



UNIVERSITY OF AALBORG

The Faculty of Humanities, Department of Culture and Learning

Thesis Topic: Sanctuary and Solidarity Cities in Global Context:
Copenhagen, Denmark and Accra, Ghana as a Case Study

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Abstract

The study explores the urban sanctuary and solidarity cities in Global context - structural commonalities and differences in urban and municipal policies and practices in integrating refugees and vulnerable migrants in the Global North Copenhagen, Denmark, and South Accra, Ghana. Using a thematic analytical research design, and theoretical framework of infrastructure of solidarity and political opportunity structures, the study revealed structural commonalities and differences in solidarity cities movement between Accra and Copenhagen. In terms of the commonalities, the study identified the Integration policies and practices, and Sources of Refugees and vulnerable migrants to host society as some of the key structural commonalities in integrating refugees and vulnerable migrants in Copenhagen and Accra. On the other hand, the identified, Health and housing sanctuary and Labour market integration as part of the structural differences between the two cities. Indeed, this study has highlighted the critical role of civil society organizations and city authorities in constructing and consolidating the solidarity or sanctuary city's philosophy in the GN, Copenhagen and GS, Accra.

Keywords: Sanctuary cities, Solidarity cities, Refugees, Accra, Copenhagen

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Acronyms

ADRA	Adventist Development and Relief Agency
AMA	Accra Metropolitan Assembly
CCG	Christian Council of Ghana
CSOs	Civil Society Organizations
DK	Denmark
EU	European Union
GRB	Ghana Refugee Board
GN	Global North
GS	Global South
IOM	International Organization for Migration
MMDAs	Metropolitan, Municipal, and District Assemblies
NCS	National Catholic Secretariat
NSM	New Social Movement
POS	Political Opportunity Structures
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
UNDESA	United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs
UNSDGS	United Nation Sustainable Development Goals
AU	African Union

ECOWAS	Economic Community of West African States
NGOs	Non-Governmental Organisation
MOFA	Ministry of Food and Agriculture
GGC	Ghanaian- German Centre
PNDC	Provisional National Defence Council
U.S. A	United States of America

Chapter 1

1.1 Introduction

The discourse of urbanization and urban policies and practices have been on the ascendancy in recent decades, by academic scholars, politicians, and policymakers. This is mainly because of the influx of migrants (legal and undocumented), to the major cities around the world, in search of better livelihood or to escape extreme danger from the original point of migration. To be concise, today like in the past, people migrate to the cities to take refuge, seek freedom, and pursue opportunity (Bauder, 2016). In this regard, the urban population of the world has grown considerably from 751 million in 1950 to 4.2 billion in 2018. With this, a total of 453 million people emerged to be hosted in twenty-eight megacities. Among the megacities, sixteen are said to be in Asia, four in Latin America, and three in Africa. Besides, the Global South (GS), notably East Asia, South Asia, and Africa, could be hosting about 96% of an over three billion increases in urban population by 2050 (Onodugo & Ezeadichie, 2021; UN-Habitat, 2020; UNDESA, 2018; The Lancet, 2017). In fact, rapid urbanization and its associated unemployment is invariably due to high population growth rates, however, rural-urban migration accounts for over half the growth of most African cities (Byerlee, 1974).

Despite this reality, the main cities of the Global South (GS) have major socioeconomic, and environmental problems, namely increase in slum-dwellers, air and water pollution, resource depletion, rising urban poverty, and to some degree a lack of clear policy direction (Arku & Marais, 2021; Acheampong & Ibrahim, 2016). Additionally, the 2008 global financial crisis, the 2015 refugee's crisis, the COVID-19 pandemic, and the Russian-Ukraine war (24-02-2022) have each added unprecedented pressures on cities development - policy planning and implementation (Ociepa-Kicińska & Gorzałczyńska-Koczkodaj, 2022; Byrska, 2022; Bauder & Godoy, 2020; Bereitschaft & Scheller, 2020; Whitehead & Williams, 2011). Moreover, this era is noted to have witnessed, the largest influx of refugees in the world since the Second World War. The dire situation of the displaced populations has been characterized by securitization, restrictive migration politics, and surveillances mostly by the states in the Global North (GN) (Vanna Nordling & Söderman, 2017).

As to be expected, the scenario established, has brought in some agitations, resistance, and solidarity - inclusion and exclusion - by various actors and stakeholders. This can be seen within some local, regional, national, and the international scales or communities (Bauder, 2021; Schilliger, 2020). For instance, the 2015 refugee's crisis in Europe implanted two

opposing contexts. At one hand, there has been an increased in restrictive or exclusionary European and national migration policies and practices. On the other hand, local authorities and civil society activist have stepped-up their bid to promoting refugee-friendly measures sometimes in direct defiance of national policies (Fischer & Jørgensen, 2021; Christoph & Kron, 2019). These trajectories can be likened to the “sanctuary cities” development and practices in North America. In this collision ground, cities and municipalities use their institutional jurisdictions to offer forms of protections and urban citizenship to undocumented migrants amid the exclusionary immigration policies and practices by the federal or national authorities (Bauder & Godoy, 2020).

Imperatively, migrants and refugees are perceived as de-facto members of the urban community, even if the nation state has not granted them national citizenship or legal status (Bauder, 2021; Jørgensen, 2012). Indeed, the quest for some cities to extend a helping hand to undocumented migrants to cope with their precarious situations in particular national contexts, birthed several types of urban-sanctuary policies and practices. Essentially, such initiatives depending on geographical spaces, have varying descriptions such as “city of refuge,” “commune of reception,” or “solidarity city” (Agustín & Jørgensen, 2019; Heimann, Müller, Schammann, & Stürner, 2019; Bauder & Gonzalez, 2018). Further Bauder (2021), argued that sanctuary, solidarity, or refugee cities are resisting strict national migration and refugee policies at one hand, and squeezing water out of the rock to accommodating migrants and refugees who lack support from the nation state on the other hand. Imperatively, a vigorous and progressive municipal policy could go a long way to help reduce the challenges faced by undocumented migrants and refugees (Bauder & Gonzalez, 2018; Vanna Nordling & Söderman, 2017; Bauder, 2017).

However, the success depends, on political will and policy understanding by various stake holders especially the municipal police, whose prime duty is to ensure compliance of states laws. These laws are often not in tandem with the municipal initiatives (Atak, 2021). Also, the difference in national and local level political opportunity structures, are critical in shaping municipal studies for at least two dimensions. Firstly, how ideas disseminated outside the national context can influence local-level policy making. And two, how policies within and adjusted to the broader cultural economy and city branding are part of competition between the cities (Jørgensen, 2012; Benford & Snow, 2000). Thus, the socio-economic and geographical strength of a city or municipality, coupled with the political persuasions of the local authorities

at the helm of affairs, contribute to shaping the policies and practices in integrating refugees and vulnerable migrants.

Research geared towards policy implementation within the city divisions and the services available to refugees and non-status migrants is thus imperative. And, as the popular adage goes, cut your coat according to your cloth (Gorst, 1992). I will, therefore, limit the study, to municipal policy and practices for integrating refugees and undocumented migrants, in the global north, Copenhagen (Denmark) and south, Accra (Ghana) using multi-banded case study. The concept, of urban and municipal policies and practices in integrating refugees and undocumented migrants, has attracted a considerable literature attention relative to migration and refugees studies in recent decades (Bauder, 2021; Arku & Marais, 2021; Asibey, Poku-Boansi, & Adutwum, 2021; Schilliger, 2020; Agustín, 2020; Heimann, Müller, Schammann, & Stürner, 2019; IOM, 2019; Agustín & Jørgensen, 2019, Agustín & Jørgensen, 2016; Acheampong & Ibrahim, 2016; Dako-Gyeke & Kodom, 2017; Jørgensen, 2012).

Admittedly, researchers, policymakers, politicians, and the international development agencies have underscored, the important role of cities and municipalities in accommodating migrants, and formulating sustainable initiatives to migration-related matters. For instance, Bauder (2021), examines the concept of solidarity and its application in the context of urban initiatives and local campaigns that aim to accommodate migrants and refugees. Also, he explored in another study how urban protests and activist practices can materially transform the city to be more accommodating to illegalized migrants, while evoking the different layers of possibility (Bauder, 2016). Moreover, Asibey, Poku-Boansi, & Adutwum (2021), revealed that migrant communities have both positive and adverse ramifications on environmental, social, and economic sustainability of the city of Kumasi, Ghana. Meanwhile, no adequate urban planning regime is in place, to harness the potentials of such neighborhoods for sustainable city development.

Indeed, the various literatures have made significant contributions towards enhancing the discourse of urban and municipal policies and practices, in integrating refugees and vulnerable migrants' integration in migration policy studies. However, much has not been done in terms of comparing, the structural commonalities and differences between urban and municipal policies and practices in accommodating refugees and vulnerable migrants in the global north and south.

Against this background, I have positioned this study on the structural commonalities and differences between urban and municipal policies and practices in integrating refugees and vulnerable migrants, in the GN, Copenhagen (Denmark) and south, Accra (Ghana) using a multi- bounded case study. The two cities would offer good comparative analytical grounds because of the following factors.

First both are the capital cities implying there are the administrative and commercial hubs in Denmark and Ghana. Second the two cities would be at the major receiving ends for the influx of refugees and vulnerable migrants – Copenhagen has refugees welcomehouse and Accra the blue oasis, refugees’ community center. Third with their unique positions and characteristics, there would be attracted to many CSOs contributing to shaping municipal and national policies for refugees and vulnerable migrants’ integration. Fourth, the socio-cultural and political contexts are different, and since policies and practices are informed by these variables, there could have adopted similar or distinct policy initiatives, in dealing with refugees and vulnerable migrants within their jurisdictions. Fifth, while Copenhagen is an active member of the European network of cities for local integration policies for migrants (CLIP). It is a program with a strong academic profile ([Jørgensen, 2012](#)). Accra, Montreal, and São Paulo were the first three cities signed -up for local migration governance indicators MGI ([IOM, 2020](#)).

Yet, there is no significant study on the structural commonalities and differences between Copenhagen and Accra towards integrating refugees and other vulnerable migrants. Indeed, this study will add to the existing literature by identifying, how refugees and vulnerable migrants’ policies and practices are conceived and institutionalized in Denmark and Ghana. Moreover, the study would shed light, on how the global south and African cities can also contribute to the development of urban policies and practices. The study will equally expose us to the many ways, cities can become catalyst for social change and medium of innovative policies enactment and practices for refugees and vulnerable migrants’ integration.

1.2 Research Objectives and Questions

The overall objective of this study is to examine the structural commonalities and differences in urban and municipal policies and practices towards integrating refugees and vulnerable migrants in the GN, Denmark and GS, Ghana. To that extend, the study seeks to answer and achieve the following research questions and objectives.

Table 1 Research Questions and Objectives

Questions	Objectives
What are the structural commonalities and differences in urban and municipal policies and practices in integrating refugees and undocumented migrants in the Global North (Denmark) and South (Ghana)	To explore the structural commonalities and differences in urban and municipal policies and practices in integrating refugees and undocumented migrants in Copenhagen, Denmark and Accra, Ghana
What are the roles of civil society actors and municipal authorities in developing policies and practices for the integration of refugees and vulnerable migrants	To investigate the important role civil society actors and municipal authorities play in shaping urban and municipal policies and practices for the integration of refugees and vulnerable migrants.
Why is it important to draw synergies in urban and municipal policies and practices to enhance refugees and vulnerable migrants' integration in Denmark and Ghana?	To draw synergies in urban and municipal policies and practices to enhance refugees and vulnerable migrants' integration in Denmark and Ghana

1.3 Problem Statement

The rapid trends of globalization and urbanization are reshaping the world in unprecedented ways. In fact, 55% of the world's population today lives in urban areas, and this is expected to increase to 68% by 2050. Moreso, about 95% of global population growth in urban areas will take place in developing countries, in Africa and Asia (UNDESA, 2015). As it is to be expected, for centuries and decades, cities have become converging point for human mobility, all migrants, and displaced persons, either international or internal, are destined for cities. According to the UNHCR, 60% and 80% of all refugees and internal displaced persons respectively live in urban areas (UNHCR, 2016). With this, urban and cities have automatically become laboratory or zoon of socio-economic, political, and cultural contestations for actors especially in migration and integration of refugees and vulnerable migrants (Ambrosini, 2021; UN-Habitat, 2020).

By and large, national authorities in the global north particularly have designed restrictive and “exclusionary” policies in dealing with the turn of events. The EU and most nation states in Europe have developed immigration policies to reduce refugees and irregular migration across the continent borders, borders here understood to be both external and internal. Yet the number of refugees and irregular migration are still on the ascendancy. Accordingly, in 2021, 123,300 and 2020, 95,800, individual crossings were reported from the Mediterranean to Europe. In the same period, 3,231 and 1,881 persons were respectively recorded as dead or missing at sea in

the Mediterranean and the northwest Atlantic (UNHCR, 2022). Besides, municipal authorities and civic activist have stepped up their solidarity efforts towards refugees and undocumented immigrants (Kreichauf & Mayer, 2021; Hansen, 2020; Agustín & Jørgensen, 2019, 2016; Bauder & Gonzalez, 2018).

The paradox is, how and to what extend can urban and municipal policies and practices towards integrating refugees and vulnerable migrants be implemented amid restrictive and exclusionary national policies and practices. In fact, while the illegalization of migrants is increasingly enacted at the urban scale, the same scale also presents layers of diverse possibilities for migrants belonging (Bauder, 2016). Granted as given, will the practice of infrastructure of solidarity and political oppornity structures by actors be enough or turning points for urban sanctuary or solidarity cities to be provided for refugees and vulnerable migrants or otherwise. These important issues are to be unraveled in the empirical section of the study.

1.4 Background of the Case

Denmark is the southernmost Scandinavian country, a prosperous and thriving nation of 5.8 million people. In terms of political system, it is one of the oldest constitutional monarchy (1849), which combines history and traditions with all the features of an extremely modern democratic state (Olagnier & Mogensen, 2020). The country has five (5) administrative regions and ninety-eight (98) municipalities due to the local government reforms carried out in 2007 (Greve, 2012; Jørgensen, 2012; Andersen, 2008). Denmark is one of the first signatory countries to the 1951 Convention relating to the Status of refugees. Also, a state party to both the 1954 and 1961 Statelessness Conventions and has demonstrated over the years a strong commitment to support efforts to end statelessness (UNHCR, 2021).

However, in recent years, the Danish immigration and integration policy framework towards refugees and vulnerable migrants, has been described as restrictive and cited as an inspiration for the ‘new’ style of integration followed by other European countries during the 2000s (Hercowitz-Amir, Raijman, & Davidov, 2017; Jørgensen & Thomsen, 2016). That said, between 2008 and 2013, 28,926 persons applied for asylum in Denmark, accounting for 0.5 percent of the population (Hercowitz-Amir, Raijman, & Davidov, 2017). According to the Ministry of Immigration and Integration (UIM), the total number of asylum applications received in 2010 was 5,115. Indeed, the number of applicants surged from 7,557 to 21,316 during 2013 and 2015. The years after - 2016 and 2017 - witnesses a decreasing trend of the

asylum applications from 6,266 to 3,500 respectively, whilst estimated total for 2018 is 3,523 (Thomassen, 2019).

On the back of the Russia and Ukraine war, Denmark adopted a bill on temporary residence permits for displaced persons from Ukraine (the Special Act). The Danish Parliament on 16 March 2022 enacted the bill which came into force by 17 March 2022 (NewtoDenmark.dk, 2022). As a show of solidarity, Denmark is projected to receive 100,000 refugees from Ukraine. In fact, a point must be made that should the projected numbers end up in Denmark, the number of refugees the Nordic country would have taken in the conflict could have far surpassed the numbers from both the Yugoslav wars in the 1990s and the 2015 refugee crisis. For instance, an estimated 18,000 people from the former Yugoslavia entered Denmark because of the wars in the Balkans region, while 30,000 Syrian refugees including reunified family members came to Denmark following the 2015 migration crisis (Thelocal.dk, 2022). Latest figures from the Danish Immigration service (Udlændingestyrelsen) shows that so far around 30,000 Ukrainians have been granted residency in Denmark under the special law. Besides, the number of Ukraine refugees who have been hired on the labour market in Denmark increased three-fold between April (320) and May (1,055) (Thelocal.dk, 2022).

To the point of much interest, Copenhagen is the largest and capital city of Denmark. The population is about 1 872 791, with surface area of 2,563 square kilometers. In all, the region has twenty-nine municipalities including Copenhagen (Danmarks Statistik, 2022). On the other hand, Aalborg is the largest and capital city of the northern Denmark region. The estimated population is 591 758 and a surface area of 7.8884square kilometers. In total, the region has eleven municipalities (Danmarks Statistik, 2022; Bolius.dk, 2022). The introduction of the integration Act in 1999 to April 2016 mandated the City of Copenhagen not to receive refugees during that period. In December 2015, the government introduced a new distribution formular of refugees across the ninety-eight municipalities thereby changing the previous mandate. Based on this, the Copenhagen City Council adopted its model for the reception and integration of refugees from the Danish immigration service. The city thus received in 2016 a total of 117 refugees and in 2017,169. Besides, in 2017 and 2018, the city came into agreements with the Danish Refugee Council, the Association of new Danes, Neighborhood Mothers, and the Red Cross (Copenhagen Municipality, 2021). The sole objective was to match refugees with volunteers to enhance their integration into the economic and social life of the city.

Ghana, a former British colony was the first in sub-Saharan Africa to have gained her independence on 6th of March 1957 from the European/British colonial rule (Addo, 2011). The country population based on the 2021 population and housing census is estimated to be 30,832,019. The ethnic groups of the population comprise the following: Akan, 47.5%, Mole-Dagbon, 16.6%, Ewe, 13.9%, Ga-Dangme, 7.4%, Gurma, 5.7%, Guan, 3.7%, Grusi, 2.5%, Mande, 1.1%, and other, 1.4% (migrants-refugees.va, 2021; Ghana Statistical Service, 2021). After independence, Ghana like many other African countries went through a sporadic political history, experiencing democracy and coup d'état, a military control of governance (Owusu, 1979). However, after a return to democracy with the 1992 republican constitution, Ghana has since gone through transition of governments with only the power of the thumb – voting as a political culture to elect political leaders of the country - the country is a beacon of democracy in the sub- region (Boafo-Arthur, 2008).

Administratively, Ghana is a unitary state with two forms of government – national and local government. The country is divided into sixteen regions and 261 metropolitan, municipal, and district assemblies (MMDAs). The MMDAs are determined in terms of a minimum population size of 250,000, 95,000, and 75,000 people. The transitional developments are made possible by the local government Acts, (Act 462) 1993, and (Act 936) 2016, the national development planning (System) Act, (Act 480) 1994, and any other enactment (I O M, 2019; Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung Ghana, 2010). Ghana like Denmark has respectively ratified the 1951 and 1967 UN Convention and protocol relating to the status of refugees. Also, the Ghana Refugee Law 1992 was enacted as part of Ghana's constitution and provides a legal framework for the implementation of the 1969 Organization of African Unity (OAU), now African Union (AU) Convention (UNHRC-Ghana, 2022). Ghana is one of the host countries to refugees in the sub-region, currently it has refugees from over thirty-five countries across the globe (Ghana Refugee Board, 2019).

The greater- Accra, one of the key focus areas of this study, is the capital and most populous city of Ghana. The Accra like Copenhagen is of the 29 MMDAs of the greater Accra region (International Organization for migration, 2019). According to the 2021 population and housing census, the Greater-Accra population is 5,455,692 (Ghana Statistical Service, 2021). The region occupies a total land surface of 3,245 square kilometers or 1.4 per cent of the total land area of Ghana. It is the most urbanized region in the country with 87.4% of its total population living in urban centers. The city is the hub of government administration and commerce,

diplomatic missions, and thus major daily receiver of internal and external migrants. At the heart of the city is both formal and precarious migrants (IOM, 2020). Given the position and dynamics of the city, many NGOs and CSOs are located and working towards shaping the MMDAs and national policies and practices including those for refugees and vulnerable migrants' integration (Darkwa, Amponsah, & Gyampoh, 2006).

1.5 Significance of the Study

This study holds substantial significance as its findings would provide reasonable evidence or knowledge needed to the understanding of the structural commonality and differences in municipal policies and practices in integrating refugees and vulnerable migrants in the GN, Denmark and GS, Ghana. It will as well equip us with the relevant knowledge and understanding about the role of cities and municipal actors in shaping policies and practices for the integration of refugees and vulnerable migrants. This would be achieved using primary and secondary data. In this regard, natural occurring data - annual reports of the urban and municipal assemblies, civil society organizations, and any relevant actor plus semi-structured interviews are to be adopted. Finally, this study shall contribute to policy and theoretical understanding of urban sanctuary or solidarity cities - the structural commonalities and differences in municipal policies and practices in integrating refugees and vulnerable migrants.

1.6 Structure of the Thesis

To make the thesis comprehensive and reader friendly, a brief structure of the study has been presented as follows. The first chapter is the introductory chapter. It shall contain the introduction of the study, research questions and objectives, the problem statement, brief background of the study area/case, significance of the study, and the structure of the study. Chapter 2 captures the literature review and theoretical underpinnings. Chapter 3 presents the research design and method. Chapter 4 embodies the discussion and findings. The final one is Chapter 5. The chapter presents the conclusion, limitations, and direction for future research.

Chapter 2

2.0 Literature Review and Theoretical Framework

This section will present relevant literature and theories to guide the study.

2.1 Introduction

The objective of this study is to explore the structural commonalities and differences in urban and municipal policies and practices towards the integration of refugees and vulnerable migrants in the context of global north and south. In this regard, I will present some of the current and relevant literature and theoretical considerations about the structural commonalities and differences between urban and municipal policies and practices in accommodating refugees and venerable migrants. The objective is to see, how that can shape a particular case as in the Global North, Copenhagen (Denmark) and South, Accra (Ghana)

2.2 Urban Sanctuary or Solidarity/Refugee Cities

In fact, steps have been taken by different authors wearing similar or divergent lenses, but with ultimate objectives - to deepen the knowledge on how urban and municipal sanctuary or solidarity policies are designed and practiced - towards integrating refugees and other vulnerable migrants. As established in the introductory section, we are witnessing an upsurge of numbers of people fleeing war, persecution, and other threats to their lives and livelihood into urban and cities across the globe. To reiterate, most nation states especially in the global north have responded with so much “nationalist” and “exclusionary” policies and practices. Contrarily, cities who are at the receiving end of the overwhelming numbers have adopted explicit welcoming strategies and providing urban solutions to the refugees and other vulnerable migrants socio-economic inclusion and protection (Agustín & Jørgensen, 2019; Kreichauf & Mayer, 2021). The ensuing paragraphs will be dedicated towards reviewing the contributions made in this direction.

To start with, it is important to acknowledge that the notion of urban sanctuary and solidarity and the associated policy enactments and practices has not much distance history in the international migration and integration literature. The City of San Francisco standoff with federal authorities, to protect refugees from Central America when the immigration authorities

had denied over 90 percent of the asylum requests from the refugees fleeing the violence anti-communist regime in the 1980s (Mancina, 2013), marks the starting and rejuvenated point of what comes to have known us sanctuary cities in North America, city of refugees in the United Kingdom, and solidarity cities in continental Europe (Bauder, 2019). More concretely, the origin is traced to the late 20th Century, when municipalities and cities began granting refugees “sanctuary” or “solidarity” and later to undocumented persons (Lippert & Rehaag, 2012; Ridgley, 2008). For instance, City sanctuary was said to have been first invoked in the 1970s, when the City of Berkeley, California, declared itself a sanctuary for navy soldiers standing against their participation in the war in Vietnam (Ridgley, 2008).

Granted as given, it may appear not far fetch, to immediately consider the concepts as Western or Eurocentric in nature. In this regard, it has been argued, as though there could be some similarities between cities in the global south - Africa and the Global North - the fundamental differences are so grounded to challenge the universality of the concepts of urban sanctuary or solidarity cities (Bauder, 2019). But, going beyond the veil, it could as well sound as a hasty conclusion and a lack of proper interrogation, to view the perspectives completely as such. It is undeniable fact that, solidarity, or sanctuary cities – sanctuary or solidarity policies and practices took the roots from the GN - prohibiting municipal authorities and police from cooperating with national authorities in the identification, persecution, incarceration, and deportation of non-status migrants. That notwithstanding, some cities in the GS were or have joined the bandwagon, even if the same labels have not been given to the initiatives in the later jurisdictions (Christoph & Kron, 2019; Bagelman, 2016; Darling, 2010).

That aside, urban and municipalities are increasingly becoming an attractive venue for citizens and migrants of diverse backgrounds. This state opens the urban and municipalities as an oasis for heightened opportunities and challenges. For instance, it has been documented that more than half of the world population is living in urban centers with 2007 as the turning point (Dresling, 2007). This situation is accounting to an overwhelming slum dwelling in already overcrowded cities in the GS (Afenah, 2012; Asibey, Poku-Boansi, & Adutwum, 2021).

With the above, readers would be interested in knowing; what constitute sanctuary or solidarity cities, what form or shape the policies and practices takes, who are the policymakers, actors, and activist. In every situation something works, therefore, to what extend does the sanctuary or solidarity policies and practices are enhancing the integration of refuges and vulnerable migrants. To others, how does the city authorities able to provide “heaven” to migrants seen to

be illegal within the national context. Additionally, are the policies and practices context specific or replicable irrespective of geographical space? Can urban sanctuary or solidarity cities pave the way for an innovative approach to citizenship. What innovative city policies can be put in place to ensure an effective protection and inclusion of all citizens particularly, refugees and vulnerable migrants. The above are germane problem statements relative to this new evolving field, however, more credence will be given to; the structural commonalities and differences in urban and municipal policies and practices in integrating refugees and undocumented migrants.

It is worth reiterating that, there could be some commonalities between cities in Africa and the GN, however, the differences are also glaring and could somehow challenge the universality of the concepts of urban sanctuary or solidarity cities (Bauder, 2019). To this end, context knowledge is thus imperative, as it can inform the extent to which urban sanctuary or solidarity can be applied in the GS. To be measured, Sanctuary or solidarity city policies and practices are based on context - diversity of socio-spatial strategies that advocates have adopted in their articulations of alternative discourses on the rights of the vulnerable in the community, urban, and municipalities (Agustín & Jørgensen, 2019; Strunk & Leitner, 2013).

To a large extent, there has been several studies about the sanctuary cities development from the US and Canadian context (Hudson, 2021; Graauw & Gleeson, 2021; Gonzales, Brant, & Roth, 2020; Williamson, 2018; Patler & Laster, 2018; Hudson, Atak, Manocchi, & Hannan, 2017; Hayduk, Hackett, & Folla, 2017), and fewer in Europe as for instance on Sweden (Fry & Islar, 2021; Hansen, 2020; Vanna Nordling & Söderman, 2017), Denmark (Siim & Meret, 2021; Jørgensen, 2012), Germany (Kreichauf & Mayer, 2021; Fischer & Jørgensen, 2021; Neumann, 2019), Italy (Ambrosini, 2021; Marchetti, 2020), Norway (Søholt & Aasland, 2021; Jumbert, 2021), and UK (Darling, 2017; Darling, 2010).

Turning to the GS particularly Africa, the Cold War legacy and practice of housing refugees fleeing from conflicts in several countries such as Angola, Congo, Mozambique, Sudan, and Ethiopia among others in rural camps “to isolate them from sources of political contamination represented by Communists and other radical currents”(Marfleet, 2007 p, 38; Fábos & Kibreab, 2007), still represents one of the viable options of cities sanctuary towards refugees and asylum seekers across the continent. Ghana which as one of the focus countries in this study, the refugee camp system is still in practice. Though, the country has adopted a dual approach to hosting refugees – urban and camps systems. The refugee camps in Ghana are Krisan Refugee

Camp (1996), Ampain Refugee Camp (March 19, 2011), Egyeikrom Refugee Camp (July 20, 2011), Fetentaa Refugee Camp (June 2011), and Greater Accra Refugee Camp designated for urban refugees and asylum seekers (Ghana Refugee Board G. , 2016).

Besides, the formal local governance structures are often weak and unable to cope with existing challenges related to poverty, population growth, corruption, to mention but a few. In this context, informal and formal institutions, including UNHCR, NGOs, CSOs, migrant self-help organizations, and private service providers often provide support and essential services to refugees and asylum seekers. Thereby, constituting important actors in contributing to shaping urban and municipal policies and practices for the integration of refugees and vulnerable migrants (Fábos & Kibreab, 2007). Moreover, and as indicated, poverty is often widespread among urban non-migrant populations in the GS, leading to constant competition for scarce resources between migrants and refugees, established residents and citizens (Bauder, 2019). Therefore, state policies of segregation, securitization, and criminalization of urban refugees are inextricably linked to the objectives of states, to create and promote differences between insiders and outsiders of which citizenship is a key determinant (Fábos & Kibreab, 2007 p, 3).

Indeed, at the heart of urban sanctuary - in US and Canada, refugees cities - in UK or solidarity cities - in continental Europe is the growing desire to contest national immigration laws and policies, and by so doing, foster sanctuary or solidarity through innovative and diverse reimagining ways of living together regardless of legal status in the city (Baban & Kim Rygiel, 2020; Bauder, 2017). In an attempt to discuss cities of refuge and Barcelona's Refugee City Plan, it has been put forward that the most important initiative of connecting a global municipalism is not entirely seeking to undermine national sovereignty, but to overcome the division between winners and losers, us versus them, and to create an international platform to promote human rights, environmental justice and feminism. Moreover, when the question of "sovereignties" is reduced to everyday basic human needs namely, control of water supply, energy, and housing, then cities and civil societies are strong force to bring about and lead a change to support refugees and vulnerable migrants (Agustín, 2020).

In fact, going through a comparative municipal study in Denmark, an argument has been made that what actually makes "urban sanctuary" or "solidarity cities" an important emerging field to delve into is the truism that migrants - refugees and undocumented immigrants may often feel deeply connected to the various cities they live in than to the countries they have arrived. Besides, urban and municipalities due to different socio-economic and political opportunity

structures often adopt different policies and practices in integrating refugees and vulnerable migrants in their jurisdiction (Jørgensen, 2012). This makes a case study base of how different solidarity cities or urban sanctuary evolve very important. It will enhance specific context knowledge on the best ways solidarity cities can be design and implement. At the flip side of the coin, taking the study to structural commonalities and differences between urban and municipalities could also drive synergies to be established, or at best create an international platform to promote knowledge sharing and best practices - human rights, environmental justice and feminism (Agustín, 2020). Whichever way and angle one look at the issue at hand, it is becoming apparent that the persistent activism and critical publicity by various actors at the cities and municipalities, a practice refers to as “infrastructure of solidarity”, “zones of negotiations”, and “POS” – amid the practical challenges are driving the refugees and vulnerable migrants’ solidarity agenda beyond municipalities (Kuge, 2019; Verhoeven & Duyvendak, 2017). Despite these, the contradictory ways in which solidarity unfolds, mediated, practiced, and contested by the urban actors in the case of the Berlin solidarity city calls for further interrogation of how specific “urban sanctuary” or “solidarity city” is consummated and practiced (Kreichauf & Mayer, 2021).

Furthermore, Agustín & Jørgensen (2019) drum home the arguments that, the refugee crisis did resuscitate and enhance a wide amalgamation of solidarity groups across countries in Europe. Though specific space and time, equally proven to have evidence of different aims and approaches, such diversity in unionism or with broad common goals – solidarity towards refugees and vulnerable migrants, has gone far to reshaping the discursive discourse of solidarity at the local, national, and transnational levels. On a specific country level, the last straw that broke the camel back, instilling utter of dismay among national and local authorities - politicians and policy makers, whilst implanting an unprecedented civic solidarity movement from the local to national scales was the September 6, 2015. A day, when 175 refugees had suddenly arrived at Rødby, the southern border and within a week the arrivals surged to 15 000 (Agustín & Jørgensen, 2019, p 74). The discourse of the “refugee crisis” in Germany was now seen also as the “refugee crisis” in Denmark with an estimated 7,500 to 11,000 refugees entering the country through Germany (Ibid).

Before the dust could settle and exploring the relationship between forced migration and the city, Darling (2017: p,192) argues that city sanctuary or solidarity could best be conceptualized by looking at cities as “constitutive of both the policing and the politicization of forced

migration”. These dynamics turn to exact a heavy toll on refugees and vulnerable migrants, as they strive to get integrated into the so-called city sanctuary or solidarity cities. Unlike other municipalities and cities, in the United Kingdom, the proponents of city sanctuary philosophy seek to promote a culture of responsibility and hospitality towards asylum seekers and refugees (Darling, 2010). The United Kingdom started the city sanctuary movements as early as 2007 with the city of Sheffield declaring its self as sanctuary city. After Sheffield’s declaration other cities joined the movements. There are about 100 or more numbers of cities in the United Kingdom that went ahead to embrace the sanctuary city philosophy (Bauder, 2019; Darling, 2010). Besides, in continental Europe, it is mostly, the cities in the United Kingdom that ascribe with the term sanctuary city in their quest to helping refugees and vulnerable immigrants. The concept of solidarity cities is what is commonly used in other cities or municipalities across Europe. The crux of the matter however, is that both terms stand for cities, where municipal policies and practices strive to protect undocumented migrants from deportation or prosecution, often in defiance of federal or national immigration law (Bauder, 2021; Christoph & Kron, 2019; Graauw, 2021).

In sum, sanctuary cities policy and practices in the United States of America often leads to non-cooperation with federal immigration authorities in protecting undocumented migrants. In Canada is more about both local and national authorities trading cautiously with their constitutional mandated jurisdictions, and in the United Kingdom, it revolves around the offering of support to refugees and undocumented immigrants without stepping into the national laws (Atak, 2021; Vanna Nordling & Söderman, 2017; Darling, 2017; Mancina, 2013).

Against this logic, the analysis of urban policies of asylum should go beyond the veil of “sanctuary cities” or “cities of refuge,” to encapsulate also cities which reject people in need of humanitarian protection. Not all, it is incumbent to widen knowledge of the mobile dynamics of the local “battleground,” and the antagonism between alternative views and mobilizations (Ambrosini, 2021). Additionally, a qualitative study of the 2017 Sanctuary City campaign in Liège, Belgium, fashion in what we termed heating the nail whilst the iron is hot, argue that the meaning and inclusiveness of ‘sanctuary’ shifted over time. This is mainly, because of power relations between (and among) civil society actors. With this, horizontal solidarity of diverse actors - radical activists and immigrant rights organizations were seen in manifestation. The study also brought to light the potential representational gap that could come out when

refugees and undocumented migrants, are not actively involved in campaigns that aim to improve their inclusion (Lambert & Swerts, 2019).

More importantly, a study to unearth whether the arrival of refugees and the subsequent rise of civil support initiatives has also resulted in more structural, cultural, and political changes identified four potential sources of changes in sanctuary or solidarity movements. Starting from the dynamics between civil and state actors involved in refugee protection; the gradual politicization of individual volunteers and organizations; the reproduction of pre-existing cultural imaginaries; to the potential of cities to foster new forms of solidarity (Vandevooort & Verschraegen, 2019).

Furthermore, solidarity cities study focusing on Norway underscores that Solidarity discourse combined with self-interest motivated the shift in municipal policy making. The refugee crisis in the country functioned as a window of opportunity, providing motivation for local politicians and employees. The crisis thus spurred engagement and capacity building to explore existing but financially improved policy tools and other alternative upwards. This resulted in enhance solidarity especially in housing provisions for refugees. Not all, the study stresses on the interrelationship between the local, national, and global levels, indicating that local responses to the global refugee crisis matter, notwithstanding the incomplete refugee governance at the European Union level noted by other studies (Søholt & Aasland, 2021; Agustín & Jørgensen, 2019; Morsut & Kruke, 2018).

Against this background, I argue that the destination regarding the best approach to the study of sanctuary city, solidarity city or city of refuge is not yet arrived at. Broadening the horizon and learning from other contributions could be the way to go. Meanwhile, it is also important not to always keep the flood gate open. Therefore, focusing on the structural commonalities and differences in urban and municipal policies and practices in integrating refugees and vulnerable migrants is a good path that could help us enhance urban sanctuary or solidarity city discourse.

2.3 Theoretical Approaches: Infrastructure of Solidarity and Political Opportunity Structures

The aim of the study is to explore and understand the structural commonalities and differences in municipal and urban policies and practices towards the integration of refugees and vulnerable migrants. To achieve this, theoretical frameworks of infrastructure of solidarity and

political opportunity structure will be adopted. This is because, the grounds of these theories will help broaden our understanding of the bottom-up and top-down socio-economic and political factors enhancing or undermining the municipal policies and practices in integrating refugees and venerable migrants in the global north, Denmark and global south, Ghana.

Besides, it is our understanding, and as established by literature, that infrastructure of solidarity can be the basis of engineering political opportunity structures (Agustín & Jørgensen, 2019; Tarrow S. , 1988). In this regard, Agustín & Jørgensen (2019 p, 123) argues that solidarity is a political action since its organization can leads to different ways of creating social relations within the cities, resulting from a reaction against an unjunst political situation. In short, political moments present grounds for diverse infrastructure of solidarity, and moves to construct solidarity to counter exclusionary and restrictive policies at the city level also presents different POS. Indeed, our application of the two theories in the analysis will be based on these logical premisses.

However, the structural commonalities and differences in municipal policies and practices geared towards refugees and vulnerable migrants' integration cannot totally be understood without knowing how solidarity is conceived and practiced by cities and municipalities. This is where the complexity set in, why because, the concept of solidarity depending on contexts and circumstances, political and administrative systems, activist, and policy goals, takes a whole range of meanings, visions, and practices by local policy making in support of vulnerable migrants (Kron & Lebuhn, 2020; Baban & Kim Rygiel, 2020; Bauder & Gonzalez, 2018).

Here curiosity will lead us to the question of: why solidarity, from who, and to whom. We may also be interested in the facilitating as well the intervening factors, regarding the discursive discourses of solidarity in sanctuary or solidarity city studies. In a more explicit version, Kron & Lebuhn (2020) remarks that sanctuary or solidarity city policies and practices are “not the result of top-down policy making, but are put onto cities agendas by social movement actors and through strong bottom-up mobilizations” (Kron & Lebuhn, 2020 p, 92). This makes the role of city authorities and other actors such as civil society organization (CSOs) critical in a quest to understand the evolving urban sanctuary or solidarity cities. Indeed, studies have underscored the critical roles of diverse actors in sanctuary or solidarity cities developments (Jørgensen & Schierup, 2020, Vandevoordt & Verschraegen, 2019; Schmidtke, 2014).

To Houston (2019), the concept of solidarity should be embraced as a socio-spatial heterogeneity rather than a binary state of being. Based on this, efforts must be made to avoid

an essentialist conceptualization of solidarity, but instead, see or place it as a contingent and temporary phenomenon that must be understood in its social context (Houston, 2019). It is an interwoven activities at various scales such as urban, regional, national, and international. Consequently, solidarity is both relational and spatial (Schwartz & Schwenken, 2020; Agustín & Jørgensen, 2019). Additionally, solidarity is conceptualized to mean bridging the gap between citizens and undocumented persons (Nyers, 2019). In another development, Bauder (2021) posits that urban solidarity could appeal to a large political scope, involving both top-down policies and bottom-up practices and approaches. The phenomenon equally involves various urban actors, and more importantly, encapsulates different labels, such as sanctuary city, solidarity city, and city of refuge, in response to local conditions and political strategies.

Now back to the second question, solidarity from who. This is where actors becomes important. Returning to literature, several actors contribute for or against the urban sanctuary or solidarity cities. This inter alia include; the municipal authorities, the national authorities such as the police and immigration officials, NGOs, CSOs, refugees and vulnerable migrants, and other activist (Fry & Islar, 2021; Agustín & Jørgensen, 2019). With the 2015 migration crisis, it became evident that the national and municipal authorities are not alone in shaping the urban sanctuary for refugees and vulnerable migrants (Kreichauf & Mayer, 2021). Imperatively, other actors like the NGOs and CSOs both registered and unregistered, professional activist, refugees and vulnerable migrants have immediately assumed important roles in contributing to the solidarity cities initiatives (Fischer & Jørgensen, 2021; Hansen, 2020).

However, for purpose of this study, I will consider municipal authorities and civil society organizations as the main actors to guide our quest to understand the structural commonalities and differences in integrating refugees and vulnerable migrants in the GN, Denmark and south, Ghana. Meanwhile, with the few established positions, one can safely state that solidarity is a complex theoretical consideration. Following this, Agustín & Jørgensen (2019, p 13-14) see solidarity as a “moment of dissent” - defined as moments which constitute a public situation of the confluence of multiple singularities and movements and open up the possibility of articulation of a better connection between the existing struggles.

2.4 Infrastructure of Solidarity

The term ‘infrastructure’ is useful in the sense that it focuses on the background structures that allow social and political life to happen (Schilliger, 2020). In another angle, the term infrastructure is described as a ‘gathering force’ and a ‘political intermediary of considerable

significance' in shaping the rights of people and 'their capacity to claim those rights' (Amin, 2014). Hence, the concept of infrastructure, entails the interaction of diverse elements and levels - highlighting the knowledge, work, and social relationships that flow into it. In a more important perspective, an 'infrastructure of solidarity' is developed and promoted by a host of actors or stakeholders deploying forms of (counter-)knowledge and different political, social and spatial registers (Schilliger, 2020).

With this, the concept of infrastructure of solidarity becomes an important postulation to guide the study of urban sanctuary or solidarity city. This is precisely because of its premises to focus urban sanctuary study beyond a single 'acts of solidarity'. It is a multi-grounded theory that encourages researchers and students to broadly examine how practices of solidarity within a social movement become sedimented in time and space, and how broader ties are built with civil society institutions (Kreichauf & Mayer, 2021; Schilliger, 2020; Bauder, 2017; Agustín & Jørgensen, 2019).

For the purpose of this study, we are going to draw inspirations from three studies (Schilliger, 2020; Agustín & Jørgensen, 2019; Bauder, 2017), that discussed forms of solidarity relative to sanctuary or solidarity cities studies. Chiefly, political, spatial, mental, and social are the four components of infrastructures of solidarity discussed by (Schilliger, 2020). Similarly, legality, discourse, identity formation, and scales are the four identified forms of conceptualization of solidarity in sanctuary cities (Bauder, 2017). Finally, autonomous, civic, and institutional are the typology of constructing solidarity in solidarity city movements (Agustín & Jørgensen, 2019).

Accordingly, political infrastructure of solidarity dimension emerged as a consequence of diverse forms of solidarity work and the struggling to building new forms of alliances between and among actors. The spatial form comes to play as soon as solidarity construction involves a wide range of spatialities, i.e. public places, the court system, and places of everyday encounter. Thirdly, the mental component immediately set in when a 'common way of reading the world' such as, a shared language of articulation and common alternative imaginaries are deployed. Finally, the social form entails the construction of commonalities in differences and providing forms of mutual support between and among social actors (Schilliger, 2020 p 536-537).

Closely related to the above, is the four aspects of constructing urban sanctuary or solidarity cities identified to be legal, discursive, identity-formation, and scalar themes (Bauder, 2017

p,180-182). Firstly, the legal dimension entails a commitment by the municipal police and administration to non-cooperation with the state authorities in the enforcement of national immigration law, a practice common in the USA. Secondly, the discursive aspect of sanctuary initiatives involves challenging exclusionary refugee discourses that often circulate through national media and political debate. The discourse form of constructing sanctuary cities can be observed prominently in urban sanctuary practices in the USA and Canada (Ridgley, 2008).

Thirdly, the identity formation involves the transformation of political identities and subjectivities as well as reimagining the city as a space of belonging. In this context, Harsha Walia (2014) a known activist, stated among other things that “zones of sanctuary are actively constituted not by politicians but by us – as service providers, educators, healthcare professionals, and neighbours – on the basis of solidarity and mutual aid.” (Walia, 2014). Fourthly, the scales aspect of sanctuary-city policies and practices is common in the USA, UK, and Canada. In this, urban sanctuary policies and practices constitute a threat to national sovereignty. It involves contesting and rejecting the restrictive and exclusionary national approaches towards migration and refugee admission. By rescaling the policies and practices of migration and belonging, sanctuary cities assert a “form of power and politics at the sub-national level” (Sassen, 2008 p, 314).

Likewise, the three types of framing solidarity - autonomous solidarity, civic solidarity, and institutional solidarity - consolidated by (Agustín & Jørgensen, 2019 p, 40-41). The autonomous form of solidarity is produced spontaneously by self-organized groups or actors in urban settings. Secondly, the civic type of solidarity contributes to forming new alliances and collective identities in various kinds of spaces, from community kitchens to those who provide legal assistance. In other words, civic solidarity is “the realm of fellow feeling, the we-ness that makes society into society, and even less about the processes that fragment it” (Alexander, 2006 p, 53). Finally, institutional solidarity entails the formalization of diverse types of solidarity, which connects the civil society arena to that of policymaking. Institutional solidarity is often about how ‘members contribute both because they are obliged to do so according to institutional arrangement and because they expect to get something back if they are in a situation of need’ (Fenger & Van Parijs, 2012 p, 51).

In terms of application, one could see the possibilities of putting the components discussed by the three studies - (Schilliger, 2020; Agustín & Jørgensen, 2019; Bauder, 2017) - into similar containers. For instance, the political, spatial, discourse, legality, and the institutional solidarity

for purposes of this study can be kept in the same box. Next, the social infrastructure of solidarity, identity formation, and civic solidarity can be placed together. Finally, the mental infrastructure of solidarity, scales, and autonomous solidarity can as well be merged for this analytical purpose.

Table 2 Applied Typology of Infrastructure of Solidarity: Adopted from (Agustín & Jørgensen, 2019 p, 124).

Solidarity	Relations	Spaces	Contention
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Autonomous solidarity • Mental infrastructure of solidarity • Scale form of Solidarity 	Left-wing activists, anarchists, and refugees (principle: equal inhabitants through living and struggling together)	Social centre, squat as space of enacting alternative radical imaginaries and social and political utopias	Rejection of all kinds of institutional cooperation (municipality and the state)
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Civic solidarity • Social infrastructure of Solidarity • Identity Formation 	Civil society and refugees (principle: inclusion since all are human beings)	Spaces of inclusion and encounters as possibility for mutual learning and common interests	Critical towards institutions (mainly the state) but internal division about the degree of contention
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Institutional solidarity • Political Infrastructures • Spatial Infrastructure • Legality • Discourse 	City council and social entities and organizations (principle: belonging to the city)	Urban space, institutional and NGO spaces to provide services and facilitate access to a 'normal' life	Opposition to the state as main obstacle to responding satisfactorily to the humanitarian crisis

Granted as given, and with the focus of this study, I will adopt the institutional solidarity and the civic solidarity and those related to them as key solidarity features or infrastructure to guide the analysis. However, it is important to state that efforts have been made to explain and distinguish between the components of infrastructure of solidarity, in terms of application, there are to be treated as possible interrelated components. In short, it is possible to apply more than of the types of infrastructure of solidarity to one situation. Besides, the practice of the

forms of solidarity results in different social and political alternatives or POS, which we will discuss as the second theory in the ensuing paragraphs.

2.5 Political Opportunity Structures (POS)

This is the second theory I selected to help guide the analysis of this study. It is a new social movement theory(NSM). Among the NSMs one could count, the solidarity movement, the autonomous movement, among others (Kriesi, Koopmans, Duyvendak, & Giugni, 1992 p,222). At the heart of political opportunity structure(POS), is the politico-legal and social strategy to either engage or disengage in urban sanctuary or solidarity city movement by various actors. It is therefore, safe to bring in cost benefits as one of the derivatives to shaping urban and city activism and by extension, a determinant of urban and municipal policies and practices in integrating refugees and vulnerable migrants (Ambrosini, 2021;Hansen, 2020; Edelman, 2001). In this perspective, the four dimensional conception of solidarity becomes imperative (Schilliger, 2020;Bauder, 2017). The same can be said about the three forms of constructing solidarity in sanctuary or solidarity city studies. To reiterate, the formation of solidarity can be the basis of shaping social and political alternatives - POS (Agustín & Jørgensen, 2019).

Admittedly, scholars with similar or different persuasions often view issues differently, that said, racial profiling is explained to be precisely, the concrete everyday routines of the state authorities towards marginalized people that give insights into the real 'heart of the state (Fassin, 2015) . To buttress, Schilliger (2020) postulated that racial profiling in urban spaces or context, is seen as the widespread police practices that discloses who is not seen as a citizen of the nation. It thus, describes the daily experiences as those of being on perpetual guard: of having to defend oneself against those who perceive you as someone to be defended. More importantly, (Ahmed, 2017), considers the concept to denote, a total manifestation of how the state acts and omissions, produces the exclusion of racialized subjects and by extension refugees and vulnerable migrants from citizenship on daily level.

In this direction, cities must be seen as laboratory or battle ground for the negotiation, enactment and implementation of city sanctuary or solidarity policies and practices for the integration of refugees and vulnerable migrants. Different actors can participate in reflective or horizontal solidarity due to the broader political opportunity structures at their disposals (Fry & Israr, 2021; Siim & Meret, 2021). City authorities with limited constitutional mandates can still act for or against the state authorities in their quest to promulgating policies towards the integration of refugees and vulnerable migrants (Bauder & Gonzalez, 2018; Hudson, 2021).

What then is POS, how did the concept come to be widely used in social movement literature, what facilitate or undermines its usage, and why its choice for this study. In a layman view, it is one of the social movement theories that place politics as the key determinant of galvanizing adherence and adversaries for an issue at stake. According to Tarrow (1994), POS is “consistent – but not necessary formal or permanent dimensions of the political environment that provide incentives for people to undertake collective actions by affecting their expectations for success or failure” (Tarrow, 1994 p, 85). Moreover, it has been argued that the rhythm of collective violence did not heavily hinge on the structural transformations of society, but rather directly linked to shifts in the struggle for political power (Kriesi, Koopmans, Duyvendak, & Giugni, 1992). Therefore, the political context is crucial in shaping the mobilization of different types of new social movements or forms of solidarities at the city level.

Based on this, it can be said that social movements do not develop and act in the same way in every city or country, but that their organisational features, actions, repertoires and their impacts are determined by the political circumstances in the respective cities or countries (Van Der Heijden, 1997). With this, the urban and municipal policies and practices for the integration of refugees in Copenhagen and Accra could as well be impacted directly or indirectly by the POS in those cities. However, it is imperative to state that POS is necessary in transforming social movement but not the only yardstick, socio-cultural variables could equally be the derivatives (Benford & Snow, 2000).

The theory was first introduced by Eisinger (1973), and as an evolving one, it has been developed further by (McAdam, 1982; Tarrow, 1983, 1989; Kitschelt, 1986) (Benford & Snow, 2000; Van Der Heijden, 1997; Kriesi, Koopmans, Duyvendak, & Giugni, 1992). As posited, in the studies of social movements, the concept denotes the situational context for political mobilization, but in other studies it outlines the structural context for policy making (Jørgensen, 2012 p, 246). Indeed, the political process approach is built around the factors that are deemed important in explaining the successes, failures, and patterns of development of social movements (Van Der Heijden, 1997).

Essentially, access to power, realignment of political power, conflict between and among elites, and available alliance are cardinal features for the manifestation of POS in social movement context (Touraine, 1985). In the light of access to power, the definition of the actors and of the stakes of their conflict is not far fetched. In both instances, “each camp clearly defines itself, its opponent, and the aspect of the decision-making process or of the rules of the

game which should be changed or maintained” (Touraine, 1985 p, 753). The question is, can this position be the case in constructing sanctuary or solidary cities policies and practices between and among actors, the answer is reserved for the discussion section for this study.

According to Tarrow (1983), the concept has three dimensions: the degree of openness or closure of formal political access, the degree of stability or instability of political alignments, and the availability and strategic posture of potential alliance partners (Tarrow, 1983 p, 28). In furtherance to the three dimensions of the concept, he added a fourth element: political conflicts within and among elites (Tarrow, 1989 p,35). As a matter of precision, the first element concerns the institutional structure of political systems, whereas the other three are focused on the configuration of power among the relevant actors within such a system. Not far from this, four groups of variables including; (1) The nature of the existing political cleavages in society; (2) the formal institutional structure of the state; (3) the informal strategies of the political elites vis-a-vis their challengers; and (4) the power relations within the party system (alliance structures, are equally noted as critical for POS to manifest in any social mobilization (Van Der Heijden, 1997 p,27).

In another sense, politics of identity, politics of inclusion, politics of influence, and politics of reform, are said to be critical POS grounds for social movement. Basically, politics of identity stands for the redefinition of cultural norms, social roles, to forms of participation, and content form of discourse, politics of inclusion, advocates for political recognition at the institutional levels. In politics of influence, the main objective is to alter the discursive opportunity structures, and with politics of reform, those engaged in the movement stressed on the need for enhance democratization of political and economical institutions and democratization of political society (Meyer, Whittier, & Robnett, 2002; Edelman, 2001; Kriesi, Koopmans, Duyvendak, & Giugni, 1992)

The weakness of the theory is attributable to its wide definitional scope and application. Accordingly, “ POS may be discerned along so many directions and in so many ways that it is less a variable than a cluster of variables – some are readily observable than others” (Tarrow S. , 1988 p,430). Also, there is no clarity among scholars as to whether POS is based on objective or subjective factors. Upon this, scholars who want to explore the emergence and impact of movements over time make use of it as independent variable. Those whose interest is to compare the development of similar movements in different scales – local, regional, national, and international- adopt it as intervening variable (McAdam, 1999; Tarrow S. ,

1988;Tilly, 1978). Additionally, the vulnerability of framing process makes it a locus of potential struggle, rather than a laden reality to which we must inevitably yield (McAdam & John D. McCarthy, 1996). And like double edged sword, opportunities could shape or constrain movements, but, movement can as well create opportunities (Gamson & Mayer, 1996).

The factors that often intensify social mobilization are also those that give rise to policy change. Analysts without due diligence, run the risk of making two distinct, but serious errors: either downplaying the role of social protest altogether; or attributing all policy changes to movement activism. With this, the major influence of social changes that create the conditions for movements or solidarity would not be understood (Meyer & Minkoff, 2004). The logic is that understanding how, POS facilitate or undermine the growing of social movements and policy change is necessary, but not an end in itself. Hence, taking a broader picture by looking at not only the end but also the processes, and of course, other socio-economic and cultural factors in explaining POS can reduce the criticism.

2.6 Application of the POS theory

Imperatively, political actors are often on a constant path seeking to win support for their policies objectives. This, they do by political argumentation involving the creation of a “communication frame” (Hayes, 2008). As argued, communication frame has the potential to alter the opinion of those exposed to the framing. With this, political actors consider it as one of their strongest tools given any medium and opportunity (Agustín, 2015). In fact, framing can be done in all forms of scales, local, national, and international which has great potential of transforming opinions. The notion of framing as used in the study of social movements is derived primarily from the work of Goffman (1974), which denotes the "schemata of interpretation" that enable individuals "to locate, perceive, identify, and label" occurrences within their life space and the world at large (Goffman, 1974 p, 21). As a reminder, political moments creates opportunities for diverse forms of solidarity at all scales. In the same vein, efforts to constitute solidarity to counter exclusionary migration and refugees regimes at the city level also results in different POS.

According to Benford & Snow (2000), collective action frames possess different core tasks of which the most important ones are: 1 **diagnostic framing** (problem identification and attributions or *injustice frames*); 2 **prognostic framing** (outlining solutions for a given problem and strategies for carrying out the plan, also termed as *counter-framing*) and; 3 **motivational framing** (evoking severity, urgency, efficacy, and propriety in mobilising support) (Benford

& Snow, 2000 p, 615-617). For movement actors to be able to pursue these core framing demands, they invariably have to go through an interrelated problems of "consensus mobilization" and "action mobilization" (Klandermans, 1984).

Akin to the above, Taylor & Whittier (1992) posited that the strong bonds existing in social networks contribute highly to the formation and politicization of collective identities. Based on these, networks individuals come to see themselves as part of a group when some shared characteristic becomes salient and is defined as important. Consequently, boundaries are drawn between "a challenging and a dominant group" (Taylor & Whittier, 1999 P, 175). Moreover, if "movement activists interpret political space in ways that encourage opportunity rather than constraint, they may stimulate actions that change opportunity, making their opportunity frame a self-fulfilling prophecy" (Benford & Snow, 2000; Gamson & Mayer, 1996 p, 287).

Indeed, we will be interested in how the POS are facilitating or undermining the urban and municipal policies and practices for the integration of refugee and vulnerable migrants in the context of GN and GS. Like, why are the actors – municipal authorities, CSOs, national authorities, actively pursuing similar or different solidarity regarding refugee and vulnerable migrants integration. Why exclusionary national policies for refugees and vulnerable migrants, why civic solidarity by some municipal authorities and civil society actors. Are these informed by POS or other factors, the study would unravel in the discussion section.

Chapter 3

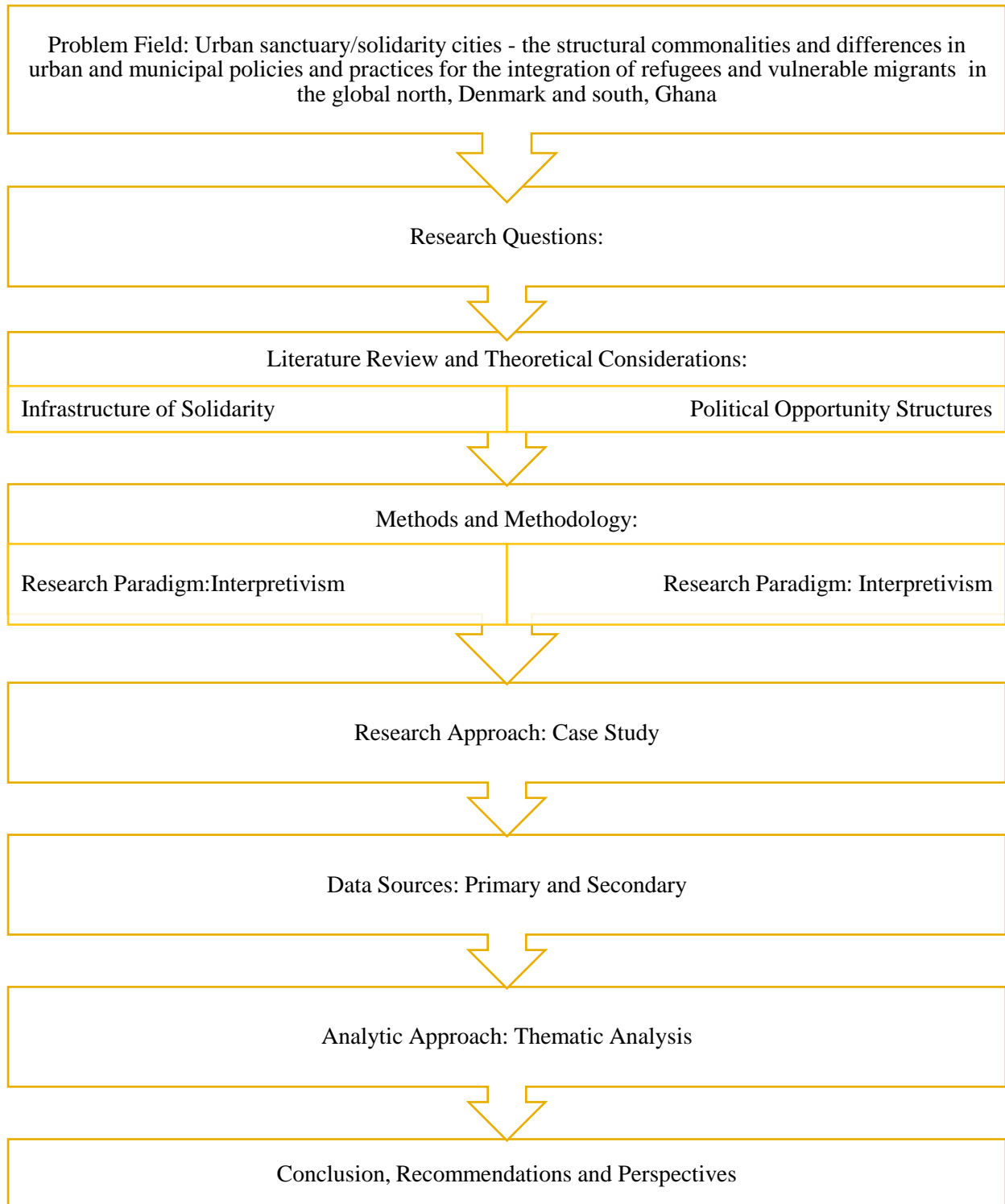
3.1 Introduction

This study seeks to use the hermeneutics and interpretative paradigm and thematic analysis (TA) approach to explore the structural commonality and differences in urban and municipal policies and practices towards the integration of refugees and vulnerable migrants in the global north, Denmark and south, Ghana. The data used for the analysis are both primary and secondary. The primary data constituted a semi-structured interviews conducted in Denmark and Ghana from February to May 2022. While the secondary data embodies reports from some of the urban and municipal assemblies, civil society organizations, published and published articles on urban and municipal policies and practices, among others. For analytical purpose, the Voyant tools software was adopted to identify themes or patterns from the data to be used for the in-depth analysis in the analytical chapter. Below is the illustration of the main steps used in the methodology and methods section of the study.

3.2 Research Design and Method

This section presents the overall overview of the structural framework to guide the study. It includes: the ontological considerations, research paradigm, research approaches, Data sources and techniques, analytical approaches, use of theories, and ethical considerations and limitations.

Table 3 Structure of the Thesis: Researcher own Design



3.3 Ontological and Epistemological Considerations

Research is defined as the systematic and logical process of inquiry by using empirical information to answer questions or test hypotheses (Punch, 2006). Ontology and epistemology are two philosophical expressions frequently used in research, explaining them in layman's language for readers to is quite important. Accordingly, ontology is the reality or the truth we seek to understand about nature. Whereas epistemology is in the domain of the mechanism to knowing, the quest to knowing the truth or reality about nature (Kuada, 2012; Bryman, 2016).

In this study, the ontology or the reality is - the structural commonality and differences in urban and municipal policies and practices in integrating refugees and vulnerable migrants in the global north and south. The epistemology on the other hand, is premised on ways of knowing the reality - why, what, and how is the reality? - for instance, why is it important to draw synergies in urban and municipal policies and practices towards the integration of refugees and vulnerable migrants in the global north and south. The quest for the acquisition of knowledge about the ontology or reality can be done being an insider (subjectivist), outsider (objectivist), and a blend of the two - mix methods.

3.4 Research Paradigm: Interpretivism

This study is positioned within the interpretivist or social constructivist research paradigm. This philosophical paradigm emphasizes that members of a geographical context or cultural group interpret and make meaning of the world around them (Creswell, 2007). In this regard, I interpreted both the primary and secondary data generated from Denmark and Ghana to generate meanings. The primary data was in the form of semi-structured interviews I conducted among urban and municipal authorities, civil society organization and other experts in the field. Whereas the secondary data details the natural occurring data from the relevant bodies, as well as published and unpublished articles on urban sanctuary, solidarity/ refugee cities.

The main objective is to generate meaning and understanding on urban and municipal policies and practices in integrating refugees and vulnerable migrants in the global north, Denmark and south, Ghana. The interpretative paradigm is relevant for this study because social realities - the structural commonalities and differences as well as the role of civil society organizations in urban and municipal policies and practices towards the integration of refugees and vulnerable migrants - have so many meanings for human beings, and these diverse meanings can be accessed through human interactions and interpretations of texts (Bryman, 2016; Kuada

2012 p.17). In this study, the data from both sources - primary and secondary - were thoroughly compared and interpreted to derive in-depth meanings

3.5 Research Strategy: Case Study

There are several strategies available for the conduct of a research. Following this, Yin (2003) identified five strategies for conducting a scientific social science research. These included Experiment, Survey, Archival Analysis, History and Case study (Yin, 2003:8). A case study is a unique and short story telling on the special characteristics about events, organizations, companies, individuals, or any other entities considered (Lechman, 2014) This study adopts a case study research approach. This research approach or strategy helps researchers to study an issue or event by exploring it “through one or more cases within a bounded system” (Creswell, 2007, p. 73).

In this context, the multiple bounded cases are adopted to guide the study. By this, I have settled on urban and municipalities, civil society organizations and other relevant bodies in Denmark (Copenhagen and Aalborg) and Accra, Ghana to drive the study. The multi- bounded cases approach is indeed relevant because it gives room for a researcher to gain detail information concerning the subject under consideration (Yin, 2003). Also, the strategy offers the researcher an array of analytical perspectives, enriching basic findings, and ensuring the in-depth look at some specific features of the issues examined. It thus contributes to the quality of the research and more importantly allowing conclusion based on real- life observations especially when the “boundaries between phenomena and context are not clearly evident” (Yin, 2003 p 13; Lechman, 2014). Besides, it enables data gathering from diverse sources of information while reporting a description on case-based themes (Bryman, 2016; Creswell, 2009).

As noted, to fully understand the concept of urban sanctuary or solidarity cities requires the appreciation of diverse actors who in one way or the other contribute to shaping the urban and municipal policies and practices of integrating refugees and vulnerable migrants. Inferring from the literature, different nation states, urban and municipal authorities, civil society organizations, refugees, and vulnerable migrants have different leeway, capacity and approach towards sanctuary or solidarity cities (Bauder & Gonzalez, 2018).

Admittedly, multi-bounded case study is most promising and relevant when exploring social event or cases with different perspectives on issues bothering on the processes and events such as the structural commonalities and differences in municipal policies and practices in

integrating refugees and vulnerable migrants (Creswell, 2007). Indeed, I will compare the urban and municipal policies and practices in the selected cases - the structural commonalities and differences in urban and municipal policies and practices in integrating refugees and vulnerable migrants in Denmark and Ghana. Also, there are a network of CSOs in Copenhagen and Accra actively supporting refugees and vulnerable migrants. The CSOs activities in supporting both the refugees and vulnerable migrants could be impacting the urban and municipal policies and practices. Therefore, the rational to also look at the contributions of CSOs towards municipal policies and practices in integrating refugees and vulnerable migrants in Copenhagen and Accra.

The primary data did not capture refugees and vulnerable migrants as interview participants. As a research strategy, I decided to focus on the policy makers and implementers in the primary data gathering process. With the focus of the research, one could obtain relevant primary data without necessarily interviewing the refugees and vulnerable migrants. Aside this, the secondary data have made useful contributions on the role of refugees and vulnerable migrants in shaping the urban and municipal policies and practices (Fischer & Jørgensen, 2021; Siim & Meret, 2021; Kreichauf & Mayer, 2021; Agustín & Jørgensen, 2019), and these will augment the primary data thus enrich the findings to be made.

3.6 Source of Data

The study adopts both primary and secondary data for the analysis. As indicated earlier, I have conducted semi-structured interviews from urban and municipal authorities, civil society organizations and agencies whose work focus on refugees and vulnerable migrants in Accra, Copenhagen, and Aalborg. In the same vein, I also used reports and policy statements from some of the municipalities, CSOs and allied agencies, published and unpublished articles on urban sanctuary or solidarity cities to complement and enrich the findings.

3.7 Access to study participants, sample size and techniques

To get audience from the study participants, I sent emails to potential interview participants with an introductory letter from my supervisor. The letter clearly stated the purpose and importance for the interview audience to be granted. Based on the focus of the study, the municipal authorities, CSOs, and allied agencies dealing with refugees and vulnerable migrants in Denmark and Ghana became my targeted population. Indeed, target population is the entire group that a researcher wants to conduct research about. For purpose of clarity and consistency, samples are often selected from the target population for a study (Creswell, 2009).

In total, I conducted fourteen (14) semi-structures interviews from the urban and municipal

authorities, civil society organizations in Copenhagen, Aalborg, and Accra. One of the interviews was done online using Teams, and the rest on physical settings. Also, two of the interviews were conducted in the form of focus groups with two officials in each session.

In qualitative research, fourteen (14) experts and official interviews are reasonable enough for conclusions to be made on the subject or study under investigation. Besides, a carefully selected secondary data are used to compliment the primary data for an in-depth analysis in the empirical chapter. Moreso, the findings shall be generalized with the help of theories.

This study adopted a Purposive sampling technique. This sampling technique becomes useful when it is not easy to identify the possible study participants. In this regard, researchers tend to concentrate on study participants who can provide relevant information on the issue under exploration (Bryman, 2016). In this context, the fourteen (14) study participants were selected purposively. Therefore, all interviews were conducted in a conducive atmosphere where interviewees willingly provided answers to the semi-structured interview questions posed to them. Below is the background information of the study participants. To uphold the ethical issues seriously, I assigned the following codes to the study participants, and used NGO/CSO in place of the names of some of the civil society organizations interviewed.

Table 4 Profile of the Study Participants: Researcher's own Design

Codes	Gender	Organization	City/Country
RR	Female	NGO/CSO	Copenhagen, Denmark
HH	Female	NGO/CSO	Copenhagen, Denmark
LL	Female	FAKTI	Copenhagen, Denmark
NN	Male	Municipal Assembly	Aalborg, Denmark
DO	Male	UNHCR-Ghana	Accra, Ghana
TP	Male	Ghana Refugee Board	Accra, Ghana
JA	Female	Municipal Assembly	Accra, Ghana
MT	Male	Ghanaian-German Centre	Accra, Ghana
JG	Female	Christian Council of Ghana	Accra, Ghana
RO	Male	Metropolitan Assembly	Accra, Ghana
AR	Female	Blue Oasis, A Community Center for Refugees	Accra, Ghana
FK	Male	Blue Oasis, A Community Center for Refugees	Accra, Ghana
WYK	Male	ADRA-Ghana	Accra, Ghana
JA	Male	ADRA-Ghana	Accra, Ghana

Source: Field Interviews, 2022

In fact, using both data comes with the advantages and challenges. A secondary data is a vast amount of data that has been collected, compiled, and easily accessible for research. With this, the practicality of utilizing existing data for research is becoming more prevalent (Johnston, 2017). By far, a secondary data analysis is analysis of data that was collected by someone else for another primary purpose. The advantage is that it is easy to access, flexible, and provides a viable option for researchers who may have limited time and resource to be able to conduct scientific research (Johnston, 2017; Bryman, 2016; Kuada, 2012).

The challenges associated with using secondary data are that; the data collected was for some other purpose and not directly to answer the researcher's specific research questions. Also, concrete information that the researcher would like to have may not have been collected. Additionally, data may not have been collected in the same geographical region of interest, and the sample population that is the focus of interest may differ from the present research (Doolan & Froelicher, 2009; Boslaugh, 2007; Punch, 2006).

However, the identified weakness or challenges of using secondary data could be addressed by the primary data generated. Yet, obtaining the primary data also comes with cost implications and time involvements. The combine effects are that the research findings using both data collection methods tend to be credible (Creswell, 2009).

3.8 Analytic Approach

This study adopted a thematic data analysis approach. Thematic analysis (TA) is defined as a method for identifying, analyzing, and interpreting patterns of meaning or themes within qualitative data (Sundler, Lindberg, Nilsson, & Palmér, 2019; Clarke & Braun, 2017; Willig & Rogers, 2017; Guest, MacQueen, & Namey, 2011). Thematic analysis can be done by following some basic steps: data formalization, coding, generating themes from the codes (a shared core ideas identified), reviewing the initial themes, properly defining and naming your themes, and writing the analysis base on the themes, (Willig & Rogers, 2017). In short, TA has in-built quality processes - a two-stage review procedures - whereby the potential themes are reviewed against the coded data and the whole dataset (Clarke & Braun, 2017).

The usefulness of this approach is that it is a flexible analytical approach. It can be used for both inductive (data-driven) and deductive (theory-driven) analyses, and to capture both approaches explicit and latent underlying meaning. TA also allows researchers to identify patterns within and across a wide- range of data - from a small case study research involving 1–2 participants, to large interview studies with 60 or more study participants - in relation to

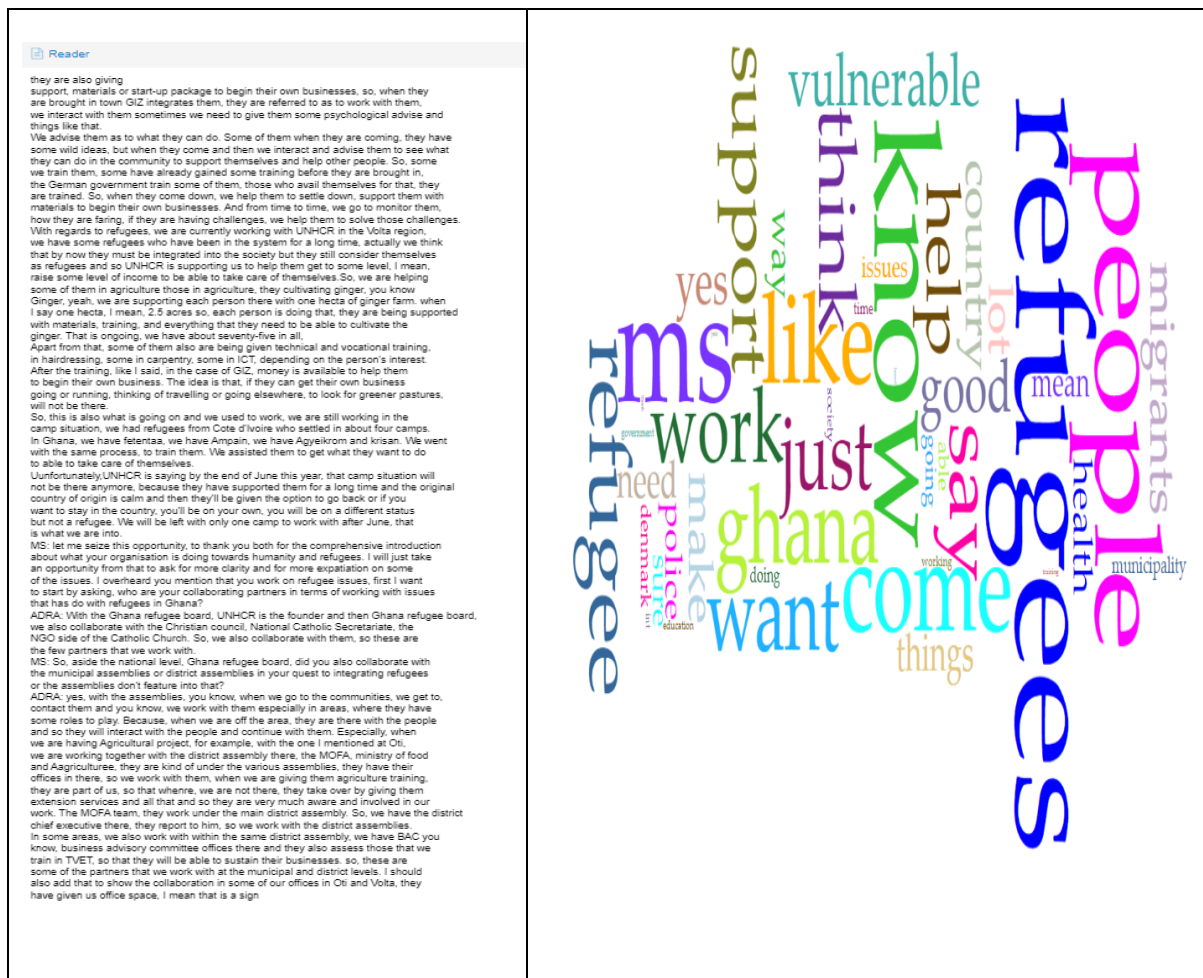
participants' lived experience, views or perspectives, behaviors, and practices; 'experiential' research which seeks to understand what participants' think, feel, and do (Sundler, Lindberg, Nilsson, & Palmér, 2019; Clarke & Braun, 2017).

By this, the primary data was imported into Voyant tools software where summaries were created for each of the data using the available functions. Voyant Tools is a web-based, free, open-source text analysis software package that offers versatile and sophisticated text manipulation capabilities useful for both the beginners and advanced humanities scholars (Hetenyi, Lengyel, & Szilasi, 2019; Miller, 2018). Additionally, memo passages were linked to the data using cross-references function. This idea was to stay close to the data (Guest, MacQueen, & Namey, 2011). The cross-references created a room for me to deduce a grounded understanding of the role of multiple actors in designing urban and municipal policies and practices for the integration of refugees and vulnerable migrants in Copenhagen and Accra. In relation to coding scheme, a theme-based coding scheme was used in which an initial list of codes were generated from the data. I then develop potential themes from the codes, for a review to be done, a thematic map was developed allowing the most occurrent phrases and trends to be generated. This was further refined, merged, and compared, and the most frequent frames were generated as the main themes for the discussion.

3.9 Generated Themes

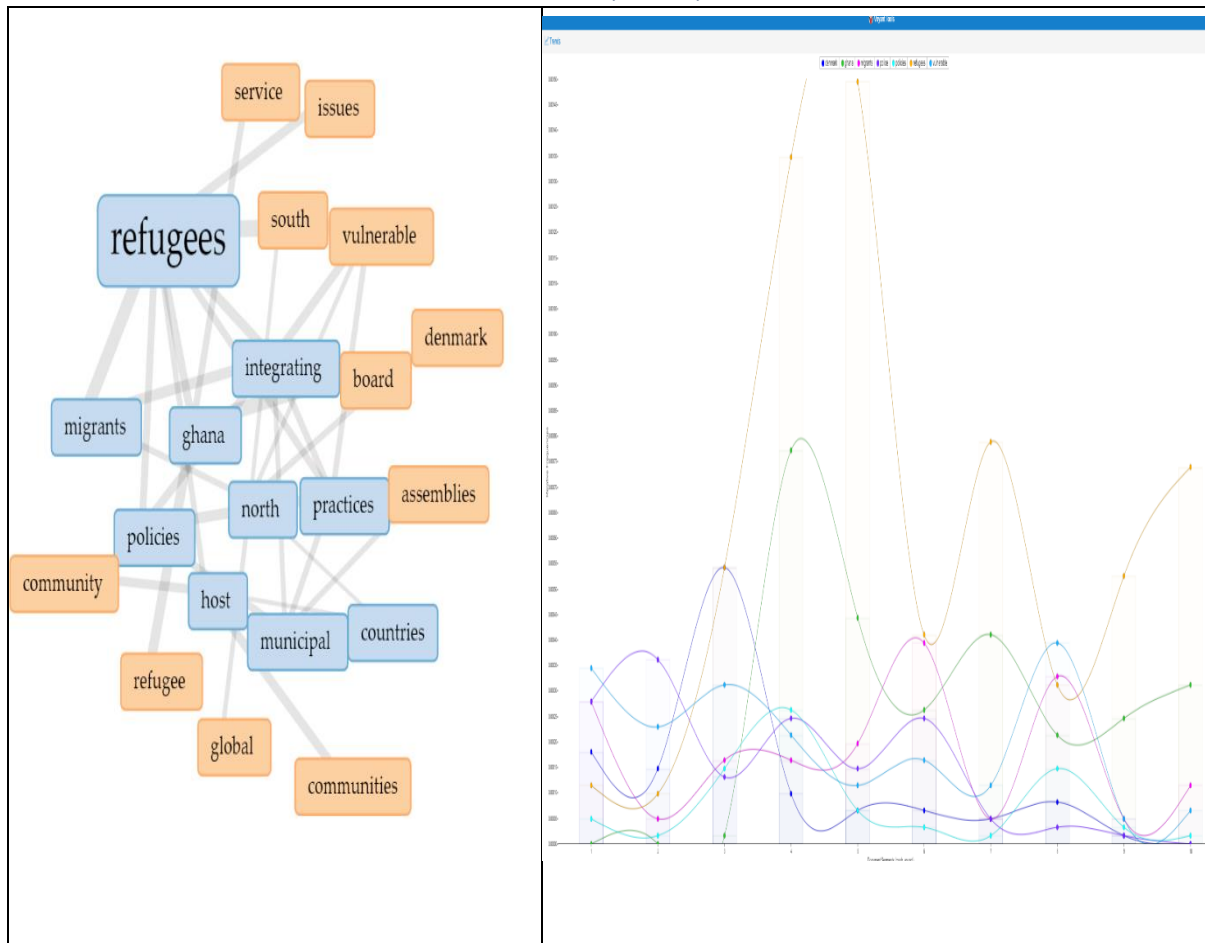
The below diagrammatic explanations represent the various steps I have taken to arrive at the three main themes for this study

Table 5 Key Words or Common Terms



The above graph shows the most used and relevant codes/keywords by the study participants derived from Voyant tools software. For instance, refugees were mentioned many times (388) seen from the line graph. Next is migrants that has been mentioned 109 times from the data. Of course, refugees and vulnerable migrants are the main drivers of the research

Table 6 Interconnectivity in Key words or Codes



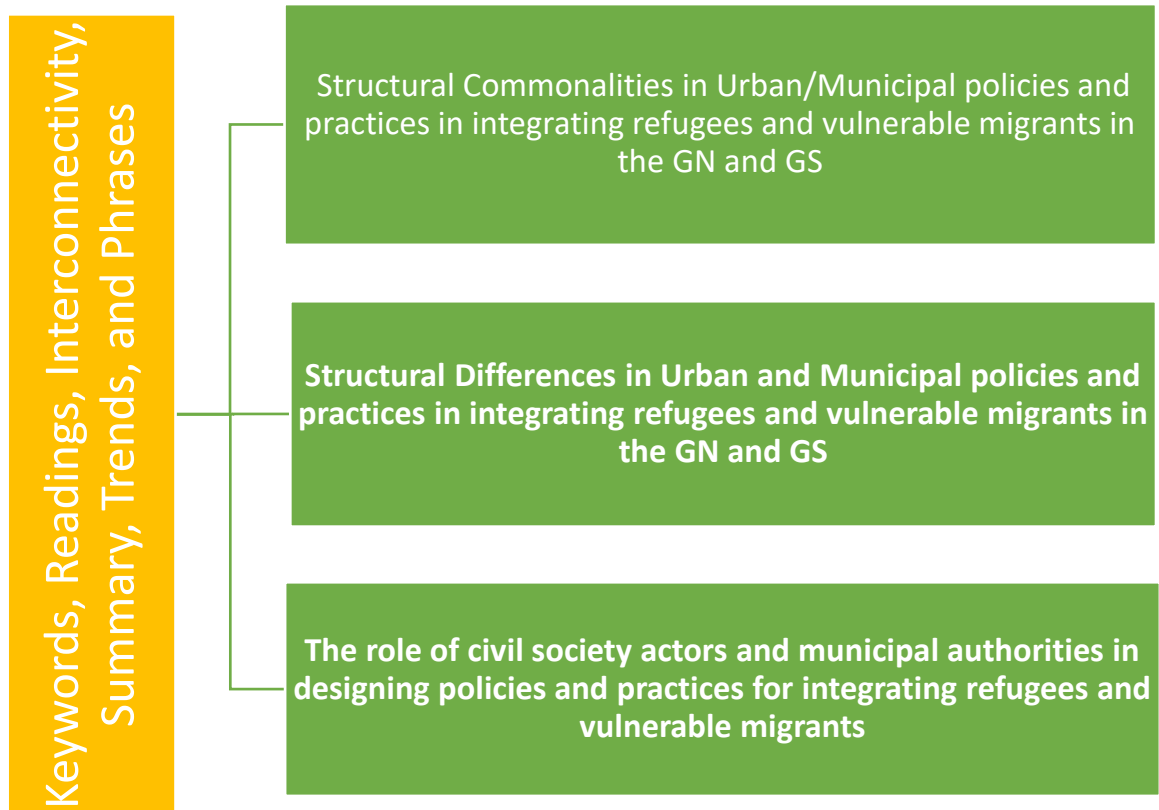
The above presents the interrelationship of the keywords/codes as expressed by the study participants. The take home is that urban sanctuary or municipal policies and practices in integrating refugees and vulnerable migrants in Denmark and Ghana could be described as complex phenomena. As depicted above, the process involves diverse actors – municipal authorities, civil society, national authorities, refugees, among others. It is done through collaboration, contestation, transformation, and construction of existing and new policies. In short, the diagram displays different spatial and scales of constructing urban and municipal policies and practices which shall be discussed thoroughly in the analysis chapter.

Table 7 Common Phrases from the Data

COMMON PHRASES FROM THE DATA	
Sometimes you can see that this person is not a Ghanaian	The kind of decentralization we practice in Ghana is not like in Denmark
The assembly through social welfare and community development	We are local authorities
We do not have that mandate	Assemblies where we have refugee camps
Economically independent	To report to the police without being deported
In Ghana Ivorians are the highest in the refugee's population	The refugees who are not in any of the camps
When we provide boreholes in the refugee camp	We provide books and educational materials
And all refugees are benefiting from	Refugees have more opportunities than average Ghanaian
Refugees from over thirty-five countries	We are completely legal
Existing policies	One of my core mandates as career counselor
To begins their own businesses	In Copenhagen we have
In the country of asylum	Immigrants are coming from Togo, Burkina Faso, Nigeria
Ghana refugee board, I do not know their financial status	The national immigration service they are
About the dangers of irregular migration	Get the permanent permission to stay in DK

In the above, the table represents the common and relevant phrases expressed by the study participants. The common and relevant phrases were deduced from the Voyant tools text analysis software (Hetenyi, Lengyel, & Szilasi, 2019). After thoroughly reading the primary data and inputting same to the Voyant tools software to drive the keywords/codes. I went further to examine the interconnectivity or links through the generated codes, look at the summary and the trends as displayed. In an equivalent way, I manually tabulated some of the common and relevant phrases expressed by the study participants as captured by the Voyant tools. Following this, I have settled on three broad themes presented below.

Figure 1 Major themes for the study; Author Own Design

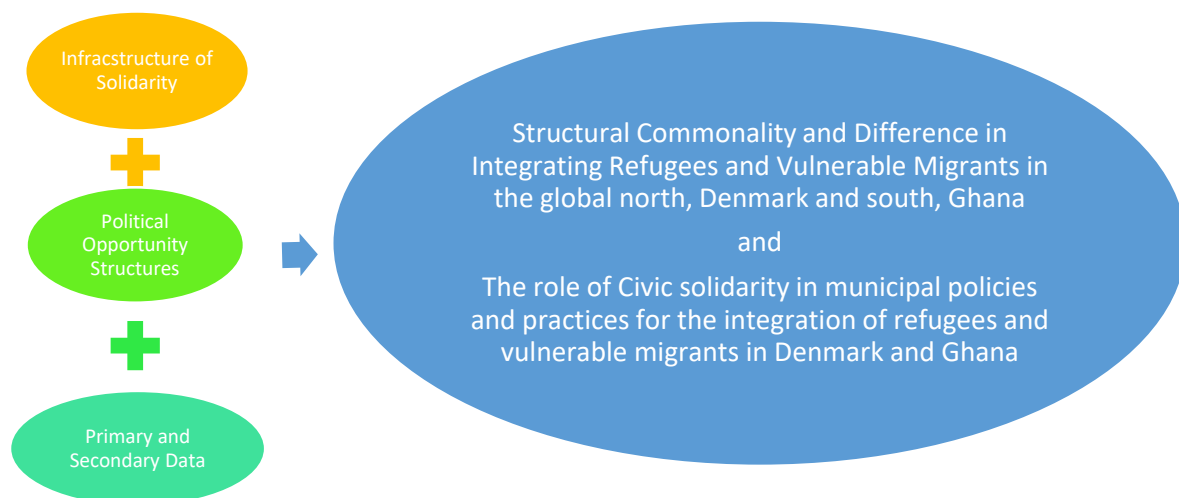


As can be seen from the diagram, the three settled themes – structural commonalities and differences in municipal policies and practices in integrating refugees and vulnerable migrants in the GN and GS, and the role of CSOs and municipal authorities in designing policies and practices for the integration of refugees and vulnerable migrants will guide the analysis in the empirical chapter.

3.10 Use of Theories

Theory plays a vital role in academic research. What is theory and why its relevance to any academic research including this. In one version, a theory is a set of propositions which together describe and explain the phenomenon being studied (Punch, 2006 p, 33). Here, the propositions are seen to be the higher level of abstraction than the empirical generalizations and specific facts regarding the phenomenon (Ibid). In other words, theories are considered as signposts that tell us what is important, why it is important, what determines this importance, and what outcomes should be expected (A.Zahra, 2007 p, 444). In effect, theories serve as building blocks and a guide to both the researcher and the reader through what was found and why it enriches or challenges our understanding. Therefore, studies grounded in theory give much attention to the context of the research, its uniqueness, complexity, and relevance (A.Zahra, 2007). Following these, I have selected the infrastructure of solidarity and political opportunity structures as the theoretical frameworks to guide me and readers to the understanding of this study later in the discussion or empirical chapter.

Figure 2 Use of theories: Researcher's Own Design



As can be inferred from the figure above, the combination of the theories together with the data would help us come to terms with the context of this research, its complexity, uniqueness, and richness in chapter four (4). In brief, an understanding of the Structural commonality and difference, and the role of civic solidarity in municipal policies and practices for the integration of refugees and vulnerable migrants in Denmark and Ghana will be attained. The infrastructure of solidarity and political opportunity structures are settled on because, each of the theories postulations have much bearing on what the study seeks to explore. For better understanding see the theoretical section of this study

3.11 Positionality of the Researcher/The role of the Researcher

The reflection of the researcher's positionality to any research is an important ethical consideration. This is because researchers are like other human beings who possess certain degree of values, beliefs, ideologies, and norms, and there is the possibility to carry those values and norms into the research. Besides, it has been argued that research in general, and qualitative research, is subjective and sometimes biased (Bryman, 2016). Upon this, I suspended my personal knowledge, beliefs and values, and allow the study participants to freely present their views on the interview questions. The choice of this topic was partly because I am Ghanaian and an immigrant with permanent residency in Denmark. With this, I thought the data collection will be without serious challenges. However, external factors and realities impacted my initial position. As I explained earlier, the data gathering took the period of February to May 2022, starting from Denmark and ending in Ghana.

My social capital from Denmark ranged from my supervisor - a Danish professor - writing an introductory letter both in English and Danish to all the municipalities, NGOs/SOs contacted as one. Secondly, to colleague students from Aalborg University and friends living in Copenhagen for accommodation, transportation to the welcomehouse – a refugees and integration Centre, offices, and some of the municipalities for my period of stay in Copenhagen. The social capital from Ghana span from some of my family members, directors of institutions, and former school mates from University of Ghana in Accra helping me with transport, accommodation, and contacts to the study participants.

Despite the social capital in each context, the ongoing Russian – Ukraine war impacted the data collection in Copenhagen. My period for the data collection was in March 2022, incidentally, the very period the municipalities and the refugees welcomehouse were busily trying to manage the influx of refugees from Ukraine to the city. The initial thought of easy data gathering because of my longer stay in Denmark was challenged by unexpected realities on the ground. However, I was able to interview some NGOs/CSOs in Copenhagen. I also interviewed a politician from Aalborg municipality to augment the natural occurring data from municipalities in Copenhagen.

In Ghana I was forced to change my return date to Denmark because of the challenges of meeting the officials mandated to oversee the refugees and vulnerable migrants' integration. At the minimum, I have been to each office two times before being able to conduct the interviews with the study participants. In many of the days, we had to park our vehicle at AMA

and moved with Okada (motorcycle taxi) with all the risk involve. As it was the practical means one could use to minimizing the traffic on the roads and to be able to meet the scheduled time from one office to another. The brighter side, however, is that I was able to learn more about the complexity, uniqueness, and pitfalls involved in academic research of this nature. More importantly, I was able to gather a reasonable and relevant data for the study.

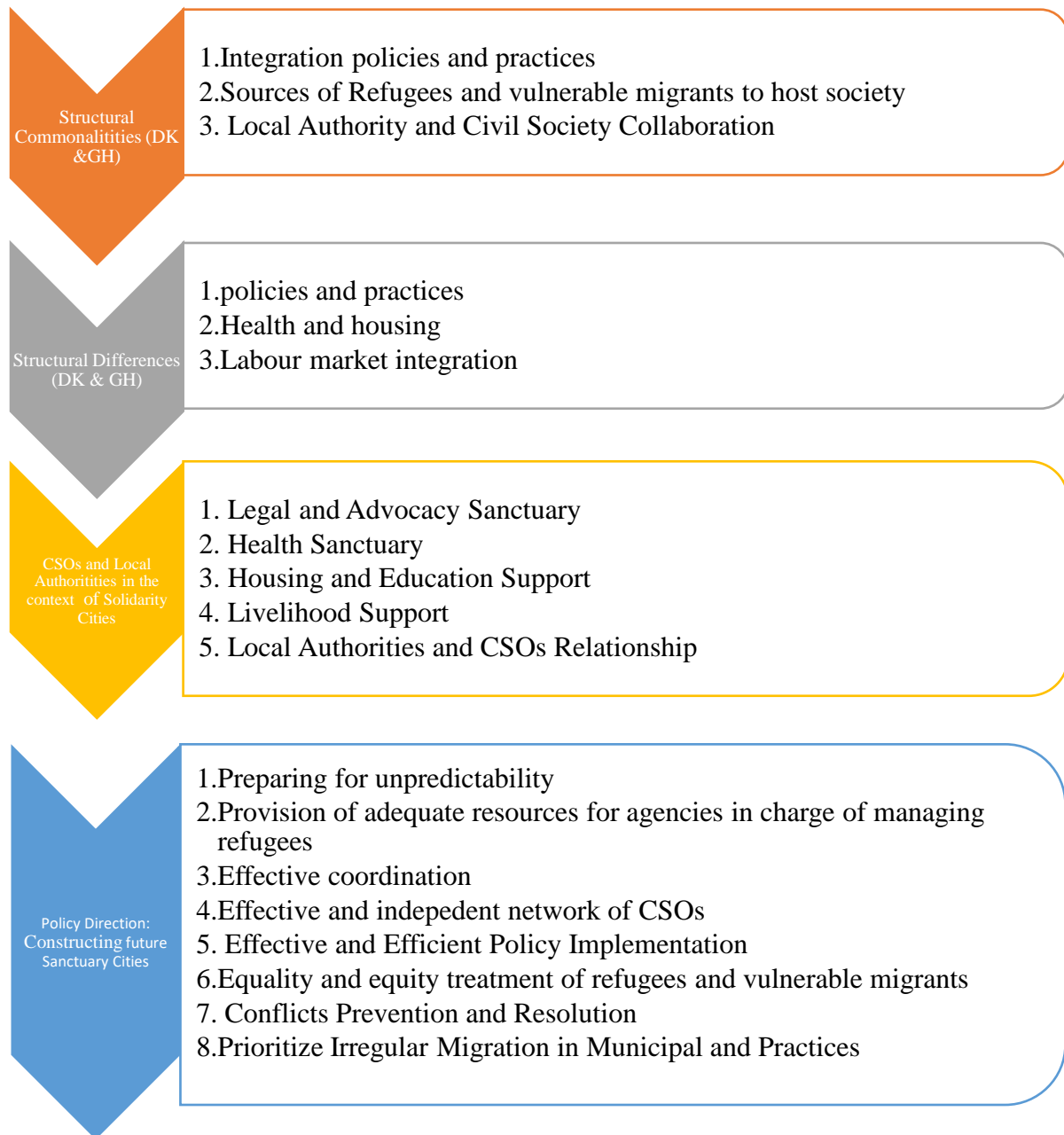
Chapter 4

4.0 Discussion and Results

4.1 Introduction and Summary of Key Findings

The aim of this thesis is to explore the structural commonalities and differences in urban and municipal policies and practices in integrating refugees and undocumented migrants in Copenhagen, Denmark and Accra, Ghana. This chapter presents three themes. The first and second themes respectively discussed the structural commonalities and differences in urban and municipal policies and practices in integrating refugees and vulnerable migrants in the GN and GS, and the third theme explores the strategic roles of civil society actors and municipal authorities in designing policies and practices for the integration of refugees and vulnerable migrants in the GN, Denmark and GS, Ghana. The themes discussed are informed by the following three research questions: What are the structural commonalities and differences in urban and municipal policies and practices in integrating refugees and undocumented migrants in the GN (Denmark) and GS (Ghana), What are the roles of civil society actors and municipal authorities in developing policies and practices for the integration of refugees and vulnerable migrants in GN and GS, and Why is it important to draw synergies in urban and municipal policies and practices to enhance refugees and vulnerable migrants integration in Denmark and Ghana?

Figure 3 Summary Key Findings



4.2 Structural Commonalities in Urban and Municipal policies and practices in integrating Refugees and Vulnerable Migrants

The analysis here will be done through three sub-themes: Integration policies and practices, Source of Refugees, and vulnerable migrants to host cities, and local authorities and civil society collaboration.

4.2.1 Integration Policies and Practices

There is a general acknowledgement that immigration policies are conceived at the national level, and the burdens and problems are felt at the local level. In the case of Denmark, the state decides who and how many refugees the ninety-eight (98) municipalities are expected to host. Implying, the state defines the frames of the introduction program, and the burden immediately shifts to the municipalities to decide how to attain the goals. For instance, the municipalities oversee a 3-year introduction program for persons granted asylum. This inter alia includes language training courses, civic integration measures, financial support, employment-creating activities, and other types of assistance (Jørgensen, 2012 p, 250). To buttress this point, two study participants, one politician from Aalborg municipality and a registered CSOs in Copenhagen respectively highlighted:

The relationship is written in the law, as a municipality we are not responsible for who is getting asylum or not, and we cannot give people a house, money, or anything if they do not have CPR number, and so, everybody who comes to Denmark as immigrants or refugee, their first responsibility is the state and when the state accept them then, we can do everything for them (NN, 2022).

And I would say, the Copenhagen municipalities, they have a challenge about the undocumented migrants, and they do not know what to do about it, they cannot because of the law... The migration law in Denmark for the last five (5)-ten (10) years has been restricted quite remarkably (RR, 2022).

The implication is that solidarity city policies and practices for refugees and vulnerable migrants in Copenhagen and other municipalities in the country are guided so much by the national law. As revealed by NN (2022), a study participant from Aalborg municipality, the responsibility of the municipality towards refugees and migrants starts on the condition that the national mandated authorities grant them the permit to Denmark. Inferring from RR (2022), one of the registered CSOs in Copenhagen, the municipal authorities cannot support undocumented migrants because of the national law. This means that Copenhagen municipalities like Aalborg as explained, can only deal with refugees and persons with the right permit to the country. City sanctuary is largely base on the law, which we could describe as not the same as the sanctuary city philosophy in the USA (Graauw & Gleeson, 2021). The presence and difficult plight of the undocumented migrants are recognized by some of the CSOs

interviewed in Copenhagen, yet the municipal authorities have almost no possibility to help the situation because of the national law.

However, it is equally important to state that due the integration Acts of 1999, 2003, and 2017, as well as the decentralization Act of 2007, which led to the reduction of the municipalities from 271 to 98 (Greve, 2012; EU, 2017), have in one way or the other given a leverage to some of the municipalities. Indeed, owing to municipalities size, economic strength, composition of committee members, and the 2004 reforms granting the local authorities opportunity to develop their own integration policies and practices, these windows have made some of the big cities such as Copenhagen to develop its integration policies that differ in some areas with the national integration policies (Jørgensen, 2012). The cities as a place of belonging, have become increasingly important arena for the formulation and implementation of bottom-up integration policies (Bauder, 2017). In fact, Copenhagen like other cities tend to have innovative and concrete experiences about the handling of refugees and vulnerable immigrants of diverse backgrounds. Contrarily, at the various national scales including Denmark, multiculturalism may still be a contested political issue (Jørgensen, 2012).

In order to respond to the 2015 “refugee crisis”, the Integration Act was amended in 2016, stressing on self-reliance through employment as the unequivocal goal of the programme. With the 2017 integration Act, newly arrived aliens must be self-reliant and contributing citizens on an equal footing with other citizens of society in accordance to the fundamental values and norms of Danish society. In effect, while local governments must provide suitable housing for refugee families, persons who apply for family reunification must have to find suitable accommodation for their new, larger household themselves (Shapiro & Jørgensen, 2021; EU, 2017). In contrast, the vision of the Copenhagen integration stated

We must create good user experiences and help unemployed Copenhageners in jobs or education, and we emphasize values such as care, involvement and high professionalism. Our focus is to ensure a dignified livelihood and to be a strong partner for the companies (Copenhagen Municipality, 2022).

From the vision statement, one could see the emphasis of creating a professional dignified life to all Copenhageners irrespective of race, gender, religion, and citizenship. Implicit also, is the need to create socio-economic interface between inhabitants of the city and companies with the ultimate, to ensuring mutual benefit and trust without stressing so much on values and norms of Danish society, a sine qua non to the nation integration Act. As part of the benchmark, the

Copenhagen's work force, public and private, should reflect the composition of society (Jørgensen, 2012). Based on the responses from the study participants coupled with the secondary data, we can argue that there is a vivid differences in institutional logics and infrastructure of solidarity between the municipal and the national authorities towards refugees and vulnerable migrants integration (Agustín & Jørgensen, 2019). The differences are also solid grounds for the distinct discursive discourses and framing of the solidarity city concept for refugees and vulnerable migrants integration in the country. And these positions can situate well with the POS postulations. As argued, communication frame has the potential to alter the opinion of those exposed to the framing (Hayes, 2008; Edelman, 2001).

In the same vein, in Ghana, the state through Ghana refugee board (GRB) determines and facilitates who and how many refugees are eligible to be in the country. Interestingly, the burden of the integration of the refugees are place in the hands of a selected implementing agencies – CCG, ADRA, and NCS with major funding and technical support from UNHCR-Ghana. The various activities and services provided to refugees include the following: Security Services, Water, Sanitation and Health, Shelter provision, Education, Food distribution, and Livelihood activities (Ghana Refugee Board , 2019). Two sections, 84 and 85 of the local government Act 2016 (Act 936) establishes and determines the functions of metropolitan planning coordinatin unit (MPCU). The MPCU is made of 16 departments of the AMA and chaired by the metroplotan coordinating director (MCD). The MPC together with other heads of departments see to the implementaion of national policies and projects at the local level (IOM, 2019).

The AMA together with the other MMDAs in the greater Accra region do have policies interventions towards internally displaced migrants but not to refugees. Besides, city sanctuary policies and practices are driven by national socio-political opportunity structures (McAdam & John D. McCarthy, 1996). The MMDAs ability to generate funds internally is very low because of the large informal nature of the national and municipal economy. This situation makes them heavily dependent on the common fund from the national level for development. Besides, the appointment rather than election of mayors and one-third of local government councillors has undermined local capacity-building and local democracy (Mohammed, 2015). On these bases, the city authorities tend to be answerable to national authorities than the people within the municipalities – the sanctuary city policies and practices in Accra are therefore, dictated by the national political considerations (Gamson & Mayer, 1996). In short, the

immigration policies are conceived at the national level, and the burdens and problems of refugees and vulnerable migrants integration are felt at the local level in both Copenhagen and Accra.

4.2.2 Source of Refugees and Vulnerable Migrants to Cities

Another important structural commonality between Copenhagen and Accra is centred on where the cities and municipalities in question receive refugees and vulnerable migrants. The common knowledge is that several factors could lead to refugees movements across the globe, and the journey as well as the final destination is not well defined to the persons involved. There is however, a general agreement among scholars that where the city authorities received the influx of refugees and vulnerable migrants depends on the current happening in and around the world (Byrska, 2022; Fischer & Jørgensen, 2021). To relate this to primary data, a study participant from the GN, Aalborg, Denmark explained:

Where we receive refugees depends about the world, so right now you are having a lot of migrants or refugees from Ukraine, and we are expecting to get more of them in this city, 3000 to 4000 refugees from Ukraine in the next few months(NN, 2022).

Another interview from one CSO in Copenhagen relative to this revealed as stated:

Well, it could be all over the world, we have a large group from Afghanistan, Iraq, and Palestinians, we do not have very many women from Syria because they did not get housing in Copenhagen but in other cities. We also have women from Somali, Eritrea, Ethiopia, and Pakistan even though, the Pakistan women are not refugees (LL, 2022).

Clearly from the data, one could argue that where a city or municipality received refugees and vulnerable migrants depends on the geo-political, socio-economic and environmental crisis around the world. At the moment, Copenhagen and other municipalities are dealing with the influx of refugees from Ukraine to Denmark. As revealed from the introductory chapter, figures from the Danish Immigration service (Udlændingestyrelsen) show that around 30,000 Ukrainians have been granted residency in Denmark under a special law passed 17th of March 2022 (Thelocal.dk, 2022). As explained by one political representative from Aalborg municipality, during the 2015 refugees crisis, Aalborg hosted more than 2000 Syrian refugees, and in the 1990s, municipalities in Denmark got an influx of refugees from Somalia Eritrea, and Bosnia due to the wars in the horn of Africa and the Balkans respectively (NN, 2022). This

narration is corroborated by secondary data. For instance, an estimated 18,000 people from the former Yugoslavia and 30,000 Syrian refugees including reunified family members entered Denmark because of the wars in the Balkans region and Syria ([TheLocal.dk, 2022](#)).

Turning to the GS, Ghana, study participants, one from Ghana Refugee Board and the other from one of the MMDAs in Accra in a bid to respond to this issue established the following:

We have refugees from over thirty-five different countries and that goes beyond Africa, the largest population is from Cote d'Ivoire currently, ... We have around 14000 refugees and asylum seekers. Asylum seekers are those who have applied but their applications have not yet been approved (TP, 2022).

we get to know most of the undocumented immigrants are coming from Togo, Burkina Faso, Mali, and Nigeria, and because they do not have places to live, they built the kiosks and they create a whole lot of nuisances, place to dump their waste, toilet issues a whole lot of problems (JA, 2022).

A natural occurring data from UNHCR-Ghana shows that majority of refugees and asylum seekers in Ghana originate from Cote D'Ivoire (51.0%), Togolese (26.2%), Liberians (5.5%), and Sudanese (5.0%). Other nationalities including Cameroon, Syria, Central African Republic, Eritrea, and others making up 12.3 % of the total population ([UNHCR-Ghana, 2022](#)).

From the primary and secondary data above, where the cities and municipalities in Accra receive refugees and vulnerable migrants rest on the crisis or issues around the globe, just like the case of Copenhagen and other municipalities in Denmark. Ghana status within the sub-region as being stable and peaceful, a signatory to the UN, AU, and ECOWAS conventions, opens its major cities and municipalities such as AMA and the 28 MMDAs in the region to the influx of undocumented migrants within the neighbouring countries, seasonal or internally displaced migrants, and urban refugees. According to the 2022 global peace index (GPI) report, Ghana has been ranked second most peaceful country in sub-Saharan Africa and 40th globally ([Ghanaweb.com, 2022](#); [Boafo-Arthur, 2008](#)).

Based on the realities established, the city authorities in Copenhagen and Accra together with civil society actors, are constantly developing innovative measures to dealing with the refugees and vulnerable migrants. At the same time, the national authorities in both countries are stressing on the need to allow the national laws to work - getting the undocumented migrant/immigrants out of the cities and municipalities and reducing the inflow of refugees to

same. In this regard, the Copenhagen Welcomehouse, since its opening in 2016, has been an integration-oriented meeting place for refugees, volunteers, and the community. They plan on different activities that focus on both barriers and opportunities for the new citizens into the city (welcomehouse.kk.dk, 2018).

In this form of institutional and civic solidarity initiatives, the formal employment and integration mayor Mia Nyegaard stated; “I hope and believe that Copenhagen will serve as a role model for how modern societies receive refugees in a way that is both empathic and gives refugees the best possible opportunities to become part of the city in terms of work, education and life in the city in general” (welcomehouse.kk.dk, 2018). In a similar fashion, UNHCR, the UN Refugee Agency in Ghana has opened a new Refugee Community Center in Accra as part of activities marking World Refugee Day in 2021. Named -BLUE OASIS- the center is serving as a safe public space where refugees of diverse backgrounds can meet for skills development, livelihood activities, information exchange and recreation among others (Folley, 2021). With these, both Copenhagen and Accra are developing solidarity measures to refugees socio-economic and cultural integrations at the cities level.

On the back of that, the Ghanaian nation authorities in 2019, deported seven hundred (700) Nigerians, on the grounds that the deportees have been involved in criminal activities such as fraud, prostitution, armed robbery among others (Olufemi, 2020). And in June 2022, 562 Nigeriens have been deported from the streets of Accra. The repatriation of the beggars is said to be one of the steps Ghana has taken to tightens its immigration control (Nigeriabroad.com, 2022). Similarly, Denmark's policy on asylum seekers and refugees has become hostile since 2015, in 2019, the Prime Minister announced that Denmark wants "zero asylum seekers," a policy objective seen as a strong red signal for immigrants. Despite the UN and EU positions, Denmark classified Syria as a “safe” region. The government thus informed 1,200 refugees from the Damascus region that their residency would not be renewed (Andalousi, 2022).

Moreso, on 3 June 2021, Denmark’s parliament passed L226, an amendment to the Aliens Act with a new paragraph 29 that shall allow for the transfer of asylum seekers to a third country outside the EU for the purposes of both asylum processing and protection of refugees in the third country (Tan, 2022). The EU initial response was general, but critical. On 18 June 2021 Commissioner Ylva Johansson pointed to the impact the policy could have on EU neighbouring countries and stated that “[t]he idea of a transfer of asylum-seekers to third countries for processing and accommodation is contrary to the spirit of the Geneva Convention...and the

right to asylum as a fundamental right in the European Union, guaranteed by the EU Charter” (Tan & Vedsted-Hansen, 2021 p,3). Upon these, we can argue that the national authorities on the one hand are developing exclusionary immigration and integration policies for refugees and vulnerable migrants, and on the other hand, authorities in Copenhagen and Accra are putting up innovative measures for refugees integration. The wave of discourse and counter-framing of the national and municipal integration policies and practices in any possible platform is altering the POS - the solidarity movements towards refugees and vulnerable migrants in Accra and Copenhagen (Kriesi, Koopmans, Duyvendak, & Giugni, 1992).

Revisiting the theoretical chapter, one could argue that different infrastructure of solidarity and POS could be aduced from the above. As the municipal authorities together with some CSOs are using their compositions and institutional leverage to develop innovative integration policies based on diversity and opportunity for all – refugees and vulnerable migrants inclusive. The political discourse and integration policies enactment at the national levels are exclusionary and restrictive (Bauder, 2021). Moreover, the EU response to Denmark external policy on asylum seekers and refugees, could be described as selective politics and solidarity as the criticism is centred largely on the impact of the policy on neighboring EU countries. Denmark insistence on going with the policy so long as it conform with national and international law – 1951 UN convention among others speaks volumes about national solidarity and politics at the expense of the refugees and vulnerable migrants. On the other hand, the opening of the welcomehouse at Copenhagen in May 2016 and the Blue Oasis - refugees community center in Accra, June 2021 to enhance the socio-economic integration of new citizens, volunteers, community, and companies, can be described as commonality and a strong commitment to institutional and civic solidarity at the local level (Agustín & Jørgensen, 2019).

4.2.3 Local Authorities and Civil Society Collaboration

Another common feature between Copenhagen and Accra is the collaboration between the local authorities and civil society actors in the sanctuary or solidarity city policies and practices. Taking the 2015 migration crisis as a point of departure, when major cities across Europe were suddenly presented with force migrants, it became apparent that municipal and national authorities are not the only actors in the solidarity cities phenomenon. Civil society actors became indispensable, same can be said about the ongoing Ukraine refugee’s situation (Ociepa-Kicińska & Gorzałczyńska-Koczkodaj, 2022; Fry & Islar, 2021; Siim & Meret, 2021). In this context, some of the primary data from NN, a politician from Aalborg municipality, LL, a

leader from refugee women group in Copenhagen, and TP, a representative of GRB in Accra revealed the following:

The civil society groups and NGO we find them as big resource we have in the local society and in our city. So, we do have a formal cooperation with them, because in Aalborg municipality we give some money every year to some of the NGOs, and so we support them (NN, 2022)

We get funding from the Copenhagen municipality...I know not all, but very many of the politicians and we have a good relationship. They visit FAKTI every second or third year. We talk about what are our challenges, what is going on and that is important to me and the group (LL,2022).

Indeed, we work closely with the district and municipal assemblies where we have refugee camps. And lately together with UNHCR, we have escalated the level of interaction with the city authorities, particularly the AMA and the various Assemblies within Greater Accra (TP,2022).

In fact, the other study participants equally lay emphasis on either direct or indirect collaboration between the local authorities and the CSOs in developing city sanctuary for refugees and vulnerable migrants. For instance, interviewee RR, a leader of one of the CSOs in Copenhagen, indicated working indirectly with the Copenhagen social nurses supporting drug users or undocumented migrants in the city (RR,2022 P,3). Likewise, HH, a leader of one of the NGOs in Copenhagen revealed working together with municipal health workers on the streets to help the vulnerable with their health problems (HH, 2022, P,11). The district assemblies according to the study participant from the UNHCR-Ghana are one of their main partners where they have the refugees' camps established (DO, 2022 P, 41). Besides, a study participant from Ghanaian-German Centre for jobs, Migration and Reintegration (GGC) in Accra revealed that the organization has made it mandatory for their technical advisors to collaborate with the municipal and regional labour officers and the stakeholders within the regions (MT, 2022 p,71). And our interaction with study participants from ADRA-Ghana brought to light that in the Oti and Volta regions, the district assembly provided them office space and the MOFA team helps in training their farmers to implement the activities towards enhancing the livelihood of refugees (WYK, JA, 2022 P, 113).

In short, whether in the GN, Denmark and GS, Ghana, municipal authorities, and CSOs are key partners in solidarity or sanctuary cities development for refugees and vulnerable migrants. The grounds established fit perfectly with the institutional solidarity postulations where local authorities and civil society actors or “members contribute both because they are obliged to do so according to institutional arrangement and because they expect to get something back if they are in a situation of need” (Fenger & Van Pariadon, 2012 p,51). Similarly, the aspect of civic solidarity that encourages, “the realm of fellow feeling, the we-ness that makes society into society, and even less about the processes that fragment it” can be applied here (Alexander, 2006 p, 53). And as argued, if "movement activists – municipal and CSOs - interpret political space or collaboration in ways that encourage opportunity rather than constraints, they may stimulate actions that change opportunity, making their opportunity frame a self-fulfilling prophecy" (Gamson & Mayer, 1996 p, 287). In the third theme, I will discuss their specific roles into details.

4.3 Structural Differences in Urban and Municipal policies and practices in refugees and vulnerable migrants

The objective of this theme is to tease out the structural differences between Copenhagen and Accra relative to their policies and practices for the integration of refugees and vulnerable migrants. To achieve this, we have chosen three sub-themes to guide the discussions. The sub-themes included general policies and practices, health and housing, and labour market integration.

4.3.1 General Policies and Practices.

I will start with a reminder from the literature about the possible structural commonalities between urban policies and practices in GN and GS. However, the structural differences are also visible to challenge the universal conception of urban sanctuary or solidarity cities (Bauder, 2019). Also, each scale as argued, tends to present unique features or characteristics – signaling diversity of socio-spatial strategies that actors have adopted in their articulations of alternative discourses regarding the rights of the refugees and vulnerable migrants integration across cities and municipalities (Agustín, 2020; Agustín & Jørgensen, 2019; Strunk & Leitner, 2013). To the task at hand, I will put forward that there are indeed some structural differences between urban and municipal policies and practices in Copenhagen, Denmark and Accra, Ghana. Resorting to a natural occurring data from Copenhagen municipality and a

complementary primary data from one of the study participants from Aalborg municipality in Denmark highlighted:

Copenhagen Municipality has had four-year integration policies since 2007 to ensure that citizens with a different ethnic background than Danish have the same opportunities as everyone else (Copenhagen Municipality k. , 2022).

We do have policies, our policies are to make sure that people, when they arrive at our municipality, it is our duty and responsibility to make sure that they become part of the local society and have something to do (NN, 2022).

Inferring from the above, the data from Copenhagen and Aalborg as a complementary demonstrated that Copenhagen, Aalborg, and other municipalities in Denmark have municipal integration policies and practices for refugees and vulnerable migrants. The city integration objective to ensuring that citizens with a different ethnic background than Danish have the same opportunities as everyone else as stated, implies the municipal integration corner stone is on diversity and inclusiveness. The Copenhagen integration model is therefore not a complete replica of the national integration policy. Besides, it is logical to state that decentralized structures are working in Denmark. The national immigration and integration policies relative to refugees and vulnerable migrants are in place. The policies which for the past few years described to be exclusionary and restrictive (Tan, 2022; Jørgensen & Thomsen, 2016).

The municipalities – Copenhagen and Aalborg – because of effective decentralization and devolution have been able to develop their own integration policies and practices which sometimes are distinctive in shape and character from the nation policy (Jørgensen, 2012). This state of affairs, allows for forward and backward infiltration of political power - POS - between the municipalities and the national authorities (Tarrow S, 1988; Klein & Lee, 2019). Besides, the discourse relation with the state and the local authorities - infrastructure of solidarity - is sometimes conflictual since the aims and realities they are dealing with are often different (Agustín & Jørgensen, 2019).

Turning the focus to the GS, Accra on the same issue, the following is what can be discussed. Unlike Copenhagen, the municipalities in Accra do not have specific policy on refugees socio-economic and cultural integration. This is a mark of a complete structural difference between Copenhagen and Accra. To support this position, primary data from two study participants from MMDAs in Accra narrated:

...We do not have anything specifically for refugees, those things are done at the national level. But when it comes down to the vulnerable groups then you can say yes because we have policies that translates into projects and programs for them (RO, 2022).

No, we do not have camp...the kind of decentralization we practice in Ghana is not like what happens in Denmark, a whole lot of government agencies operating in the district are not under us, they are in the district all right, but we do not have jurisdiction over them, they come with the expertise, but they owe allegiance to their mother ministries and companies (JA, 2022).

Taking a queue from the narrations, we can make a case that in Accra and Ghana, the MMDAs does not have integration policies and practices for refugees. There are however decentralized structures in place. In fact, there are 261 MMDAs created through local governments Act, 426 (1993) and Act, 936 (2016). Yet, the rate of devolution is still far from attainable (Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung Ghana, 2010). Now, they only have policy interventions for the vulnerable groups but no concrete policy for refugees. The development and integration policies are largely top-down, with little political will for devolution, a situation which explains why the MMDAs do not have policies regarding refugees' integration (Mohammed, 2015). The management of refugees are done by national mandated body with support from civil society organizations. In this regard, a study participant from Ghana refugee board (GRB) revealed:

The refugee board is the sole agency mandated to recognize persons as refugees and to provide them all the assistance they require. The legislation that guides us, is the Ghana refugee law PNDC law 305d and the other instruments, the UN refugee convention, and the AU convention on refugees (TP, 2022).

The deep implication is that per the PNDC law 305d, the GRB is the constitutional mandated body to handle refugees integration. The communication discourse and collective framing – diagnostic, prognostic, and motivational about refugees integration are driven mostly by national considerations. In effect, the institutional and civic infrastructure of solidarity, as well the POS unlike the case of Copenhagen is driven by national cleavage with almost no MMDAs in the picture (Agustín & Jørgensen, 2019; Benford & Snow, 2000 p, 615-617). In Ghana, the state through GRB and immigration service determines who and how many refugees and immigrants are eligible to be in the country. Here the responsibility of the refugees does not shift to the municipalities but to the implementing agencies. Also, the MMDAs lack of both financial

and material resources are contributing to their low political and institutional leverage to implement policies at the local level, this is a complete departure from the case of Copenhagen in Denmark. In sum, Copenhagen municipalities have integration policies for refugees whereas the MMDAs in Accra have no policies for refugee integration.

4.3.2 Health and Housing Support

Housing and health sanctuary for refugees and vulnerable migrants is another area of structural difference between Copenhagen and Accra. It is established that cities are pivotal in providing sanctuary for refugees and vulnerable migrants. This becomes imperative when city authorities are committed towards the solidarity or sanctuary policies and practices especially, when the solidarity philosophy is reduced to the daily basic needs like water among others (Hudson, 2021; Agustín, 2020). Health and housing support is one critical area where sanctuary policies and practices for refugees and vulnerable migrants could be interrogated. In Copenhagen and other municipalities in Denmark, health and housing sanctuary for refugees and vulnerable migrants can be analyzed in two perspectives. One angle could be health and housing support for refugees and the other for undocumented/vulnerable migrants.

Indeed, refugees' health and housing support are in the hands of the municipalities. With the yellow card, which is the health insurance, refugees are entitled to personal doctors at the health clinics closer to their residential addresses where they can go for a free health delivery. The health cases of refugees that are beyond the clinics just like other citizens are referred to the hospitals for free treatment as well (City of Copenhagen, 2022). The vulnerable migrants, however, are left to their own faith. Per the national law, the municipal authorities can only support person with CPR number. This underscores the fact that in Denmark, solidarity cities movements are not as contentious as those in USA and Canada (Bauder, 2019).

As narrated from the data, we have an important housing policy for the last 9 years that do not allow person with the same background numbering two hundred to stay in the same neighborhood (NN, 2022). The objective of this policy is to ensure effective integration between citizens and those newly arrived in the city. To further explain about the city housing policy, the interviewee stated.

we have 25% of the apartments from every housing company. so, the 25% of those apartments, they ask Aalborg municipality if we need it, that is why we do not have people that are homeless in Aalborg.

The implication is that the housing situation in Aalborg as the fourth city in terms of population will not be as severe as Copenhagen, the administrative and commercial capital with the largest share (1,872,791) of the country total population 5.8 million (Olagnier & Mogensen, 2020; Danmarks Statistik, 2022). The bottom line, however, is that in both Copenhagen and Aalborg, there exist municipal housing and health policies. Whereas in Copenhagen the refugee's health and housing responsibilities are under the municipalities, in Accra, it is not under the MMDAs. In short, Copenhagen municipal assemblies have housing and health policies for refugees, whilst the MMDAs in Accra does not. However, implementing agencies other than the municipalities are responsible for the health and housing of refugees in Accra. How this is done will be discussed thoroughly in the next theme – the role of CSOs and municipal authorities in constructing city sanctuary for refugees and vulnerable migrants.

4.3.3 Labour Market Integration

Scholars of sanctuary or solidarity cities have shed light on refugees and vulnerable migrants labour market participation and how it is influencing national immigration policies as well as, the integration policies and practices at the local level (Heimann, Müller, Schammann, & Stürner, 2019; Jørgensen & Thomsen, 2016). In Denmark, the municipalities have policies towards refugee labour market integration. As part of Copenhagen model for integration of refugees, the municipal job consultants go to the asylum centers and meet the refugees even before they come to Copenhagen. The objective is to clarify their educational and vocational skills at first hand. Also, at the city level and through the Welcomehouse, refugees are assisted by the permanent staff and about 150 active volunteers and CSOs. This is done, through the Danish language teaching and learning, and engaging in other social activities including how to quickly get internship placements with companies (Copenhagen Municipality, 2022; welcomehouse.kk.dk, 2018). As a complement to the above, a study participant from Aalborg municipality revealed:

To us in Denmark the only way you can be the best role model for your children and above all be respected and accepted in the country is to be part of labour market (NN, 2022).

This sharply brings in the Danish welfare politics and its impact on the national and local integration (Jørgensen & Thomsen, 2016). The job center and the social service are working together to make sure that even those with mental or physically problems are assisted to come closer to the job markets (NN, 2022). The institutional conception of city sanctuary for refugees

in this context, is for them to be actively partaking in the labour market. Hence, the national and local level political cleavages or POS in terms of refugees' labour market integration is at equilibrium (Touraine, 1985). Contrary, in Accra, Ghana, the refugees labour market integration is overseen by GRB with the support of implanting agencies. With this an interview participant from the GRB stated:

Again, we provide skills training for them those who are interested so that they can take care of themselves, these are some of the things we do to make sure that the refugees are self-sufficient (TP,2022).

The political and legal discourse of refugees socio-economic, and cultural integration are between the national authorities and CSOs especially those selected as implementing agencies (Edelman, 2001). Unlike Copenhagen, municipal authorities in Accra are not responsible for the formulating of policies and practices towards refugees' labour market integration. Therefore, we can argue that in Copenhagen municipal assemblies have policies and practices for refugees' labour market integration, whereas in Accra municipalities have no such policies and practices. Why and how the structural differences will be discussed in the next theme.

4.4 civil society actors and local authorities in the context of sanctuary or solidarity cities

The roles play by civil society actors and municipal authorities cannot be discounted in the evolving sanctuary or solidarity cities. Indeed, both actors used their leeway's to support and sometimes contest exclusionary national policies and practices for refugees and undocumented migrants' integration at the city level (Ambrosini, 2021). As established, crisis is a moment of change, and the refugee's crisis has brought about different waves of POS and solidarity within nation states across Europe and the globe (McAdam & John D. McCarthy, 1996; Agustin & Jørgensen, 2016).

In Denmark and Ghana just like other countries, CSOs and municipal authorities have contributed to shaping the municipal policies and practices towards refugees and vulnerable migrants' socio-economic and cultural integration (Vanna Nordling & Söderman, 2017). In Copenhagen, there is a strong network of CSOs providing night shelters, food, shower, and laundry, health, language classes, and legal support among others to people without Danish civil registration (yellow card) (Social services in Copenhagen, 2021). In Accra, there is also several CSOs helping internally displaced migrants and refugees in similar ways (UNHRC-

Ghana, 2022). I will present some of the contributions in the following paragraphs. Some of the areas I will consider to guiding the discussion include legal and advocacy support, health, housing and education, and livelihood support. I will end this with a summary of CSOs and the local authority's relationship.

4.4.1 Legal and Advocacy Sanctuary

Refugees and vulnerable migrants are often supported based on vulnerability and referrals. In fact, one key area of constructing sanctuary or solidarity cities is through advocacy for the inclusion of refugees and vulnerable migrants into the existing policies and practices across cities and municipalities (Graauw & Gleeson, 2021; Fry & Islar, 2021). In Denmark, there are CSOs working on permanent or temporal basis in support of refugees and vulnerable migrants (Social services in Copenhagen, 2021). Like I discussed earlier, the vulnerable migrants can only seek for legal support through the CSOs. The municipal authorities cannot support this category of persons because of the national law. City sanctuary is thus limited by national law just like the case of Montréal's sanctuary city policy (Atak, 2021). In Copenhagen, refugees also resort to the CSOs for legal support especially those seeking family re-unification (Jørgensen & Schierup, 2020). In effect, the refugees in Denmark could seek legal sanctuary from the decentralized structures of the city and the CSOs. However, the undocumented migrants/immigrants have all their eggs in one basket, they could only access some form of legal sanctuary from some of the CSOs. The Copenhagen solidarity city concept could be a mirage to some of them, as they would not be able to get their legal status change from the current state. In respect to this, a study participant highlighted:

...in Denmark if you do not have CPR number life would be overly complicated and difficult, most of those people they go to the civil societies and the NGO's and most of them are trying their best to helping those people (NN, 2022).

The narration from the study participants goes to consolidate the point made above that the undocumented/vulnerable migrants have almost impossible room to maneuver in terms of legal sanctuary within the Danish context. That notwithstanding, and back to the slogan that crisis is a moment for change (Agustín & Jørgensen, 2019), at the height of the COVID-19 pandemic, some CSOs succeeded in getting the authorities to extend the vaccination to the vulnerable migrants in Copenhagen and other cities across Denmark (The Street Lawyers, 2021). To support this and add other legal support from the CSOs to the vulnerable in society, one of the interviews from a CSO participants in Copenhagen revealed:

Well, it was successful, we managed to get appointments with some of the vaccination centers... We have been able to call some police to change some fines meted to vulnerable to warnings in the face of the law (HH, 2022).

The success of this could be attributed to the activism and the health crisis at the time. Logically, one will therefore, argue that different moments and scales present different political opportunities and infrastructure of solidarity. The CSO, understanding of the Danish law has placed them in a better position to call the police to order when they misapply the law towards the vulnerable in society (Schilliger, 2020; McAdam & John D. McCarthy, 1996).

In the GS, Ghana the CSOs are instrumental in providing legal support to refugees who happens to have legal issues. They also engage in advocacy to better the socio-economic integration of refugees and vulnerable migrants. In a quest to understand how this is done, an interviewee from CCG brought to fore the below.

We also facilitate legal services on behalf of UNHCR. What it means is that if a refugee has a legal issue, we provide a lawyer to represent the refugee, and then we do a social enquiry report, and that also helps the courts to determine the case for the refugee (JG, 2022).

We let them know the dangers of irregular migration, what opportunities or options we have for them, we have realized that they embark on this adventurous and treacherous journey due to of lack of information, if they knew that what lies ahead of the tunnel is grim, I do not think that most of them would have made the journey (MT, 2022).

Solidarity city for refugees and vulnerable migrants can be built through legal support and advocacy. The legal support could be done by way of education, legal representation, and drafting of a social enquiry report to enhance case management at the court of competent authority. In a similar vein, Accra city sanctuary could come to reality if the vulnerable youth are made to understand the challenge involving in one taking to irregular migration. Besides, the same category should be made to see the benefits of regular migration, and more importantly the possible greener pastures at home. Relative to advocacy as a vehicle to developing solidarity city, other study participants added these perspectives. We feed on existing government policies and try to advocate for refugees to be included in those policies because some of the policies were being drafted without including refugees (DO, 2022). And

then we have advocated with government for refugee to benefit from free compulsory universal basic education program (TP,2022 P, 50).

Based on advocacy, the CSOs have succeeded to get refugees into government policies such as free senior high education, school feeding policies, among others. Some returned and potentials irregular migrants have also been integrated into society through livelihoods programs (startfinder.de, 2021). Thus, whether in Copenhagen or Accra civil solidarity is impacting legal discourse and delivery of infrastructure of solidarity for refugees and vulnerable migrants. In our understanding, change is not only the output, but the process is also important (Schilliger, 2020). Therefore, we can argue that legal and advocacy sanctuary for refugees and vulnerable migrants in Copenhagen and Accra, no matter the snail pace is in the making.

4.4.2 Health Sanctuary

Health issues have no barrier to people status in a city or municipality. Whether one is a refugee, vulnerable migrant, citizen, male or female, young or an aged, you can be confronted with health issues in one way or the other. This makes it a corner stone or central pillar that one cannot ignore in trying to discuss solidarity/sanctuary cities for refugees and vulnerable migrants. The hard truth or sad reality is that undocumented migrants cannot access cities health services like those with the blue, green, and yellow cards. In Danish context, the yellow card. Meanwhile, in Copenhagen like other major cities in EU countries and the world, there are undocumented migrants/immigrants in search of better livelihood or fleeing danger from the original point of migration (Bauder, 2016;UNHCR, 2016).

Yet, the undocumented migrant's inevitable health issues cannot be addressed by the municipal authorities because of the national law. Though, the focus is on the vulnerable migrants, it is important to point out that they might not be alone facing the health challenges. Chiefly, persons on family re-unification and even EU citizens awaiting their documents to be processed by the authorities could in the interim have this challenge of not having CPR number to enable them to go for health services. To complement this position, one study participant indicated that being a refugee, you can have a lot of access, access to health care, to school, I mean to everything, but EU citizens who do not have residency, people on family union, working migrants, they do not have the same options as the refugees, there are differences (RR, 2022 P,8). In fact, the Copenhagen 2019-2022 integration policy has clear policy objective for refugees and those with the minority background. It has been stated that “more Copenhageners

with a minority background must experience a better state of health and an improved quality of life” (Copenhagen Municipality k. , 2022). This goes to support the study participant view that the refugees may have some challenges, but their situation may be better than the undocumented migrants.

Returning to literature, solidarity or sanctuary cities policies and practices are driven by spatial and relational contexts (Baban & Kim Rygiel, 2020; Agustín & Jørgensen, 2019). With this health sanctuary in Copenhagen must be driven by the city context. As an independent CSO working indirectly with the municipal authorities, city and national police, and other CSOs in providing health support to society. We do not believe having ID is the best way to providing health sanctuary to the vulnerable migrants (RR, 2022). What this means is that the anonymous ID is not seen as good panacea to providing city sanctuary for the vulnerable in the Copenhagen context. It has a greater chance of exposing the very vulnerable for which it is design to support. Therefore, the policy of Don't-Ask-Don't-Tell, as institutional and civic solidarity been in practice in the USA and Canada might not be good to replicate in Copenhagen. Solidarity is indeed, a contentious and socio-spatial heterogeneity rather than a binary state of being (Bauder, 2021; Jørgensen & Schierup, 2020; Houston, 2019).

Back to Ghana, the selected CSOs are responsible for the provision of various support including health to refugees in particular. With the health support, the first step is to get all person of concern – refugees and asylum seekers - register with the national health insurance scheme. The cost of registration and renewal are borne by the UNHCR-Ghana. Upon this, an implementing agencies from ADRA and CCG in a bid to explain how the medical support for refugees are done narrated.

We were assigned distinct roles. Ours was and is on livelihood. But anything that has to do with going to the hospital, bills had to do with national Catholic secretariat. And anything that had to do with education was and is under Christian council (WYK, 2022).

Now under the medical, the rule is for all refugees and asylum seekers, to register under the national health insurance. Before we can give you any form of support even if it is two cedis, you need to have a valid national health insurance, which is paid for and renewed by UNHCR (JG, 2022).

Inferring from the narrations, one of the assigned roles for the selected CSOs is health sanctuary for refugees. One of the basic conditions for a refugee or asylum seeker to meet in order seek medical support is for him or her to register with national health insurance. Once this is done, they have the legitimacy to access health support in Ghana. This is like getting a CPR number or yellow card in Denmark. A further interaction from other study participants about this subject revealed as follows. According to a study participant from the refugee's community center in Accra, there is a list of drugs that are under the insurance and there are some that are not, those that are not, they pre-finance it, bring the receipts and then Juliet does reimbursement (AR, 2022 P,101). We assist refugees on health by assisting them to register on the national health insurance (TP,2022 P, 50). Imperatively, POC health related issues that are above the coverage of the national health insurance has still been managed on humanitarian grounds. However, before such an assistance could be secured, a report must travel from the implementing agency to the necessary structures – CCG to GRB, UNHCR (Ghana, Regional, and International) offices depending upon the magnitude of the health condition in question (JG,2022).

With this, a study demonstrated that the Christian Council of Ghana (CCG) focuses on human rights of the vulnerable and collaborates mostly with urban refugees on health, education, and livelihoods (Frankenberger, 2018). With the critical roles CSOs are playing in this direction, I would argue that civic solidarity is important for the realization of city sanctuary for refugees and vulnerable migrants. Without farfetched, the CSOs are using their platforms as political tools to be influencing urban policies and practices towards refugees and vulnerable migrants' integration in either way – Copenhagen, Denmark and Accra, Ghana (Scholz, 2008; Kriesi, Koopmans, Duyvendak, & Giugni, 1992).

4.4.3 Housing and Education support

Housing and health sanctuary is another area we identified structural differences between Accra and Copenhagen. Admittedly, housing and education are basic and essential human needs. To underscores this, the UN SDGs recognized the impetus of education and housing for each person. In short, goals number 4 and 11 are earmarked for sustainable education and cities housing development for everyone (UN, 2022). From literature, cities are magnets for all manner of persons for diverse reasons ranging from climatic conditions, economic factors, wars, and political persecutions, among others. The influx of refugees and vulnerable migrants to cities across the globe including Copenhagen and Accra are due to some of the stated push factors (UNHCR, 2016). To a large degree, the influx is exacting pressure on existing

educational and housing facilities. It is therefore, dividing opinions and political discourses about why and how housing and educational sanctuary should be done at city level. Welfare austerity towards refugees at the national level and institutional as well civic solidarity at municipal or local scales (Agustín & Jørgensen, 2019; Agustin & Jørgensen, 2016). From the data, the ensuing discussions, are some of the policies and practices towards refugees and vulnerable migrants housing and education in the GN and GS.

The Copenhagen integration policy for 2019-2022, has set out five benchmarks, and two of them geared towards education and housing for those with minority background including refugees. The four years policy objectives are: More Copenhageners with a minority background must do well in primary school, so that they are better prepared for – and complete – a youth education. More Copenhageners with diverse backgrounds must live side by side, and fewer Copenhageners with minority backgrounds must engage in crime (Copenhagen Municipality k. , 2022). The policy objectives aim at bridging the educational enrolment gap between Danish school going age children and that of refugees and those with minority background. As I indicated earlier, majority of the refugee women due to lack of education and diverse cultural values have challenges in going through the various integration stages including learning Danish language. Yet, it is a common knowledge that a child first teacher is the mother or parents. And if the mother or parents have challenges going through the educational process, the tendency for it to translate to the children are extremely high. Other factors could account for this but that of the parents should and cannot be ignored. The city educational policy objective targeting children of minority background could in our view a good path to follow. In Denmark, apart from free education, refugees are also entitled to students' educational financial support called SU (uddannelses- og forskningsstyrelsen, 2022). On the other hand, the objective to make those with minority background live side by side could enhance good network among them. However, it might not facilitate speedy integration, the Aalborg model of not allowing many refugees or minority with the same background to stay at one location could have greater chances of integration at the city level.

Aside the city council policy, there a host of CSOs contributing to educational and housing deficits facing refugees and vulnerable migrants in Copenhagen. Following this, a study participant from one refugees' women group in Copenhagen stated the below as the group contribution to education for refugee women.

We teach apart from Danish language and the exercise, we are teaching social science, how is the Danish society is working what does it mean when you get new rules (LL, 2022).

This is coming from a refugee women house in Copenhagen called Fakti. It has been in existence for the past 22 years, with 440 members, 50-70 daily visits and more than 10.000 annual visits. The organization has a social counselor, two Danish language teachers, volunteers, and administrative staff. They work purposely to empower refugee and other women who patronize the association (fakti.dk, 2022). From the explanation and through its website, they offer city sanctuary for refugee women through Danish education and exercise classes with yoga, relaxation, and belly dancing. Lessons covering Danish culture and new immigration rules are taught at the house. Besides, the volunteers – social workers and nurses provide the necessary psycho-social and physical support to members. Accordingly, meals are served to members two days in a week (fakti.dk, 2022).

Furthermore, there are other CSOs in Copenhagen providing educational courses and housing facilities to the refugee and vulnerable migrants (Social services in Copenhagen, 2021; Siim & Meret, 2021). Going through the CSOs offering English and Danish classes and those with night shelters, food, and laundry. The target groups are EU citizens and the homeless, how far this support could extend to other vulnerable groups is hard to verify. However, another CSO interview participant stresses on this point.

But there are other organizations who are supported by the municipality economically, they are in trouble because they cannot choose to help whoever they want. They are told; you can only help people with CPR number (RR,2022).

With the above, we could state that city sanctuary for undocumented migrants will be far from reach due to the national law as discussed already. Importantly, the provision of education and housing support for refugees and vulnerable migrants goes beyond the city authorities to involve CSOs. Crisis is indeed a moment of change, during the peak of the refugee's crisis in 2015, several CSOs including Organization of the Friendly Residents (Venligboerne) started civil solidarity for asylum-seekers and refugees. Since then, the initiative has grown across over ninety (90) cities in Denmark with a total of about 150,000 members. Like a magnet, Norway, Sweden, Germany, United Kingdom, Greece, Italy, and France have all adopted the solidarity initiative (Venligboerne, 2016). However, the movement was not originally aimed at doing solidarity work with refugees. It was developed as an initiative in a social centre in

Hjørring, Northern Jutland, by the nurse Merete Bonde Pilgaard to focus on kindness, curiosity, and respect to diversity (Agustín & Jørgensen, 2019). At the start of the Russia and Ukraine war, individual households in Copenhagen and other cities across the country were encouraged to help in opening their doors to the Ukrainian refugees (Thelocal.dk, 2022). These are legitimate grounds to make a point that CSOs are important actors in urban sanctuary for refugees and vulnerable migrants. Indeed, a similar conclusion has been drawn in a study focusing on infrastructure of solidarity against racial profiling in Switzerland (Schilliger, 2020).

In Accra, selected CSOs are responsible for education and housing support for refugees. In this regard, a study participant from Christian Council of Ghana (CCG) highlighted:

Well, going back to education UNHCR policy says that every refugee is supposed to have access to quality and affordable education like any other Ghanaian. The education policy has been embedded in the Ghana education policy... At the tertiary level, we have DAFI and Master Card scholarship (JG,2022).

From my interaction with the stakeholders, it became clear to me that refugees in Accra have support for housing and education. The structural difference is that it is not being managed by the municipalities. The education supports start from the basic level to tertiary. With the implementation of the free Senior High Education policy by the new patriotic party (NPP) government in 2017. The refugees implementing bodies – GRB, UNHCR, CCG, NCS, and ADRA have been able to advocate for refugees to benefit the policy like Ghanaian students. They equally succeeded in advocating for the inclusion of refugees into the free school feeding program at the basic to senior high school (SHS). This successful advocacy can be described both as institutional and civic solidarity. Upon this, it has been argued that “zones of sanctuary are actively constituted not by politicians but by us – service providers, educators, healthcare professionals, and neighbours – on the basis of solidarity and mutual aid.” (Walia, 2014). The acts can also be considered as altering political participation and inclusion by the implementing agencies for refugees educational sanctuary (Meyer, Whittier, & Robnett, 2002). The refugees who go beyond the Senior High School (SHS), there are limited but competitive scholarship schemes – DAFI and MasterCard to support them. The DAFI scholarship is sponsored by German embassy through UNHCR and implemented by Christian council of Ghana. The DAFI scholarship in the words of one of the study participants from CCG, covers accommodation

and school fees for the four years period. At the time of the interview, they were celebrating 30 years of implementation of the DAFI program (JG, 2022).

Also, housing support is provided to the refugees through the camps system and to only the very vulnerable refugees in the urban setting. Indeed, a career counselor at the urban refugee center indicated that “the refugees in Ghana have more opportunities than the average Ghanaian” (FK, 2022 P 103). There are a lot of Ghanaians students who are brilliant but from extremely poor backgrounds. They do not have access to the MasterCard foundation or DAFI scholarship, because there are not refugees. Moreover, Ghana immediate neighbouring countries are all French speaking nations, yet an average Ghanaian cannot speak French. The refugees in Ghana learn English, have access to scholarships to acquire further educations, and in addition to their original languages, they become highly competitive in the labour market and conferences.

In both Copenhagen and Accra, municipal authorities are not the only actors offering housing and educational support to refugees and vulnerable migrants. Whether in the form of direct, indirect, permanent, and temporal basis, the CSOs are filling a big vacuum when it comes to educational and housing support for refugees and vulnerable migrants. At the 2015 refugee’s crisis in Europe and Denmark, individual and group activists, refugees, and CSOs in major cities took innovative and in some few instances extreme measures to support asylum-seekers and refugees. It has been documented that some activists went in defiance of the Danish Alien Act section 59, article 8, which makes it a legal offense to offer transport to immigrants or assist them with shelter or food during an illegal stay in Denmark to assist refugees into Copenhagen or on transit to other Nordic country such as Sweden (Agustín & Jørgensen, 2019 p, 81).

The infrastructure of solidarity for refugees and vulnerable migrants are therefore defined and applied differently by different actors based on understanding and context (Bauder, 2017). The various actors thus differently framed the refugee crisis. To the CSOs, the refugee crisis was a humanitarian and political crisis whereas, the national authorities and some citizens a threat to national security. There is as well, top-down, and bottom-up power influence in policy formulation and implementation. The political opportunities are thus grounded, in forward and backward infiltration of power between municipal authorities, CSOs and the national authorities (Benford & Snow, 2000; Gamson & Mayer, 1996).

4.4.4 Livelihood Support

In Copenhagen, livelihood activities are developed and supported to refugees by the social work committee, the job centers and the Welcomehouse. There are concerted efforts among these units to get refugees integrated into livelihoods activities. This is done by a combination of activities, teaching of the Danish language, short courses and training on bus driving, taxi driving, among others. The authorities undertake early screening of refugees to ascertain the strength and weakness, matching of refugees to volunteers, and placement of some of them to companies for internships (welcomehouse.kk.dk, 2018). It must be noted that refugees who are capable have the possibilities to transform their lives through the available livelihood models. One of the five benchmarks of the city integration policy is to ensure that more Copenhageners with minority backgrounds have jobs (Copenhagen Municipality, 2022). However, some refugees have advanced in age and others with no form of education before arriving in Copenhagen and other municipalities. They really, have tough time to get themselves into the livelihood activities. These categories thus become perpetual dependance on the social welfare system. The political discourse regarding these categories tends to overshadow all other refugees (Jørgensen & Thomsen, 2016).

In Ghana, the refugee's livelihood supports are managed by implementing agencies with the help of some of the municipalities. The main aim of the livelihood support is to make sure that refugees work and live in dignity. The vulnerable migrants are also supported by some of the CSOs and the social welfare and community development department of the municipalities. However, majority of the vulnerable migrants are left to fend for themselves. This is because, the local authorities and the CSOs are lacking the needed resources to tackle the socio-economic or livelihoods sanctuary for them. With the refugees, some livelihoods activities such as, language training, farming, skills training, and small business start-ups are offered for them to put their lives together. Against this background, two study participants, one from CCG and the other from ADRA respectively explained:

Under the livelihood, we have four categories of support that we give to refugees, and it is strictly for refugees, just like the tertiary education support. The four categories of support are, skill training, small business set-up, language training, and medical support (JG,2022).

Anything that will bring income that is socially acceptable we could do. But it was poultry, Ginger farming, planting, and processing of cassava into achecker, the

Ivorians like achecker, and then, we trained some of them in soap making and driving (WYK, 2022).

The livelihood supports for refugees are considered head-on using several measures. It is anchored on using any form of legal innovative measure that could support and better the living standards of refugees and vulnerable migrants. Therefore, language training, counseling, farming, skill development among others have been adopted. Some of the other study participants – DO (UNHCR-Ghana) and FK (Refugee Community Center, Accra) have revealed the following as the livelihood's sanctuary adopted for refugees. And then recently from last year June, we opened the new refugee community center, where we help develop the skills of refugees. We do English language and skills training, and provide counselling (DO, 2022 p,46). One of my core mandates as a career counselor is to integrate refugees fully or partially however, you look at it into the labor market (FK, 2022 p,99). At the refugee community center, the administrator, career counsellor, supporting staff, and volunteers are tasked to help the refugees attain effective and efficient integration into the Ghanaian system. They do these through developed models - language training, IT training, skills training, and career counselling. The career counsellor links the refugees to the job market, by securing them temporal or permanent internships and employment.

In a similar ways, returnees and potential irregular migrants are supported by GGC and its implementing partners – IOM, ADRA, among others with various livelihood initiatives. These include soft skills training, job mediation and entrepreneurship training, and psychosocial support. The overall objective is to reduce the scale of irregular migration among the youth and get the returnees settled to avoid the risk of taking the same rout again. Infrastructure of solidarity for refugees and vulnerable migrants in Copenhagen and Accra could be enhanced through right tailor-made livelihoods activities.

Interestingly, our readings about city sanctuary elsewhere, highlights contestations between the national authorities – police and immigration officials, and the local authorities (Hudson, 2021) (Ridgley, 2008). Paradoxically, our interactions with the study participants in this case portrays a cordial relationship among the municipal authorities, police, immigration officials, and the CSOs, working to support refugees and the vulnerable migrants in both cities. The recommendation in another study is what we observed in Accra. The study proposed that for city sanctuary (Montreal) to be successful, the police whose duty is to implement the national law must be trained on how to navigate between the national and city by-laws (Atak, 2021). In

Accra, a study participant from UNHCR-Ghana in answering to the relationship they have with the national authorities – police and immigration – stated:

In 2021, we trained 150 if not more security officers and it should tell you the kind of relationship, we have with them. so, we are really enjoying a good relationship with them (DO, 2022).

The good relationship as explained, could be because of the regular trainings to the security officers on refugees' issues on the ground. It could also be due to other factors. The security officials and the CSO in question all belong to the GRB. Besides, the UNHCR and the implementing agencies have been able to build housing, offices, and police stations to the police especially at the refugee camps (DO, 2022 P,47: TP,2022 P,54). This might be another factor driving the cordial relationship. Theoretically, we are exposed to the fact that economic strength and support could give one actor, here the CSO, political leverage over the other, the immigration and police (McAdam & John D. McCarthy, 1996). What about Copenhagen, what could be driving the good relationship, the police do not lack the infrastructure as in the case of Accra. The answer could be that city sanctuary in both are dictated by national laws. As argued elsewhere, in Denmark, different municipalities possess diverse socio-economic and political strengths, different integration policies and practices, varied POS in their response to the national integration policy demands, yet they both follow the national law (Jørgensen, 2012).

4.4.5 Local Authorities and CSOs relationship

As we demonstrated in the structural commonality theme and by literature. The city authorities and CSOs are critical actors in shaping solidarity or sanctuary cities for refugees and vulnerable migrants (Kreichauf & Mayer, 2021; Lambert & Swerts, 2019). In our interaction with study participants in Accra and Copenhagen revealed the following as some of the collaboration between the local authorities and CSOs in building sanctuary cities for refugees and vulnerable migrants.

We also have good contact with social welfare department at the MMDAs, where there are issues regarding abuse cases and then persons living with disability, the aged, they manage those cases for us. So, these are the collaborations under the legal sector (JG,2022).

The local police in this area we have a communication with them... They know our place, but the police are not a popular guest in this house, they bring insecurity to the women (LL,2022).

Inferring from the two-study participants - JG (2022) from CCG, Accra, and LL (2022) a leader from a refugee women group in Copenhagen, it is not difficult to deduce a reasonable level of collaborations between the CSOs and the municipal authorities in developing solidarity cities for refugees in Copenhagen and Accra. The municipalities in both cities have existing and specialized departments and personnel to conduct various socio-cultural, political, and legal intervention at the municipal level. In Accra, the refugees implementing agencies such as the CCG involved the social welfare department in legal cases of refugee's relative to domestic violence and persons living with disability since the municipality has competency in that area. In the same vein, the local police are often contacted when there is security issue for or against a refugee. In Copenhagen, though the local police are not regular visitors to the refugee women group, they are often contacted as and when their services are needed. Going beyond these and drawing from previous explanations in the structural commonality theme, we can argue that there is a collaboration between the CSOs and local authorities in constructing urban policies and practices for refugees and vulnerable migrants' integration. For instance, an interviewee from Accra narrated:

When an issue comes up, we have some contacts with some of the police, but they are scattered all over and they keep changing them but our reference points in Budumburam, la Paz, Dodowa, those ones I have the contacts (JG, 2022).

Indeed, whether in Accra or Copenhagen, there is an established grounds for a claim to be made that there is a relationship between the CSOs and the municipalities in the solidarity movement for refugees and vulnerable migrants. In many of the literatures we have consulted (Fry & Islar, 2021; Bauder, 2021;Jørgensen & Schierup, 2020;Heimann, Müller, Schammann, & Stürner, 2019), there is that general acknowledgment and conclusions that CSOs and municipalities are critical actors, and their effective collaboration could enhance the city sanctuary movement for refugees and undocumented migrants.

4.5 Constructing Future Sanctuary/Solidarity Cities

The essence of this theme is to look at how future sanctuary cities could be constructed from the perspectives of cities authorities, civil society actors, and literature. Not farfetched, we are

told that cities are oasis or zones for belonging for all manner of people – citizens and foreigners - and from the foreigners, we can locate refugees and undocumented migrants (Bauder, 2017; Jørgensen, 2012). Indeed, about 60% of refugees and 80% of internal displaced persons live in urban areas (UNHCR, 2016). Yet, the neocolonial war on terror, the financial meltdown of 2007/8, the migration crisis of 2015, the COVID-19 pandemic, and the ongoing Russia-Ukraine war have served as grounds or pretext for the introduction of global surveillance, securitization, and exclusionary policies and practices across nation states (Vanna Nordling & Söderman, 2017; Haiven & Khasnabish, 2014). These policies and practices are leading to a further alienation of the downtrodden – refugees and vulnerable migrants.

However, the tick measures in the world of crisis are implanting moments of varied political opportunities structures, infrastructure of solidarities, and radical imaginations across cities (Agustín & Jørgensen, 2019). Accordingly, radical imagination is the ability to imagine the world, life, and social institutions not as they are, but they might be. It is not merely about dreaming of different futures, but rather, a much more about bringing those possible future “back” to work on the present, to inspire action and new forms of solidarity today. Moreso, radical imagination undergirds our capacity to build solidarity across boundaries, real or imagined (Haiven & Khasnabish, 2014 p, 3). This is the premises to proceed on this theme.

To begin with, an interesting opinion has been shared or made to the fact that refugee issues are not predictable. The causes are many and uncertain. On the fingertips, one can name wars, climatic conditions, political instabilities, among others. With these, cities and countries refugee management boards or agencies must be resourced to be able to deal with any refugees’ influx at any time. There is literature to the effect that during the 2015 migration crisis in Europe, and the ongoing Russia – Ukraine war. Many national and cities authorities in EU including Denmark mandated to oversee the influx of refugees to the countries and cities are often saddled with how to deal with the numbers. In most instances, civic solidarity groups – registered and unregistered are seen to be providing innovative support to refugees in the cities (Hansen, 2020; Agustín & Jørgensen, 2019; Heimann, Müller, Schammann, & Stürner, 2019). Against this background, a study participant from ADRA-Ghana, Accra postulated.

I think that proper structures should be in place, knowing the kind of challenges they face and knowing that we live in a vulnerable area where they could be refugees anytime, the state institutions that deal with refugees must always be resourced and be ready to act (WYK,2022).

Based on context, the interview participant stressed on the need to resource the state institutions designated to manage refugees' socio-economic integration. In Ghana, national institution – GRB is responsible for refugees' management. The notion of the future solidarity city is shared based on context (Bauder, 2021). However, it could also, be analyzed to mean to mean that all refugee institutions, either in the GS, Accra or GN, Copenhagen must be properly resourced to be able to act at any eventuality. In short, for real solidarity cities for refugees and vulnerable migrants in Denmark and Ghana to take effect, municipal authorities in Copenhagen, GRB in Accra, and the implementing agencies must be resourced. Therefore, the radical imagination of future solidarity cities here can be understood as structural commonality (Haiven & Khasnabish, 2014; Bauder, 2019).

Secondly, two perspectives are respectively shared by study participants from CCG in Accra and CSO in Copenhagen as:

Coordination is important, sometimes as humanitarian workers, we tend to forget the fact that our target is one. Everybody is working in the interest of one single objective to give support to the vulnerable (JG,2022).

I think it will be great to work on various levels, and to have an existing civil organization network, which is independent of the authorities, because they and the law changes, but the network in support for the vulnerable should be independent (RR,2022).

The issue of coordination between and among agencies working for refugees and vulnerable migrants' integration is especially important. Imperatively, for proper sanctuary or solidarity city for refugees and vulnerable migrants to come to fruition, effective coordination must be adopted as working culture between the implementing agencies. The common knowledge is that resources for cities development are limited, whilst the transformational demands are varied and many. To make effective use of the limited resources that would be available for refugees and vulnerable migrants' integration, there should be effective coordination to avoid duplication of roles and usage of resources among the implementing agencies.

In the same vein, an effective solidarity city for refugees and vulnerable migrants depends on the independent and effective association of CSOs from the state and municipal authority. Indeed, economic independence of CSOs working to support refugees and the vulnerable migrants from the authorities will grant them the political power on the negotiation table on

how to fashion out policies for the refugees and the vulnerable migrant's integration. To a considerable extent, CSOs that do not draw economic support from the authorities will be more assertive in the negotiation table than those who obtains economic support from them. This argument is in line theoretical preposition of forward and backward infiltration of power or POS (Klein & Lee, 2019).

Besides, refugees and vulnerable migrants everywhere should be viewed and treated equally. The best solidarity city is one that will not treat refugees and vulnerable migrants base on geographical origin. True sanctuary city either in Accra or Copenhagen must have integration policies and practices that treat all refugees and vulnerable migrants as human beings in dire need of refuge devoid of selectivity. To expatiate this from data, study participant from refugee women group in Copenhagen narrated:

I think it will be nice to see a better rules towards refugees in Denmark. it is so nice to see how we treat refugees from Ukraine, it is so nice to see that we can be so kind and so loving towards people in crisis, and I really hope that Danish government will understand that is the way to meet every refugee in Denmark (LL,2022).

In the case of Accra, Ghana, one of the participants from ADRA opined:

The refugee issue is a serious one, overnight one becomes a refugee. Look at Ukraine Russian war, I am sure before the war nobody had anticipated overnight, they are going to lose everything and be out of the country as refugees. So, it is a dicey area, and we think that we should really sympathize, no empathize with them (WYK,2022)

As explained earlier, at the wake of the Russia- Ukraine war, Denmark passed a special Act on the 17th of March 2022 to grant temporal residency and work permit to the influx of Ukrainian refugees fleeing the war. This is a big national solidarity towards Ukraine refugees. The study participants, therefore, wished for the same solidarity to be extended to other refugees already in the country. As we established earlier, Denmark is one of the first signatory countries to 1951 UN convention on refugees, a state party to both the 1954 and 1961 Statelessness Conventions (UNHCR, 2021). Yet, Danish immigration policies since 2001 irrespective of the political party in power has been described to be restrictive and exclusionary (Tan, 2022; Jørgensen & Thomsen, 2016).

This developmental trajectory resonates with what Diane Sainsbury depicts as a move from “reluctant inclusiveness to exclusion” (Sainsbury, 2012 p,228). Hence, solidarity city could

only manifest in Copenhagen and other municipalities across Denmark if the national and municipal integration policies and practices are made to be accommodative towards all refugees irrespective of gender, religion, and culture. In connection to the restrictive immigration and integration policies and practices at the national level, a study participant from Aalborg municipality revealed: The last 15 or 20 years our way to talk about the refugees or immigrants become very hard in Denmark....There are a lot of people with immigrants and refugees background that feel discrimination and racism in their life in Denmark, so we must make sure that they feel secured, they feel that Denmark is their country (NN, 2022 p.38).

Moreso, empathy must be a serious guide in developing solidarity city policies for refugees and vulnerable migrants whether in Accra or Copenhagen. The fact is that being a refugee is not a choice, and no one is completely immune from being one. As emphasized by the study participant, look at Ukraine Russian war, nobody had anticipated overnight, they are going to lose their lifetime investment and be out of the country as refugees. It means that the over six million refugees from Ukraine to EU countries alone never anticipated of being out of Ukraine as refugees (unhcr.org, 2022). In this regard, we suggest that future solidarity cities for refugees and vulnerable migrants must be constructed with the spirit of empathy and human rights.

Furthermore, solidarity cities can only become meaningful if the city policies and program design for refugees and vulnerable migrants are implemented. Politics and other considerations of political and administrative leaders should not override the development plans and interventions designed for the vulnerable in society. In this context, a study participant from one of the MMDAs in Accra indicated that for the vulnerable in society to have their fair share of development interventions, city authorities should not only design policies and plans but should make sure the plans and policies see implementation at the end of the day (R0, 2022 p, 95). This position is supported by literature which indicated that most cities development in GS and Ghana are constrained due to lack of resources, proper planning, and implementations (Onodugo & Ezeadichie, 2021; Acheampong & Ibrahim, 2016).

Moreover, the major contributory factors to the influx of refugees and vulnerable migrants to the cities and countries across board must be tackled head-on. As stated earlier, so many factors account for the exodus of refugees and vulnerable migrants to the major cities. However, since World War two, wars have often been one of the main contributing factors to this canker. Yet, it a common knowledge that there are no absolute winners and losers in wars. There are only victims – refugees and vulnerable migrants to the major cities such as Copenhagen and Accra.

Not farfetched, we could relate to the Iraq, Syria, Libya, Afghanistan, Sudan, and the ongoing Russia- Ukraine war. The results have always been destruction of life and proper. Recent updates – 28/07/2022, put the number of refugees from Ukraine to EU countries alone to be **6,162,309** and Denmark share of the total is **32,116** ([unhcr.org](https://www.unhcr.org), 2022). Indeed, another radical imagination is that for solidarity or sanctuary cities to manifest, world leaders should invest in conflicts prevention other than going to wars to make their case. Where there are ongoing conflicts like the case of Russia and Ukraine, negotiation to cease hostilities must be the viable way to end the crisis and the continues exodus of refugees it presents to cities across the globe.

Additionally, city sanctuary could go beyond what is on paper if the national, municipal, and CSOs develop innovative integration policies to reduce irregular migration ([Haiven & Khasnabish, 2014](#)). Also, regular migration routes that could enhance the human capital development must be explored by the sending and receiving cities and countries. Upon this, a study participant revealed.

I think we cannot eradicate irregular migration completely. But let us know that if we manage migration well, it has a lot of benefits for the migrants and for the destination countries. Because I studied in Germany, I came back, and I am applying it here ([MT,2022](#)).

As we explained elsewhere in this study, sensitization, and livelihoods activities such as skills training and small business start-up among others are some of the innovative ways to help the irregular migrants reintegrated into their original countries. It is equally a viable avenue that could make potential irregular migrants to resist the temptation of taking the risky rout and get integrated into their cities.

Chapter 5

5.0 Conclusion

This study focused on sanctuary or solidarity cities – the structural commonalities and differences in urban and municipal policies and practices in integrating refugees and vulnerable migrants in the GN, Copenhagen, Denmark and GS Accra, Ghana. The analysis of the study participants perspectives and secondary data revealed some structural commonalities and differences in municipal policies and practices geared towards the integration of refugees and vulnerable migrants between Copenhagen and Accra.

In terms of structural commonalities, our analysis based on the three sub-themes - Integration policies and practices, Sources of refugees and vulnerable migrants to host society, and Local Authority and Civil Society Collaboration revealed the following: To begin with, in both Copenhagen and Accra, the national authorities defines the frames of the introduction program, and the urban and municipal authorities step in to develop innovative sanctuary measures in order to attain the goals for refugees and vulnerable migrants integration (Jørgensen, 2012). Secondly, the source of asylum seekers, refugees, and vulnerable migrants to Copenhagen and Accra depends so much on the geo- politics, economic, and other crisis within the international community. Currently, Copenhagen and the other municipalities in Denmark had received at least 32.000 refugees from Ukraine because of the ongoing Russia – Ukraine war (unhcr.org, 2022). Similarly, Accra and other MMDAs in Ghana are hosting about 14.000 asylum seekers and refugees from over thirty-five countries (Ghana Refugee Board, 2016). Thirdly, the critical role of CSOs and local authorities in developing sanctuary cities are highlighted in both contexts – Copenhagen and Accra. Indeed, studies focusing on autonomous, civic, and institutional solidarity in Denmark have equally underscored the importance role of CSOs and municipalities in developing and consolidating city sanctuary philosophy (Siim & Meret, 2021; Jørgensen & Schierup, 2020; Agustín & Jørgensen, 2019).

However, the study has also brought out structural differences in urban and municipal policies and practices for the integration of refugees and vulnerable migrants in Copenhagen and Accra. With the three subthemes: Policies and practices, Health and housing, and Labour market integration discussed. We discovered that Copenhagen and other municipalities in Denmark have policies and practices for refugees' integration. The Copenhagen city sanctuary policies

and practices for refugees do not depart from the national law, however, it is not also a true reincarnation of the national restrictive and exclusionary politics of integration. On the other hand, Accra, and the rest of the MMDAs in Ghana do not have policies and practices for the socio-economic and political integration of refugees. Paradoxically, city sanctuary for refugees in Accra and other MMDAs are managed by national mandated body – Ghana Refugee Board (GRB) with support from UNHCR-Ghana and selected implementing agencies – Christian Council of Ghana (CCG), Adventist Development and Relief Agency (ADRA), and National Catholic Secretariat (NCS).

In these five key areas: Legal and Advocacy Sanctuary, Health Sanctuary, Housing and Education Support, Livelihood Support, and Local Authorities and CSOs Relationship deployed to assess the roles of CSOs and municipal authorities in the context of city sanctuary development in Copenhagen and Accra. This study has revealed that the CSOs and local authorities are critical actors towards the sanctuary or solidarity cities movements for refugees and vulnerable migrants socio-economic and political integration. We identified many commitments among the CSOs in Copenhagen and Accra towards providing innovative measures for the integration of refugees and vulnerable migrants. However, infrastructure of solidarity without political commitment would be difficult to translate the solidarity cities initiatives to the desired state – developing inclusionary integration policies at the city level. To enhance the commitments and consolidate the gains made so far, the city authorities and the CSOs should increase their collaborations in developing further policies and practices for refugees and vulnerable migrants' integration in Accra and Copenhagen.

In terms of direction for future study, the study has focused on the structural commonalities and difference in urban and municipal policies and practices between Copenhagen and Accra. Based on the study focus, the empirical fieldwork did not include refugees and vulnerable migrants hence, their views on the integration policies formulation and practices. Meanwhile, city sanctuary studies in Denmark, Germany, Sweden, Belgium, and USA (Siim & Meret, 2021; Fischer & Jørgensen, 2021; Hansen, 2020; Graauw & Gleeson, 2021), have stressed on the role of refugees and vulnerable migrants in shaping the solidarity cities movements. In fact, a study underscored the potential representational gap that could come to play when refugees and undocumented migrants, are not actively involved in solidarity campaigns that intends improve their inclusion (Lambert & Swerts, 2019). In view of this, future city sanctuary studies between Copenhagen and Accra should pay more attention to the inclusion of refugees and

vulnerable migrants in the primary data. Besides, future comparative city sanctuary studies between Copenhagen and Accra should proceed on a different logic. This is because in Accra, the MMDAs do not have mandate for refugees socio-economic, cultural, and political integration. As we discussed, the policies and practices for refugees' integration in Accra are in the hands of the Ghana refugee board (GRB) and selected implementing agencies.

5.1 Contribution of the Study to Existing Knowledge

As envisage from the beginning, this study has contributed to the existing body of knowledge on sanctuary or solidarity cities in five diverse ways. First and foremost, the array urban sanctuary and solidarity cities literatures have demonstrated and confirmed the role of cities in providing innovative integration measures amid restrictive and exclusionary national policies and practices (Hudson, 2021; Agustín, 2020; Baban & Kim Rygiel, 2020). However, the particularly important question to explore is this: what are the structural commonalities and differences in urban and municipal policies and practices in integrating refugees and vulnerable migrants? With the primary and secondary data, this thesis has added to the existing literature on municipal policies and practices in refugees and vulnerable migrants' integration. More importantly, the thesis has highlighted the structural commonalities and differences in urban and municipal policies and practices geared towards refugees and vulnerable migrants' integration in Copenhagen and Accra. Secondly, previous studies (Hansen, 2020; Jørgensen & Schierup, 2020; Bauder & Gonzalez, 2018; Darling, 2010), have limited their focus to solidarity cities in Denmark and EU, sanctuary cities in North America, city of refugees in the United Kingdom, whereas this study focused on solidarity or sanctuary cities between GN, Denmark and GS, Ghana, where we can argue that previous applied city sanctuary research had been limited. The study besides highlighting the structural commonalities and differences between the Copenhagen and Accra cities sanctuary policies and practices, it has also brought to light the important contributions of CSOs in the sanctuary movement in both cities.

Thirdly, the following literatures (Schilliger, 2020; Agustín & Jørgensen, 2019; Bauder, 2019, 2017; Fábos & Kibreab, 2007; Tarrow S. G., 1994) have made substantial theoretical and general contributions about city sanctuary studies in the GN and GS, how and why different spatial and relations present unique solidarity movement and socio- political alternatives. Yet, there is not much evidence with adequate explanations on why the structural commonalities and differences in Copenhagen and Accra city sanctuary movements. This study, therefore, has

contributed to closing the gap by comparing the two cities structural policies and practices in integrating refugees and vulnerable migrants.

Furthermore, this thesis adopted a novel theoretical approach to conducting the comparative studies. The concept of infrastructure of solidarity from (Schilliger, 2020; Agustín & Jørgensen, 2019; Bauder, 2017) were adopted. In the same vein, POS from (Benford & Snow, 2000; Tarrow S. , 1988) among others was considered. To us, diverse forms of solidarity movements lead to socio- political alternatives. Also, different political discourses, framing, and collective identity formation results in diverse imaginary of infrastructure of solidarity. Against this backdrop, we applied the two theories simultaneously. In this regard, this study has contributed to enhancing the theoretical understanding of city sanctuary studies.

In terms of methodology, this study is an exploratory comparative urban sanctuary and solidarity cities study between GN, Copenhagen (Denmark) and GS, Accra (Ghana) where we indicated earlier, much research has not been conducted using thematic analysis about the structural commonalities and differences, as well as the role of CSOs and municipal authorities in constructing city sanctuary in Copenhagen and Accra. Besides, the study has revealed policy directions or how to construct future sanctuary cities in the GN and GS. Following this, the findings may serve as a great foundation for further qualitative studies in sanctuary or solidarity city studies between Copenhagen and Accra. This study, will therefore, add to the evolving discussions of city sanctuary studies in migration and integration literature.

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