



MOBILE / Center of Excellence
for Global Mobility Law

MOBILE Working Paper Series, no. 93, 2026

Restrictive Immigration: The Reduction of Support Provisions for Vulnerable Asylum Seekers

Kamille Munch Andreasen

*This paper extends from a 3rd semester master's project written during an internship at
MOBILE*

This research is funded by the Danish National Research Foundation Grant no. DNR169
and conducted under the auspices of the Danish National Research Foundation's
Center of Excellence for Global Mobility Law (MOBILE).

Abstract: This paper, which extends from a student master's project, seeks to understand the impact of Danish immigration policy on vulnerable asylum seekers. It departs from the closing of Centre Jelling to investigate the consequences of reducing costs by closing accommodation with specialised inclusivity provisions for queer asylum seekers. Therefore, I examine the Danish hardline approach to immigration and asylum to understand the conditions created for asylum seekers. The paper builds on contemporary literature of queer migration and Nordic asylum models, with a particular focus on Denmark. From a poststructuralist perspective, I apply concepts of biopower and structural violence to understand the positioning of queer asylum seekers in an increasingly restrictive framework. The paper is supplemented with three expert interviews with persons working in asylum in Denmark.

The paper finds that the Danish state is continuing its turn towards deterrence and restriction in asylum and immigration policy. This is demonstrated by the recent decision to close Centre Jelling, an asylum centre with special provisions for vulnerable groups. Queer asylum seekers are known to be more vulnerable, as acknowledged by the Ministry of Immigration and various civil society actors. Yet through continued cuts to the Danish asylum system, they are put in increasingly precarious positions. This paper finds that worry for the lives of queer asylum seekers was a major theme within civil society. The paper argues that the Danish model's emphasis on restriction creates deliberately intolerable conditions for asylum seekers, which can potentially systemise harm at a structural level.

Author: Kamille Munch Andreassen

E-mail: kamillesennels@gmail.com

MOBILE – Center of Excellence for Global Mobility Law – focuses on systematically studying the legal infrastructures of human mobility across geographies, social divides, travel patterns and time.

1. Deliberately Making Life Unliveable

On August 28th, the Danish Ministry of Immigration announced the closing of the asylum centre in Jelling by February 2026 (Ministry of Immigration, 2025). Centre Jelling is one of the asylum centres in Denmark with care placements¹ for vulnerable individuals with specialised staff to handle sensitive needs (LGBT Asylum, 2025; Kynde, 2025). The Ministry of Immigration elaborated on the decision, stating it was necessary to meet the goal of cutting spending on the Danish asylum system (Ministry of Immigration, 2025; Kynde, 2025). Civil society organisations, e.g. LGBT Asylum and the Danish Red Cross², and local politicians have criticized the decision, calling the reasoning unfounded (Kynde, 2025). LGBT Asylum also cited the loss of specialised staff and care placements as troubling, fearing for the “(...)deterioration for asylum seekers in particularly vulnerable positions.”³ (LGBT Asylum, 2025). The Danish state has an obligation to protect asylum seekers yet there is an increasing uncertainty demonstrated by the cuts to vital resources like support provisions. In this paper, I would like to take a closer look at the role of the state in the life and treatment of particularly vulnerable asylum seekers in the Danish asylum system and the potential risks faced by queer asylum seekers.

1.1 Focus of the Paper

The closing of Centre Jelling appears to follow a trend of harsher conditions and procedures for asylum seekers in Denmark. In 2016, the then Minister of Immigration, Inger Støjberg, vouched to make conditions as “intolerable” as possible (Skærbæk & Klarskov, 2016; Suárez-Krabbe et al., 2018; Canning, 2019a, p. 3). These priorities are also reflected in Danish Prime Minister Mette Frederiksen’s declaration towards hosting zero asylum seekers, furthering the ambitions to establish externalisation of asylum processes (Lemberg-Pedersen, 2021). From the highest political level in Denmark, a restrictive framework is created and maintained in what has been labelled a hardline approach to asylum (Bryant, 2025). Despite the unpredictability this causes asylum seekers (Pace, 2025), other countries are looking to emulate the Danish immigration model (ibid.; Bryant, 2025; Edwards, 2025).

This attitude towards immigration and asylum is not new in Denmark (Edwards, 2025; Pace, 2025). The Danish Alien Act in 1997 introduced Motivation Enhancement Measures, which aim to incentivise asylum seekers to either leave Denmark or to assist in their own removal (Suárez-Krabbe et al., 2018, p. 9). Subsequent measures include the geographical isolation of the centres and limited welfare provisions (ibid.). In the past decade, the policy set-up has been successful in reducing arrivals, the amount of residency permits given, and the impermanence of status, yet it has been detrimental for integration and belonging (Edwards, 2025; Bryant, 2025). Exemplified by temporary residence permits (Bryant, 2025), this model is part of a larger paradigm turn towards deterrence (ibid.; Gammeltoft-Hansen & Tan, 2017; Suárez-

¹ Author’s translation. In Danish: “omsorgspladser”.

² For context, the Red Cross runs Centre Jelling (Kynde, 2025).

³ Author’s translation.

Krabbe et al., 2018, p. 18) This restrictive pattern can also be observed amongst other European governments (ibid.; Canning, 2016, 2017, 2019a, 2019b, 2021; Borges, 2024).

Canning (2019a) describes this attitude to asylum seekers and the structure of asylum centres as “*Degradation by Design*” (p. 1). The restrictive measures create a life of isolation for the asylum seeker, removing opportunities for agency and mobility (ibid.). These conditions exacerbate inequalities, especially for vulnerable asylum seeker groups, due to their particular needs and predisposed risks (Canning, 2016; Yarwood et al., 2022; Lunau, 2024; LGBT Asylum, 2025). Additionally, Canning (2021) finds that in centres where there is staff with specialised competences, issues of accessibility and scarcity of provisions prevail due to the restrictive regime imposed by the state (ibid.; Canning, 2019a). Lunau (2019) describes this as a form of ‘slow death’, as life is increasingly made more precarious by the state. Rather than facilitating protection, she describes how it creates ‘death in the midst of life’ for asylum seekers, stuck between ‘being alive’ rather than ‘living a life’, due to the conditions of everyday violence (ibid., p.17-19). The degree of intentionality behind the immigration policy choices suggests a priority for deterrence rather than protection. In their study of Danish deportation centres, Suárez-Krabbe et al. (2018) argue that the state exposes asylum seekers to premature death, produced through intersecting physical, mental, social, political, and legal channels (pp. 44-45).

Given such conditions, the importance of asylum centres with special provisions for support is demonstrated, echoed by the outcry over the closing of Centre Jelling (Kynde, 2025; LGBT Asylum, 2025). In their study, Yarwood et al. (2022) underscore the importance of targeted initiatives for vulnerable groups, such as queer asylum seekers. They found it improved their physical and psychological health, and that social support also worked as a mediator to stress exposures, harassment and violence (ibid.). They found that policy choices like externalisation or reduced access causes excess stress, especially for minority identities, worsening mental health⁴. It is hence important to question the intentions to create intolerable conditions and what harms are potentially made systemic in the Danish context.

The closing of Centre Jelling appears to reflect a broader systemic issue in the Danish asylum system. Restrictive measures are used as a tool of governance to subjugate and control specific groups by limiting their rights and mobility in Danish society. Such practices have consequences for asylum seekers’ wellbeing. Moreover, it conceivably exacerbates inequalities for vulnerable groups, when support services are removed as a result of restrictions to asylum centres’ budgets. Therefore, this paper aims to answer the following research question: How are queer asylum seekers in the Danish asylum system impacted by the restrictive immigration policy choices?

With this research question, I hypothesise that the potential systemic harms caused by the restrictive conditions could be informed by Farmer’s conceptualisation of structural violence (Farmer, 1996, 2004). I aim to answer this question through a focus on the role of support

⁴ See also Suárez-Krabbe et al., 2018, pp. 32-33.

provisions within the harsh conditions created by the Danish hardline approach to asylum and immigration policies.

Furthermore, for the terminology in this paper, I will use the term '*queer*' when referring to sexual and gender identities. This is to avoid reducing identities to acronyms, instead opting for an umbrella term that captures more generally non-heteronormative identities (Lunau, 2024, p. 35; Schröder, 2025).

Migration can be conceptualised through either inclusive or residualist approaches to distinguish between the reasons and ways in which people migrate and have mobility. For studies focusing on legal aspects, these categories can be essential for determining the analysis of the object of study. Yet, as this paper focuses more on the state's exercise of power in its treatment of those in the asylum process, I will utilise the term '*asylum seeker*' as an umbrella term. This is to capture all in the Danish asylum system who have been forced to migrate regardless of motive and grounds of persecution (Yarwood et al., 2022, p.3).

2. Prior Studies

In the contemporary literature on the Danish asylum system, following arguments were found. The first debate I will explore concerns the pattern of Northern European countries, where authors argue that states design asylum centres with deliberately challenging living conditions. Secondly, I will present the academic discussion which concerns the lived experiences of minority groups in asylum centres, with respect to how they navigate the system with intersecting identities, their vulnerabilities, and special needs. Lastly, a prominent study within this field centred around the credibility assessment, where authors examine the different aspects which cause points of tension both for asylum seekers and immigration officers.

The literature was mainly from the social sciences and humanities, and was mostly qualitative, consisting of field work, interviews with staff, asylum seekers and civil society. Theoretically, most studies focused on feminist theories to understand the perception and construction of queer asylum seekers and their multi-burdened identities. With the focus on asylum in the global north, anti-colonial theories emphasised the colonial construction of the 'non-western' migrant and the colonial perception of country of origin, whereby perceptions of the global south shaped how persecution and credibility was assessed.

2.1 Design of Asylum Centres

The first field identified concerns the physical and structural conditions in Nordic and Western European asylum. The literature is predominantly based on field work at centres, and interviews with NGOs, the immigration services, staff, and residents. A majority of authors in this literature find that the conditions can be considered degrading, due to various practices of restriction. Within their given national political landscapes, scholars further emphasise that the conditions are deliberately inadequate, due to continued defunding and the various administrative practices implemented (Whyte, 2011; Canning, 2016, 2019a, 2019b, 2021;

Suárez-Krabbe et al., 2018; Lunau, 2019, 2024; Borges, 2024). In the case of Denmark, the societal aspects of these degrading conditions included lack of access to the labour market and educational institutions, limited welfare access and benefits, and limited legal and psychological counselling (Suárez-Krabbe et al., 2018; Canning, 2019a, 2021; Lunau, 2019, 2024). For the practical aspects and physical space of the centres, authors reason that the space is constructed in such a way that it fosters a hostile environment at the centre, where residents feel that they are being interrogated and watched. Here, the practices identified are the prison-like surveillance and security measures (such as fingerprinting, cameras, and fences), the destitute and isolated placement of the centre, and prolonged periods of waiting, the nature of the credibility assessments, and the overall conditions of the asylum interview procedure (ibid.; Whyte, 2011; Canning, 2016).

In his study, Whyte (2011) draws on Foucault by proposing a myopticon to explain how surveillance in Danish asylum centres is carried out. He asserts that though surveillance is not executed through total surveillance like the panopticon, but instead through the partial implementation of practices as if it is panoptic. As a result of this partiality, he argues that it leads to a constant sense of uncertainty as asylum seekers cannot accurately define, or always locate, the near-sighted gaze observing them. Whereas power is wielded in the panopticon through the dynamics of the visible and invisible, the power here wields blurry, in-turn leading to an internalisation due to its constant uncertainty. Suárez-Krabbe et al. (2018) also find that the destitute placement increases the centres' securitized nature, due to the aforementioned prison-like isolation that the placement causes as a result. Furthermore, they argue that this problem is worsened by the limited access to society caused by a mixture of limited public transport options in these destitute areas, as well as the limited financial means given to asylum seekers (pp. 23-24; Canning, 2016, 2019a).

In terms of policy design, prolonged waiting times for asylum procedures is frequently criticised as inhumane. Herein, the restricted access to legal and language aid was also highlighted as a problematic aspect of asylum procedures in Nordic asylum systems (Canning, 2021). Here, working with the restrictive frameworks of Danish, British, and Swedish asylum, Canning (2019a) describes how precariousness and destitution causes an inability to effectively engage in support sessions, due to the unpredictability of the setting that has been provided (pp. 48-49). In her study of queer asylum seekers in Denmark, the uncertainty and lack of transparency cause what Lunau (2019) argues is a 'slow death' for the asylum seekers (p. 20), as they stuck in these circumstances, unable to create a life and engage with society. Furthermore, the sensitive nature of assessing asylum on the claim of queer persecution causes distress regarding one's identification with queerness against Danish cultural notions of gender and sexuality, combined with a fear of deportation back to a country where queerness is punishable (ibid.). Lunau (2019) describes how a rejection by the Danish state feels equivalent to a death sentence, where the process's lack of clarity creates a looming dread of potential death for queer migrants. To summarise, Borges (2024, p. 684), amongst others (Canning, 2016), argues that such problems are a direct consequence caused by restrictive asylum policy, whereby states, such as Denmark, risk inflicting harm against asylum seekers and refugees, and therefore ignoring their humanitarian obligations.

2.2 Lived Experiences and Mental Health at Asylum Centres

Secondly in prior studies, authors investigate the affective state of asylum seekers and their mental health while living at asylum centres. To examine this, multiple authors have interviewed persons working with the asylum system or working at the centres (Canning, 2021; Lunau, 2024) and additionally conducted health examinations to measure the conditions' bodily impact on residents of the centres (Guillot-Wright et al., 2022; Gottlieb et al., 2022). Authors find that the conditions, as described in the previous section, continue to have a harmful impact on the mental and physical health of asylum seekers living in the centres. Regarding mental health, factors such as the isolation of the centres, frequent relocation or otherwise inconsistent housing, surveillance, lack of meaningful activity, inaccessibility to counselling, stuckness in waiting, is linked to mental health deterioration. In their field work, multiple authors find that it aggravates pre-existing conditions like depression, anxiety, loneliness, PTSD, and that some asylum seekers report suicidal ideation or attempt suicide (Suárez-Krabbe et al., 2018; Canning, 2019a; Yarwood et al., 2022; Hourani et al., 2022; Guillot-Wright et al., 2022; Istiko et al., 2024). In Yarwood et al. (2022) article, they compare large datasets on queer migrants' mental health globally and find that queer migrants are more likely to experience mental health issues, compared to other migrants. Moreover, they argue that queer migrants are exposed to numerous additional stressors due to their intersectional minority identities and subsequent needs, which are not properly considered. Likewise, Istiko et al. (2024) argue that countries with restrictive asylum systems both produced and exacerbated vulnerability, due to the explicit removal of supportive provisions and continued securitisation of asylum. Drawing on necropolitical perspective, Lunau (2024) asserts that affective experiences of dying are sewn into the daily lives of queer asylum seekers, due to the Danish asylum's governance structure. She argues that this governance directly restricts their ability to create a life, causing precarity, limiting their agency, and damaging their overall mental wellbeing (ibid.). Furthermore, authors find that the restrictive asylum policies have a negative impact on practitioners and immigration officers due to the structural diminishment of their work, emotional distress, and epistemic anxieties from the hostility of the physical and socio-legal environment (Canning, 2021; Lunau, 2024, pp. 184-190). Canning (2021) and Lunau (2024) both find that persons working with the Danish asylum system struggle to navigate it emotionally and practically due to the uncertainties associated with executing the asylum procedures and working with the asylum seekers navigating the hostile environments.

In connection to mental health, authors highlight and emphasise the importance of resilience as to not reduce queer persons to their struggles (Akin, 2016, p. 464). Lunau (2024) describes how queer asylum seekers foster solidarity, queer kinship and create networks amongst each other for support, despite the political power and restrictive measures they are up against (pp. 208-214). Here, it becomes a tool for individual and collective survival, yet also as an instrument to resist the structure of the system. Canning (2017) emphasises the power of voice, and the willingness of asylum seekers to share their stories, where speaking about experiences is in itself an act of resistance to injustices (p. 150). Furthermore, she acknowledges how academia and feminist scholarship's role in social change is built upon these voices and therefore their essentiality is integral (ibid., pp. 149-150).

2.3 *The Credibility Assessment*

A large part of the literature on queer migration focuses on the role of ‘burden of proof’ and the assessment of credibility for queer asylum seekers (Shakhsari, 2014; Akin, 2016; Lunau, 2024, p. 22, pp. 129-131; Lunau & Schröder, 2025). The studies take a point of departure in decolonial theory to understand the western categories that determine the assessment of queer asylum seekers. Lunau and Schröder (2025) see the Danish asylum assessment process as a “(...) *regime of surveillance*” (p. 2169), where ideas of trustworthiness create binary categories of the genuine and fraudulent queer applicant. Lunau (2024) analyses how the Danish Immigration service’s interview procedure has a “(...) *guilty until proven innocent*” approach (p. 118), since immigration officers must interpret stories based on binary notions of plausibility and consistency (pp. 122-128).

Authors argue that colonial knowledge dominates the national and cultural norms of queerness, meaning that applicants must appeal to white queerness for legitimacy and to prove belonging to the persecuted social group (Lunau, 2024, p. 140-141). Additionally, the perception of genuine fear and risk of persecution relies on colonial narration of the country of origin. Akin (2016) describes how western designations of sexuality and colonial logics frame the perceptions of origin countries in asylum interviews, especially regarding the perception of Muslim majority populations. Here, the article finds that the information provided is insufficient concerning the various ways queer applicants face persecution, especially beyond state actors (ibid.; Lunau & Schröder, 2025). Authors highlight the need for extra consideration of the intersectional dimensions to the ‘burden of proof’ experienced by queer asylum seekers. Here, both external and internal stressors were identified throughout the assessment process (Akin, 2016; Lunau & Schröder, 2025; Lunau, 2024). Lunau (2024) identifies a paradox in the expectations of queer asylum seekers to have lived a life in fear of persecution due to their sexual orientation, while also expecting them to display their sexual identity and risk in a certain manner. Likewise, the ability to self-reflect on one’s identity requires self-insight that queer asylum seekers may not have had the time or opportunity to develop, especially when they have been hiding and suppressing themselves, and as such can become a major cause of distress as well (Lunau, 2024, pp. 119-120, pp. 189-190).

Overall, to conclude, a broader stressor associated with the asylum procedure is the credibility assessment. As argued above, there is a binary culture of truth and approach to evidence that queer asylum seekers must balance. This means providing a convincing demonstration of genuine queerness at the same time as a valid fear of persecution. From a decolonial theoretical perspective, a compounding effect is added by national perceptions of queerness and likewise colonial conceptions of the countries of origin.

2.4 *The Paper Situated in Literature*

With progression in the recognition of queer persecution, there is an increasing need to understand the position of the queer asylum seeker. Queer asylum seekers experience compounding trauma due to their minority position, and risk exposure to harmful consequences

of the Danish asylum system. As seen in the earlier sections, this can occur in the asylum process and interview procedure, as well as in the day-to-day lives of queer asylum seekers living in the Danish system. Authors argue that the conditions are intentionally degrading and designed to subjugate the residents. This paper seeks to expand on the literature on the state's subjugation of the queer asylum seeker through the use immigration policy, specifically in the case of Denmark. I aim to further the understanding of the role of the state in its asylum set-up and potential consequences. There is still lacking literature on the Danish context regarding queer asylum seekers. I aim to contribute to the field of queer migration and studies of state power. To do so, I will focus on queer specific initiatives that address the intersectional inequalities they face and question the intention of the state when it decides to reduce provisions due to budget cuts, as in the case of Centre Jelling.

3. State Power and Discrimination

The theoretical aim is to further the understanding of how the state could potentially inflict harm on vulnerable groups in its asylum system. Here, intersectionality (Crenshaw, 1989) is utilised as the paper's theoretical lens to understand the multifaceted nature of discrimination for minority identities. To understand the inherent power of the state, the paper draws on concepts of biopower (Foucault, 1983) and structural violence (Farmer, 1996; 2004).

3.1 Poststructuralism

This paper uses Michel Foucault's conceptualisation of poststructuralism as its research approach. Hereby, the focus is placed on the relations of power and the subject (Schrift, 2018). Poststructuralism is a research approach which seeks to understand the underlying structure governing society, and the role of the researcher is to investigate the structures of power (Flick, 2018, pp. 46-49). Foucault expands on this through his conceptualisation of subjectification, namely the way in which individuals are categorised in relation to social domination and the rules of society. Power is inherent and systemised, governing bodies, values and knowledges hierarchies. Foucault's analysis departs in historical analysis of the creation of knowledge through the order of things that facilitates social functioning (Schrift, 2018, pp. 178-179):

“For Foucault, however, experience is thoroughly historicized: one's experience is “constructed” from the a priori—one might even say “structural”—rules that govern experience and social practices at a particular point in history.” (Schrift, 2018, p. 179)

Experience and knowledge are based on historically contingent constellations. In-turn, the way subjects constitute themselves in relation to knowledge and fields of power is structurally bound (Schrift, 2018). This means that what constitutes knowledge, rules, values, and culture is structurally embedded into society and the subject. As such, it cannot be removed from its historical baseline. Through a Foucauldian poststructural lens, this paper is able to emphasize systemic powers and subjectification, which enables a foundation for analysing the powers embedded in asylum policy and the ways it constructs and impacts its subjects. I aim to avoid a voyeuristic approach to not reduce asylum seekers to their suffering and instead centre the

ways they navigate the system. This is to understand the outcomes of restrictive immigration framework in relation to provisions, but also to show experiences of resistance and survival.

3.2 Intersectionality

In her article, Crenshaw (1989) examined US cases of discrimination against black women that courts had dismissed. It was in this study she mainstreamed the theory of intersectionality, as her findings demonstrated how the court did not acknowledge that discrimination could occur across race and sex. Contrary to the courts' reasonings that discrimination was either on the background of race or sex, she proposed to think of discrimination across multiple axis influenced by different factors of one's identity, conceptualising a framework for understanding multi-burdened individuals who face multi-faceted grounds of discrimination (Crenshaw, 1989; Davis, 2008). Collins (2015) emphasizes the importance of considering Crenshaw's work in the broader context of black feminist scholarships and social movements in order to recognise the groundwork for Crenshaw's position and application of critical methodology. In this paper, an intersectional lens is applied to understand how queer asylum seekers face complex sites of discrimination, due to their marginalised identities. With an intersectional lens, we are able to study how the individuals' characteristics determine their social positions, creating unique vulnerability of queer asylum seekers due to the nature of their minority status (Yarwood et al., 2022). This emphasis aids to critically build on existing literature and highlight the importance of special efforts for queer asylum seekers.

3.3 Biopower

The practices of the Danish state to make life intolerable by hindering mobility and agency of asylum seekers can be described through the lens of Foucault as the state's management of life and death (Shakhsari, 2014; Suárez-Krabbe et al., 2018; Lunau, 2019, 2024). This control of life is captured by Foucault's concept of biopower, which describes how the state regulates lives by systemically governing bodies. Biopower describes the subjectification of both the individual or specific populations and groups (Foucault, 1983). In-turn, biopower can serve to aggrandize or marginalize.

In queer migration studies, biopower explains how survival is dependent on the assessment decision of the immigration service (Shakhsari, 2014; Lunau, 2019, 2024). Hereby, the recognition of validity of the applicant's queerness is directly tied to their survival. The state therefore acquires the power to manage what bodies and identities are deemed legitimate and who are seen as not credible. Through state-facilitated processes of credibility assessment, the state becomes the primary locus of power in establishing the boundaries between deserving and non-deserving, ultimately determining who receives potentially life-saving protection and who are conversely excluded from it. The queer dimension to asylum assessment means that demonstrating one's queerness is a matter of life and death as you must prove an affective disposition, something that is not tangible or proven through documentation. Proving queerness hence is a process further complicated due to the lack of proof available. Secondly, western

constructions of queer categories are biased in their interpretation, creating a tendency to only recognise western notions of queerness, fear, and persecution (Lunau & Schröder, 2025). Biopower is demonstrated in the state's approach to asylum, as they decide who is worth saving, and made legitimate (Shakhsari, 2014, p. 104). In granting the applicant protection status, she argues that the state has the power to give life by providing asylum and security, which legitimises their queer disposition and fear of persecution. From this perspective, rejection becomes an extension of the potentiality of death and their status as non-deserving. Therefore, the process becomes a regulatory structure that Shakhsari (2014) describes as “(...) *the politics of rightful killing*” (p. 95) where the state is then able to organise whom they can kill through the impending death and discipline associated with being excluded from protection status (p. 102-104). More specifically to this paper, regulatory power is demonstrated when the Danish state explicitly regulates the quality of life through their governing of asylum seekers' bodies, their living conditions, and the spaces they operate. The application of biopower highlights how policy choices to make life intolerable becomes a way to control the lives of undesired bodies.

3.4 Structural Violence

This paper utilises Paul Farmer's conceptualisation of structural violence. The concept of structural violence originates from studies of institutionalised violence and oppressive machineries like slavery and racism (Farmer, 2004). According to Farmer, structural violence is “(...) *structured by historically given and economically driven processes and forces that conspire to restrict agency.*” (Farmer, 1996, p. 263).

In his studies of AIDS and Tuberculosis in Haiti, Farmer expands on the concept through his emphasis on geography, history, political economy, and overlapping social axes to understand how greater societal suffering is solidified into individual suffering (Farmer, 1996, 2004). Repressive mechanisms are built into social projects, creating infrastructural oppressive processes which constrict the individual's agency and life choices, while systemically inflicting afflictions (Farmer, 1996, pp. 261-263; Farmer, 2004, pp. 317-323). Farmer argues that these afflictions are caused and maintained, directly or indirectly, as a result of human agency and the social order of which the socioeconomically poor are fated victims (ibid.). However, it is important not to have a reductionist understanding of harm and affect, whereby everything is socially deterministic, but instead also include a nuanced, relational conceptualisation of autonomy and attachment to affect (Hemmings, 2005 cited in Lunau, 2019).

By using Farmer's conceptualisation, this paper understands structural violence as a social web of suffering, intersecting across historical, political, economic, and social contexts. This means that suffering is rarely a singular occurrence, and certain suffering have interconnecting and cross-cutting causes. In studying hardline approaches in Denmark and the desire for intolerable conditions, I find it important to include a multi-dimensional understanding of violence and suffering as potentially structural, as not to remove the suffering of the individual from the societal circumstances that forms and distributes pain.

This paper applies Farmer's concept to understand the consequences of a restrictive immigration framework for queer asylum seekers. The concept of structural violence is applied

to aid the analytical lens and to identify potential harms being systemised (Farmer, 1996, 2004). Therefore, it is not whether it constitutes structural violence to the level of Farmer's study, but to shed light on the intolerable conditions and how systems may be or become violent, whether intentional or not.

4. Methodology

4.1 Data

The interview guide was developed through contemporary literature and the paper's theoretical framework. It served to facilitate a semi-structured approach with questions to thematically structure the interview and allow for follow-up discussion about broader themes identified by participants (Flick, 2018, pp. 226-229). The interviews were sampled through purposive sampling, where I contacted civil society actors and scholars for interviews. Three interviews were conducted, including expert interviews with a researcher working with queer asylum seekers in Denmark, a resource person at Centre Jelling, and a legal advisor from the Danish Refugee Council's (DRC) LGBT+ team. Consent forms were sent to participants beforehand and provided in physical form to be signed at the interview⁵. The interviews were conducted in Danish or English depending on the participant's preference.

The intention was originally to interview persons living in the Danish asylum system to get firsthand information on the conditions of the asylum centre and potential harms experienced. However, this was not made possible, as relevant bodies did not find that there was sufficient time to build the necessary trust for interviews. I instead talked to persons who, in different capacities, worked with queer asylum seekers in Denmark. The data obtained from the interviews were hence not as targeted to the paper's problem area. I will support the analysis with theory, literature, and relevant documents, so that the interviews are not the paper's only dataset.

Documents were also collected for the purpose of contextualising and aiding the paper's analysis. Amongst these were documents collected through a PhD-researcher at my internship at MOBILE working with LGBT Asylum and through written contact to a person at MÆRK⁶.

4.2 Coding

All interviews were thematically coded, which is a process where the researcher, once familiar with the data, develops codes based on themes. Through the development of a thematic framework, the recurring patterns were identified, and additional areas which may not have been accounted for (Flick, 2018, p. 423). This meant reading over the interview transcripts in multiple, separate rounds to find what words, sentiments, and themes appeared. The result is a framework of themes. This allowed for understanding the meanings attributed to experiences

⁵ See Appendix D.

⁶ See Appendix E for list of documents and their abbreviation.

and perceptions to take the forefront of analysis. I focused on themes regarding their value, rather than frequency, meaning if a theme only appears in one instance, but carried great value to the object of study, it was not omitted. Due to the smaller dataset and my deductive approach, thematic coding provided deep engagement. An advantage to this approach is evident in the naming and mapping of themes, whereby you expand upon literal interpretation generated, as familiarisation allows for more descriptive encapsulation of the phenomenon (Fleming, 2023). A disadvantage is the role of positionality and the discretion of the researcher, and the requirement to justify the interpretation of data through theory and existing studies (ibid.). Drawing on queer migration studies and poststructural theory, I hope to address my positionality towards my findings through the guidance of existing knowledge.

5. Analysis

In the following sections, I will analyse how restriction manifests across various aspects of the Danish asylum system. The first part of the analysis will address space and time. The second and final part will address the role of support provisions and the growing sentiment of worry from civil society.

5.1 Restriction in practice - Space and time

The first theme was the enactment of a restrictive asylum system. This appeared as ‘spatial’ and ‘temporal’ restrictions, in line with the conditions found in literature. Authors have argued that the asylum centres often feel hostile towards its residents. Whyte (2011) views this as a surveillance environment, where security measures are dominant, which is echoed by Suárez-Krabbe et al. (2018). It hence does not feel like a space of protection. This was described by the informants concerning their work within these spaces. They explained how the buildings chosen by the Ministry of Immigration for housing accommodation were not built with the intention of being asylum centres (Appendix C, p. 8), leading to busy shared spaces and forcing a close proximity with everyone, their lives, and their emotions (Appendix B, pp. 2-3). The chosen areas were often rural, causing destitution and disconnection from society (Appendix B, pp. 2-3), as well as the access to queer life centralised in the cities (Appendix B, p. 5). This meant that restrictions appeared in the inability to engage with society or having agency over one’s mobility (Suárez-Krabbe et al., 2018; Canning, 2019a, 2021; Lunau, 2019, 2024). Canning (2019a) argues that the restrictive asylum frameworks cause destitution, as the asylum seekers are unable to have independence (pp. 48-49). Pace (2025) argues that in Denmark the uncertainty increases as the state frequently changes its asylum and immigration policies, creating unpredictability and instability.

The temporal dimension concerns the long waiting periods of the Danish asylum procedure (Appendix A, pp. 7-8; Appendix B, pp. 5-6, p. 9). The resource person and academic informant described how they saw a lot of insecurity among asylum seekers as they waited. Combined with the limited mobility, a sense of stuckness is produced as there is a restricted sense of futurity. This stuckness in waiting while the state determines your future amplifies uncertainty

and liminal conditions. As such, it damages the sense of futurity as it erodes the ability to plan. Lunau (2019) argues that the Danish conditions of asylum is like a ‘slow death’, as life is put on hold (p. 20). She contends that it exacerbates asylum seekers’ poor mental health, as mentioned in the literature review, due to the stress surrounding a potential rejection (ibid.). This is exemplified in the documents referred to by the contact at MÆRK, where information sheets and procedure guides from the European Union (EU) called attention to the mental health of queer asylum seekers (EUAA Factsheet; EUAA Guide). Beyond the EU level, which Denmark is aided by, it is acknowledged in the accommodation guide from the Danish Ministry of Immigration, where queer asylum seekers are affirmed as needing specialised care (Guide on Accommodation, p. 3, p. 7). Civil society actors, like LGBT asylum, argued this in their letter to the Ministry of Immigration regarding Centre Jelling’s closing, where they explain queer asylum seekers’ vulnerability (LGBT Asylum Letter, p. 1-2). Regarding futurity, informants expressed the importance of queer kinship and solidarity both internally and externally (Appendix a, p. 10; Appendix B, p. 10; Appendix C, p. 11). To support queer futures, the asylum seekers came together in times of emotional or financial needs and exchanged knowledge for upcoming appointments with immigration services.

Generally, seen with the restriction across time and space, precarities of the Danish asylum system become visible. This uncertainty can risk exposing queer asylum seekers to harm, as the reduction of living conditions to make them intolerable, exacerbates inequalities and predispositions to psychological conditions, due to compounding traumas and their multi-burdened minority identity (Suárez-Krabbe et al., 2018; Canning, 2019a). When Paul Farmer (1996, 2004) developed his conceptualisation of structural violence, he did so in the context of the poverty and health crisis ravaging Haiti, where he investigated the structural conditions that create an environment of extreme suffering. The concept of structural violence is not one you apply lightly, and herein it is used to question the intention of the asylum conditions that the state produce. The concept allows us to recognise how structures beyond one’s life may determine your quality of life and the harm you may be subjected to. With the concept of biopower, Foucault (1983) argues that the state can subjugate life and bodies through power manifested in the management of life. Here, the state can distinguish the groups it deems desirable, granting them life through recognition and legitimisation, and separate groups it will subjugate. Shaksari (2014) builds on biopower in her approach to queer necropolitics, where she coined the idea of “(...) *the politics of rightful killing*” (p. 95). She describes the processes whereby populations are given value, and those who, within a larger system, are allowed to be killed, or reduced to living death (ibid., pp. 102-104). This connects to the concept of ‘slow death’ (Lunau, 2019) and the production of premature death, as explored by Suárez-Krabbe et al. (2018).

Contextualised to the statements of the informants, and the political landscape of hardline approaches and a desire to create intolerable conditions (Pace, 2025; Edwards, 2025; Bryant, 2025), we find a tendency whereby the Danish state is using its power to mould asylum conditions to achieve its goals (Suárez-Krabbe et al., 2018, p. 6). This has been explored in literature on Nordic asylum, where Canning (2019a) argues that the conditions are designed to be degrading (p. 1). Her emphasis on design informs us that there is a degree of awareness that

the conditions produced may be harmful and demeaning. This degradation was explained by the academic informant, where asylum seekers are moved without concern for their spatial and social attachments: “*As like this entity that doesn’t have any meaning or doesn’t have like life or connection to the space where they are at (...)*” (Appendix B, p. 10).

As such, there is a wider trend that the Danish state seems disinterested in the needs of asylum seekers. Suárez-Krabbe et al. (2018) express this regarding intolerable living conditions, where human rights become a bottom priority (p. 6; p. 45). This (mis)management of life can risk exposure to systemic harms. They may not constitute structural violence to the extent documented by Farmer (1996; 2004), but his conceptualisation informs us of how structures may cause harm and decrease quality of life. Canning (2016, 2017) also argues this in the context of gendered harms suffered systemically in Danish and British asylum systems. In the Danish context, life is administered in a structural context, power is manifested in the practices implemented to maintain restrictive frameworks (Suárez-Krabbe et al., 2018; Lunau, 2019, 2024; Pace, 2025). This causes uncertainty for asylum seekers, marginalising them for their existence as a population within the state’s borders.

5.2 Worry - The Reduction of Support Provisions for Vulnerable Asylum Seekers

A key theme in my data was a deep worry over the future of vulnerable groups as a result of reduction in support provisions and mechanisms. The worry expressed by the informants exemplifies some of the consequences of the turn towards hardline approaches in Denmark, but also in other countries, including those who are emulating Denmark (Pace, 2025; Bryant, 2025; Edwards, 2025). It calls into question the intention of the state and the strive towards deliberately intolerable conditions, although not necessarily in the sense that they are culpable of structural violence to the degree explored by Farmer (1996, 2004). However, it does show a priority for deterrence (Gammeltoft-Hansen & Tan, 2017; Suárez-Krabbe et al., 2018, p. 18), where systemic harms may be produced as the prevailing focus is on limiting the amount of asylum seekers and the conditions for asylum, rather than providing sanctuary to asylum seekers (Canning, 2017; Borges, 2024). As demonstrated in the literature review, asylum seekers, and especially those with compounding minority statuses, are very vulnerable, often having physical and mental health complications. It is then a worrying development that politicians cut back on housing accommodation in a system that is already described as completely “*(...) booked*” (Appendix C, p. 13). It raises further concern when the centres that are chosen for budgetary cuts are those who are engaged in inclusivity measures and working to improve the wellbeing of persons pre-dispositioned to harm (Appendix A, pp. 8-9; Appendix B, pp. 9-10; Appendix C, pp. 12-13). The “*(...) aspiration*”⁷, as described by the accommodation guide (Guide on Accommodation, p. 2; Appendix C, pp. 7-8), to meet these needs come off as insincere, when the state then decides to close one centre and move asylum seekers around to existing centres. Herein, there is a worrying lack of consideration for the people being relocated, as well as the environment being uprooted for the benefit of cutting costs.

⁷ Author’s translation.

This concern is argued by LGBT asylum:

“Centre Jelling has functioned as an asylum centre for many years, and the closing will mean a great knowledge- and competence loss and - we fear - deterioration for asylum seekers in particular vulnerable positions. We are very worried about what the closing is going to mean for LGBTQI+ asylum seekers. With the closing of Centre Jelling disappears the only one in Denmark, where over many years have been built professionalism in relation to LGBTQI+ persons. Jelling is a centre with care placements and specialised competencies re: taking increased precaution for special needs, which our target group - LGBTQI+ asylum seekers - can have.” (LGBT Asylum Letter, p. 1.)⁸

As exemplified, policy decisions are not without wider implications, as it deteriorates living conditions. As seen with the concerns voiced above, it is a matter of human loss as unique specialised knowledge and trained staff are cut. Subsequently, it is a loss with ripple effects in the quality of life for queer asylum seekers, as their targeted support provisions are cut, despite their proven essentiality. This matter transcends to other vulnerable groups, like disabled persons and victims of sexual torture (Appendix A, p. 4; Appendix C, p. 9; Canning, 2016, 2017). This aspect emphasises the need for intersectional consideration of policy implications. Vulnerable minorities are more likely to be predisposed to inequalities and therefore require a nuanced understanding of discrimination and identity (Crenshaw, 1989; Davis, 2008).

Here, Foucault’s (1983) notion of biopower and Shakhshari’s (2014) idea of rightful killing demonstrate that the state’s priorities may not have the lives of asylum seekers in mind. It instead continues a hardline approach at the compromise of a group they have deemed less worthy, through the reduction of their living conditions. In their investigation of institutionalised racism, Suárez-Krabbe et al. (2018) argue that an effect of Danish centres is *“(…) a prominent site of struggle over life and death, belonging and exclusion.”* (p. 45), exemplified by what they identified as *“(…)group-differentiated exposure to premature death”* (ibid.). This notion of death is also explored by Lunau (2019), where the conditions create a life without progress or futurity. With this, we can understand the state’s management of life as the restriction of provisions directly impacts quality of life for vulnerable populations.

All informants described likeminded thoughts on the worrying tendency in Denmark to reaffirm hardline approaches and deterrence paradigms. The resource person from Jelling, who worked closely with the closing of the centre, explained a genuine fear that the Danish state is willingly excluding those with special needs (Appendix C). Benefits and provisions are always an expense for the state, as he explains, but it seems that Denmark is no longer willing to make room for that, as seen with the reduction of provision (ibid., pp. 12-13). He describes how this means less time for specialised health screening, less one to one time, and general access to support due to the larger body of residents (ibid., pp. 10-13). Yarwood et al. (2022) explains how removing barriers to support mechanisms is essential for improving wellbeing and acts as a mediator against stressors. Additionally, the community building that happens through

⁸ Author’s translation.

inclusivity initiatives, or by having a resource person for queer asylum seekers, is essential to foster trust (Appendix B, pp. 9-10; Appendix C, pp. 8-10; Canning, 2017, pp. 111-114), especially to mediate the fear of authority as the actor of persecution (Appendix A, p. 10). The resource person explained the importance of feeling that it is the whole system that is supporting you, and not just aspires to or partly supports you (Appendix C, p. 10). As informants highlighted, queer kinship and solidarity is important for wellbeing, fostering agency and feelings of resistance (Appendix A, p. 10; Appendix B, p. 10; Appendix C, p. 11). It is important to feel that the centre supports you on its own and together with civil society actors. LGBT asylum explains the effort of creating conditions for inclusivity, requiring consistent teaching, dialogue, and implementation processes (LGBT Asylum Letter, p. 2). Their experience with inclusivity measures is consistent with academic findings, namely that it curbs issues of loneliness, belonging, and health. They find the most progress in the close encounters between volunteers and asylum seekers, which puts the pressure on the individual rather than state-facilitated support mechanisms (ibid.). Without proper facilitation and funding from the state, the conditions are too unpredictable for trust-building, and the process of support is unable to function (Canning, 2017, pp. 111-114). Therefore, it is also a matter of trust in the state's response to asylum (ibid.; Canning, 2021, pp. 9-10).

The state expresses the aspiration to meet these needs, but rather than doing so, the trend towards the hardline model continues, in-turn closing centres with specialised care. Suárez-Krabbe et al. (2018) emphasises the very real effects of this and the ability of the Danish state to steer the conditions and outcomes (pp. 44-49). Drawing on Farmer's (1996, 2004) conceptualisation of violence, we can see how inequalities become embedded into systems at a structural level. Following Foucault (1983), a line is made between the deserving and non-deserving, regulated by the conditions procured. Power is centralised in the management of life, and as described by Shakhsari (2014), we see different state-facilitated processes of rightful killing, manifested here in the reduction of provisions. The worry expressed by informants and civil society stems from this understanding of the interconnected and intersectional nature of suffering, harm, and life. The theme of worry was key in the data, speaking to the broader fear of the Danish immigration model, where humanitarian obligations are overlooked in pursuit of deterrence. As life is made intolerable deliberately, human loss permeates throughout the system.

6. Conclusion

The use of restriction as deterrence in asylum policy has the potential to cause harm to vulnerable groups, like queer asylum seekers. The systemised implementation of deterrence at a structural level may be or become structurally violent, due to the degree of explicit intent to deter, and likewise awareness of associated risks and harmful outcomes. The closing of Centre Jelling and reduction of specialised provision speaks into a larger societal trend towards maintaining the Danish hardline approach. Deterrence through restriction in asylum systems has been studied recurrently, with findings validating the serious consequences for human life, also in the Danish context. The extensive outcry of centre staff and civil society actors

demonstrate a deep worry for the human loss across the asylum system. Likewise, it is a call for action and accountability of the Danish state. This paper finds that restriction is felt in both spatial and temporal dimensions, eroding stability and causing precarity. Additionally, this paper finds that Denmark is continuing its path of deterrence and restriction, through the closing of centres with specialised provisions, and therefore cutting channels of support, inclusivity, and wellbeing. With changing norms and the emulations of the Danish hardline model, it is increasingly important to continuously study the practices in immigration policy choices. It underscores the need for an intersectional perspective to harm and life in asylum. Herein, this paper finds that the restrictive policy set-up of the Danish state has harmful outcomes for asylum seekers, in-turn increasing exposures to harm systemically and exacerbating risks for vulnerable groups.

7. List of References

- Akin, D. (2016) 'Queer asylum seekers: translating sexuality in Norway', *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*. [Online] 43(3), pp. 458–474.
- Borges, G.M (2024). Journey of Violence: Refugee Women's Experiences Across Three Stages and Places. *Int. Migration & Integration*. [Online] 25, 673–693
- Bryant, M. (2025) 'The UK wants to emulate Denmark's hardline asylum model – but what does it actually look like?' *The Guardian*. Available at: [LINK](#) (Accessed 25-11-2025)
- Canning, V. (2016), Unsilencing Sexual Torture: Responses to Refugees and Asylum Seekers in Denmark. *The British Journal of Criminology*. [Online] 56, pp. 438–455.
- Canning, V. (2017). *Gendered Harm and Structural Violence in the British Asylum System*. 1st Edition: Routledge.
- Canning, V. (2019a) Degradation by design: women and asylum in northern Europe. *Race & class*. [Online] 61 (1), 46–63.
- Canning, V. (2019b). Keeping up with the kladdkaka: Kindness and coercion in Swedish immigration detention centres. *European Journal of Criminology*. [Online]. pp. 723-743.
- Canning, V. (2021) Managing Expectations: Impacts of Hostile Migration Policies on Practitioners in Britain, Denmark and Sweden. *Social sciences (Basel)*. [Online] 10 (2), 65.
- Collins, P. H. (2015). Intersectionality's definitional dilemmas. [Online]. *Annual review of sociology*, 41, pp.1-20

- Crenshaw, K. (1989). Demarginalizing the Intersection of Race and Sex: A Black Feminist Critique of Antidiscrimination Doctrine, Feminist Theory and Antiracist Politics. [Online]. *University of Chicago Legal Forum*, Vol. 1989: Iss. 1, Article 8.
- Davis, K. (2008). Intersectionality as buzzword: A sociology of science perspective on what makes a feminist theory successful. [Online]. *Feminist theory*, 9(1), 67-85.
- Edwards, C. (2025) 'Denmark's hardline immigration laws have caught Britain's eye. Here's why'. *CNN*. Available at: [LINK](#) (Accessed 25-11-2025)
- Farmer, P. (1996). On Suffering and Structural Violence: A View from Below. [Online]. *Daedalus*, 125(1), 261–283.
- Farmer, P. (2004). An Anthropology of Structural Violence. [Online]. *Current Anthropology*, 45(3), 305–325.
- Flemming, C.J. E. (2023) Qualitative Methods for the Quantitatively Inclined. *Elon University*. [Online]. Available at: [LINK](#) (Accessed: 20-11-2025)
- Flick, U. (2018). An introduction to qualitative research, 6th Edition, London: SAGE Publications Ltd.
- Foucault, M. (1983). The subject and power. In H. Dreyfus, & P. Rabinow (Eds.), *Michel Foucault: Beyond structuralism and hermeneutics*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago. 208-226
- Gammeltoft-Hansen, T. & Tan, N. F. (2017) The end of the deterrence paradigm? Future directions for global refugee policy. [Online]. *Journal on migration and human security* 5, nr 1: 28-56.
- Gottlieb, N., Püschmann, C., Stenzinger, F., Koelber, J., Rasch, L., Koppelow, M. & Al Munjid, R. (2020) Health and Healthcare Utilization among Asylum-Seekers from Berlin's LGBTIQ Shelter: Preliminary Results of a Survey. *Int J Environ Res Public Health*. [Online]. 23;17(12):4514.
- Guillot-Wright S, Cherryhomes E, Wang L, & Overcash, M. (2022). Systems and subversion: A review of structural violence and im/migrant health. [Online]. *Curr Opin Psychol*.
- Hourani, J., Jarallah, Y., Block, K., Murray, L., Chen, J., Hach, M. & Vaughan, C. (2022) How structural and symbolic violence during resettlement impacts the social and mental wellbeing of forced migrant women: the lived experiences of Arabic speaking survivors of IPV resettled in Melbourne, Australia. [Online]. *Confl Health* 16, 59.

Istiko, S. N., Liem, A., Suriyah, E. A. & Correa-Velez, I. (2024) Understanding key priority areas of mental health among queer asylum seekers and refugees in Australia through the lens of structural violence: A modified Delphi method study. *Journal of refugee studies*. [Online] 37 (3), 750–767.

Kynde, A. (2025) 'Røde Kors-boss græmmes over lukning af Jellings asylcenter: 'Det er en ommer''. *Vejle Amts Folkeblad*. Available at: [LINK](#) (Accessed 21-09-2025)

Lemberg-Pedersen, M. (2021) 'Op-ed: Danish Externalization Desires and the Drive Towards Zero Asylum Seekers'. *European Council on Refugees and Exiles*. Available at: [LINK](#) (Accessed 28-09-2025)

LGBT Asylum (2025). *Linked-In*. Available at: [LINK](#) (Accessed 21-09-2025)

Lunau, M. (2019) The trouble with 'truth'. On the politics of life and death in the assessment of queer asylum seekers. *Kvinder, Køn & Forskning*, 28(3-4), s. 12–23. [Online].

Lunau, M. (2024) The Affective Politics of Queer Migration: On Affective Ambivalence, Truth and Queerness. *Roskilde Universitet. FS & P Ph.D. afhandling*. [Online].

Lunau, M. & Schröder, R. (2025) 'Coloniality In queer asylum: towards theorising 'colonial surveillance' and its resistances', *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*. [Online] vol. 51, nr. 9, s. 2166-2182.

Ministry of Immigration (2025) 'Udlændingestyrelsen lukker Center Jelling'. *Udlændingestyrelsen*. Available at: [LINK](#) (Accessed 21-09-2025)

Pace, M. (2025) Think twice before copying Denmark's asylum policies. *The Conversation*. Available at: [LINK](#) (Accessed: 14-11-2025)

Schrift, A. D. (2018). "Foucault and Poststructuralism" in A Companion to Literary Theory. [Online]. *Chichester, UK: John Wiley & Sons, Ltd.* pp. 176–187.

Schröder, R. (2025) Scandinavian design. The continuous closet and queer refugees in Denmark. *Sexualities*. [Online] vol 28, nr. 1-2, s. 435-449.

Shakhsari, S. (2014) 'Killing me softly with your rights: Queer death and the politics of rightful killing', in Jin Haritaworn et al. (eds.) *Queer Necropolitics*. 1st edition [Online]. Routledge. pp. 93–110.

Skærbæk, M. & Klarskov, K. (2016) 'Støjberg vil »utåleliggøre« tålt ophold'. *Politikken*. Available at: [LINK](#) (Accessed 28-09-2025)

Suárez-Krabbe, J., Lindberg, A. & Arce, J. (2018) “Stop Killing us Slowly”: A research report on the motivation enhancement measures and criminalization of rejected asylum seekers in Denmark. [Online]. *Freedom of Movements Research Collective*.

Whyte, Z. (2011) Enter the myopticon: Uncertain surveillance in the Danish asylum system. *Anthropology today*. [Online] 27 (3), 18–21.

Yarwood, V., Checchi, F., Lau, K. & Zimmerman, C. (2022) LGBTQI + Migrants: A Systematic Review and Conceptual Framework of Health, Safety and Wellbeing during Migration. [Online]. *Int J Environ Res Public Health*.

Author(s): Kamille Munch Andreassen

Title: Restrictive Immigration: The Reduction of Support Provisions for Vulnerable Asylum Seekers

MOBILE Working Paper, No. 93, 2026

Publication date: 13/04/2026

© Author

MOBILE Working Paper Series

Kamille Munch Andreassen, Master Student, Roskilde University

E-mail: kamillesenels@gmail.com



MOBILE (Center of Excellence for Global Mobility Law) was established in 2023 based on a grant from the Danish National Research Foundation. The center's mission is to systematically study the legal infrastructures of human mobility across geographies, social divides, travel patterns and time.

Papers are available at: <https://mobilitylaw.ku.dk/working-papers/>

MOBILE

Danish National Research Foundation's Center of Excellence for Global Mobility Law

The Faculty of Law, University of Copenhagen

Karen Blixens Plads 16, 2300 Copenhagen S