

JEAN MONNET CHAIR EUROPEAN MIGRATION STUDIES

ECONOMICS OF MIGRATION IN EUROPE (ECMEU)

REPORTS PRESENTATION

COUNTRY: DENMARK

2022/2023

PROF.SSA ALESSANDRA VENTURINI



Co-funded by the
Erasmus+ Programme
of the European Union



**UNIVERSITÀ
DI TORINO**



**UNIVERSITÀ
DI TORINO**

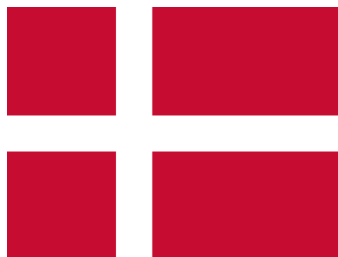
UNIVERSITÀ DEGLI STUDI DI TORINO

Department of Law

Master's Degree in European Legal Studies

Migration in Europe

Country Report on Denmark



Group:

Melissa Arcuri

Raul Magliulo

Simone Poncini

Matilda Segui

Elena Sola

Mariia Vorozhtsova

Academic year: 2022-2023

INDEX

Introduction	2
1. Stock of total population	3
2. Stock of migrants in the last 10 years	3
3. Immigration stock by category (sex, age, country of birth and reason for migration)	4
3.1 Stock of immigrants divided by country of birth	4
3.1.1 Stock of migrants divided by country of birth: focus on Poland, Afghanistan, Iran, Morocco and Ukraine	5
3.2 Immigration stock by age group	6
3.3 Immigration stock by category (sex)	7
3.4 Immigration stock by category (reasons for migration)	8
4. Population growth	9
5. Flows of Migrants in the last 10 years	11
6. Immigration Flow	12
6.1 Immigration flow by group (age)	12
6.2 Immigration flow by group (sex)	13
6.3 Immigration flow by group (reasons for migration)	14
6.4 Immigration flow by group (country of birth)	15
7. Total number of refugees (asylum seekers, sex and age)	16
8. Share of refugees on total migration	16
9. Migrants Integration Indicators: employment or unemployment	17
Conclusion	20
References	21

Introduction

Denmark boasts a rich and complex history of migration that has played a vital role in shaping its cultural and economic landscape. Throughout its history, migration flows have exerted significant influence on Denmark's social and political development, contributing to the formation of its unique national identity. Presently, Denmark continues to attract migrants from diverse regions of the world, offering numerous opportunities for employment, education, and a high standard of living. Nevertheless, the issue of migration to Denmark remains multifaceted and contentious, with debates focusing on topics such as social integration, inclusion, and the impact on the nation's welfare system. Therefore, gaining a nuanced understanding of the dynamics of migration in Denmark is crucial for policymakers, researchers, and members of the general public alike.

Following a period of mass emigration right after the Second World War, caused by a period of heavy unemployment, the development of the manufacturing industry rapidly increased the demand for labor force, attracting a large number of immigrants coming mainly from Pakistan, Turkey and former Yugoslavia.

However, the immigration policy became way stricter in the following decade, allowing only immigrant workers from other nordic regions into the country. In the first part of the 1970's, the government allowed guest workers to reunify with their families inside the country, making this method of immigration the primary tool for people willing to come to Denmark. From there onward, the immigration policy became even more stringent. Starting with the election of the Danish People's party accompanied by Queen Margrethe's controversial statements on immigrants, the political influence on migration proved to be effective. In fact, in 2015, the government revoked the political protection ensured to asylum seekers; this left, for example, Syrian refugees (who are the 2nd largest group of migrants coming into the country) to an uncertain and dramatic future.

The strong political stance on immigration has only worsened since then, with the Danish PM Mette Frederiksen's ambition to have: "[...] zero asylum seekers in the future", justifying that this steady policy is just a mean to improve the quality of integration and not to hinder the social cohesion, as it would be too difficult with a large number of refugees and immigrants coming inside the country.

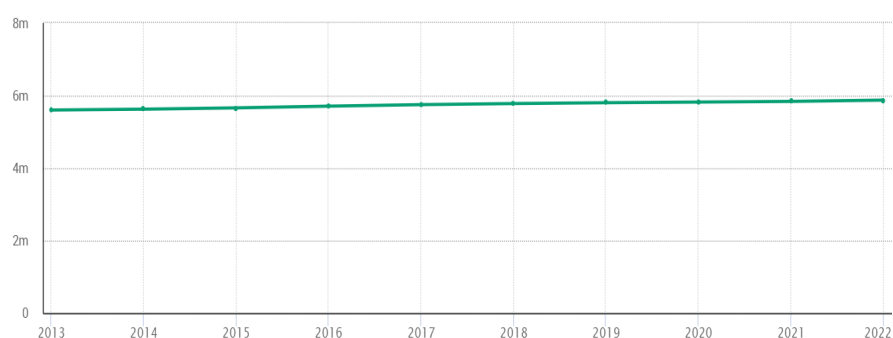
Of course, this situation made Denmark one of the least appealing countries to immigrate to, bringing many immigrants to leave the country and to avoid going to it for working purposes, but it has been registered a consistent amount of immigration into the country, and taking into account the decrease of the fertility rate in the EU, it is a positive phenomena in order to de-age the population given that immigration flows are very steady for young people between 20 to 30 years old.

1. Stock of total population

Table 1

⬆️ ⬆️	⚙️	GEO	Denmark ⬆️
TIME ⬆️			
2013			5 602 628
2014			5 627 235
2015			5 659 715
2016			5 707 251
2017			5 748 769
2018			5 781 190
2019			5 806 081
2020			5 822 763
2021			5 840 045
2022			5 873 420

Table 1.1



Source: EUROSTAT (demo_pjan). Population on 1 January by age and sex.

The total stock population increased of 5.62% of the population since 2013.

2. Stock of migrants in the last 10 years

Table 2

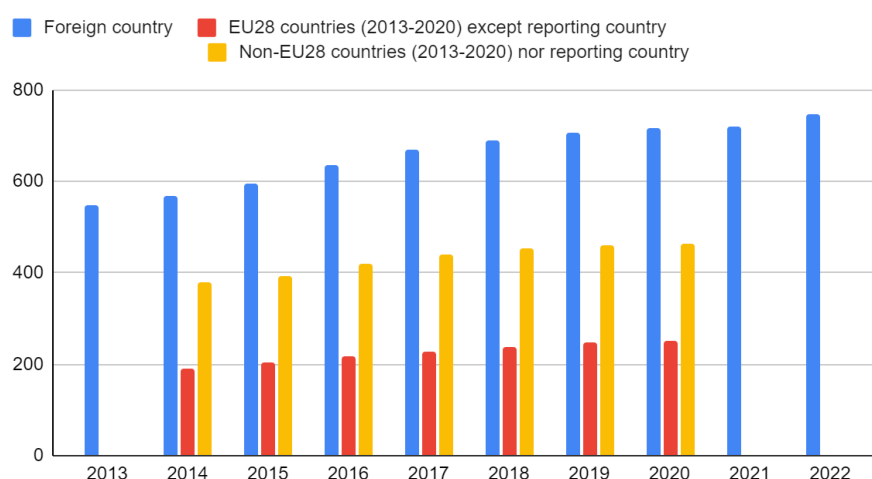
⬆️ ⬆️	⚙️	C_BIRTH	Foreign country ⬆️	EU28 countries (2013-20... ⬆️	Non-EU28 countries (201... ⬆️
TIME ⬆️					
2013			548 411	:	:
2014			569 596	191 638	377 958
2015			595 876	202 849	393 027
2016			636 666	216 892	419 774
2017			668 090	228 400	439 690
2018			690 549	238 254	452 295
2019			707 880	247 376	460 504
2020			715 936	250 820	465 116
2021			721 135	:	:
2022			745 851	:	:

Source: EUROSTAT [migr_pop3ctb]

From this graph, we can see that throughout the years the number of immigrants increased at a considerable rate; from foreign countries it has increased of the 36%, while it has increased by 30,9% for immigrants from EU countries, whereas the lowest increase has been registered for non-EU countries with a 23% increase.

Table 2.1

Stock of migrants in the last 10 years



Values on the “y” axis are expressed in thousands. Source: EUROSTAT [migr_pop3ctb]

Table 2.1 shows the constant increase in the number of immigrants discussed above, although lacking information about EU and Non-EU countries because of the absence of data about immigrants after Brexit.

3. Immigration stock by category (sex, age, country of birth and reason for migration)

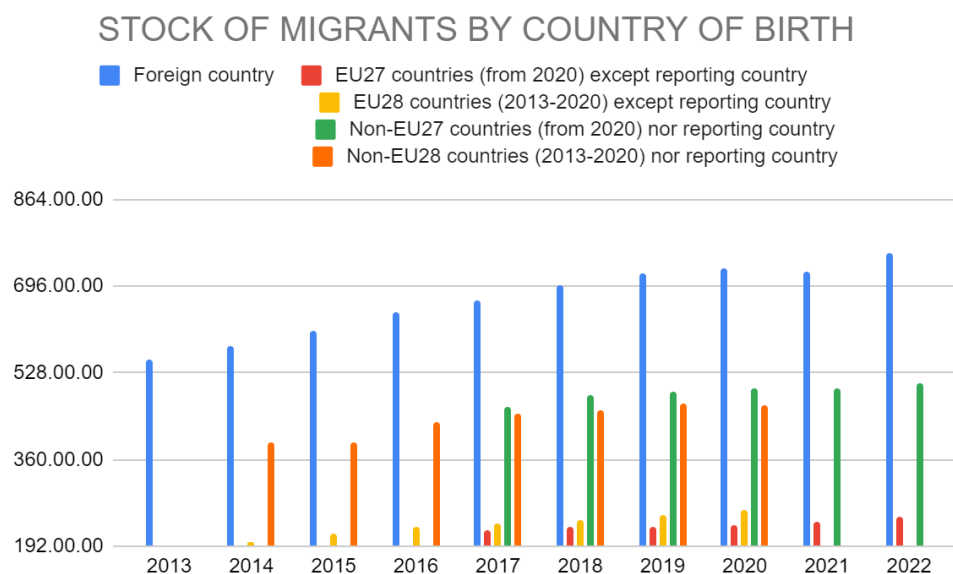
3.1 Stock of immigrants divided by country of birth

Table 3

TIME	C_BIRTH	Foreign country	EU27 countries (from 20...	EU28 countries (2013-20...	Non-EU27 countries (fro...	Non-EU28 countries (201...
2013		548 411	:	:	:	:
2014		569 596	:	191 638	:	377 958
2015		595 876	:	202 849	:	393 027
2016		636 666	:	216 892	:	419 774
2017		668 090	208 864	228 400	459 226	439 690
2018		698 549	217 780	238 254	472 769	452 295
2019		707 880	226 238	247 376	481 642	460 504
2020		715 936	229 237	250 820	486 699	465 116
2021		721 135	232 468	:	488 667	:
2022		745 851	248 121	:	497 730	:

Source: EUROSTAT [migr_pop3ctb]

Table 3.1



3.1.1 Stock of migrants divided by country of birth: focus on Poland, Afghanistan, Iran, Morocco and Ukraine

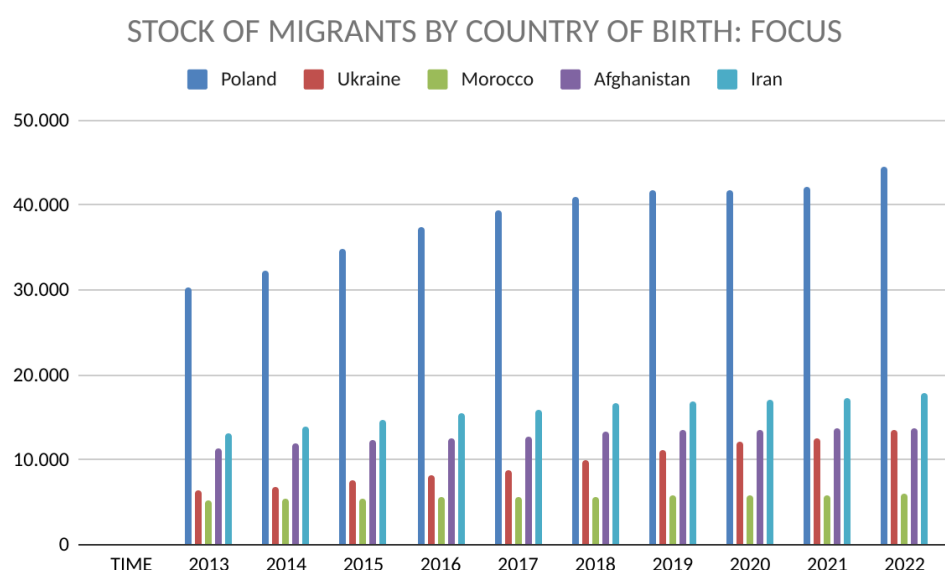
Table 4

↑↓	⌕	C_BIRTH	Poland↑↓	Ukraine↑↓	Morocco↑↓	Afghanistan↑↓	Iran↑↓
TIME↑↓							
		2013	30 245	6 408	5 253	11 435	13 164
		2014	32 366	6 806	5 347	11 937	13 952
		2015	34 867	7 528	5 439	12 399	14 726
		2016	37 414	8 125	5 532	12 605	15 416
		2017	39 400	8 750	5 624	12 827	15 832
		2018	40 916	9 910	5 710	13 284	16 610
		2019	41 806	11 246	5 807	13 530	16 893
		2020	41 851	12 175	5 854	13 578	16 998
		2021	42 176	12 442	5 895	13 628	17 367
		2022	44 523	13 509	5 962	13 705	17 838

Source: EUROSTAT [migr_pop3ctb]

The data shown in table 4 demonstrate, with the Polish diaspora being one of the most prominent in the world, that Polish people are the largest immigrant group to choose Denmark as their destination country. This table helps us understand that Denmark is a place of migration mostly for people coming from Eurozone countries. In fact, Iran stands at the 9th place, Afghanistan at the 18th, Ukraine as 19th, and finally Morocco at 38th in the list of the countries of origin.

Table 4.1



3.2 Immigration stock by age group

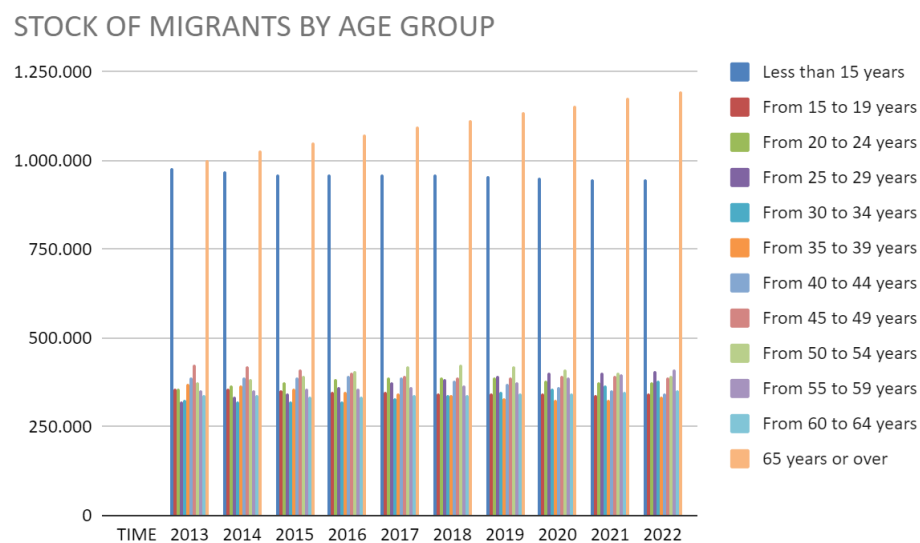
Table 5

TIME	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018	2019	2020	2021
AGE									
Less than 15 years	39 262	39 944	42 264	47 784	52 032	53 288	53 370	52 449	50 992
From 15 to 19 years	25 190	25 431	25 559	26 802	27 470	27 241	26 886	26 834	26 822
From 20 to 24 years	54 960	55 158	55 889	59 229	60 761	61 480	60 540	57 180	53 281
From 25 to 29 years	68 006	71 730	75 063	81 264	84 633	85 910	85 409	83 142	78 073
From 30 to 34 years	62 012	65 836	70 682	76 881	81 845	85 201	88 115	88 788	89 083
From 35 to 39 years	56 233	58 521	61 576	66 262	70 062	73 770	77 406	79 783	82 144
From 40 to 44 years	54 103	54 966	56 655	58 933	61 602	63 570	66 028	67 592	70 096
From 45 to 49 years	50 298	52 013	53 715	56 063	57 106	58 645	59 402	60 524	61 614
From 50 to 54 years	41 148	43 320	45 928	47 983	50 536	52 412	54 450	55 757	57 307
From 55 to 59 years	29 868	32 025	34 265	37 066	39 243	41 590	43 773	46 125	48 035
From 60 to 64 years	22 335	23 370	24 460	25 853	27 737	29 344	31 428	33 581	36 030
65 years or over	44 996	47 282	49 820	52 546	55 063	58 098	61 073	64 181	67 658

Source: EUROSTAT [migr_pop3ctb]

The amount of immigrants going to Denmark has a great number of people between 20 to 40 years old, with this trend being repeated consistently. In fact, taking into account 2021, the group concerning people between 25 and 29 years old constitute the 10,83% of the total migration flows, the group between 30 to 34 years old covers the 12,35% and the group from 35 to 39 years old constitutes the 11,39%, therefore roughly 35% of the total amount of immigrants is covered by 35% of people between 25 and 39 years old. A considerable number rises in the age range over 65 years old, with 9,38% of the total number of immigrants in that year.

Table 5.1



3.3 Immigration stock by category (sex)

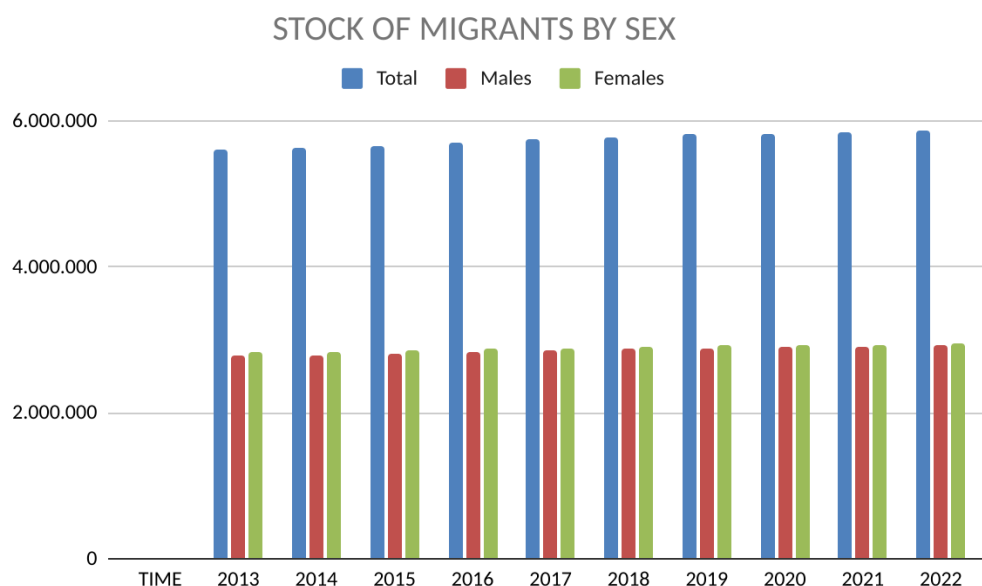
Table 6

↕	SEX	Total ↕	Males ↕	Females ↕
TIME ↕				
2013		5 602 628	2 778 852	2 823 776
2014		5 627 235	2 792 279	2 834 956
2015		5 659 715	2 811 014	2 848 701
2016		5 707 251	2 837 887	2 869 364
2017		5 748 769	2 860 178	2 888 591
2018		5 781 190	2 876 473	2 904 717
2019		5 806 081	2 889 073	2 917 008
2020		5 822 763	2 896 918	2 925 845
2021		5 840 045	2 904 857	2 935 188
2022		5 873 420	2 922 915	2 950 505

Source:EUROSTAT [migr_pop3ctb]

It can be seen by the data shown in the table that there is no significant difference in the immigration flows concerning males and females, with a slightly higher number of females every year than males, in fact, considering 2022, there is only a small 0,94% difference.

Table 6.1



3.4 Immigration stock by category (reasons for migration)

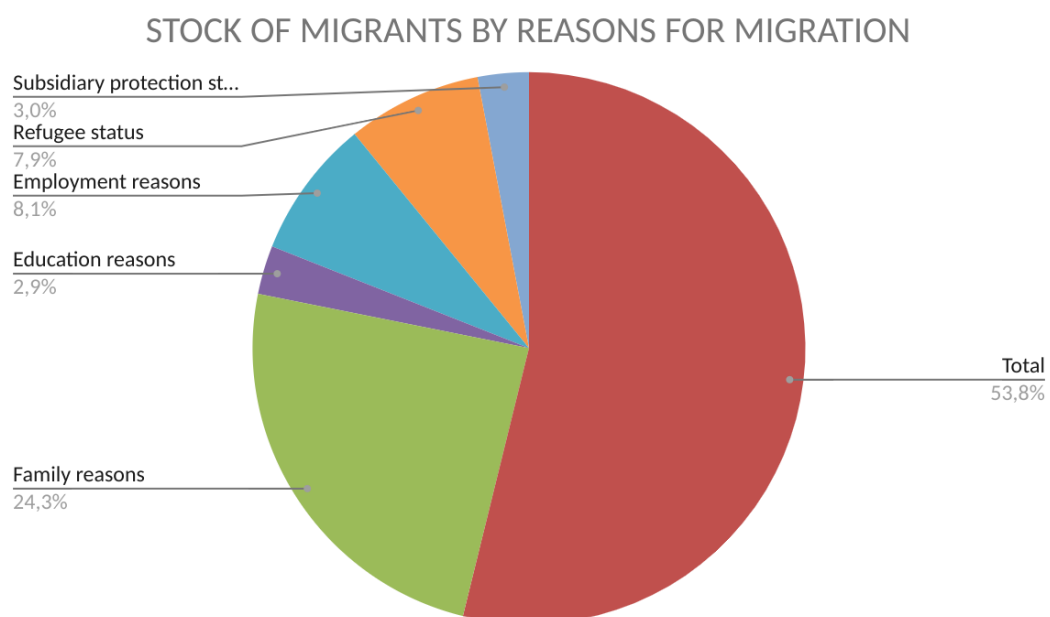
Table 7

⬇ ⬆	⌂	TIME	2021 ⬆
REASON ⬆			
Total			211 797
Family reasons			95 651
Education reasons			11 220
Employment reasons			31 949
Refugee status			31 007
Subsidiary protection status			11 759

Source: EUROSTAT [migr_resvalid]

Since there is no available data for the years 2012-2020, we took into account only the year 2021.

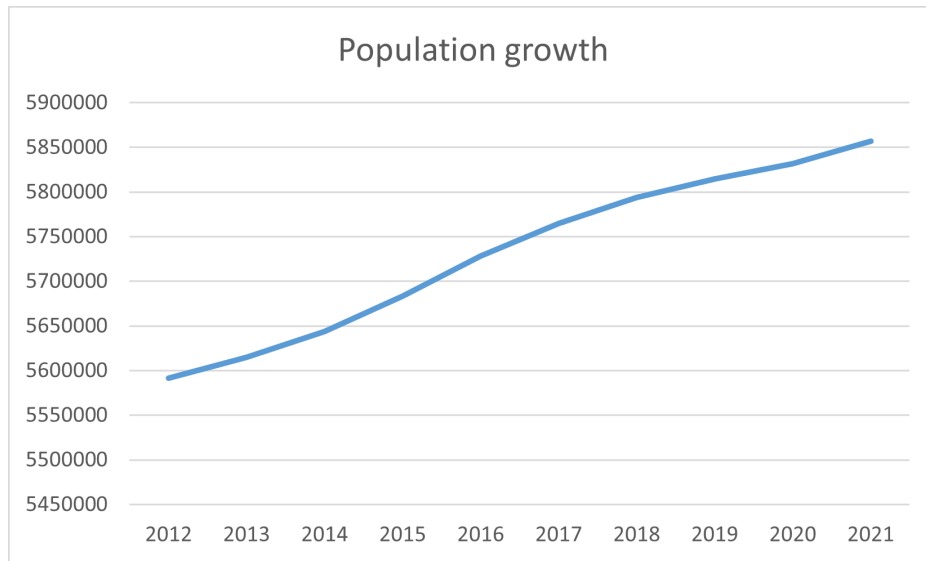
Table 7.1



4. Population growth

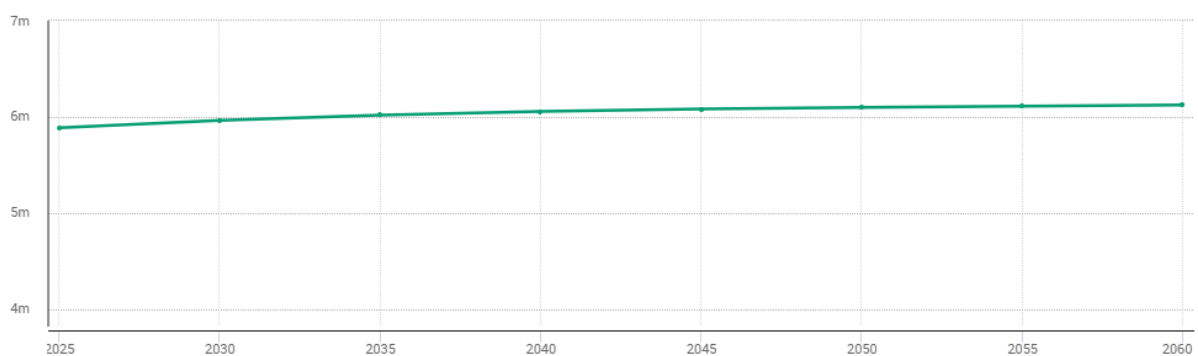
Table 8

TIME ↕	
2012	5 591 572
2013	5 614 932
2014	5 643 475
2015	5 683 483
2016	5 728 010
2017	5 764 980
2018	5 793 636
2019	5 814 422
2020	5 831 404
2021	5 856 733

Table 8.1

Population growth in the last 10 years. Source: EUROSTAT [demo_gind]

As it can be seen from the previous graphs the population of Denmark has been steadily increasing. Though, it has to be noted that the growth is very slow. In the period between 2012 and 2021 the amount of people living in Denmark has increased only by 265.161 people which makes up 2.69% of the population.

Table 9

Projection of population growth in the future. Source: EUROSTAT [proj_19np]

According to the projection of the population growth of EUROSTAT, in the next 40 years the population growth will follow the same trend: slow and steady increase. By 2060 the population is supposed to be a little higher than 6 million people.

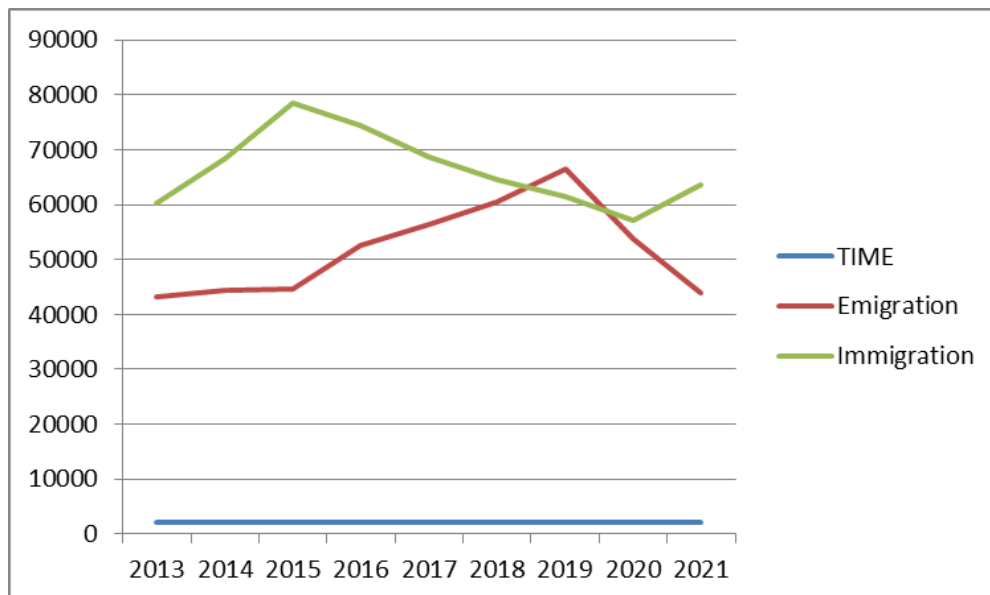
5. Flows of Migrants in the last 10 years

Table 10

Time	Emigration	Immigration
2013	43.310	60.312
2014	44.426	68.388
2015	44.625	78.492
2016	52.654	74.383
2017	56.403	68.579
2018	60.381	64.669
2019	66.520	61.484
2020	53.822	57.230
2021	44.008	63.489

Source: EUROSTAT [MIGR_EMI5NXT] and EUROSTAT [MIGR_IMM12PRV]

Table 10.1



Denmark has experienced a positive migration flow over the past decade. During this period, there was a consistently higher number of immigrants entering the country than emigrants leaving it. Up until 2015, the number of immigrants arriving in Denmark steadily grew. Since then, however, the number of immigrants has decreased in the country.

Migration flows data capture the number of migrants entering and leaving (inflow and outflow) a country over the course of a specific period, in this case one year. Data on migration flows are essential for understanding migration patterns and how different factors and policies in countries of origin and destination may be related to flows. However, currently only 45 countries, including Denmark, report their migration flow data to the United Nations.

Migration flows data on migrants entering and leaving over the course of a given time period are often confused with migration stock data which estimate all migrants residing in a country at a particular point in time.

In order to draw the data regarding the flow of migration in Denmark in the past 10 years the data of immigration by broad group of country of previous residence and then emigration by broad group of country of usual next residence was extracted. The graphic highlights how the immigration inflow is not significantly larger than the emigration outflow.

6. Immigration Flow

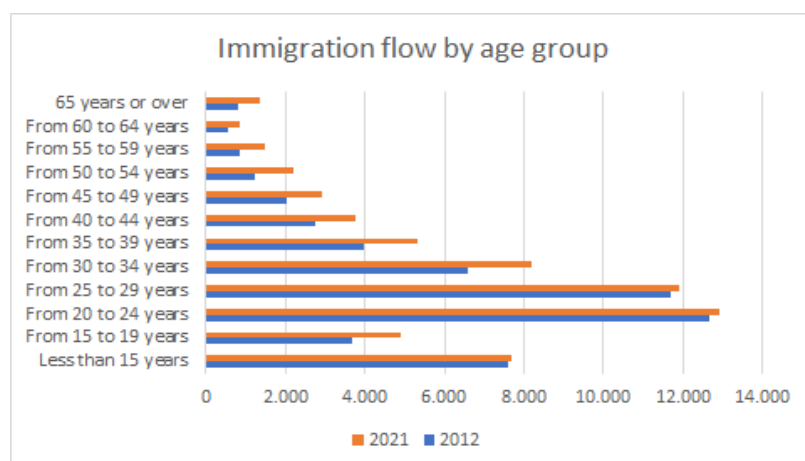
6.1 Immigration flow by group (age)

Table 11

TIME	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018	2019	2020	2021
AGE										
Less than 15 years	7 616	8 469	9 791	12 930	11 975	9 681	8 742	7 940	7 370	7 785
From 15 to 19 years	3 660	3 886	4 623	5 555	5 413	4 595	4 795	4 711	4 432	4 893
From 20 to 24 years	12 670	13 056	14 255	16 079	15 717	14 686	14 316	13 096	12 048	12 918
From 25 to 29 years	11 676	13 116	14 196	15 954	14 932	14 211	12 791	12 478	10 941	11 890
From 30 to 34 years	6 594	7 761	8 931	9 717	9 148	8 649	7 930	7 633	7 052	8 184
From 35 to 39 years	3 980	4 710	5 632	6 192	5 620	5 326	5 042	4 747	4 519	5 305
From 40 to 44 years	2 739	3 119	3 758	4 206	3 816	3 674	3 621	3 307	3 230	3 779
From 45 to 49 years	2 018	2 116	2 657	2 916	2 791	2 659	2 551	2 479	2 502	2 927
From 50 to 54 years	1 243	1 460	1 689	1 858	1 944	1 964	1 853	1 848	1 863	2 176
From 55 to 59 years	845	983	1 052	1 189	1 175	1 226	1 154	1 172	1 277	1 494
From 60 to 64 years	560	621	644	713	707	721	757	737	767	853
65 years or over	808	1 015	1 160	1 183	1 145	1 187	1 117	1 236	1 229	1 365

Source: EUROSTAT [migr_imm1ctz]

Table 11.1



As we can see from the tables 11 and 11.1, according to the data extracted from Eurostat, the most significant categories of immigrants in Denmark (in between the years 2012-2021) belong respectively to the age ranges 20-24, 25-29, and 30-34 years old. It can be seen that there is a consistent number of young people entering the country, detaching from an European context in which the fertility rate is consistently decreasing.

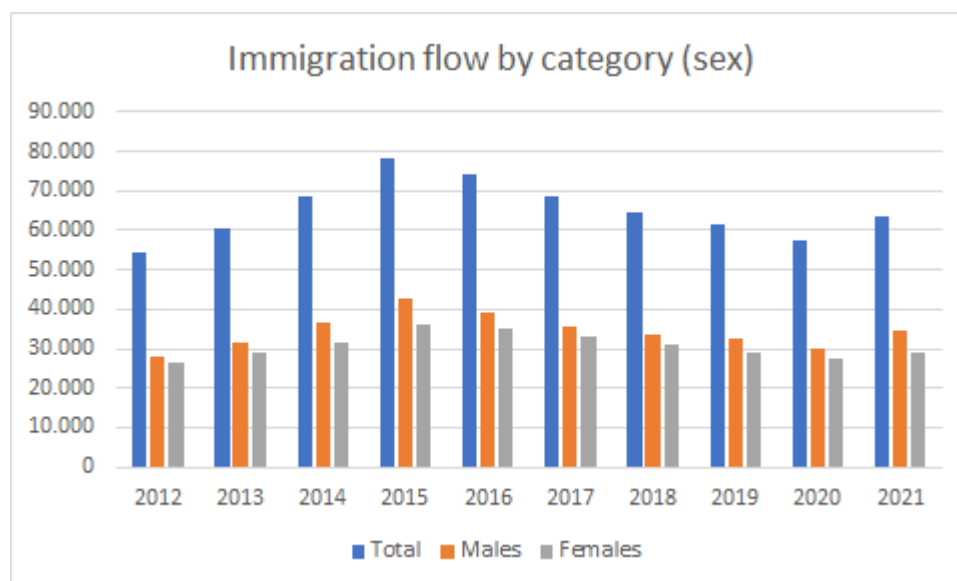
6.2 Immigration flow by group (sex)

Table 12

↑↓	SEX	Total ↑↓	Males ↑↓	Females ↑↓
TIME ↑↓				
2012		54 409	27 907	26 502
2013		60 312	31 371	28 941
2014		68 388	36 739	31 649
2015		78 492	42 546	35 946
2016		74 383	39 286	35 097
2017		68 579	35 722	32 857
2018		64 669	33 803	30 866
2019		61 384	32 333	29 051
2020		57 230	29 883	27 347
2021		63 489	34 400	29 089

Source: EUROSTAT [migr_imm8]

Table 12.1



Based on the data collected from Eurostat, we can clearly see that, from 2012 to 2021, male immigrants joined the country more than female ones. One main reason is that male

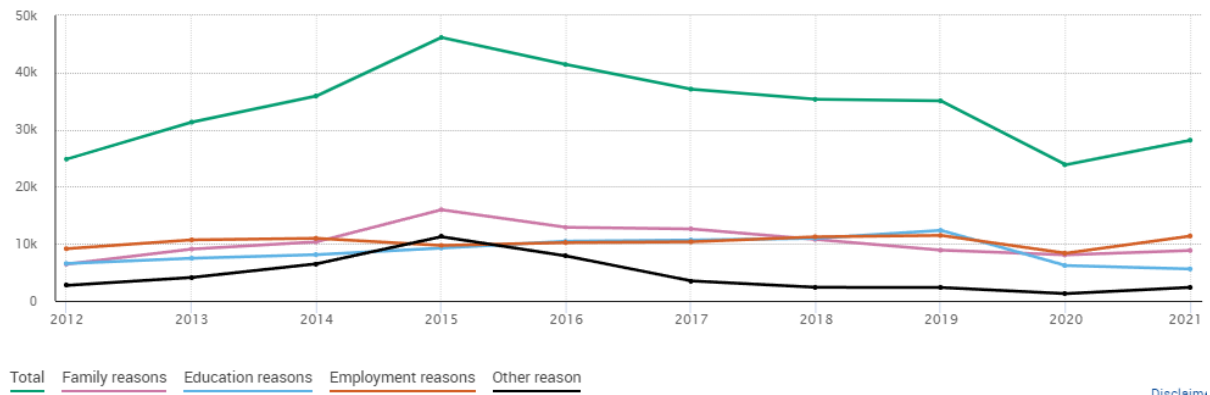
emigration rotates around finding better working conditions, and only after the males have settled properly the females join them for family reunification reasons. As we can see, in 2015 the country reached its peak number of immigration flow. However, after this pivotal year we can see that the number of immigrants decreased by 27% until 2020, which was the least busy. This happened primarily because of the new strict policies implemented by the government. Moreover, we should remember that crossing borders in 2020 was way harder because of the Covid-19 pandemic. This latter reason could explain why in 2021 we witnessed an 11% increase in the number of immigrants flowing into the country.

6.3 Immigration flow by group (reasons for migration)

Table 13

REASON	Total	Family reasons	Education reasons	Employment reasons	Other reason
TIME					
2012	24 812	6 436	6 535	9 132	2 789
2013	31 388	9 068	7 460	10 684	4 096
2014	35 881	10 339	8 096	10 954	6 492
2015	46 147	15 961	9 242	9 786	11 238
2016	41 485	12 883	10 446	10 208	7 868
2017	37 091	12 601	10 649	10 347	3 494
2018	35 301	10 755	10 954	11 220	2 372
2019	35 037	8 882	12 353	11 465	2 337
2020	23 853	8 053	6 184	8 350	1 266
2021	28 149	8 826	5 587	11 367	2 369

Table 13.1



Source: EUROSTAT [migr_resfas]

These two tables demonstrate in a clearer manner what has been stated above: the two main reasons for migration are family and employment. During this 10 year span taken into consideration, 103.804 persons migrated for family reasons while 103.433 for employment. It can be clearly seen that the ratio is 1:1, showing the strong link between who moves for working and who joins afterwards.

6.4 Immigration flow by group (country of birth)

Table 14

C_BIRTH (Labels)	Total	Reporting country	Foreign country	EU28 countries (2013-2020)	Non-EU28 countries (2013-2020)
TIME					
2012	54,409	14,123	39,745	:	:
2013	60,312	14,467	45,260	21,158	24,102
2014	68,388	15,064	52,044	23,295	28,749
2015	78,492	15,370	61,153	24,093	37,060
2016	74,383	15,548	58,815	24,612	34,203
2017	68,579	15,387	53,180	25,154	28,026
2018	64,669	15,004	49,638	24,493	25,145
2019	61,384	14,828	46,542	22,702	23,840
2020	57,230	14,770	42,454	:	:
2021	63,489	11,868	51,605	:	:

Source:EUROSTAT [migr_imm3ctb]

Table 14.1

IMMIGRATION FLOW BY GROUP (COUNTRY OF BIRTH)

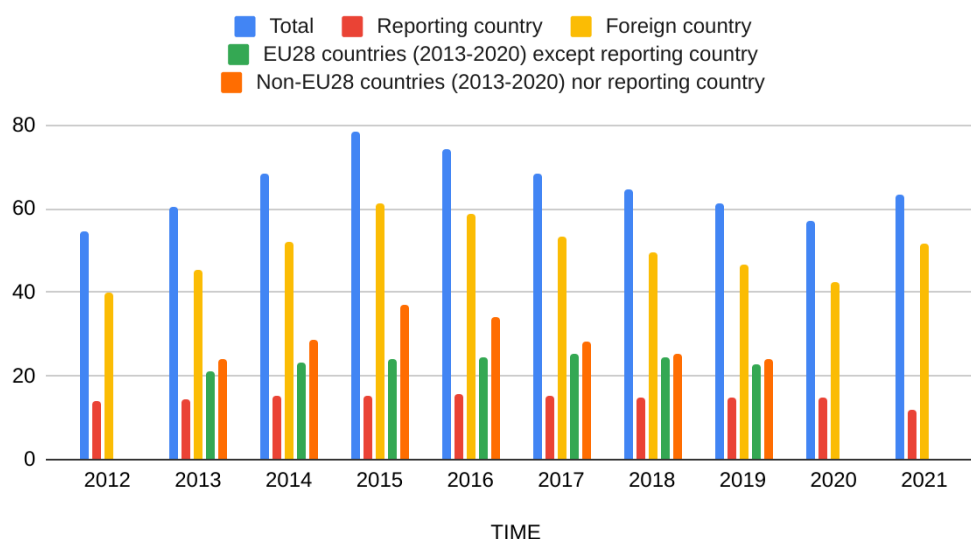


Table 14.1 shows that, once again, 2015 has been the busiest year. What is added here explains better the multicultural panorama of immigrants flowing into Denmark. In fact, as previously mentioned, European countries (especially those outside the European Union) represent a large share of the total flow of immigrants. We can mention Poland and Romania. However, the largest share of immigrants come from foreign countries (which, every year, are almost twice as the immigrants coming from Europe) such as Syria, Turkey, Iraq, and Iran.

7. Total number of refugees (asylum seekers, sex and age)

Table 15

↕ ↗	GEO	Denmark	Denmark
	SEX	Males ↕	Females ↕
TIME ↕			
2013		4 740	2 430
2014		11 100	3 575
2015		14 775	6 165
2016		4 290	1 890
2017		2 455	765
2018		2 205	1 370
2019		1 660	1 040
2020		955	520
2021		1 250	830
2022		2 500	2 065

This graph shows the total number of refugees that have settled in Denmark during the last 10 years (2013-2022) divided by sex. It can be observed that the amount of male refugees (45.930) is far greater than the amount of females refugees (20.650).

It can also be observed that from the year 2019 to 2020 there was an important decrease of total refugees of 38,5%.

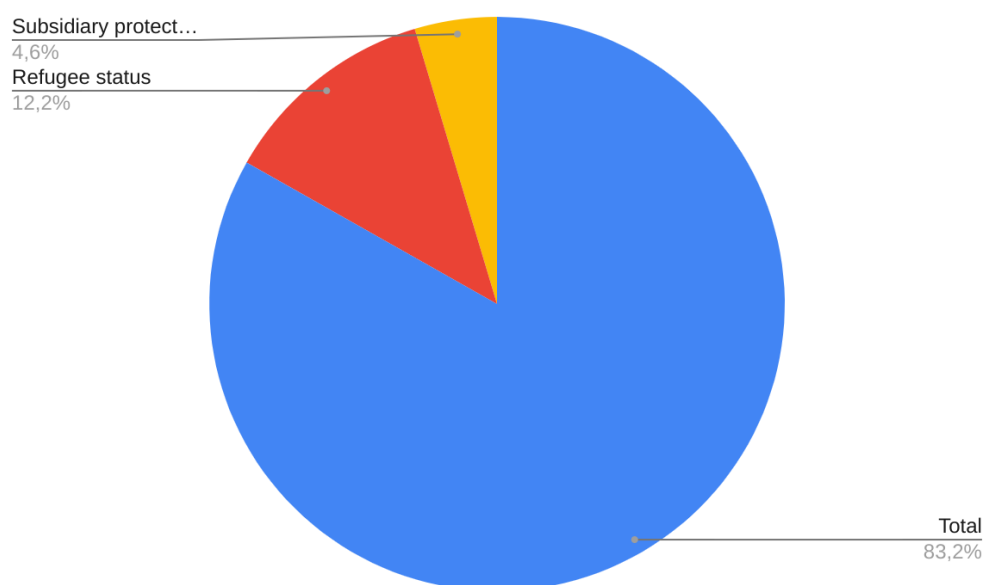
8. Share of refugees on total migration

Table 16

↕ ↗	TIME	2021 ↕
REASON ↕		
Total		211 797
Refugee status		31 007
Subsidiary protection status		11 759

source: EUROSTAT [migr_resvalid]

Table 16.1



According to the data available in tables 16 and 16.1 the share of refugees is 12.2% on total migration. While the amount of people with subsidiary protection amounts to 4.6%.

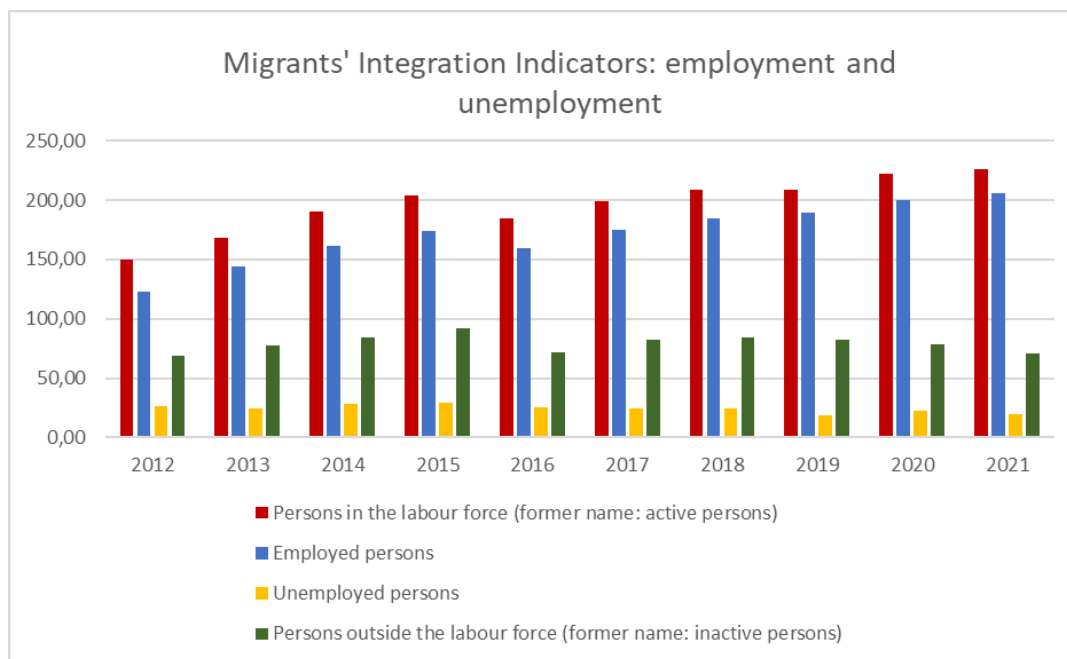
9. Migrants Integration Indicators: employment or unemployment

Table 17

WSTATUS	Persons in the labour for... ⚡	Employed persons ⚡	Unemployed persons ⚡	Persons outside the labo... ⚡
TIME ↓				
2012	149.6	123.2	26.4	69.1
2013	167.9	143.7	24.2	77.8
2014	190.5	161.8	28.7	83.9
2015	203.5	174.3	29.2	92.4
2016	185.1 (b)	159.5 (b)	25.7 (b)	71.7 (b)
2017	199.4 (b)	174.9 (b)	24.6 (b)	82.4 (b)
2018	209.0	184.4	24.6	84.1
2019	208.3	189.3	19.0	82.4
2020	222.0	199.9	22.1	78.1
2021	226.3 (b)	206.2 (b)	20.1 (b)	70.7 (b)

Source: EUROSTAT, online data code: LFSA_PGANWS.

Table 17.1

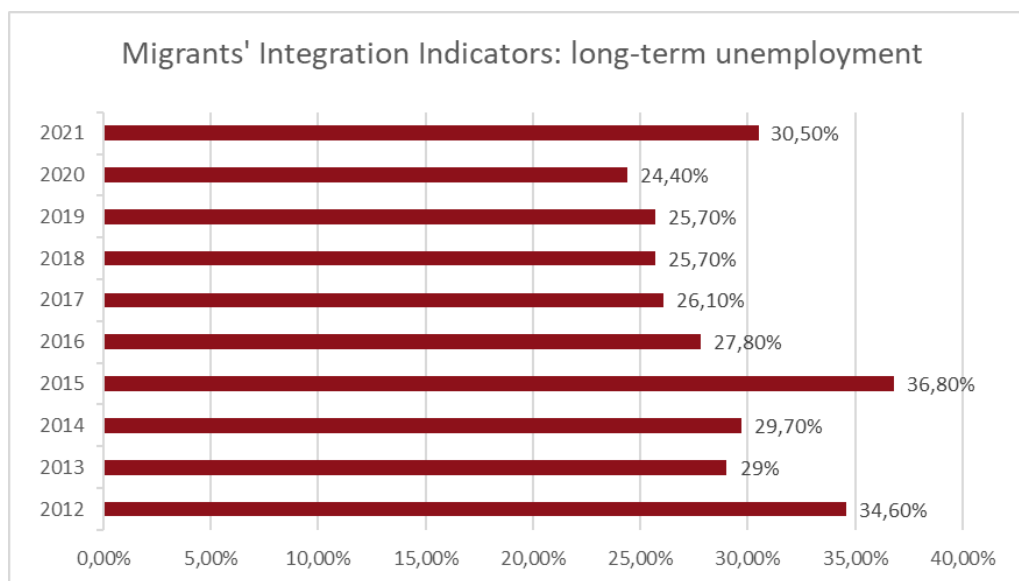


Source: EUROSTAT (LFSA_PGAWNS)

The data in table 17.1 is calculated out of 1000 and includes both male and female foreigners, in the working age 16-64, in the years 2012-2021.

The table shows the employment or unemployment of immigrants as an indicator of their integration in Denmark. The data shows a stable increase of employment of foreigners and a steady decrease of the amount of unemployed migrants throughout the years.

Table 18



Source: EUROSTAT (LFSA_UPGAN)

The data in table 18 is calculated in percentage and includes both male and female foreigners, in the working age 15-74, in the years 2012-2021.

The table is useful to further analyze the integration of migrants in Denmark, as it shows the long-term unemployment (12 months or more) rate of foreigners and the data reveal a slow decrease from 2016 to 2020 which, however, is interrupted by a new increase in 2021.

Conclusion

Considering all the above data, it can be observed that the population of Denmark has been steadily increasing, with an increase of the total stock population by 5.62% since 2013.

It has to be noted that the growth is very slow but steady, and according to the projection of the population growth of EUROSTAT, in the next 40 years the population growth will follow the same trend, so that by 2060 the population is supposed to be a little higher than 6 million people. This is in part due to the fact that there is a consistent number of young people entering the country, detaching from a European context in which the fertility rate is consistently decreasing.

It is also evident from the above data that the number of immigrants arriving in Denmark steadily grew until 2015, reaching in that year its peak number of immigration flows.

Since then, the number of immigrants has decreased by up to 27% in 2020. This happened mostly because of the new strict policies implemented by the government, and because crossing borders in 2020 was difficult due to the restrictions for the Covid-19 pandemic. This latter reason could explain why in 2021 we witnessed an 11% increase in the number of immigrants flowing into the country. As a matter of fact, in the same time span from 2019 to 2020 there was an important decrease of total refugees by 38,5%.

As mentioned at the beginning of this report, the issue of migration to Denmark sparks debates focusing on matters such as social integration, inclusion, and the impact on the nation's welfare system, so that it is important to consider the employment or unemployment rates of immigrants as an indicator of their integration in Denmark, and as the data in the last table shows, there has been a stable increase of employment of foreigners and a steady decrease of the amount of unemployed immigrants throughout the years.

The data shows a stable increase of employment of foreigners and a constant decrease of the amount of unemployed migrants throughout the years.

References

EUROSTAT Database for the information and data shown on the graphs described above.

<https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/en/web/main/data/database>

(2021) *Mette Frederiksen: Målet Er Nul asylansøgere til danmark*, Jyllands. JP/Politikens Hus A/S. Available at:

<https://jyllands-posten.dk/politik/ECE12708028/mette-frederiksen-maalet-er-nul-asylansoege-re-til-danmark/> (Accessed: April 12, 2023).

Petersen, M.J. and Tan, N.F. (2022) *The dire consequences of Denmark's 'paradigm shift' on refugees*, POLITICO. POLITICO. Available at:

<https://www.politico.eu/article/consequences-denmark-shift-refugees-syria-damascus/> (Accessed: April 12, 2023).

The Local (2016) *Denmark's queen: Living here doesn't make you Danish*, The Local Denmark. The Local. Available at:

<https://www.thelocal.dk/20161024/queen-margrethe-living-in-denmark-doesnt-make-you-danish> (Accessed: April 12, 2023).

Strzyżyńska, W. (2022) *'Zero asylum seekers': Denmark forces refugees to return to Syria*, The Guardian. Guardian News and Media. Available at:

<https://www.theguardian.com/global-development/2022/may/25/zero-asylum-seekers-denmark-forces-refugees-to-return-to-syria> (Accessed: April 13, 2023).