those who have never experienced life in Sudan or South Sudan. A few of them have changed their nationality from Sudan to South Sudan, some are in the process of changing their national identity, others strongly desire to change it. The main reason for changing is they need the right identity to stand on their paper. Langoya, and Atuku argued that in case they get unlucky and get thrown out of Denmark they would not wish to end up in Sudan where they feel they do not have any relation to. (Appendix, 3).

Participants such as Malera, Iracaya, and Draga, who were married and with children, argued that it is important for them to change their national identity because of their children. They want to ensure that their children have a clear indication of their place of origin as they might not be able to understand why their parents refer to themselves as South Sudanese, when their document states Sudan.(Appendix, 3). Participants from 50 years above, desire to change their

national identity to South Sudan because they do not feel any connection to Sudan. Additionally, they are happy to have a country they can call their own after a long history of oppression by the Northern Sudanese. Juan argued that "I'm happy to be identified with South Sudan because it is my country and I'm entitled to some things. Although there is that *gebilia* (instability), it does not matter that much. I have the right to call myself South Sudanese. But back then, I haven't." (Appendix 3, p.53, L. 1441-1443). Both Wani and Amto expressed the same feeling during the interview. However, Dallala, identifies with Sudan as much as South Sudan as he is having families in both countries.

This shows that the identification of the participants in relation to Sudan is not entirely individual, but it is also interactional and institutional. The interactional one appears in how Sudanese people identify themselves vis-à-vis the official /public definition. As argued by Juan during the interview, former Sudan purposely excluded the southern part of former Sudan. Southerners who went to work in Khartoum were constantly told to go home. (Appendix, 3, p. 53). Thus, the attitude of the Sudanese expressed made them exclude themselves from Sudan. Institutionally, when the state of former Sudan introduced Arabic as the official language the Southern also felt excluded as most of them have an English education background, which means they could not use their skills. Thus, many South Sudanese perceive Sudan as an out-group, that none of them want to have anything to do with. Also, throughout the history of former Sudan, even during the Anglo-Egyptian rule and in the postcolonial era, the state of former Sudan used two different laws to rule former Sudan. On the one hand, the common law is governing the central urbanised population. On the other hand, the customary law is governing the rural native population of the Black African South Sudanese. As mentioned in the historical section the Khartoum government used customary law to govern the Southerners which excluded them from the rest of former Sudan. Also, the excessive oppression and discrimination of the southerner strip them their national belonging. Which means most of them were stateless until after 2011 when they gained independence. (See here p. 12). Which means they did not have the same rights as Sudanese in the northern part of former Sudan. As stated by Juan "I'm happy to be identified with South Sudan because it is my country and I'm entitled to some things. (...) I have the right to call myself South Sudanese. But back then, I didn't." (Appendix 3, p.53, L. 1441-1443).

In the next section I analyse and discuss how respondents construct their national identity. I use ethnic nationalism as it is clear in the data that all interviewees' construction of national and social

belonging to South Sudan is ethnic. Which means having a common ancestor descendant from the Southern part of former Sudan.

6.4. Nationalism and national identity

This section analyses and discusses how participants construct their national identity through the use of ethnic nationalism. Ethnic nationalism is : “ a nationalism which claims that the nation is based on common descent; this descent may be indicated through such characteristics as language, history, ways of life, or physical appearance.” (Baylis et al., 2017, p. 434). It is evident in the interview data that interviewees define their national belonging to South Sudan with ethnic nationalism. All the interviewees mentioned having ancestral connection in South Sudan. For instance, "well with DNA, I am probably South Sudanese." (Appendix 3, p, L. 707). "I have roots in South Sudan." (Appendix, 3, p. 42, L. 1114). "I consider myself South Sudanese because that is where my roots come from." (Appendix 3, p. 12, L. 321-22). Here the answers provided by all three interviewees portray their sense of belonging is based on their ethnic groups originating from South Sudan.

All the interviewees seem to be proud of their South Sudanese identity. They all speak positively about it. Interviewees aged 50+ talk constantly about their pride in their country of origin. Describing the beautiful South Sudanese family structure with tight family relations including extended families. (Appendix, 3). For example, during the interview Juan argues, "... I am so proud to be South Sudanese despite the war. Wherever I go, I am proud to be South Sudanese despite all the crises, because we love each other, and we help each other. That is what makes me proud of South Sudan.” (Appendix, 3, p. 52 L. 1418-21). Similarly, Amito also strongly emphasizes her pride in South Sudan, the rich resources of South Sudan, the social and sharing culture of South Sudan. "They are very peaceful people. There is not much fight between them, they live peacefully. They like dancing in their community, we are a very social community." (Appendix 3, p, 73, L. 1982-84). Here both Juan and Amito portray their affection to South Sudan as a whole and they identify their national identity with South Sudan.

Contrarily, Wani states in the interview; "We are always the civilized ones, we are always the ones who want to sit down and talk, we are always the ones who are calling for the roads so we can bring our goods to the market, the nomads do not want roads, they want the grass to be there." (Appendix, 3, p. 63, l. 1729-31). Here though Wani identifies himself with South Sudan, but he excludes himself from the nomads, suggesting that the nomads have different mentality

compared to the farmers. It could be argued that Wani identifies his national or social identity with his ethnic or class identity. Wani's way of identifying himself with his ethnic group portrays Jok's argument that South Sudan is ethnically divided and they identified themselves with their ethnic groups rather than South Sudan as a whole. (Jok, 2011, p. 3).

However, despite of the variations in how the participant identifies themselves in relations to South Sudan, it can be argued that a large number of the respondents identify themselves with South Sudan more than their own ethnic group or tribes. As argued by Fukuyama (2018), national identity is also embodied in the realm of cultural traditional values that are based upon the stories people tell about themselves and their communities. For instance, where they come from, what holidays they celebrate and how they celebrate them, their shared history. (Fukuyama, 2018). It is evident in the interview data that the participants with different ethnic backgrounds have so much in common. They share common history, common culture, they celebrate the same holidays. As Juan stated, they celebrate holidays and other events together with other South Sudanese. Magendo states for instance that he enjoys South Sudanese gatherings because he feels that they have something in common despite the different tribes. Likewise, Dallala means that he enjoys African or South Sudanese Christmas celebrations more than the Danish ones. (Appendix, 3).

Data collected from the semi-structured qualitative interview have shown that all the interviews have multiple belongings. In the next section I discuss how the participant constructs their belongings to the nation-states they claim to belong to.

6.4.1. Multiple belonging

In this section I analyse and discuss how participants construct their belonging to the nations they claimed to have connection to.

Nearly all the participants have multiple senses of belonging, which is to South Sudan, Uganda and Denmark. The sense of belonging to South Sudan is internally constructed through the stories told by their parents from childhood. In other words, the values and norms passed down to them by their parents. The sense of belonging to Uganda is individually created by them based on their childhood experience through living in Uganda. Even though their belonging to Uganda is not officially recognized by others they still have some emotional attachment to Uganda. The sense of belonging to Denmark is constructed through living in Denmark. Since most of them have lived in Denmark for a longer time than they have lived in Uganda, they feel more at home in Denmark. They have all planned to permanently settle in Denmark; they already live their lives as Danes.

Thus, the sense of belonging among the South Sudanese diaspora community of Denmark is shaped by internal and external factors. (Appendix 3).

Having multiple belongings has its advantages and disadvantages as well. On the one hand it equips one with an inter-cultural background which is a good capital to have in the contemporary global society. On the other hand it could be confusing as it might be impossible to feel full at home in any place. Or not having a clear sense of belonging. Particularly, when your belonging is not being recognized by any nation-state as the South Sudanese with no citizenship. In the next section I analyse the challenges South Sudanese diaspora of Denmark is facing in Denmark.

6.5. What challenges do South Sudanese diaspora experience in Denmark?

In this section I analyse and discuss the challenges the interview respondents are facing in Denmark.

During the interview when the interviewees were asked about the challenges they experience in relations to national identity they all talked about the challenges they experience because of their skin color. For example:

Magendo states: "People always have the tendency of looking down on South Sudanese, even Africans in Denmark because they feel our skin complexion is a bit darker, secondly our country is not as developed as the neighboring countries." (Appendix, 3, p.37, L. 993-995).

Likewise, Geri states, "I have experienced a lot as a foreigner. There are some people who have something against me due to my skin color." (Appendix 3, p. 26, L. 688-689).

Juan argues that, "in the beginning I experience some racism, where they comment about my skin colour. But I do not take it so seriously, but you can convince them that you are also human as well human beings are the same despite skin color." (Appendix 3, p. 54, L. 1468-70).

There are many examples in the transcript where interviewees immediately refer to race when they are asked about the challenges they experience in Denmark. Examples provided in the above quotations portray clearly that the South Sudanese diaspora in Denmark experiences racism directly or indirectly. As one of the interviewees Wani mentioned during the interview, once you enter Denmark it is no longer your national identity, but your African identity. Now it is about not belonging to the Northern atmosphere. (Appendix 3, p. 65, L. 1769-72). I argue that racism might

be one of the reasons why the South Sudanese diaspora in Denmark cannot fully identify themselves with Denmark, even after gaining a Danish citizenship. Besides racism, some experience colorism, where their dark skin is not considered good enough. As stated by Magendo many South Sudanese end up buying products that make their dark skin lighter or browner. (Appendix 3, pp.37-38).

6.5.1. Postcolonialism and sense of belonging

Considering the challenges, the interviewees experience in Denmark it could be argued through postcolonialism that colonial heritage such as hierarchies of race or colourism is present in current postcolonial Denmark. During the colonization period, the colonists developed the idea that the dark colour is inferior to the white European colour. For instance, "Fanon explains that the 'black man' is made to believe in his inferiority to the 'white colonizers'" (Nair, 2017, p. 2). Unfortunately, this idea is still engraved in the minds of both African and Danish who have the ideology that black people are not so intelligent or inferior compared to white people. For instance, Juan states in the interview that, "I have experienced racism where Africans are seen as stupid, especially when you enter the labour market, that is the impression I have got." (Appendix, 3, p.54, l. 1477-78). Juan further explains that after proving to them that she is capable of doing the job even better than natives then they no longer look down on her or discriminate against her. Similarly, Limiyo argues that; "When I sit in the coffee room, I have experienced people saying to me, oh! I thought you were the cleaning lady. So, because of my skin color, people always think that I cannot achieve anything better than being a cleaning lady" (Appendix, 3, p.34 l. 903-905). This explains Nair's (2017) argument that international society is hierarchical. In the case of the South Sudanese diaspora in Denmark the hierarchy is based on skin complexion.

Besides racism and colorism another issue that the interviewees mentioned that is related to challenges in Denmark is difficulties when travelling. As mentioned, the large population of South Sudanese diaspora in Denmark are quota refugees. Having a refugees identity means they only have their resident permit and alien passport which was provided by the danish government. Some of them have a travelling document which is a blue passport instead of the grey foreign passport. Which means whenever they want to travel outside the Schengen region, they have to apply for a visa in advance even up to three months before their travel. Also, since they are not European citizens, they always have to stand in different lines compared to others. Some experienced being pulled out of the line and being interrogated before letting them pass.

(Appendix, 3). Therefore, all the interviewees' desires to possess a Danish passport to make travelling easier for them. For instance, Draga who is already having a Danish passport argues that "I have chosen to have Danish nationality due to the advantage of having a Danish passport. With time I value having a Danish passport more than having a Sudanese passport, because it has more advantages such as free or cheap travel expenses, and freedom to experience the world." (Appendix 3, p. 22 l. 572-75).

Furthermore, Nair (2017) argument about the international society is hierarchical is again being seen in Draga's impression about the value of having a Danish passport. Generally, if you search for the world's most powerful passport you will discover that the ten most powerful passports are Western passports and the Sub-Saharan region passport ranks among the least powerful passports. This difference is also being experienced by the South Sudanese diaspora in Denmark as well. Thus, from the challenges South Sudanese experience in Denmark it could be argued that the history of imperialism and colonialism still affects contemporary society and it continues in today's world. (Nair, 2017, p. 1-5).

To sum up, even though most of the participants have multiple senses of belonging at the end they conclude by saying they feel home in Denmark. Because most of them have lived in Denmark for longer periods than the time they have lived in Uganda. They perceive Denmark as their home regardless of what native Danes tells them. They all argued that they have accepted the challenges they experience such as racism. They have found a better way to deal with it, they no longer take it personal or as serious as the first time they experience it.

6.6. Summary and discussion of main finding

In this section I summarises the main results and findings of the study and conclude it.

To sum up, in the analysis I discovered that a large number of the South Sudanese diaspora of Denmark came to Denmark in the 1990s and 2000s. They have lived in Denmark for less than 30 years; thus, their population could be referred to as first generation migrants. Only eight of the interviewees have Danish citizenship and only two are possessing a permanent resident. Which means the rest are having a temporary residence permit, and the reason for this is mainly based on the restrictions put on attaining permanent residence permit. Nevertheless, they all have a higher hope to obtain a permanent residence permit, hence, a Danish citizenship as well.

It is evident in the analysis that all the interview identifies their nationality as South Sudanese even those possessing Danish citizenship. This perception is based on nationality by

birth, as many of them mentioned having their bloodline or ancestral being from South Sudan. Similarly, according to the Southern Sudan Referendum Act of 2009, South Sudanese citizenship is based on two criteria. Firstly, "one or both parents have to belong to one of the indigenous communities that settled in Southern Sudan on or before January 1, 1956, or whose ancestry is traceable to one of the ethnic communities in Southern Sudan. Secondly, one has to be a permanent resident, without interruption, or any of whose parents or grandparents reside permanently, without interruption, in Southern Sudan since January 1, 1956". (Zambakari, 2012, p.75). In other words, South Sudanese citizenship is also defined with geographical location determined by bloodline and ancestral origin. This means the South Sudanese diaspora in Denmark can as well acquire South Sudanese citizenship and nationality if they wish. As from September 2015, the Danish state has made it possible for its citizens to have dual or multiple citizenships. (Udlændinge- og Integrationsministeriet, 2020b). However, in this case it is also significant to consider the rule of the South Sudanese state on dual citizenship since there are nation-states who do not accept dual citizenship yet.

In contemporary society, we believe that a sense of belonging is developed by living in a given place for some time. This is partly true when considering how the respondents constructed their sense of belonging to Denmark and Uganda. Most of them argue that they still feel some connection to Uganda, because they have lived there in their childhood. They all argue that they feel a strong connection and belonging to Denmark, as they have been living in Denmark for a longer period than Uganda. However, the way the interviewees constructed their belonging to South Sudan challenges contemporary society's idea that belonging is built through experience. All interviewees between 18-45 have either left South Sudan at a young age or were born in a camp in Uganda and have never experienced life in South Sudan. Nevertheless, they have constructed some sense of belonging to South Sudan through the stories told to them by their parents. As seen in the analysis, the South Sudanese diaspora constructs a sense of "national" belonging through storytelling, without having to directly experience life in the society, but by means of orally transmitted records and stories, oftentimes told and retold by their parents or close relatives.

The interviewees also used their sense of belonging to identify their national identity in South Sudan. As mentioned in the theoretical section (See here pp. 39-40), national identity is embodied in traditional cultural values based upon the stories people tell about themselves and

their communities. Thus, the South Sudanese diaspora of Denmark has constructed their national identity based on the traditional and cultural values orally passed on to them by their parents. Saira Shah, an Afghani diaspora of the UK, shared a similar experience to the South Sudanese diaspora of Denmark here observed: parents tell magical stories about their country to keep their connection to the country and give their children some sense of belonging. Additionally, Wani refers to the Jewish diaspora and African Americans who still have a strong sense of belonging to their place of origin and connect their identity with their place of origin despite never experiencing it. According to Wani and many of the respondents of the interview, their emotional connection to their country of origin will never disappear no matter how many years they spent in the diaspora. No matter what is written on their passport, they will still define their national identity in relation to their country of origin. This gives the impression that nationality is not just what is written on your passport; it goes beyond that. Nationality also has to do with emotional attachment to a nation-state. The emotional attachment could both be developed by experiencing life in the given state. It could also be passed on through storytelling and passing on the traditional and cultural values down from generation to generation.

Despite the UN stating, "everyone has the right to a nationality", currently, more than 500,000 stateless people are living in Europe. (European Network for statelessness, 2021#). These people are not recognized as citizens of any state, which gives a sense of not belonging to any state. Even though the international community does not officially recognize South Sudanese as stateless people, I argue that the South Sudanese diaspora of Denmark who does not have Danish citizenship could/should be such. Because they are neither recognized as Danish citizens, nor as South Sudanese citizens. Despite their emotional attachment to multiple countries, they do not have a defined belonging to any country. For instance, when one of the South Sudanese diasporas of Denmark became a Danish citizen, he states that "for me, citizenship is not just a piece of paper. It is proof that I have a country I belong to." (Beck, 2021). Here, it is quite clear that his sense of belonging was not clear before getting proof or recognition of being a Danish citizen. Also, Tandrupasi states, "I do not know where I belong, because I no longer belong to Sudan, and I do not have anything to prove that I am South Sudanese and I do not have a Danish citizenship. When I am thrown out of Denmark, I will have nowhere to go." (Appendix 3, p. 59, L. 1669-75). Tandrupasi's statement shows the struggle most of the interviews are going through. Which ideally

have a multiple sense of belonging but in reality, they belong nowhere as there is no evidence that can verify their sense of multiple belonging.

It is also evident in the analysis that the South Sudanese diaspora of Denmark feel excluded by the Danish society. Particularly, at work they experience being discriminated against because of their skin colour and their African identity. It is a pity to learn that countries such as Denmark are also affected by colonial heritage such as hierarchies of race or colourism. Yet, it is rarely mentioned. As stated by Quraishy (2020), “Denmark has a long tradition of not wanting to talk about racism and how structural racism has been a major obstacle for ethnic minorities” (Quraishy, 2020). I suggest that as Denmark is becoming more multiethnic it is a high time, we take up such kind of discussion and find better way to co-exist with each other, respect each other regardless of ethnic background, and skin color. As stated by Juan human beings are all the same regardless of what color they are.

7. Conclusion

To sum up, on the basis of a Social identity theory approach to the analysis, it could be concluded that South Sudanese in Denmark identify themselves with four groups. These are: Sudan, South Sudan, Uganda, and Denmark. South Sudan and Uganda are perceived as in-group and speak inclusively about them by the use of inclusive "we".

The three groups the respondents categorize themselves with are South Sudan, Uganda, The way they construct their sense of belonging to South Sudan and Uganda differs. Their sense of belonging to South Sudan is based on storytelling, and their sense of belonging to Uganda is based on their memories as children in Uganda. Meanwhile, they perceive Denmark as both in-group and out-group; their rhetoric about Denmark is both inclusive and exclusive, that is, "we" and "they". This categorization is based on their personal and internal identity; they perceive themselves as Danish. However, their public image, or the way native Danes perceive them, gives them the impression that they are not fully or yet Danes. Nevertheless, they are all striving after improving their public image so that the Danish society could accept them as Danish citizens. Though only a few of the interviewees have Danish citizenship again, all the interviewees' desires to obtain Danish citizenship sooner or later. Meanwhile, Sudan is an out-group almost all interviewees do not identify themselves with. They do not even wish to have anything to do with Sudan. The way the interview participants construct their belonging is influenced by internal and

external factors, in the internal factor compromise of the stories told by their parents and their personal experience. Meanwhile, the external factors come from the public image or the way their out-groups perceive and treat them.

From the way interviewees describe their nationality and national identity, it could be concluded that nationality is both formal and informal. Formal nationality is what is on the paper, and informal is emotional nationality. Nationality could both be assigned at birth if both or one of the parents belongs to a state. Also, nationality can be gained through naturalisation which is by following some legal procedures to become a national of the state. Nationality and citizenship go hand in hand. In states such as Denmark, once you have gained citizenship, you are considered a Danish national as well.

When it comes to challenges experienced in Denmark in relation to national identity, the challenges had nothing to do with national identity, but rather racism they experience. According to one of the interviewees Wani, once you enter Denmark, it is no longer your national identity but your African identity. Now it is about not belonging to the Northern atmosphere. This means not having a western European identity (Appendix 3, p. 65, L. 1769-72). Thus, from a postcolonial perspective, it could be concluded that colonial conditions and ideologies still influenced the identity of South Sudanese in Denmark. (Baylis et al., 2017, p. 175).

Based on the data collected from the interview, it could be concluded that a large number of South Sudanese diaspora of Denmark have a multiple sense of belonging. Their sense of national identity in South Sudan is informally constructed based on the stories, cultural, and traditional values their parents passed to them. However, their connection to Denmark is stronger as most of them have lived in Denmark for more than ten years, which is a longer time than any of them spent in South Sudan or Uganda. However, most of them are not recognized as citizens of any country and having a refugee's background; they cannot go to South Sudan to claim their South Sudanese nationality. Even if they could go to South Sudan to claim their national identity, that would be too risky for them due to the current situation of South Sudan, where it is politically, socially, and economically unstable. As stated by Tandrupasi, "I do not know where I belong, because I no longer belong to Sudan, and I do not have anything to prove that I am South Sudanese and I do not have a Danish citizenship. When I am thrown out of Denmark, I will have nowhere to go." (Appendix 3, p. 59, L. 1669-75). That is why for a South Sudanese diaspora, citizenship is not just a piece of paper but

proof that they belong to a country. Thus, I conclude without proper documentation, none of them will have a clear sense of their belonging.

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