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The Role of Social Networks in Destination Selection Among Urban Refugees in Kampala, Uganda

By

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DEDICATION

I dedicate this work to all the refugees who shared with me their stories of escape to exile and to my Dad who did not live to see the end of my journey of this study.

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Above all, I am grateful to all the research participants who made this work possible by sharing their pains and hopes with me.

DECLARATION

I, Francis Anyanzu, declare that this thesis is my own original work.

It is being submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Demography and Population Studies within the Schools of Social Science and Public Health at the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, South Africa.

To the best of my knowledge, it has not been submitted before, in part or in full, for any degree or examination at this or any other University.

Signature:



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LIST OF ACRONYMS

AU	African Union
CRRF	Comprehensive Refugee Response Framework
DHS	Demographic Health Surveys
DRC	Democratic Republic of Congo
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
ICT	Information and Communications Technology
JRS	Jesuit Refugee Service
KCCA	Kampala Capital City Authority
NDP	National Development Plan
NGOS	Non-Governmental Organisations
OAU	Organisation of African Unity
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
OPM	Office of the Prime Minister
QSA	Qualitative Structural Analysis
ReHoPE	Refugee – Host Population Empowerment
RLP	Refugee Law Project
RSD	Refugee Status Determination
SDG	Sustainable Development Goals
SRD	Sudanese Refugees for Development
SSP	South Sudanese Pound
SWPD	Sudanese Women for Peace and Development
UBOS	Uganda Bureau of Statistics
UN	United Nations
UNCST	Uganda National Council of Science and Technology

UNHCR	United Nations High Commission for Refugees
UNPD	United Nations Population Division
USSRC	Urban South Sudanese Refugee Community
YARID	Young African Refugees for Integral Development

ABSTRACT

Introduction

The rampant displacements due to armed conflicts, torture, gender-based violence, human rights abuse, and all other forms of displacements increased the number of forced migrants residing in urban areas. This study is about the role of social networks in the destination selection of urban refugees, including asylum seekers. Although asylum seekers differ from refugees in terms of status determination, this group is included under refugees because choices about destination occur prior to arrival in Kampala, the place of asylum, not upon arrival. Destination selection refers to the decisions regarding where to go.

Existing studies have pointed to the role of social networks, defined as interpersonal relationships through which resources such as information and social support flow, in facilitating the refugee movements and settlement in urban areas. Studies on urban refugees particularly in the Sub-Saharan Africa showed that refugees use their social networks to access livelihood opportunities upon arrival at an urban area. Related to destination decisions, refugee studies in Uganda and Kenya have shown that strong social networks formed in camps and countries of asylum sometimes affect humanitarian interventions regarding returning refugees to countries of origin or relocation of refugees to new refugee settlement areas. Much of these influences have been attributed to the presence of either refugees from the countries of origin at a particular camp or relationships build through shared ethnic membership with local communities in which the refugees reside. However, not all ethnic members have equal weight in exerting influences on a refugee and not every actor in the social network supports the choice of a destination. Moreover, actors who exert influences are not only at the places of origin or destination, but also those encountered on transit or those living elsewhere in another country or camps. The details of who actually influence the refugees to move to city is important because it enables us to answer the question whether refugees make decisions on where to go and if so, what enables their decision-making capacity. This is a critical aspect in the context of Uganda where refugees are associated with settlements in the rural areas.

The purpose of this study, therefore, is to investigate the role of social networks in the selection of Kampala, actors involved in the social networks and how they influenced the refugees' decisions to specifically move to Kampala. Specifically, study explored the associations between social

networks and destination selection and how actors in the social networks influence the decisions of the refugees. The study also investigated the profiles of the refugees associating with destination selection, and patterns of movement to Kampala.

Theoretical framework

This study was guided by social network theory of migration. Social Network Theory is based on the idea that relationships between individuals in a social network are important channels for the flow of resources. According to the social network theory ‘interpersonal ties’ of kinship, friendship, acquaintanceship, community or organizational memberships connect pioneer migrants at the place of destination with the non-migrants or prospective migrants at the places of origin. These interpersonal connections influence migration outcomes through channelling ideas, information or other material and non-material resources. Using the concept of “Personal (Egocentric) Networks”, this study applies the social network theory in investigating how actors in the networks across different spaces operate in influencing the decisions of the refugees to choose as specific destination.

Hypotheses

H₁: There is a significant difference in the profiles of refugees who had specific plans to move to Kampala from the profiles of the refugees who did not have a specific plan to move to Kampala.

H₀: There is no significant difference in the profiles of refugees who had specific plans to move to Kampala from the profiles of the refugees who did not have a specific plan to move to Kampala

H₁: There is a significant association between individual characteristics and social ties in Kampala.

H₀: There is no significant association between individual characteristics and social ties in Kampala.

H₁: Having social network ties at the destination is likely to associate with having specific plans about moving to Kampala.

H₀: Having social network ties at the destination does not associate with having specific plans about moving to Kampala

H₁: The nature of relationship the refugee (ego) shares with the actor (alter) in the network associates with having specific plans to move to Kampala.

H₀: The nature of relationship the refugee shares with the actor in the social network does not associate with having specific plans to move to Kampala.

Methodology

The design of this study is a mixed method research; quantitatively, the study described the profiles, and patterns of their flow to urban areas, and the associations between social networks ties and destination selection. The qualitative component is included to provide in-depth information on how the refugees arrived at the decision to move to Kampala basing on the resources that flow through their social networks across spaces.

Cross-sectional survey, and qualitative in-depth interviews were used for this study to complement important information missing in each of the data sources. The sampled refugees and asylum seekers according to different data sources were as follows 484 respondents for the primary quantitative survey data, and 44 participants for the primary in-depth qualitative interviews.

Spatial flow maps were used to show the patterns and volume of refugee flows to Kampala from different places of origin. Pearson chi-square crosstabulation was used to investigate the association between background characteristics, social network ties in Kampala, and destination selection. In the qualitative component, qualitative structural analysis (QSA) and content analyses were used in order to integrate the structural analytical domain of the networks with the narratives of the refugees. Specifically, relationships were drawn between the social network structures, actors, and relationships, and social supports that were exchanged, locations of the actors at the time of migration, actions of the ego, and processes of arriving at the decision to move to destination.

Results

Objective 1: To describe the profiles, and patterns movement of the urban refugees in Kampala.

Mapping the patterns of refugee movement shows some non-linearity in refugee movement to Kampala; refugees flee to and spend some significant amount of time in some cities or camps, both within Uganda and outside Uganda before moving to Kampala.

The findings in this study showed that more than half of the refugees had specific preferences or plans to come to Kampala compared to those who moved to Kampala without any specific plans. More than 20% of these refugees chose to come Kampala because of social networks described by either lack of family and friends in any other place, or lack of support from family and friends to reach other destinations. The specific choice of Kampala mainly came as a second alternative after considering moving to cities in more developed countries and the failure to move to such destinations due to lack of opportunities. Further, comparison of the profiles of those who had specific plans of moving to Kampala with those who came without specific plans about Kampala shows that Somali, Eritrean, and South Sudanese refugees tend to associate more with having had specific plans about moving to Kampala than refugees from other nationalities in the study. In addition, refugees originating from refugee settlement areas tend to associate more with having had specific plans to move to Kampala compared to those originating from non-institutionalized refugee hosting areas.

Objective 2: To assess the association between individual characteristics, social networks, and destination selection among the urban refugees in Kampala.

Crosstabulation between background characteristics and knowing someone living or ever lived in Kampala by the time of movement to Kampala also showed statistically significant associations. Individuals who are 40 and above tend to associate with having known someone in Kampala prior to migration. In addition, a significant number of refugees with who ever lived in camp/settlement or who spent over a year in transition tend to associate more with having known someone in Kampala. The result also shows a significant association between the characteristics of the tie the ego (the refugee) shares with the alter (the actor in the social network), and destination selection.

Objective 3: To examine the influences of social networks on the selection of the destination among the urban refugees in Kampala.

Visualisation of the actors in the social networks through social network maps of four-space dimension shows that diverse and multiple actors operate not only at the destination but also from origin, destination, transit and dispersal. These actors can be broadly grouped as ‘kin-based ties’ (strong ties) and ‘non-kin-based ties.’ Kin-based and non-kin-based actors in space dimensions of origin, destination, transit and dispersal played varied but equally important roles. Through the various resources and support that flows through the relational ties between the ego and the alter, the actions of the refugees are shaped leading to their preferences and choices to move to Kampala.

Examining the processes of decision making among refugees who had some choices about prospective destinations shows that social networks played important roles on how the refugees arrived at the decision to move to Kampala. In particular, the supports that are pertinent to the relationships the refugees exchange with their networks contributed to the refugees’ evaluation and elimination of competing destinations or altering some of the intended destinations thus leading to their coming to Kampala. In all informational support played a dominant role not only in providing knowledge about a specific destination but enabling the refugee’s ability to evaluate the viability of competing destinations. In addition to information, emotional, instrumental, material and financial support identified include the need to reunify with dispersed family, maintain companionship, access remittance, and benefit from available informal transportation networks. These network related resources motivated and/or enabled the refugees to choose to move to Kampala either as an intended ultimate destination or a steppingstone to some other destinations.

Conclusion

The overall conclusion is that the mechanisms through which social networks operate have the capacity to re-direct refugees to urban premises as opposed to planned rural based settlement or camps widely practiced in Uganda. In particular, the study affirms that together with displacements, socioeconomic opportunities and regulations at the destination as well as individual background characteristics, social networks operates either independently or in interaction with other factors in facilitating the decision processes of the refugees. In these sense social networks may enable the refugees’ selection of a specific destination by enabling evaluation and elimination of competing destination, or alteration of some pre-selected destinations. While social networks

play a central role in destination selection, the place of individual factors and asylum regulation context cannot be ignored in sometime determining the motivations to move to Kampala.

Implications of the study

Qualitative result in this study also shows that the intentions to settle permanently in Kampala sometimes changes, among some refugees, with some aspiring to settle in other countries, due to challenges they experience in Kampala. Since onward migration remains a constant aspiration among those who could not find solution in Kampala, there is also a danger that refugees will undertake risky journeys from cities such as Kampala to other destinations. Avoiding refugees embarking on risky journeys to developed countries from cities such as Kampala will require expediting resettlement processes enshrined in the Comprehensive Refugees Response Framework and the Global Compact on Refugees.

There is a variation across individual characteristics regarding who has social ties in Kampala when moving to Kampala, and perhaps other cities, suggesting that social networks is not beneficial to everybody in the same way. This implies that the use of approaches such as localisation of assistance through blanket use of refugee community without considering individual differences will result into unintended marginalisation of some refugees. To reduce challenges of adjusting to city life, attention should be given to those who do not have their kin at the destination such as promoting foster families and creating a home for such refugees.

The study shows that the refugees receive information about Kampala from the actors in the personal networks not only from Kampala but also from origin, transit and dispersal. Therefore, the study proposes an integrated approach to official information dissemination through refugee communities across different spaces involving a regional cooperation and coordination across the Eastern African countries taking advantage of social media and refugee associations in different countries, cities and camps.

Refugees move to Kampala for different reasons including reunification intentions or simply maintaining company of sojourners. However, conditions under which refugees are transported may endanger the health and safety of some vulnerable refugees such as children and women. It is proposed that refugee desks at official and non-official border points, and other cities should be established to facilitate a decent movement of the refugees.

Frontiers for further research

Although the use of mixed method enhanced the complementarity of data sources, multiple use of data sources also highlights the extent of paucity of data on urban refugees in cities in low-income countries. There is a need to expand and improve data sources on urban refugees and other self-settled refugees. There is also a need to expand the study to smaller cities in Uganda and other Sub-Saharan countries. Studying refugees from these cities will improve knowledge on how intentions to move to cities unfold and how refugees move to these smaller cities. Additional research is also needed on the health risks associated with methods involved in transporting refugees or transmitting information about the destination. Such studies will be beneficial particularly for interventions related to population health during displacement.

Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1. Background

The rampant displacements due to armed conflicts, torture, gender based violence, human rights abuse, and all other forms of displacements have led to forced migrants, including refugees and asylum seekers, increasingly residing in urban areas (Human Rights Watch, 2015; Lammers, 2006; Pettersson & Wallenstein, 2015). Among the displaced population to urban areas are the refugees and asylum seekers (Buscher, 2018; Jacobsen, 2005). This study is about the destination selection of refugees and asylum seekers in Kampala, and ‘asylum seekers’ are presumed included whenever the term ‘refugee’ is used. A refugee is defined as someone who is compelled to cross national borders for protection from persecution, external aggressions, and public disorder in the country of origin while an asylum seeker is one whose refugee status is yet to be determined (Betts, 2009; Keely & Kraly, 2018). Although ‘asylum seekers’ are distinguished from ‘refugees’ on the basis of determination of their status, both groups are taken together in this study because destination decisions occur prior to the arrival in Kampala but not at the point of status determination when already at the destination. Moreover, whether a refugee status is granted or not, the motive of movement of a refugee or asylum seeker remains the same, that is to seek protection in another country. Therefore, with regards to destination selection, the two groups are similar.

Globally, about 43% of the refugees and asylum seekers live in urban areas (UNHCR, 2022). Most of these urban refugees reside in the Global South (Netto et al., 2022). Within the East African region, more recent statistics published by the United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNCHR) for instance show that 11.5% of the refugees in Kenya reside in urban areas of Nairobi, Nakuru and Mombasa (UNHCR, 2020a). Similarly, Addis Abba hosts a total of 8.3% refugees (UNHCR, 2022). The trends in urban refugees in Kampala are similar to these regional cities in Eastern Africa. Currently, about 7.9% of the refugees in Uganda live in Kampala (UNHCR, 2022). Although the current percentage of refugees in Kampala is below that of 15% in 2014, the absolute number of refugees living in Kampala increased from 60,081 in 2014 to 120,518 in 2022 (UNHCR, 2022). Refugees are important part of urbanisation process of Kampala (Uganda Bureau of Statistics (UBOS), 2019).

Global and national initiatives have been undertaken to respond to refugee problems. One recent initiative is the creation of the Global Compact on Refugees (GCR), which aimed to reduce burden on hosting countries by supporting self-reliance and promoting safe resettlement (Hansen, 2018; Tshimba, 2022). The UNHCR also extended its protection to the refugees and refugee supporting organisations in urban areas under the ‘Urban Refugee Policy, 2009’ (UNHCR, 2009). At the national level, a number of programmes have been implemented within the framework of Refugee Act 2006 of Uganda (Mulumba & Olema, 2009). Among these programmes are the Refugee – Host Population Empowerment (ReHoPE) which aimed to build a social cohesion between and within refugees and host communities (Watera et al., 2018). Uganda also embraced the Comprehensive Refugee Response Framework (CRRF) which aimed to increase partners involved in refugee response, including refugee communities, the private sector and local authorities (Crawford & O’Callaghan, 2019). Integrated service delivery approach has been employed in the National Development Plan with the aim of addressing vulnerable communities and individuals within refugee hosting areas (National Planning Authority, 2020). The ‘Settlement’ system is the de facto practice for refugee accommodation currently implemented under the Refugee Settlement Transformative Agenda (RSTA) (Watera et al., 2018). An improvement from ‘Refugee Camps’, under the settlement system refugees are allocated land for the purpose of housing and farming in designated refugee districts (Adepoju, 2019; Ahimbisibwe, 2019). To improve the self-sustainability of the refugees and reduce humanitarian burden, the self-reliance approach involving equipping the refugees with skills and financial resources has been employed (Schiltz et al., 2019; Tshimba, 2022). Uganda’s approach to refugee has far-reaching positive effects. Among other benefits, can move without restrictions and can seek employment opportunity in similar sectors as the host community. In Kampala, various refugee communities have the freedom to form the associations thus contributing to the refugees ability support themselves within their refugee communities. With the freedom of movement and the refugee community associations, refugees in Kampala are inter-connected with other refugees, host communities and those left behind through their networks within Uganda and outside Uganda. In this process, both newly created social networks and existing social networks support refugee movement and sustain their settlement in the city upon arrival. However, what is less known is how these networks operate how this influences the decisions of the refugees to move to Kampala. Resettlement options under the

Global Refugee Compact and attaining services under the Comprehensive Refugee Response Framework is sometimes slow or inadequate and social networks may play a role in filling these gaps.

Migration studies have stressed the role of social networks in the perpetuation of migration to a specified direction (Haug, 2008; Massey et al., 1993; Munshi, 2003; Zell & Skop, 2010). Scholars also encouraged extension of sociological concepts such as social networks to investigate forced migration (FitzGerald & Arar, 2018, p. 810). Empirical studies have, for instance, shown that the concentration of pre-existing ethnic and community members at a place attracts refugees to such places (Mossaad et al., 2020). The presence of kinship and friendship ties in cities also encourages and supports the relocation of refugees from camps to urban areas (Rhoden, 2019). Actors encountered in transit also influence the decisions of the refugees about destinations (Torfa et al., 2021). In inner cities, these social networks provide support for newly arrived refugees particularly in the dearth of humanitarian assistance (Krause-Vilmar, 2011). Most of this social capital is linked to the readily available co-ethnics or co-nationals in the urban areas (Lyytinen & Kullenberg, 2013). Social ties elsewhere can also be instrumental for identifying alternative routes and transit destinations as the refugees journey to their desired destinations (Shaffer et al., 2018). Hence, not only the social network actors living at the destination, but those encountered at the places of origin, transit and as well as those dispersed in other places may influence the trajectories of the refugees (Torfa et al., 2021). Moreover, the influences may be associated with the strength of the ego's relationship with the alter, whether weak tie or strong tie, in terms of whether they share acquaintanceship, friendship, family or kinship relations (Lin & Dumin, 1986; Liu, 2013). In the context of Uganda, it is therefore possible that social networks play a role in directing refugees to Kampala because of the range of perceived opportunities it offers, and or as an alternative destination or a transit to some other destinations. A further understanding of the social networks operates, and who, within the social networks are the influential actors will however advance comprehension on how refugees and asylum seekers choose to settle in urban destination. Drawing on the reviewed literature and the theory of social networks, this study aims to contribute to investigating the actors in the social networks, described as 'kin-based ties, if a strong tie and 'non-kin-based tie' if weak; network-based resources that flows through the social networks; and the spaces – including origin, destinations, transit and dispersals – from which these actors operate.

Destination selection involves the choice of where to migrate as opposed to whether to migrate or not and is associated with the choice of a specific place as opposed other alternatives (Hébert et al., 2018). To some extent, refugees make preferences about certain destinations according to known conditions of the destination countries (McAuliffe & Jayasuriya, 2016). A deterioration of a situation that is rather gradual, progressive and protracted means that refugees have a respite during which they can consider where to go even if they have no choice left but to move. In this sense, refugees can anticipate their movement since they have some time, information and other resources at their hand (Kunz, 1973). The fact that refugees consider where to move has been for instance evidenced in Nepal and Thailand where whether one remains internal displaced or become a refugee in another country is associated with how weak or strong the level of violence is (Bohra-Mishra & Massey, 2011; Jampaklay et al., 2017). Some scholarship on refugee studies often linked these destination decisions with social networks. Available evidence shows that refugees tend to choose neighbouring countries with ethnic similarities and a history of accepting co-ethnic members (Rüegger & Bohnet, 2018). Rüegger and Bohnet (2018) analysed dyadic flows of refugees by ethnic groups and found that countries that registered higher counts of refugee co-ethnic groups also attracted more refugees from their own ethnic groups (Rüegger & Bohnet, 2018). The authors attribute the direction of refugees flows to specific location to the importance of ethnic similarities. Mallett and Hager-Zanker (2018), agree that social networks, in addition to factors such as availability of financial capital, involvement of smugglers and individual perceptions and feelings, shaped the Eritrean refugees' decisions on when, where and how to go to Germany

The classical approach to migration tends to dichotomize population movement in terms of origin and destination with a neglect of in-between destinations (Crawley & Hagen-Zanker, 2019; Crawley & Jones, 2021; Snel et al., 2021). In destination choices, scholars investigating refugees at the destination look at why refugees choose particular destinations (McAuliffe & Jayasuriya, 2016; Suzuki, 2020). On the other hand, scholars investigating prospective migrants from their origin inquire about the intentions to migrate to certain destinations (Bohra-Mishra & Massey, 2011; Ikanda, 2018; Sandu, 2017). Others that use macro level spatial flows of refugees focus on ties and patterns of flows between two points of origin and destination (Rüegger & Bohnet, 2018;

Suleimenova et al., 2017). However, decisions sometimes emerge as migrants move through different locations thus changing their trajectories (Crawley & Hagen-Zanker, 2019). New actors encountered on the way may all determine where to migrate and how to migrate (Torfa et al., 2021). Studies on urban refugees in Africa have also shown that refugees' motivations change as they live their experiences of displacement where refugees imagine settling elsewhere other than the current city (Landau, 2006, 2021). Changes in motivation imply that refugees make subsequent decisions about new destinations upon arrival in a country of asylum. Prevailing socio-political factors related to population movement in a country or city may also compel migrants and refugees to decide to move to some alternative countries or cities (Fusari & Perrin, 2018). Some cities may also be chosen as intermediate destinations when the ultimate destination is perceived more accessible through such cities (Shaffer et al., 2018). However, the rate of resettlement to third countries through official channels for refugees from first countries of asylums in the Global South is significantly low accounting for about 1% of the refugees (Hansen, 2018). Because of the limited third country resettlement opportunities, refugees who initially intended to relocate to more developed countries may get stuck in intermediate countries or cities (Brekke & Brochmann, 2015; Jacobsen et al., 2014). This study focuses on the decisions to move to Kampala either from place of origin, for those who moved directly, or from transit areas. Transit area refers to any place other than hometown, and border areas where the refugee spent at least a month before moving to Kampala.

1.2.Problem statement

Since the inception of the Refugee Act 2006, Uganda government made a significant stride in settling refugees and asylum seekers in government gazetted areas located mainly in rural areas (Ahimbisibwe, 2019; Mulumba, 2010). Implemented under the transformative settlement agenda, progressive interventions such as provision of land, integrated service delivery, and self-reliance strategies have been employed with a hope that refugees will settle in such places as long as conflicts persist in the countries of origin (Betts et al., 2019; Crawford & O'Callaghan, 2019). However, despite these programmes for assistance to refugees, refugees already registered in the settlement areas and new arrivals from home countries continue to move to urban areas, particularly in Kampala (Bagonza, 2021). Refugees also relocate from cities in neighbouring countries to

Kampala (Iazzolino & Hersi, 2019). A few others move directly to Kampala from their home countries as opposed to moving from settlement areas to Kampala. By the end of 2017, the official estimate of refugees living in Kampala was about 103,694 (UNHR, 2018). The population percentage of refugees living in Kampala grew from about 4.5% by the end of 2015 to about 8% by the end of 2017 before declining to 5.1% by mid-2019 (UNHCR, 2020b; UNHR, 2018). However, by July 2022 the percentage of refugees increased again to 7.9% (UNHCR, 2022). Between the years 2015 and 2018, the urban refugee population in Kampala increased by 37.2% (UNHCR, 2022). According to the 2019 statistical abstract for Kampala, refugee population is one of the key contributors of urbanisation of the city (Uganda Bureau of Statistics (UBOS), 2019). With the current refugee population of 120, 518, refugees and asylum seekers living in Kampala, about 7% of Kampala's estimated total population of 1,738,600 are refugees (UBOS, 2022; UNHCR, 2022).

Urban areas were thought to provide opportunities for social connections and thereby improve livelihoods (Dryden-Peterson, 2006; Landau & Duponchel, 2011). Yet, refugee flows to urban areas entrench them further into vulnerabilities associated with the already strained infrastructure, basic services, and social and economic opportunities in Kampala (Bernstein & Okello, 2007; Buscher, 2018; Monteith & Lwasa, 2017). For instance, about 36% of the refugees in Kampala live in unsafe neighbourhoods and about 35% of the school age refugee children are not enrolled in school compared to only 10% among the nationals (AGORA, 2018). Similarly, about 81% of the refugees in Kampala experience difficulties in affording healthcare services compared to 45% of the nationals and only 36% of the refugees have access to fairly secure jobs (Kasozi et al., 2018). In addition to lack of access to basic services, refugees in Kampala experience violence and xenophobic tendencies in forms of physical assaults, verbal threats, discrimination and exploitation in public spaces (Mulumba, 2010; Nash, 2016). Cases of financial extortions in delivery of services, and gender based violence have also been reported (Morof et al., 2014; Nabukeera, 2020; Sandvik, 2012). Mostly women, children, elderly and disabled are affected (Rosenberg, 2016). Young urban refugees are more likely to be depressed by food insecurities and violence (Logie et al., 2020). Despite these life-threatening consequences, many refugees continue to migrate to urban areas using their social networks. Yet, few studies have investigated how social networks enable refugees to specifically choose to move to Kampala despite the challenges they experience in the

city upon arrival. A few social network related studies in Kampala focused on how refugees use their social networks and social capital to access services but not how the networks determine destination selection scholars (Krause-Vilmar, 2011; Lyytinen & Kullenberg, 2013).

The centrality of social networks in channelling refugees to specific location has been fairly well investigated in the field of social sciences and refugee studies conducted elsewhere (Ikanda, 2018; Mallett & Hagen-Zanker, 2018; Najem & Faour, 2018; Rüegger & Bohnet, 2018). Studies have shown that refugees tend to move to countries and cities with ethno-national connections with their places of origin (Mossaad et al., 2020; Najem & Faour, 2018; Rüegger & Bohnet, 2018). However, little is known about the characteristics and types of the actors – whether weak ties (non-kin-based) or strong ties (kin-based ties)- involved in the social networks, where they are located, what resources flows through these networks and how all these influences the decisions of the refugees to move to cities in Uganda. The roles played by these actors will contribute to understanding why refugees specifically aim to move to Kampala despite Uganda’s refugee settlement programmes in other parts of the country. Studying social network factors is crucial in identifying factors to consider when determining settlement of refugees. The overall purpose of this study, therefore, is to investigate the actors involved in the social networks from different locations and how they influence individual choices about destination.

1.3 Research Question

1.3.1. Main research question

What are the roles of social networks in the selection of destination among the urban refugees in Kampala Uganda?

1.3.2. Specific research questions

1. What are the profiles and the patterns of movement of the urban refugees in Kampala?
2. What are the relationships between individual characteristics, social networks and selection of destination among urban refugees in Kampala
3. How do the social networks influence the selection of destination among urban refugees in Kampala?

1.4 Research Objective

1.4.1. Main objective

To investigate the role of social networks in destination selection among the urban refugees in Kampala, Uganda

1.4.2. Specific objectives

- a) To describe the profiles, and patterns movement of the urban refugees in Kampala.
- b) To assess the association between individual characteristics, social networks, and destination selection among the urban refugees in Kampala.
- c) To examine the influences of social networks on the selection of the destination among the urban refugees in Kampala.

1.5 Justification of the study

The security and sustainability of migrant flows have become a global concern insofar as they impact on demographic and social changes in the sending and receiving areas, including urban areas. Hence, the Sustainable Development Goals (SDG) recognised the need for urban destination areas of migrants, that are safe, and with affordable, and accessible housing and other basic services (United Nations, 2015). In addition, the Global Compact on Migration emphasised the importance of orderly, safe, regular and responsible migration and mobility (United Nations, 2018). Yet existing policies and programmes for refugee assistance in Sub-Saharan Africa and Uganda in particular focus on issues of livelihoods, local integration and self-reliance but not on factors contributing to refugees to choose to move to many African cities. Why refugees choose specific destinations is equally important for determining how best to settle refugees upon arrival in the city. This research contributes to this aspect by investigating the roles social networks play with regards to refugees intentions to move to specific destination.

Understanding who, among the refugees, migrate to cities, in what patterns they migrate and what facilitates this migration to cities is important for addressing issues of population health, family reunifications and tailoring assistance to more vulnerable population groups. A study of this kind is beneficial to the Office of the Prime Minister (OPM) for refugee affairs, city planners and the

UNHCR in designing policies, programmes and plans for refugees living in cities. In particular, given that this study is about social networks of the urban refugees and the role this plays in destination selection, the study contributes to identifying critical actors through which services such as information and social support could be channelled to the refugees. Identifying the critical actors, or anchors is important not only because governments and humanitarian agencies can easily reach out to refugee populations through these actors but also be able to identify the profiles of refugees who might be lacking support mechanisms for settlement.

The role of social networks in urban refugees' livelihoods has been recognised by scholars (Krause-Vilmar, 2011; Lyytinen & Kullenberg, 2013). The UNHCR urban policy emphasised the need to work through the refugee and host communities (UNHCR, 2009). Specifically, the Refugee and Host Population (ReHoPE) framework of Uganda stresses the need to focus on specific needs of refugees and the host population according to their demographic diversities (Uganda, 2017). Localisation of refugee assistance through refugee communities has also been recently promoted (Pincock et al., 2021). However, most of these existing studies on the urban refugees focused on the descriptions of the social networks and how these social networks are used for livelihoods but not on how social networks influence the choice of Kampala. More attention is still needed on the ways in which personal networks affect movements to city destination and how they eventually fit in their new environs. This study provides useful information on how personal networks operate in choosing places of destination. The information provided here can help government bodies and refugee assisting organisations on how to channel information such as through refugee communities and social media and other forms of assistance to refugees and how to mitigate negative experiences of refugees in the country. Social network is a source of social capital, and the crucial aspect of social capital is trust. Governments bodies can leverage on this trust to ensure that information and services reach to the intended population through refugee social media groups and refugee community associations.

Social networks suggest that migration decisions are not necessarily taken as individuals but in a context of other community members, both from the place of origin and the destination area (Haug, 2008). This study adds to the understanding of how the different aspects of social networks contribute to the processes of influencing decisions about migration destinations in displacement contexts of Sub-Saharan Africa. Broadly, the study of social networks of refugees in refugee flows

contributes to bridging a theoretical gap by extending the concepts of social networks in forced migration studies (FitzGerald & Arar, 2018).

More specifically, this study contributes to the literature on urban refugees in sub-Saharan African context. A study conducted in Johannesburg, Maputo and Nairobi for instance revealed that the dynamics of social networks in African cities are different from the social network related migration seen in the Western world. The study found that African cities do not have a distinctive categories of host versus migrants and trust among social groups may not necessarily be determined by nationality differences (Madhavan & Landau, 2011). This study adds to this literature by exploring how social network factors operate in refugee flows to African cities in a context where relationships tend to traverse international borders. The study also presents a unique case for Uganda and similar countries, where intra-country and cross-border movement of refugees is not well known.

A better understanding of the inflow of refugees to urban areas requires a study design that captures the description of the refugees and in-depth analysis of the processes of their migration. A mixed method research on urban refugees' migration was employed in this study. It is hoped that this approach will provide a holistic picture by providing estimates of their annual flows to the city destination and in-depth understanding of what sustains these flows to the city. A mixed method research provides a better research output for policy and programme designs for planning social services for the refugees.

This study significantly drew on qualitative methods which traditionally belong to other fields of social sciences. As an interdisciplinary approach, the use of qualitative methods in demography which traditionally uses quantitative methods makes important contribution in understanding processes and meanings underlying quantifiable variables. In the context of this study, the fact that social networks have effect on migration decision has been established through the use of inferential statistics and mathematical modelling in the field of demography. This study helps in understanding how micro level processes such as social support exchanges, and the significance of the individual actors in the social network contribute to migration decisions. Broadly, the study highlights the role of micro level factors, in the field of migration studies, in changes in population size and structure of population.

1.6 Definitions and Delimitation of the study

1.6.1. Definitions

Refugee: Someone who, due to a well-founded fear of persecution for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion, is outside the country of origin and is unable or unwilling to seek the protection of the country of origin (UNHCR, 1967). In the context of Africa, refugees include those defined by United Nations 1951 Convention and those who had to move due to external aggressions or events affecting public order in their country of origin (African Union, 1969).

Asylum seeker: a person whose refugee status is yet to be determined (UNHCR, 2017).¹

Urban refugee: a refugee whose habitual area of residence is a gazetted urban area, as opposed to a camp or settlement (Jacobsen, 2006).

Urban area: refers to cities, municipalities, towns and town boards (Uganda Bureau of Statistics (Uganda Bureau of Statistics, 2016). In this study the terms ‘city’ or ‘cities’ will be used to mean urban area when referring to destination areas.

Settlement: a system of refugee management used in Uganda where refugees are given residential and agricultural land in a government designated area on which they can pursue their livelihoods (Crawford & O’Callaghan, 2019).

Social networks: relationships (such as family, kinship, and friends) between people or organizations through which resources (finance, information, ideas, and social support) can be transacted (Kadushin, 2012)

Destination Selection: also, ‘the decision to migrate to cities;’ it refers to the decision on where to migrate on the basis of comparison of various preferences and the respective qualities of the preferences (Hébert et al., 2018).

¹ In this study, the term ‘refugee’ will include ‘asylum seekers’ since essentially there is no major difference in their experiences in their migration pathways and living in urban areas

Mixed method research: refers to a study which employs both qualitative and quantitative paradigms for data collection and analysis (Creswell, 2014).

1.6.2. Delimitation

This study will be limited to ‘urban refugees’ and not refugees living in settlement areas. The administrative statistics will be limited to refugees who migrated to Uganda from 2006 to 2020. Since children are likely to migrate with adults and may not be able to recall their migration histories, only those who are 18 years will be covered in the survey and in-depth interviews. The study focused on personal networks (ego-centric networks), hence institutional or organisational networks (socio-centric networks) are not treated since the latter requires investigating the entire network structure which is not feasible in this study.

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Chapter 2

LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.0 Introduction

The significance of social networks in channelling and sustaining migration flows to a specific destination has been widely established in migration studies. Moreover, there is a growing extension of the social network concepts to account for the movements of refugees to different destinations. This chapter therefore reviews some of the regional and conceptual debates in the field of urban refugees, social networks, and destination selections. The chapter commences by clarification of the ‘refugee’ and ‘urban’ as used in this study and points to lack of systematic investigation of sociodemographic profiles of the urban refugees, and lack of investigations in the long-term trends and levels of refugee flow, and the patterns of their movement to city. The chapter then presents the regional debates on social networks and refugees. In doing so, the discussions in the chapter point to some gaps in research on urban refugees and asylum seekers in Sub-Saharan on critical actors in social networks and how they influence the choice of an urban destination. The chapter then provides the theoretical and conceptual framework for studying social networks and destination selection.

2.1 Refugees and Urban Refugees

2.1.1 Refugees

The use of, ‘refugee’ in conventional definitions has been driven largely by humanitarian purposes of providing protection for people who flee their countries as a result of persecution (Cherem, 2016). A refugee in the United Nations’ 1951 Convention and 1957 Protocol is defined as one: *owing to well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion, is outside the country of his nationality and is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself of the protection of that country; or who, not having a nationality and being outside the country of his former habitual residence as a result of such events, is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to return to it.*

Given the predominance of international law in legal protection of refugee and the use of political

persecution as the cause for refugee status/situation, a conventional definition has significant effect in both policy and academic discourse (Bakewell, 2008; Ngwato, 2011). The term is now widely used in social sciences as a guide to formulate social scientific questions and the basis for policy interventions among displaced populations (Bakewell, 2008; Malkki, 1995). Some scholars in refugee studies maintain that credible research that aims to inform policy decisions need to use categories that are relevant to policy makers (Jacobsen & Landau, 2003).

However, some social scientists call for a critical approach to the use of the term maintaining that, social scientists have to be conscious of the history of refugee conventions within which the 'refugee' concept is framed and the basis of ascribing the 'refugee' as a category within migration studies (Bakewell, 2008; Malkki, 1995; Ngwato, 2011). Malkki (1995) for instance maintains that refugee as a social problem arose as a concern due to the European governments' inability to protect the victims of Second World War from authoritarian regimes resulting to the creation of the 1951 convention that is limited to the European refugee crisis. Hence, differences in historical and geographical settings in which the term refugee emerged may result into differences in understanding who is a refugee. Refugee in this study is guided by the African Union's notion of refugee enshrined in the 1969 African convention on the specific aspects of refugees which encompasses the United Nations 1951/1967 Convention/Protocols but broadens the term to include issues of generalised violence either in part or the whole country as follows:

'Refugee' shall also apply to every person who, owing to external aggression, occupation, foreign domination or events seriously disturbing public order in either part or the whole of his country of origin or nationality, is compelled to leave his place of habitual residence in order to seek refuge in another place outside his country of origin or nationality. (African Union, 1969). The study will include those whose status have been determined in accordance with the 1951/67 convention, the prima facie group, as well as those whose status have not been formalised.

The 'refugee' term will be used broadly, encompassing those with full status determination, prima facie refugees and asylum seekers. It will be extended to include those who are without any legal status insofar as their primary motive for leaving their home country due to generalised violence or persecution (Bakewell, 2008; Lindley, 2010). Specifically, the term 'refugee' is simply used to describe people who share similar experiences of being uprooted from their habitual residence and

their journey to their current settlement areas involves crossing a national border. The study also pays attention to non-legal and non-formal social relationships that are instrumental in transitioning to new contexts in displacement.

2.1.2 Urban refugees

General context of the urban refugees

The recent times have experienced rapid processes of urbanisation. While global urban population accounted for 30% in the 1950s, this number has grown to 55% by 2018; urban population is also expected to increase to 68% by 2050 (United Nations, 2020). Rapid urbanisation is expected to occur mainly in the global South with developing countries in this region contributing 90% of the cases for urbanisation (Muggah & Abdenur, 2018). For instance, at an urban growth rate of 3.44%, Africa recorded the highest level of urbanisation between 1995 and 2015 (United Nations, 2020). Between 2010 and 2015, the highest urban growth was recorded in the Eastern Africa at about 8.9% with Uganda, Kenya and Ethiopia making the largest proportions of urban population growth rate (OECD, 2020). Although natural increase accounts for the largest share of rapid urbanisation, both internal migrations mainly in form of rural-urban migration and international migrations have made a significant contribution to the rates of urbanisation (UN Population Division, 2019).

Migration to urban areas has been approached as a voluntary act of an individual or household with the aim of improving social and economic opportunities (Harris & Todaro, 1970; Stark & Bloom, 1985). From the rational choice perspective, migration is construed as an outcome of a rational decision made either individually or collectively at household level based on cost-benefit assessment to improve household's relative income (Massey et al., 1993). Nonetheless, the rampant displacements due to climatic factors, armed conflicts, torture and other forms of human rights abuse, human trafficking, rural developmental projects and all other forms of displacements have undermined rational choice approach as the primary motive for migrating to urban areas. Globally, there is a steady increase in forced migrants, including refugees, residing in urban areas (UNHCR, 2019). The UNHCR's report on global trends for 2018 indicates that out of the known 56% of the covered global refugee population, an estimate of 61% live in cities; countries such as Turkey, Germany and Pakistan host most of their displaced population in urban spaces (UNHCR, 2019). Similarly, it has been estimated that by 2018 about 80% of the internally displaced persons

lived in cities (Muggah & Abdenur, 2018). At refugee community levels, studies also revealed that about 92% of the Syrian refugees live in urban or peri-urban areas (Muggah & Abdenur, 2018).

Jacobsen (2006) defined urban refugees territorially as those refugees who reside in areas designated as urban areas by governments. What constitutes an urban area, however, varies across different states hence it is difficult to homogenise the configuration of an urban area. According to the UNHCR, an urban area constitutes 'a built-up area that accommodates large numbers of people living in close proximity to each other, and where the majority of people sustain themselves by means of formal and informal employment and the provision of goods and services' (UNHCR, 2009). Urban areas have been defined in Uganda's 2014 national population and housing census as, 'gazetted urban centres (City, Municipalities and Town Councils) and ungazetted Trading Centres' (Uganda Bureau of Statistics, 2016). Urban refugees may also be described as 'self-settled' refugees since they do not rely on governmental and humanitarian organisational initiated settlement programme (Marfleet, 2007; Verghis & Balasundrum, 2019). For the purpose of this study, the definition of Uganda's National Population and Housing Census 2014 for urban area is used to delimit what constitutes an urban refugee.

However, using the territorial factor for defining an urban refugee is not sufficient given that this group of refugees undergo different experiences as displaced population compared to their refugee counterparts in other geographical areas. While maintaining some of the commonly shared experiences of refugeehood, the fact of choice of residence changes their circumstances and experiences in a way that is different from refugees living in settlement or camp areas. Urban centres are characterised by heterogeneity where host-refugee divide which is somewhat discernible in the settlement system is fluid (Landau & Duponchel, 2011). Urban refugees may also be different from self-settled refugees in rural settings due to the urban dynamics that depend largely on cash economy and with reified ethnic based social relationships (Landau & Duponchel, 2011).

Within the urban premises, urban refugees may fall in the categories of both foreign-born urban migrants and urban poor in general (Jacobsen, 2006). Yet, urban refugees are distinct from other urban poor and migrants because the primary driver for their movement and urban residence is due to armed conflicts, violence, persecution as well as the collapse of their social world in their home

countries (Marx, 1990). Secondly, urban refugees are distinct from other urban poor because the socio-economic conditions to which they are subjected is not only due urban to marginalisation in general but also due their inability to enjoy the right and entitlement to protection and assistance enshrined in refugee conventions (Jacobsen, 2006; Sanyal, 2014). Urban refugees are also heterogenous across their socio-economic conditions and the use of poverty and marginalisation in economic terms may not be adequate. Even though they may be refugees and urban poor concomitantly, the socio-economic dynamics of urban refugees can neither be solely modelled on that of refugees in other setting nor on that of other urban poor (Landau & Duponchel, 2011). The unique identities of urban refugees within the broader refugee population and other non-refugee urban co-residents have social and economic implications on how they navigate the urban terrains.

Characteristics and driving factors to urban areas.

Earlier studies portrayed urban refugees as those with higher socioeconomic background (Kok, 1999; Macchiavello, 2003; Phillimore & Goodson, 2006). Urban refugees were classified as those with background of better education, better occupation and higher income, and mostly lived in urban areas before their flight from their countries of origin (Bernstein & Okello, 2007; Macchiavello, 2003). Most of the urban refugees in Kampala were young unmarried male (Macchiavello, 2003). About 70% had at least secondary education and about 30% of these refugees were either professionals or highly skilled (Macchiavello, 2003). A similar study among Burundians in Dar es salaam also found that most of the urban refugees were young male adults above the age of 18 (Sommers, 2001). Further, the UNHCR's statistical yearbook of 2005 revealed that the male population accounted for 53% of the urban refugee population compared to 47% of female worldwide (UNHCR, 2007). It also revealed that fewer children (28%) lived in urban areas compared to camps (53%) (UNHCR, 2007). The predominance of the young, male mobile and higher socioeconomic status refugees in urban areas has been attributed to the fact that these refugees were already urbanites with better entrepreneurial skills (Kok, 1999; Macchiavello, 2003). Most of these refugees do not have adequate skills in rural agrarian economy which is prerequisite for coping strategies in the settlement schemes (Fábos & Kibreab, 2007). An exception to higher socio-economic status refugees are those relocated from camps to cities for specific protection needs (Jacobsen, 2006).

However, more recent studies suggest that the profile of the urban refugees is changing where an inflow to urban areas has been observed among women and children (Hopkins, 2015). By 2018, about 48% of the urban refugees tended to be below the age 18 and a marginal difference between male and female was recorded (UNHCR, 2019). Similarly, a study among Casamance refugees living in urban areas of Gambia indicated an increase in female refugees who are mainly from subsistence farming background with low level of literacy or formal education (Hopkins, 2015). However, most of these studies are anecdotal without systematic investigation on whether the profile of urban refugee has been changing over time. In addition, there are no systematic comparisons to indicate the differences and similarities of urban refugees from those in settlement or camp areas in terms of socio-demographic characteristics. A few observers have noted that humanitarian and policy interventions about urban refugees need to pay specific attention to the urban context and dynamics that are different from the familiar approaches to the settlement and camp systems (Landau & Duponchel, 2011; Marfleet, 2007). At a theoretical level, understanding the changes according to demographic characteristic is significant for investigating the influences of social connection because socioeconomic and demographic factors can affect access to social network-based resources. Some studies have for instance shown that young people often rely on non-kinship networks as a strategy for self-empowerment and access to livelihoods (Clark-Kazak, 2006). Similarly, a study in Dar es salaam showed that gender and age played important role in social-networked based migration of refugees Dar es salaam (Sommers, 2001).

2.3. Global and regional perspectives on refugees and social networks

2.3.1 Overview of refugees' networks and migration

In social networks, relationships between people, organizations or countries matter because they are the channels through which objects such as people, trade, information, finances and social support flow (Kadushin, 2012). In this regard, social networks have come to be considered as central in the processes of migration including refugee flows (FitzGerald & Arar, 2018; Massey et al., 1993). At a global level, for instance, how a country is geographically located within a networked global structure will determine the destination country to which it will channel refugee flows (Fazito & Filizzola, 2014). A country's ability to disperse refugees to a specific destination may be attributed to historical ethnic based patterns of migration that lead to the formation of

refugee networks in migration flow and spatial distribution across a host country (Najem & Faour, 2018).

At inter-personal levels of interactions, social networks can form bases for refugee movement behaviours by facilitating the nature, patterns and directions of movements. The significance of personal networks in channelling migrants, including refugees, to specific locations have gained currency (Mallett & Hagen-Zanker, 2018; Najem & Faour, 2018; Rüegger & Bohnet, 2018). Refugees normally prefer to settle where ethnic networks are available (Najem & Faour, 2018). Social networks thus influence choices regarding where, when, and how to flee in context of displacement (Mallett & Hagen-Zanker, 2018). For instance, resettled refugees in the United States usually relocate from states of first settlement to cities and states where ethnic members have settled (Mossaad et al., 2020). Personal social networks of family members, ethnic members and friends of the refugees moving to Turkey have been found significant in linking refugees to home, transit and destination in the processes of migration in Turkey (İçduygu & Karadağ, 2018). In addition, new actors encountered in transit also form part of the migration networks that all determine the individual's choices about destination (Torfa et al., 2021). Besides, the studies done in context of refugee flows from Global South to Global North, a study conducted in Thailand showed that that social networks can also serve as a key predictor of whether refugees would choose to live in the camp or move to cities (Rhoden, 2019). Among the Myanmar refugees in Bangkok, refugees who migrated earlier served as sources of social capital and information that perpetuated migration to the city (Palmgren, 2014).

2.3.2 Refugees' networks and migration in Sub-Saharan Africa

The use of social networks among refugees and asylum seekers in migration to cities in Sub-Saharan Africa is underdeveloped in so far as how social networks affect decisions about destinations is concern. Research on refugees' social networks have been driven largely by the humanitarian and state governments' policies on refugee assistance and protections and their implications to self-settled refugees mainly in urban areas (Jacobsen, 2006; Lyytinen & Kullenberg, 2013). The need to develop humanitarian interventions in self-settlement context that draws on refugees' own strategies for integration has therefore set the terms of discussions on refugee livelihoods (Betts et al., 2014; Lyytinen & Kullenberg, 2013). As a result, previous studies

on social networks and social capital were mainly based on the coping strategies of refugees and their livelihoods in the cities of destination (Betts et al., 2018; Crush & McCordic, 2017; Landau & Duponchel, 2011). For instance, Betts and colleagues, (Betts et al., 2018) employed a mixed methods approach to investigate the economic engagements of the refugees in Nairobi. Their findings indicated that fellow refugees are the key sources of social support and financial aid in starting up entrepreneurial activities. A similar finding is reflected in a study conducted in Cape Town where apart from savings, relatives and non-relatives accounted for important sources of financial start-up capital (Crush et al., 2017). In Dar es salaam, one study showed that young Congolese refugees use their social networks for social support that helps the cope in the city (Tippens, 2020). However, functions of social networks may not only be limited to integration of refugees in their new destinations, but the presence of friends, families, co-ethnics or other social-political affiliations may also influence the choices refugees may make regarding where they prefer to live.

A few studies indicated that ethnic-national identities and connections between origin and destinations countries can influence destination choices (Ikanda, 2018; Shaffer et al., 2018). One study showed that the direction of refugee flow within African countries are patterned along ethnic lines (Rüegger & Bohnet, 2018). Among the Somali refugees in South Africa, the narratives shared through refugee networks about the destination areas shape the prospective refugee's migration decision (Shaffer et al., 2018). Similarly, Ikanda's (2018), a study of Somali in Dandahly camp in Kenya desiring to relocate to Minnesota revealed that the affections exchanged through kinship networks in diaspora animates the imagination of ideal place and life at the destination. The idealisation of a notion of place shared through kinship recreates a form belonging and a desire to reunite with kinship members at a destination (Ikanda, 2018). Established social ties at a place may also hinder government and humanitarian initiatives to relocate refugees (Betts et al., 2020). The findings from these studies suggest that those social networks do not only support the integration of refugees, but the emotional support and companionship derived from these networks can influence the desires on where to settle.

2.3.3 Refugees' social networks and migrations in Uganda

As seen in the previous section, micro and macro level factors act as push and pull factors for refugee movements to cities. Much of these notions have been drawn from the classical push and pull factor approaches to migration and have set the discussions on different pathways of refugee flows, particularly to urban destinations in Uganda (Lee, 1966). Lack of information on registration process at the border, the need to search for gainful employment, access to basic services and lack of security and physical safety at the borders have been identified as some of the push and pull factors for moving on to urban areas (Bernstein & Okello, 2007). For instance, lack of security in the settlement areas has been attributed to the migration to Kampala (Mulumba, 2010). Similarly, the hostility of the host communities towards the refugees in the settlement areas has contributed to the movement of the refugees to Kampala (Kaiser, 2005). On the other hand, the refugee flows to cities have been attributed to lack of access to safe market opportunities in the neighbourhoods of the settlement areas (Crisp et al., 2012).

However, additional to the drivers outlined in the preceding paragraphs quite significant work has been done to demonstrate the role of social networks formed along national or ethnic lines play among the refugees in Uganda. The primary focus of these studies is on livelihoods and protection of refugees particularly in contexts of self-settlement where formal assistance and protection are sometimes lacking (Lyytinen & Kullenberg, 2013). Social networks as such constituted the primary sources for the mobilization and management of resources and thereby enhancing access to livelihood for refugees and IDPs (Clark-Kazak, 2006; Krause-Vilmar, 2011; Mulumba, 2010). Mulumba (2010) found that the Eritreans, Ethiopians and Somalis use their national based networks as channels for receiving remittances from family members resettled in other countries. In a similar way, members of the Somali community, especially men, rely on ethnic networks to access employment opportunities and sell their goods to fellow Somalis (Buscher, 2011; Krause-Vilmar, 2011). Further, a few refugees also use their cross-border networks to run their businesses in selling animal products or to access cross-border employment opportunities (Krause-Vilmar, 2011).

Ethnic and gender-based networks have also been considered as a key contributing factor to the diversity of livelihood strategies of the refugees (Betts et al., 2014; Krause-Vilmar, 2011; Mulumba, 2010). Refugees engage in diverse small business activities such as hair dressing, tailoring, selling food or running small shops or restaurants, running butcherries, and running mini supermarkets (Krause-Vilmar, 2011; Mulumba, 2010; Omata, 2012). Refugees also form networks

of professionals such as doctors or teachers to support fellow refugees and to provide services to refugees who cannot access government services (Buscher, 2011; Dryden-Peterson, 2006). Employment across borders indicates the significance of networks in the communication and the coordination of opportunities in different parts of the region. From gender perspectives, the strong sense of trust and bonding among female refugees have contributed to promotion of informal saving schemes and entrepreneurial initiatives (Krause-Vilmar, 2011). However, the study also noted that cultural norms imposed through ethnic or national based social networks are restrictive and exclusive for young women in pursuing their economic opportunities (Krause-Vilmar, 2011).

While the above studies looked at networks in general, a few studies focused on the strength of the network ties in the refugees' ability to access network resources. Ethnic or national groups with strong ethnic based network ties are likely to have fairly well-organized livelihood activities (Krause-Vilmar, 2011). Studies found that Somalis in Kampala tend to perform better than other refugee communities in business initiatives because of a strong ethnic network among themselves (Betts et al., 2014; Buscher, 2011). Strong network ties helped Somali refugees to organise and efficiently manage their business enterprises (Macchiavello, 2003; Mulumba, 2010). Strong social networks were thought to improve access to resources because of the strong sense of trust among community members (Krause-Vilmar, 2011).

The preceding studies mainly established the instrumental significance of social networks in accessing resources and the consequent refugee protection in an urban setting. However, social network enhances the refugees' agency in decision-making (Clark-Kazak, 2006). In her study of young Congolese refugees in Kampala and Kyaka II settlement, Clark – Kazak (2006) found that in the face of shrinking traditional kinship networks, young people in peer networks also had greater access to decision-making in households and families, and more opportunities to engage in political activities at community and policy levels. Clark – Kazak further noted that young people who migrate without their families are not inherently worse off than their counterparts in intergenerational networks as portrayed in notions about unaccompanied minors (Clark-Kazak, 2006, 2011). Refugees also build new relationships with host communities during exile that sometimes affect their willingness to return after cessation of hostilities (Karoomba, 2014). Some studies also showed that refugees use their social connections to flee to some destinations; refugees who are well connected and better exposed to information sources sometimes make timely

departures during displacements (Humphrey, 2020). Among the Somali refugees in Kampala, a study also showed that refugees move to Kampala from Kenya using established historical and ethnic ties (Iazzolino & Hersi, 2019)

2.4 Social networks and destination selection

2.4.1 Destination selection and displacement

Forced migration by nature implies limited control over the choice to remain or to move. In context of displacements due to environment, armed conflict, persecution, and developmental projects, what is at stake is the security of life and livelihood at a particular moment. In this regard, the scale of decision-making capacity has been sometimes used to distinguish forced migration from voluntary migration (Hugo et al., 2018).

Nonetheless, even in an adverse condition the exercise of agency in determining the appropriate course of action for one's life with regard to timing of movement, how to move and where to move cannot be ignored when moving to safer places. Moreover, one's capacity to decide may also depend on the intensity and the length of the force that produces the displacement (Bohra-Mishra & Massey, 2011). More specifically, a situation that tends to be gradual, progressive and protracted may imply that people may weigh the options of where, when and how to move even if they may not have any other choice to remain. Hence, in investigating forced displacement, a distinction needs to be made regarding whether to move and 'when', 'where' and 'how' to move (Hébert et al., 2018). While individuals may not have the capacity to decide on whether to move in the face of forces that compel them to move, depending on how intense or prolonged the force is, individuals may have a range of capacity to decide on matters of destinations, timing of movement and modalities of movement.

The fact that individuals may have the capacity to decide on where to move and how to move has first been discussed by Kunz (1973). Kunz (1973) distinguished three types of patterns of refugee flight, namely, anticipatory, acute, and intermediate flights. Anticipatory displacement occurs before eruptions and refugees have fairly sufficient time, information, and financial resources to make their moves. Acute displacement occurs in setting of dramatic political changes or movement of armed forces. In this setting, mass movement occurs in burst and people are usually channelled

to nearby places for safety. Intermediate displacement embraces the anticipatory and acute displacement and may occur in a form of chain migration (Kunz, 1973). Kunz (1973) argues that these flight patterns are distinct from voluntary migration because the ‘pull’ factor has less part to play than the ‘push’ factor as a motive for movement and the chain aspects provide help and guidance in migration only when the ‘push’ factors have determined the flight (Kunz, 1973).

Some empirical studies attest to proactive rather than reactive flights to safer destinations in face of displacement. Bohra-Mishra and Massey (2011) investigated the decision to migrate locally, internally or beyond international borders during the violence in Chitwan region of Nepal using a longitudinal data and event history analysis. Their findings indicated that effects of violence differ across different destination where, effect of violence is weaker on those who move locally, strong for those who move internally and strongest for those who move internationally. Using a threshold approach, they also observed a curvilinear relationship between violence and movement where out-migration may not occur at low or medium level of the violence but picks up only at high level (Bohra-Mishra & Massey, 2011). Similarly, findings on the effects of unrest in Thailand indicate that exposure to violence and episodes of unrest in the preceding years in the village are more likely to increase the odds of migrating abroad as compared to villages that did not or experienced minimal unrest in the preceding year (Jampaklay et al., 2017). This finding is confirmed by another study that used UNHCR’s data on monthly asylum application in 44 destination countries which indicated that the ‘intensity and location of fighting explains variations of asylum applications and stocks of refugees’ (Conte & Migali, 2019). More explicitly, a large-scale survey on South Asian refugees in Australia revealed that the refugees made a prior consideration on where to go (McAuliffe & Jayasuriya, 2016). The refugees proactively weighed the prevailing refugee policy context and the functionality of the civil society of Australia compared to other countries before making their journey (McAuliffe & Jayasuriya, 2016).

Nonetheless, these bodies of literature focus on the effects of objective and subjective factors of unrest in producing refugee verses internal migration (Jampaklay et al., 2017). Perpetuating theories of migration suggest that while such objective and subjective factors may initiate migration, other factors such as migration networks may perpetuate and sustain the flow ((Massey et al., 1993). It is fairly known that individuals operate in social structures which can either enhance or constrain movements (Awumbila et al., 2017; Haug, 2008). Building on the available literature

on refugees and migrants, the next section demonstrates the state of knowledge of the relationships between social networks and destination selection. The section will not only establish the relationships but also explicate the contentions regarding significance of social networks in destination selection.

The patterns of refugee flight in the reviewed literature indicates that refugees make destination decisions despite the fact that they move under distress. People moving due to conflicts and violence can to a certain extent determine whether to move to a nearby place as internally displaced or to cross national borders as refugees. Destination decisions also emerge according to how the conflicts develop and how the refugees move. Refugees who for instance flee to a nearby camp can decide to relocate to new places of their choice without losing their identities as refugees. Where conflicts also take a form of a gradual deterioration of situation, refugees can have a respite to determine which place to specifically move to. This phenomenon also applies to East African refugees where refugees move from countries not neighbouring Uganda, such as the Horn Africa, to Kampala, sometimes after having spent time in camps or cities in neighbouring countries. How social networks influence these decisions is what this study intends to investigate.

2.4.2 Relationships between Social networks and destination selection

Connections between the choice of destination and networks have been widely debated in migration studies. Some of the studies tend to portray that participation in social networks influence the choice of destination. Bertoli and Ruysen (2018), investigated the migrants intended destination for 147 countries using logit models and found that connections with individuals who are close to a migrant influence the country of destination. Further, studies that investigated ‘rural-urban’ and ‘urban-urban’ migration showed some relationships between choice of destination city and social networks (Ehrenfeucht & Nelson, 2018; E. Zhang & Worthington, 2021). A study in China revealed a significant relationship between ethnic and cultural identity and the settlement pattern of migrants, where minority migrants tend to stay in cities where there is higher cultural homogeneity compared to majority ethnic groups (B. Zhang et al., 2017). Further, an in-depth interview of 110 professional college students in New Orleans indicated that the need to maintain professional and personal contacts overrode the need to seek better opportunities in deciding alternative cities to relocate (Ehrenfeucht & Nelson, 2018).

Focusing on refugee flows, evidence also shows that the direction of refugee flow is not random but channelled by ethnic linkages between sending countries and the destination countries. Refugees tend to choose neighbouring countries with ethnic similarities and a history of accepting co-ethnic members (Rüegger & Bohnet, 2018). Rüegger and Bohnet (2018) showed that this ethnic pattern-based refugee flows is influenced by previous migration flows to a specific destination. Using a dyadic analysis of refugee flows by ethnic groups, the study indicated that countries that registered higher counts of refugee co-ethnic groups also attracted more refugees from their own ethnic groups (Rüegger & Bohnet, 2018). The study also revealed that the larger the count of ethnic groups in the country of asylum, the higher the predicted counts of refugees of the same kin in that country (Rüegger & Bohnet, 2018). The authors attribute the direction of refugees flows to specific location to the importance of ethnic similarities. Mallett and Hager-Zanker (2018), agree that social networks, in addition to factors such as availability of financial capital, involvement of smugglers and individual perceptions and feelings, shaped the Eritrean refugees' decisions on when, where and how to go to Germany.

While the value of social networks in choice of destination is widely accepted, other migration scholars question the significance of social network independent of other factors in destination selection. These scholars emphasise factors such as subjective satisfaction with destination and the hierarchical modes of destination selection which may undermine social networks (De Jong, 2000; Hofmann, 2015). De Jong (2000) argues that social networks and other factors such as human capital, household resources and community context on their own may not affect the individual's intentions to migrate. These factors become significant when subjective satisfaction with the place of residence is considered. For instance, an in-depth interview of Indian, South African and British migrants in New Zealand, did not find social networks as the main motive for choice of country of destination; instead, other factors such as quality of life, safety, environment, cultural similarity, job opportunities and openness towards migrants were the key motives for choice of country of destination as opposed to alternative destinations (Tabor et al., 2015). On the other hand, Hofmann (2015), observed that selection of destination often follows a hierarchical pattern according to a range of factors such as the migration goals of the migrant, perceived safety at the destination, destination country's state policies and the prevailing labour market. Hence, networks may not be significant at the initial stages of hierarchical formation of the desired destination country, but in

channelling migrants to alternative destinations by providing information, job contacts, housing and managing bureaucracies (Hofmann, 2015).

However, common to both proponents and opponents of social network factors in choice of destination is that for social networks to influence destination selection, it must be located at the chosen destination and the ties should be always fixed. Although it is established that social networks at the destination play important role in influencing destination choices, actors not necessarily residing at the destination may as well facilitate the movement to a specific destination. While Hofmann (2015) acknowledges the hierarchical nature of destination selection, the diversity of social networks actors that operate at different stages of movement has not been considered in this pattern of destination selection. Social networks are not given but their significance may vary over time. Moreover, for members of social networks to influence migration decisions, they do not need to be located at the destination area. The inability of these bodies of literature in accounting for the dynamic understanding of social networks also owes to the fact that they approached the relationships between social networks and choice of destination on the basis of existence of co-ethnic or co-national community members at the place of destination. How other aspects of social networks such as strength of relationships, homophily and support systems may impact one individual's behaviour remain as missing link.

2.4.3 Social networks and the selectivity of migrants

A few studies examined the relationships between social networks and the characteristics of migrants in the selection of destination. Earlier, De Jong (2000) argued in the study that examined gender differences in migration among the Philippines that the benefit of social networks in migration is not equal across gender. De Jong maintains that while for men, having social networks in urban areas may enhance their intentions to migrate, for women this opportunity may be constraint by social obligations of childcare or care for the elderly (De Jong, 2000). In other words, while social networks can enable migration, it can simultaneously constrain movement for some gender groups. On the other hand, Hofmann (2015) observed that gender differences matter in migration networks because people are patterned according to gender in migration, but this patterns eventually weakens when joint migration begins to take shape. Approaching from long-term impact

social networks, Zell and Skop, (2010) indicate that social networks are significant in diversifying the migrant demographic composition over time at the place of destination.

2.4.4 Social network and social support

Migration as a risk aversion strategy requires both tangible and intangible resources which may require support from other people or organisations. Social network ties in places of origin, transit and destination are important sources of social support (Brekke & Brochmann, 2015). These social supports can be in form of passing information, encouragement, companionship, financial help, provision of transport or helping with immigration procedures. Some studies have revealed that asylum seekers draw information about the prevailing policy context in the destination from multiple sources networks including those at the destination, those enroute, in the transit camps as well as those in housing facilities at the destination (Brekke & Brochmann, 2015). Social networks serve as the main means for discovery of potential destinations and for gaining practical advice before migrating (Bakewell & Jolivet, 2015). Comparing the different sources of communication medium used by the Iraqi and Syrians in the migration to Germany, Fiedler (2019) found that personal networks accounted for the greater part of information source about the destination. A study among Syrian asylum seekers in Netherlands confirmed that social ties are the most trusted sources of information for migration compared to social media (Dekker et al., 2018). However, the availability of social media can consolidate the weak ties and activate latent ties that can help in transmitting information (Dekker & Engbersen, 2014).

However, some studies suggested that while migrants' networks may be important source of information, the information transmitted may be inaccurate; there is a tendency to falsely transmit an attractive information or unspecified information about destination (Brekke & Brochmann, 2015). In accurate information shared through networks can have an impact on how migrants assimilate information from official channels about policies, protection and assistance (Carlson et al., 2018a). The trust built through participation in networks can lead to discounting information received from government bodies, aid workers and other formal service providers (Carlson et al., 2018b). Moreover, migrants may not consider such information as trustworthy, and they may base their judgement on their idealised notions of the destination (Fiedler, 2019). Some studies also

suggested that information flow may decline as time between origin and destination elapses (Verdery et al., 2018).

Apart from information flows, a few studies also focused on instrumental and emotional aspects of social support in integrating among their new communities (Rouhani et al., 2017; Tippens et al., 2020; Waters & Adger, 2017; Yohani & Okeke-Ihejirika, 2018). For instance, one study conducted among victims of conflict related to sexualised gender-based violence indicated that access to ethnocultural and religious communities support is an important source for emotional support necessary for adaptation (Yohani & Okeke-Ihejirika, 2018). One other study that focused on migrant motherhood showed that transnational strong ties are more important for childcare compared to local ties which are rather other (Bojarczuk & Mühlau, 2018). Similarly, a study conducted among Turkish migrants in Germany showed that close ties such as family members are the most important source of emotional support and companionship (Başak Bilecen & Cardona, 2018).

Given that the role played by instrumental and emotional support in migration concentrated on adaptations, few studies have exceptionally considered the aspects of social support in relation to migration decisions. One earlier study conducted among government assisted refugees in Canada revealed that the need for affective social support as reason for migrating was more important than the search for economic opportunities (Simich et al., 2003). Brekke and Brochman (2015) found that actors in the networks provide both instrumental and emotional support; while some network members encourage their friends or colleague to migrate to other destinations, other network members aid in-kind such provision as a ride to the country or city of destination. Further, a study on rural urban migration in China indicated that strong ties at the place of destination are more likely to provide financial support for migrating than strong ties at the places of origin (Giulietti et al., 2018).

The availability of information and any other social support is an important aspect of social networks in migration. It is on the basis of the support the migrants receive that they may as well make their decision to move to a destination. Social support received from those in the social networks in form of information, instrumental, financial or emotional support needs to be considered as the pathways through which actors influence migrants in choice of destination.

Moreover, actors in the social network do not necessarily play the same roles and it is therefore important to identify the actors involved in supporting the prospective migrant.

2.5 Literature gaps

The reviewed literature points to the importance of social networks in migration processes in general and destination selection in particular. Specifically, the reviewed literature on urban refugees in Sub-Saharan Africa has shown that social networks aid access to livelihood opportunities and integration in urban areas. However, this bodies of urban refugee literature also falls short in accounting for how refugees arrive at the decisions to move to a particular city. Accounting for this aspect is an important issue in a context of camp systems of refugee accommodation practiced in many of the African countries. Literature elsewhere in refugee movements to the global North has shown how refugees sometimes make a considered decisions using their social networks to explore opportunities in various countries and obstacles related to movement before finally moving to the destination. However, Sub-Saharan African refugees' situations may be a bit different even though they may rely on social networks for movement to the city since restrictions in many African countries are not about border crossing but where to host the refugees upon arrival in the country.

More importantly, the following gaps could be pointed out in the preceding literature particularly in the context of urban refugees in Uganda. Firstly, much of this literature focus on the presence of ethnic or national members at the destinations and therefore falls short on exploring critical actors in the social networks that influence the destination choices. Not every member of the ethnic community has an equal impact on the individual decision maker. It can be expected that close relatives or family members will affect the refugee's decision more than other any other ethnic member. Secondly, for social network to have significance for an individual, there must be something exchanged through the shared relationships that aids the choices of the refugee. However, what flows through these social relations is not adequately established in the case of destination choices. Thirdly, most of the studies tend to focus on the social networks already in the city. However, social networks at the origin, destination, transit and dispersal (diaspora) can also encourage a refugee to move to a specific destination even though these actors might have not been to the selected destination. Although a few of the studies alluded to the roles of actors in different

spaces in Sub-Saharan Africa and Ugandan literature (Iazzolino & Hersi, 2019; Ikanda, 2018; Shaffer et al., 2018), identities of the actors in the different spaces is not well established.

Methodological issues

A methodological challenge of the reviewed studies on urban refugees social networks and destination decision making in Kampala is associated with sampling strategies employed and the consequences of the sampling strategies on the type of data collected and the analytical strategies employed. Challenges of sampling are related to the need to maintain a balance between a representative sample basing on an appropriate sampling frame and to collect data from a 'Hidden Population' such as the urban refugees (Bozdag & Twose, 2019; Enticott et al., 2017; Heckathorn, 1997; Jacobsen & Landau, 2003). On one hand, sampling frames such as census data or large scale surveys on urban refugees are not available, and existing refugee registration data may not cover those who are not yet registered with the government or UNHCR (Hovy, 2018; Reichel & Morales, 2017). On the other hand, use of techniques such as snowball may exclude refugees with smaller networks. Given these methodological challenges, existing studies on the social networks of refugees in Kampala tend to employ qualitative techniques of sampling. Consequently, many of these studies tend to be qualitative in nature and with limited application of social networks techniques such as visualisation and mapping. Most of the studies tend to focus on one refugee nationality. These qualitative approaches result into limitations in comparing the social networks of refugees and destination selections across nationalities and other demographic factors.

A few studies elsewhere on migrants and refugees attempted to resolve these gaps related to sampling by employing innovative approaches such as use of local practitioners to develop sample frames, spatial approach techniques, and multi-step approaches (Misago & Landau, 2013; Singh & Clark, 2013; Vearey, 2013). These bodies of literature tend to employ innovative approaches, more often by combining different methods to achieve a representative sampling (Enticott et al., 2017; Vigneswaran & Quirk, 2012). However, these approaches are affected by challenges related to access to participants' residential spaces due to the refugees' concerns about their safety (Jacobsen & Landau, 2003; Singh & Clark, 2013). A cross sectional survey that employed a probability sampling to sample refugees in Kampala, for instance, resulted in low rates of participation because of challenges related to access to refugee populations (AGORA, 2018). This study attempts to

narrow some of the gaps by employing multiple approaches to sampling including use of OPM/UN'CR's published statistics; proportionate sampling of refugees according to refugee communities; use of local authorities, refugee community leaders and NGOS to identify and locate areas of congregation of the various refugee communities; and use of chain referral and snowball sampling to recruit the respondents. The study also employed a mixed method to quantitatively compare the social networks and destination decisions of various refugee nationalities, and to qualitatively investigate in depth, with the use narratives, visualisations and mapping, the social network actors and their influences on the participants in the study.

2.6 Theoretical and conceptual frameworks

This study was guided by the social network theory of migration (Massey et al., 1993).

2.6.1 Social Networks Theory of Migration

Theoretical postulates and applications of social networks in migration

The Social Network Theory is based on the idea that relationships between individuals in a social network are important channels for flow of resources (Granovetter, 1973). Monica Boyd (1989) was the first to theorise about social networks and migration to explain the importance of social relations in initiating, sustaining and perpetuating migration flows. According to the social network theory 'interpersonal ties' of kinship, friendship, community or organizational memberships connect pioneer migrants at the place of destination with the non-migrants or prospective migrants at the places of origin. These interpersonal connections influence migration outcomes through channelling ideas, information or resources flow (Boyd, 1989; Massey et al., 1993). The Social network theory views the 'push and pull' factors (Lee, 1966) as the structural context within which individuals or groups make migration decisions but the ultimate decisions on when and where to move are influenced by social networks which connect people across time (Boyd, 1989). In other words, the prevailing social, economic, or political situation in the loci of origin and destination act as catalyst for the activation of personal networks and determines why some individuals move while others remain, or why some individuals select a particular place of destination. Migration can, in this sense, be viewed as a 'social product' in which migration outcome is a result of the interaction of the individual actor and the social, economic or political parameters (Awumbila et al., 2017). As an analytical tool, social network theory avoids extremes of either favouring

individual decision at the expense of structural factors or reducing individual agency to structural factors that act upon it in the migratory processes (Boyd, 1989). As such, the social network theory complements and advances other theories of migration in explaining other migration phenomena such as chain migration and family reunification (Haug, 2008).

Social network theory assumes that the social connections between individuals constitute social capital and form the basis for information exchange on migration (Awumbila et al., 2017; Keely, 2000; Massey et al., 1993; Munshi, 2003). Contacts act as conduits of information, and they can transmit information through various channels on the opportunities and obstacles in the destination area and how to navigate the structural constraints associated with migration. Social networks leverage the costs and risks by meeting financial costs related to migration (Awumbila et al., 2017; Boyd, 1989), channelling migrants through a particular route of migration (FitzGerald & Arar, 2018); and responding to employment needs in destination area (Keely, 2000). Additionally, migrants in the destination areas link non migrants from places of origin through the ‘weak ties’ (Granovetter, 1973) to members of formal and informal organizations that can provide information, assist in documentations and advocate for migrants in the destination areas (FitzGerald & Arar, 2018; Keely, 2000). Conversely, social networks may act as an impeding factor in migrating to particular destination and thus rechannelling individuals to alternative destination if a tie is perceived as hostile or discouraging to migration objectives (FitzGerald & Arar, 2018).

One peculiar aspect of social networks is its reverse effects on the selectivity of migrants in terms of demographic and socioeconomic characteristics in the destination area due to accumulation of social capital over time and the reduction in cost of migrating to the destination (Zell & Skop, 2010). Social network theory assumes that migrants choose a particular destination where social capital is available. Hence, as the number of migrants increases, the accumulation of social capital lessens the cost of migration which in turn lessens the selectivity of migrants in terms of their demographic and socio-economic characteristics (Massey et al., 1993). Social networks may result into compositional change in the destination through the changes within the network size and structure (Munshi, 2003). Over time, social capital in the destination replaces the importance of

human capital in migration thus lessening the effects of age, sex, education and other migrants that are significant selectors of migrant characteristics (Massey et al., 1993).

Application Network Theory

Social network concepts and methods of analyses have gained popularity in the study of global migration phenomena (Bertoli & Ruysen, 2018; Ehrenfeucht & Nelson, 2018; Liu, 2013; Schoenmakers et al., 2017; Wissink & Mazzucato, 2018). Advantages of the social network theory owe to its capability to account for migration phenomena such as chain migration and transnationalism which are beyond the purviews of the rational choice theories (Haug, 2008; Massey et al., 1993). The concept has been used to explain transnational behaviour and remittances among migrants (Adugna, 2018; Başak Bilecen & Cardona, 2018). Some scholars have also applied the concept to explain the decision to migrate (Bertoli & Ruysen, 2018; Ehrenfeucht & Nelson, 2018; Manchin & Orazbayev, 2018). Given its advantages over rational choice theories, some migration scholars have suggested the need to extend the theory to the study of forced migration (FitzGerald & Arar, 2018).

In refugee studies, social network theory has been used in Thailand to study the Myanmar refugees' irregular movement (Palmgren, 2014). The study indicated that through their social networks, refugees use the strategies previously employed by other migrants to migrate to Bangkok or other destinations; refugees who migrated before serve as nodes to provide social capital and information (Palmgren, 2014). In Sub-Saharan Africa, the concept of social network has been used to investigate the coping strategies of Congolese, Rwandese and Burundian refugees living in Dar es salaam, Tanzania (Willems, 2003). The purpose of the study was to show how refugees' agency and interactions at micro level intersects with broader social, political, cultural, economic and historical factors. The study maintained that members belonging to one or other social groups will act in accordance with pre-flight cultural norms and values (Willems, 2003). In Uganda, the concept of social networks has been used to study the repatriation of Rwandan refugees in Southwestern Uganda (Karooma, 2014). The study concluded that the social networks the refugees created during the protracted exilic period in Uganda contributed to the reluctance to repatriation (Karooma, 2014). Building on the applications of the theory in these past studies, the aim of this study is to advance the application of the concept to investigate how refugees choose their

destinations. The section below expounds how social network is conceptualised for the investigation of destination selection.

The social networks concept

The term ‘network’ from which the concept of ‘social network’ originates is about the relationships between objects. ‘Social network’ as a concept is used in reference to network of people and what passes through these networks (Kadushin, 2012). A defining characteristic of ‘social network’ is the ‘actors’ and the ‘relational ties’ between the actors. Whereas an ‘actor’ in a social network can be understood as a discrete social entity that forms a ‘node’ in the social system, ‘relational ties’ refer to the social ties that link two or more actors in a network (Wasserman & Faust, 1994). Social networks therefore focus on the linkages between individuals and the interdependent actions of actors in the networks (Wasserman & Faust, 1994). Massey et al (1993) defined migrant networks as sets of interpersonal ties of friendship, kinship and shared common origin that connects migrants, former migrants at places of the destination with those at the place of origin. Social networks in this study is conceptualised as interpersonal relationships, and the emotional, informational and instrumental support that flows through these relationships. Relational ties in this study refer to family membership, relatives, friendship, acquaintances or a stranger with whom the refugee came in contact during migration.

Barnes (1974) identified ‘sociocentric network’ and ‘egocentric network’ as the two approaches to the study of social networks (Scott, 2013). Sociocentric networks focus on connections in the social network and the density of the network ties, which is not of a focal person but that of the overall network (Scott, 2013). Egocentric network, or ‘personal network’ (Wasserman & Faust, 1994) are those networks that are connected with single node and individuals (Kadushin, 2012). An egocentric network structure is made up of a focal actor referred to as ‘ego’ and a set of ties to other actors, referred to as ‘alters’, surrounding the ego as well as the relationships exchanged through the ties (Başak Bilecen & Amelina, 2017; Vacca et al., 2018; Wasserman & Faust, 1994). An egocentric network can be visualised as a form of ‘spike’ and ‘hub’ where the spikes can be envisioned as the ties linking the ego (hub) to the nodes (Cases, 2018). Attributes of the ego and the alters, the content of relation and the strength of the relationship form the basis of egocentric network analysis (Ferrand et al., 1999). Egocentric network has been used in migration to

investigate migrants' social support and adaptive capacity of migrants in urban areas (Başak Bilecen & Cardona, 2018; Waters & Adger, 2017). Personal networks, as employed in this study, refer to the interpersonal relationships between the individual refugee and his/her contacts and the resources that flow through the interpersonal relational ties that influence the direction and the patterns of refugee movement to urban areas. Use of personal networks is advantageous to this study because of its ability to blend quantitative analysis of the structures of network with the investigations of meanings and the dynamisms embedded within the network structures (Başak Bilecen & Amelina, 2017; Ryan, 2016). Instead of focusing on individual attributes as determinant for selectivity, personal networks allow us to examine how the attributes of people with similar characteristics, referred to as 'homophily' impacts on their migration behaviour. We also look at not only the attributes of the ego but that of the alter that forms the basis for homophily and strength of tie.

'Homophily' in social networks refers to actors in the network who share similar characteristics in terms of their attributes, attitudes or values (Kadushin, 2012; Mcpherson et al., 2001). Homophily assumes that if two or more people share similar characteristics compared to other individuals in the population from which they are drawn, then they are more likely to be connected and act in a similar way (Kadushin, 2012). Homophily is important in investigating the influences of one's tie in migration decision making; a group of refugees that share common characteristics in terms of sociodemographic characteristics such as age, sex, nationality or educational levels are likely to have similar values with regards to residency if members of the group know each and have high level of interaction. Hence, actions of each member of the network are likely to have influence on the behaviour of the other members due to the shared characteristics. While 'selectivity of migrants' (Lee, 1966) would focus on the individual's attributes such as human capital, using the concept of homophily helps us to see the interdependence of actions of actors with similar characteristics within a network system. Homophily in this study is a combination index of the similarities in age, sex and nationality of the ego (the refugee) with that of the alter.

In social network analysis, although information on attributes of the actors or the nodes can be collected and analysed, the 'ties' that form the basis of the relationships is a key aspect of the social network analysis (Wasserman & Faust, 1994). Ties are shared attributes of the actors, not of an

individual and can be defined by their strength. According to Granovetter (1973), the strength of a tie refers to ‘combination of amount of time, the emotional intensity, the intimacy and reciprocal services characterising the ties.’ The strength of ties is sometimes defined by the nature of the affinity of the tie; that is, whether the relationship is based on acquaintanceship, friendship or family relations (Lin & Dumin, 1986; Liu, 2013). Ties can also be strong or weak according to the number of people in the network, the interconnectedness of the people in the network, the degree of geographical concentration and the extent to which members of the network are characterised by equality and reciprocity (Crow, 2004). Strong ties of an individual in a network are likely to be constituted of a densely knit network of friends while his or her weak tie is likely to be constituted of low-density network of acquaintances (Kadushin, 2012). While ‘strong ties’ are essential for bonding and affection among members of a network, ‘weak ties’ are indispensable for flow of information and access to opportunities in other networks (Granovetter, 1973). In migration, having predominantly strong ties at place of origin may inhibit migration while having more weak ties at place of origin may enhance migration (Liu, 2013). The strength of tie in this study will be indicated by the number of ties the individual has at the time of migration, the level of frequency of interaction between actors in the social network and the relational ties in terms of whether an alter is a friend, family member or an acquaintance. Relational ties in this study are identified as ‘kin-based’ ties and ‘non-kin-based ties.’ While ‘kin-based’ ties correspond to ‘strong ties’ and are defined by family membership or relatives and in-laws, ‘non-kin-based ties’ refers to friendship, acquaintances, or unfamiliar person (stranger) with whom the refugee was in contact and corresponds to weak tie.

A related concept to the weak tie and strong tie is the ‘bonding’ and ‘bridging’ ties, two concepts that have been commonly used in social capital literature. Putnam (2000), defined bonding ties as ‘inward looking networks that tend to reinforce exclusive identities and homogenous groups’ and bridging ties as ‘outward looking network ties that encompasses people across diverse social cleavages (Patulny & Svendsen, 2007, p. 33). In migration, bonding and bridging has sometimes been used interchangeably where bonding is associated with strong ties and bridging is associated with weak ties (Lyytinen & Kullenberg, 2013). While ‘bonding’ refers to close ties to people who share common social traits, ‘bridging’ is used in reference to linkages to other social cleavages

(Ryan et al., 2008). In this study, the distinction between strong tie/weak tie and bonding/bridging tie will be held loosely. Bonding and bridging are important in understanding how individuals select their destinations because each of these ties may provide different kinds of resources and influences on an actor at a particular moment of migrating. Actors may also respond differently to information received depending on whether an information on migration is transmitted through a bonding tie or bridging tie.

In addition to ‘bonding’ and ‘bridging’ ties, ‘linking’ ties have also been used in migration studies in general and urban refugee studies in particular (Lyytinen & Kullenberg, 2013). Linking ties can be traced to (Coleman, 1988) and it is used in reference to the organisational or institutional networks of the migrants. Linking ties can be construed as ‘the extent to which individuals build relationships with institutions and individuals who have relative power over them (Adedeji et al., 2019). Bernhard (2021) employed the idea of ‘reaching in links’ and ‘reaching in ties’ to further distinguish the ‘linking’ ties of refugees with organisations or institutions from bonding and bridging ties. ‘Reaching-in links’ tend to use formalised and asymmetrical approach to refugees, often evoking refugee status in dispensation of resources; on the other hand, ‘reaching in ties’ are egalitarian in character, frees the refugee from the enforcement of refugeehood status and provide spaces for interaction with established residents (Bernhard, 2021). In context of forced displacement, these ties play important role in access to institutionalised and formalised resources from state or humanitarian organisations. The linking ties provides a useful analytical tool for the analysis of the role of formal and informal organisations in aiding refugee flows to urban areas. It has been hypothesised that refugees prefer urban areas due to the concentration of refugee assisting organisations in the urban areas (Buscher, 2011; Jacobsen, 2006; Mulumba, 2010). Hence, it is expected that prior knowledge of, and interactions with formal and informal institutions at the destination may influence the preference of urban residence. However, institutional or organisation network insofar as the individual had direct interaction is not within the domain of this study.

Migration studies tend to associate bonding ties with migrants who share similar ethnicity or nationalities while bridging ties tend to be associated with the natives or migrants from other nationalities (Bernhard, 2021; Lyytinen & Kullenberg, 2013; Ryan, 2011). For instance, Krause-

Villnar (2011) in a report on urban refugee livelihood defined bonding as ‘social network ties among refugees from the same country’ and bridging as ‘social network ties between refugees and the host community.’ Having a larger number of ethnic community (bonding ties) at the place of destination has been associated with access to better occupation and better paying jobs (Munshi, 2003). However, other migration scholars have pointed to the arbitrariness of using ethnic or nationality as basis to determine whether a tie serves a bonding or bridging purpose (Madhavan & Landau, 2011; Ryan, 2016). Madhavan and Landau (2011), pointed to the heterogeneity of ethnic compositions in African cities arguing that ‘the host-migrant divide is not clearly discernible in terms of social connectivity and institutional belonging.’ Ryan (2011), argues for the need to consider other factors such as class, gender, age or educational attainment instead of narrowly focusing on ethnicity as the distinctive feature of bonding and bridging ties. These latter aspects may form important basis for creation of friendship which results into strong ties compared to ethnic similarities (Ryan, 2011). Bernhard (2021) suggests that bonding and bridging ties should not be distinguished along ethnic lines but according to sequence of settlement because new migrants may be disadvantaged in terms of resources for settlement compared to established migrants. A few studies on urban refugees have gone beyond ethnicity or nationality as the sole factor for determining the strength of tie focusing on other factors such as age or gender (Clark-Kazak, 2011; Sommers, 2001; Willems, 2005). While nationality is important in this study for comparing the characteristics of refugee flows to urban areas across nationalities, the strength of tie will be drawn from relationships of family membership, relatives, friendship, and acquaintanceship that constitute the alters, and frequency of interactions (communication) with those in relationships. As seen above, relationships are further group as kin-based, and non-kin-based in the qualitative analysis.

Migration studies involving social network analysis tend to have a static approach to network ties where changes in the network that may have dynamism on actors may not be studied (Ryan, 2016). This little consideration for the dynamisms in the networks may be attributed to the fact that social network analysis largely employs quantitative techniques (Fazito & Filizzola, 2014; Verdery et al., 2018). However, the spatial dispersal and the dynamic temporal alterations of the actors and the ties in networks may have influences on the migration behaviour of the actors. Ties may ebb and

flow, and significant persons may lose their role at a point in accordance with temporal and spatial positioning of the actors (Degenne & Lebeaux, 2005; Ryan, 2016). Social relations may change over time as migrants' experiences, expectations, relationships and responsibilities evolve with time and space (Ryan & D'Angelo, 2018; Wissink & Mazzucato, 2018). As individuals migrate through space, previously unknown actors emerge or old ones are activated that may shape the trajectories of the migrant regarding destinations (Torfa et al., 2021). The spatial positioning of the actors is thus instrumental since they can determine what support is available to the migrant to determine the course of migration. Spatial positioning of the actors in terms of origin, destination, transit and dispersal are incorporated in this study to reflect dynamisms of network ties and the resource flows for examining how individuals end up at their current city destination.

Crucial to the social network structure is what is being exchanged through the network relationships such as information, encouragement, companionship, financial support or help in kind during migration. In this regard, social networks have been identified as the source of social capital required for migration (Bernhard, 2021). Massey and colleagues (1993) argued that migrants are more likely to migrate to a specific destination due to the availability of the social capital because the presence of large social capital at the destination reduces the risk and costs regarding information, navigation of policy context or financial assistance.

Social capital and social support have sometimes been used interchangeably (Bernhard, 2021). However, there is a need to distinguish between the 'latent' capital and 'realised' capital embedded in the social network because the availability of social capital at a destination may not translate readily into the choice of destination (Ryan, 2016). Bourdieu (1986) defined social capital as the 'actual or potential resources which are linked to possession of a durable network or more or less institutionalised relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition.' Social capital is a collectively owned resources to which individual is entitled by the virtue of group membership (Bourdieu, 1986). Song and colleagues (2011) state that social capital refers to the embedded resources in the social network and forms the source of social support. Social support therefore refers to tangible or intangible resources an individual gains through their networks (Bernhard, 2021; Cachia & Maya Jariego, 2018; Song et al., 2011). While social capital refers to all resources

available in one's networks, social support refers to the supply of resources through the networks (Song et al., 2011). It can thus be expected that the choice of destination will be contingent not so much on the existence of network resource systems but the actual or realised support received. The realised support which constitutes social support can be emotional, instrumental, informational, appraisal and companionship and their sources can be kin based or non-kin based (Ryan et al., 2008; Song et al., 2011). The 'buffer hypotheses' assumes that these forms of social support lessens the risk of occurrence of stress for a socially supported individual (Kadushin, 2012). In this study, we approach social support as the proximate factor through which social network ties may influence the decisions to migrate to the destination.

The idea of social support has gained significance in migration in investigating the health of migrants (Rouhani et al., 2017; Simich et al., 2003; Tippens, 2020; Tippens et al., 2020). The concept of social support is employed in this study as the resources that are exchanged in the processes of migrating. Social support here is characterised by informational, financial, instrumental and emotional support received for migrating to a city. Informational social support can be passed through formal or informal channels (family members, friends, other refugees etc). Information can also be passed through the media or through direct contacts. The availability or absence of each of these means of information may have effect on how people perceive their destination and act in response to migration. Instrumental social support may span through the processes of migrating and settlement and the sources can be formal or informal (Simich et al., 2003). Emotional support refers to non-tangible support a migrant receives in the processes of migrating. Simich and colleagues (2003) categorised emotional support in terms of 'affirmational support' and 'appraisal support.' Affirmational support is important for emotional coping of the migrants and cultural bridging of adaptation through shared experiences. Appraisal support can be seen as 'positive' or 'negative' evaluation of experiences (Simich et al., 2003); it can take the form of encouragement or discouragement on one's actions. In the qualitative component, the influences of the affirmational and appraisal support are examined in how the need for reunification and companionship maintained a sense of bonding that also influenced the choice of destination.

Nevertheless, the content of social support exchanged through a tie alone is not sufficient to explain the migration behaviour of the actor (recipient). As it has been suggested that ‘strong ties’ and ‘weak ties’ may serve different purposes, the particular source of this support (hence the type of tie) and how this support is exchanged within the entire support system would influence the migration behaviour. One would act differently, for instance, depending on whether information is received from a family member or an acquaintance. Factors such as cultural or language similarities of the actors might impact on how people assess the credibility of information (Fawcett, 1989). In addition, it is often assumed that members of social networks known to the individual would act toward the individual in positive ways (Kadushin, 2012). However, this assumption needs to be re-examined in the context of refugee flows because hostilities may also occur from within the network members and can be a driving factor for choice of new place of destination. Also, a widely shared view by migration studies focusing on chain migration is that social capital is destination specific and therefore migrants tend to move where social capital is located (De Jong et al., 1983; Haug, 2008; Munshi, 2003). Most of these studies draw their conclusions from quantitative longitudinal studies of prospective migrants from places of origin and narrowly focusing on the availability of social capital at destination. In the context of transnational networks and remittances, ties that support migration do not have to be located where social capital as source for the social support is located. Social network is not limited by place or territorially bounded (Marx, 1990) Support may come from different locations and in different forms during the stages of migration and may influence how people choose their destinations. In the section below we now turn to how selection of destination is conceived in this study.

The concept of destination selection

Migration is a process that involves series of decisions not only on ‘whether to migrate’ involving migration intentions or aspirations (Carling & Collins, 2018; Carling & Schewel, 2018; De Jong et al., 1983) but also decisions on ‘when’, ‘where’ and ‘how’ to migrate. ‘Whether to migrate’ involves the decisions on staying or not under the prevailing level of satisfaction in current destination; ‘when to migrate’ involves the timing of the migration; ‘how to migrate’ involves the processes of the journey and ‘where to migrate’ involves the selection of the destination (Hébert et al., 2018). The focus of this study is on the role of social networks of the refugees and asylum regarding decisions on ‘where’ to migrate which is the destination selection. Destination selection

involves the spatial aspect of the movement of migrants and may be based on a range of factors including individual characteristics, community level characteristics of the sending area as well as place ties with the destination area (McHugh, 1984; Sandu, 2017; Tabor et al., 2015). Rosemann defined destination selection as a ‘function of economic opportunities and local/regional amenities strongly qualified by limited information about alternative destinations’ (Roseman, 1983). Rosemann argues that individuals intending to migrate have ‘destination stock’ – defined by destination specific capital and the instantaneous ties to place – which can be added or subtracted (Roseman, 1983). Arrival at a destination is done through a process of elimination of competing destinations and evaluation of included destination resulting into a smaller number of potential destinations (Roseman, 1983). Individuals intending to migrate typically achieve this process by setting a decision rule which helps represent real and perceived constraints at the alternative destinations (Greenwood et al., 1991). McHugh (1984) argues that potential migrants continually build and deplete ‘place ties’ to a limited number of places. ‘Place ties’ are formed on the basis of social, economic and psychic attachment to places arising from experiences and can serve to minimise uncertainties in choosing from among competing destinations (McHugh, 1984).

Use of ‘place ties’ or arrival at destination through elimination and evaluation of ‘destination stock’ have been used in the choice of New Zealand by professional migrants from Britain, India and South Africa as opposed to Australia and other places (Tabor et al., 2015). In refugee studies, the concept of destination selection has been used to explore how refugees seeking asylum in Australia proactively sought for alternative destinations before choosing Australia basing on its changes in refugee policies (McAuliffe & Jayasuriya, 2016). However, refugees may end up at a destination after having failed to achieve their desires to move to their preferred destination (Crawley & Hagen-Zanker, 2019; Czaika & de Haas, 2017; De Haas et al., 2019). For instance, movement to urban areas may be as the second-best alternative destination after failing to be resettled in third country. Given that refugees may not necessarily end up at their desired destination but a second-best destination, ‘destination preference’ is sometimes used to refer to whether refugees had plans for alternative destinations before moving to the city (Crawley & Hagen-Zanker, 2019). Destination preference thus assumes that the refugees exercise some form of agency in seeking their desired destination even though the outcome may not be different from what they had planned.

Unlike migration based on rational choice or labour migration, displacement might result in moving to a place without specific preferences about place the opportunities except for safety (Kunz, 1981). The place may also be chosen out of other competing preferences depending on other opportunities it offers apart from safety and therefore the individual might have some specific plans about moving to a destination. The interest in this study is on those who had some specific preferences about coming to the city, that is Kampala. Individuals who reported not having any specific preferences about Kampala are treated as the referent population when comparing the influences of social network in the quantitative component. Specific plans about the destination in this study can occur either when Kampala is selected as the best option after eliminating competing destinations, or chosen as an alternative or transitory destination against the best but unattainable option at least in the meantime.

Studies involving spatial choices tend to approach choice of destination as a 'linear process' where migrants move from their places of origin to one definitive destination without choice of intermediate destinations before arrival at the final perspective (Sandu, 2017; Tabor et al., 2015). It is assumed that prior to the migration, migrants would have evaluated the cost and benefits of the alternative destinations and once a decision is reached, migrants make their journey to the selected destination (Greenwood et al., 1991).

However, the choice of destination is not always a linear process; migrants may transit through various intermediate destinations before arriving at their final destinations (Paul, 2011). Ravenstein had already indicated the nonlinearity of destination selection when he stated in laws of migration that people move in stages where, migrants proceeding long distance often stop temporarily and may settle in intermediate cities or commercial centres located between the area of origin and intended area of destination (Lee, 1966). Focusing on refugees, Kunz maintains that resettlement is not necessarily a 'single step movement connecting place of origin and destination' but a 'multi-step act involving interruptions of important spatial and temporal aspects' where each of the subsequent step is activated by separate forces (Kunz, 1981). In other words, destination selection involves selection of series of destinations before arrival at the final destination. Exploring these intermediate destinations is important because the dynamics of social networks at each of these stages of destination may contribute to channelling refugees to the destination of interest in this study. While Ravenstein focused on internal migration in Britain, Kunz focused on

refugee resettlement in non-adjacent refugee hosting country. However, in context of displacement, the multi-step movement can take different forms including transiting through different countries as well as through intermediate settlements in the first country of asylum. Cities in low or medium income countries of first asylum may also be chosen as a stopover destinations as refugees aim to resettle in more developed countries mainly in the West.

Basing on the theoretical underpinnings of Ravestein and Kunz, ‘stepwise migration’ and ‘threshold approach’ emerge as two concepts that are important for understanding ‘multi-step’ approach to destination selection. Paul (2011) developed the concept of ‘stepwise migration’ to explain the movement of the Pilipino migrants to Britain and the United States of America through intermediate countries in the Middle East. Paul argues that migrants usually spend significant time in a transit country accumulating ‘migration capital’ in order to make their move to the desired destination. These transit countries are usually middle-income countries with less immigration restrictions but also with less opportunities compared to the final destinations usually in the West. Generally, these patterns of movement are forward looking, where the migrants’ motive is not to stay in the transit country nor to return to country of origin (Paul, 2011). The assumption of the stepwise migration is that migrants have already in mind the final destination and therefore continue to make progressive moves in stints towards the desired destination. While this may be the case for some migrants, stepwise migration may not apply where what emerges as a final destination is not necessarily the previously desired destination. Circumstances may change aspirations along the way, including alterations in the migration capital, which may change the destination.

The ‘threshold approach’ responds to the limitations of the ‘stepwise migration’ by paying attention to the specific changes and evolving migration decisions in intermediate destinations that have bearings on the final destination. Mallett and Hager-Zanker (2018) used the threshold approach in their study of Eritreans and Syrian refugee migration to Europe. They defined ‘migration threshold’ as a series of psychological sets of barriers individual must undergo before selecting migration as course of action (in-difference threshold); deciding on the means and direction of travel direction (the trajectory threshold) and prioritising particular destination over time (locational threshold). In migrating, refugees draw on their social networks, financial capital and experiences in crossing these thresholds at various times when making migration decisions. New experiences can have

cognitive effects on the locational threshold; for instance, new experiences in the journey can change both information available to potential migrants about the destination and trajectories as well as aspirations.

The threshold approach has some assumptions which may be of interest in how people select their destination. In the first place, the journey itself can be a formative and transformative factor in decisions on whether, when, how and where to migrate (Mallett & Hagen-Zanker, 2018). Secondly, desired destination may not necessarily be fixed; rather, new experiences, people met in the journey, and the information received on transit can shape final destination (Crawley & Hagen-Zanker, 2019; Mallett & Hagen-Zanker, 2018). Thirdly, there is a considerable nonlinearity in decision making; decision making is iterative where thresholds can be revisited, and decisions adjusted accordingly. The relationship between trajectory and locational thresholds are also not sequential; decisions on location may emerge as the trajectories play out. Some earlier studies have alluded to threshold approach on how migrants move to their destination. For instance, a study among asylum seekers in Italy showed that the asylum seekers did not predetermine Italy as their destination neither did they have any other specific destination in mind but the decisions about the destination rather evolved as the individuals migrated (Brekke & Brochmann, 2015). Similarly, African migrant nurses in Austria did not choose Austria as their first country of destination but arrived at this decision due to their need to connect with their partners (Jirovsky et al., 2015). A closure example is about the mixed migration of Somali to South Africa where routes and locations were sometimes altered and resulted movement to South Africa (Shaffer et al., 2018). Drawing on stepwise or threshold approaches to migration, destination selection in this study is approached not only from the perspectives of decisions taken from country of origin but also subsequent choices about destinations that emerged in the course of migration.

2.6.2 Conceptual Framework

The conceptual framework for this study is based on the theory of social networks. Social network theory postulates that while overall structural factors may set the initial push or pull factors; the availability of social capital at a destination will influence a migrant's selection of the destination.

Violence in form of armed combats, attacks on civilian lives and properties; loss of livelihood opportunities; and/or persecution of individuals due to their identities may occur either in the whole country of origin or in some parts of the country of origin. The different forms of generalised violence and persecution sets the ‘drivers of migrations’ and operate as ‘push factor’ for the fleeing of people both internally but also into other countries to seek asylum (Kunz, 1973; Van Hear et al., 2018). Whether the displaced populations cross borders or remain internally displaced may also be affected by the intensity of the violence or persecution in the affected area. The migration drivers may also be abrupt such as an eruption of persecution and violence in moments of sudden violent change of regimes or may be gradual taking a form of a slowdown turn of social, economic and security conditions of the country or parts of the country. While violence and persecution imply that individuals have barely any choices regarding ‘whether’ to flee (migration intention), the intensity and the patterns of violence in terms of whether it is strong, weak, abrupt or gradual warrant that some individuals may have some chances on deciding ‘where’ to go (destination selection). Reaching this decision on where to move to may involve a process of eliminating competing destinations in favour of a selected destinations, either because the chosen destination offers the best options for socioeconomic opportunities and security, or because it is the second-best possible destination after failure to reach a desired destination.

Individuals reach destination of their choice (which is the urban area of interest in this study) either directly or indirectly. Direct flight follows more of a ‘linear pattern’ where one moves from home country to the city without temporary residence in other countries, transit camps/refugee settlement in host country, or informal settlement elsewhere, except perhaps for very brief moment of less than a month. In this case, individuals who had preferences about destinations might have done their selection from the place of origin. Indirect flight is ‘non-linear’ and involves transiting through different stopover destinations before reaching the final destination and may be either inform of a ‘stepwise’ movement or employing ‘thresholds’ approach. Stepwise movement (Paul, 2011) occurs where individuals make a progressive journey towards their final destination by moving through stints to intermediate destinations and settling there temporarily in order to acquire ‘migration capital’ for the next stint of the move. In this case of stepwise migration, the choice of

the current destination could have been made from the place of origin but as an intermediate destination to an ultimate destination.

Threshold approach occurs where the individuals do not have a destination in mind but events that occur and people met during the journey influences the movement towards the destination. In other words, new destinations may emerge with new experiences as people flee from the area of persecution or violence (Hébert et al., 2018). In threshold approach, it is possible that there were not specific destinations planned at the time of departure from home place, and the decision to move to the current destination emerged during transit upon experiences at the transit areas.

People who flee from violence have their own attributes in terms of demographic characteristics (age, sex, ethnicity/nationality) and socioeconomic status (education levels, income levels, occupation, marital status). People also differ in terms of the length of time spent in transitional areas, especially for those who had indirect move to the destination, and the proximity of country of origin with the destination. These individual attributes mentioned above will affect the prospective refugees' access to and activation of social networks for movement to their preferred destination (city, camps or refugee settlement areas). For instance, male refugees in working age group who are highly educated and have large number of co-ethnic members at the destination are more likely to find it easier to make connections and access information about the destination than those who may not have these advantages in terms of their attributes. It is therefore possible that the access to social network ties at the destination is selective over individual characteristics. Quantitative approach is therefore employed to assess relationship between social ties and individual background characteristics.

As seen earlier, individuals responding to displacement either move to a destination as a matter of emergency for safety of life without consideration of opportunities about a place, or some specific considerations would have taken place. Refugees in the latter case require resources such as information about the place. As seen in previous studies about Congolese refugees in Kampala, individuals who had specific plans about Kampala had families, relatives and friends in Kampala (Lyytinen, 2017). It is therefore expected that refugees who move to Kampala out of choice had some actors in their networks who ever lived in Kampala, whether the actors in their networks

already living in Kampala or ever lived in Kampala. It is also possible that actors in the social networks might have linked them to some other actors or institution or organisations in Kampala. The knowledge of these actors at the destination may also differ across refugees with different demographic and socioeconomic backgrounds. Moreover, relational ties to the alters in social networks may differ in terms of the nature of the relationships, communication frequency and similarities with the ego. Hence, not every tie will have the same effect on destination selection. For instance, those who have families might move specifically for the purpose of joining family members, while those who do not have simply move without any specific consideration.

The social capital, such as bonding, bridging or linking, and the social support received through those in one's social network may thus influence how the refugee arrives at the decisions to move to a new place. Information and other support received from those in one's social network ties may influence the decision to move to the city destination. Basing on the received social support, the refugees will be able to choose their destination against competing alternative destinations or enhance their ability to move to the preferred destination. While some of these support network ties provide may come from the destination at the time of movement, some of the supporting ties may also be among those met at the place of origin or in transit areas or existing contacts in dispersal (diaspora). The social support received through these networks in the places of origin, transit, dispersal and destination influences the refugees choices. For instance, transit areas such as refugee camps, settlement areas, or other cities may also serve as information and material support hubs received from new and old social ties that may enable the refugees to make a secondary migration a new destination (hence, a city destination). How refugees arrive at destination selection on the basis of the interaction in their individual characteristics and their social ties, mediated by the social support received from social ties is shown in Figure 2.1 below.

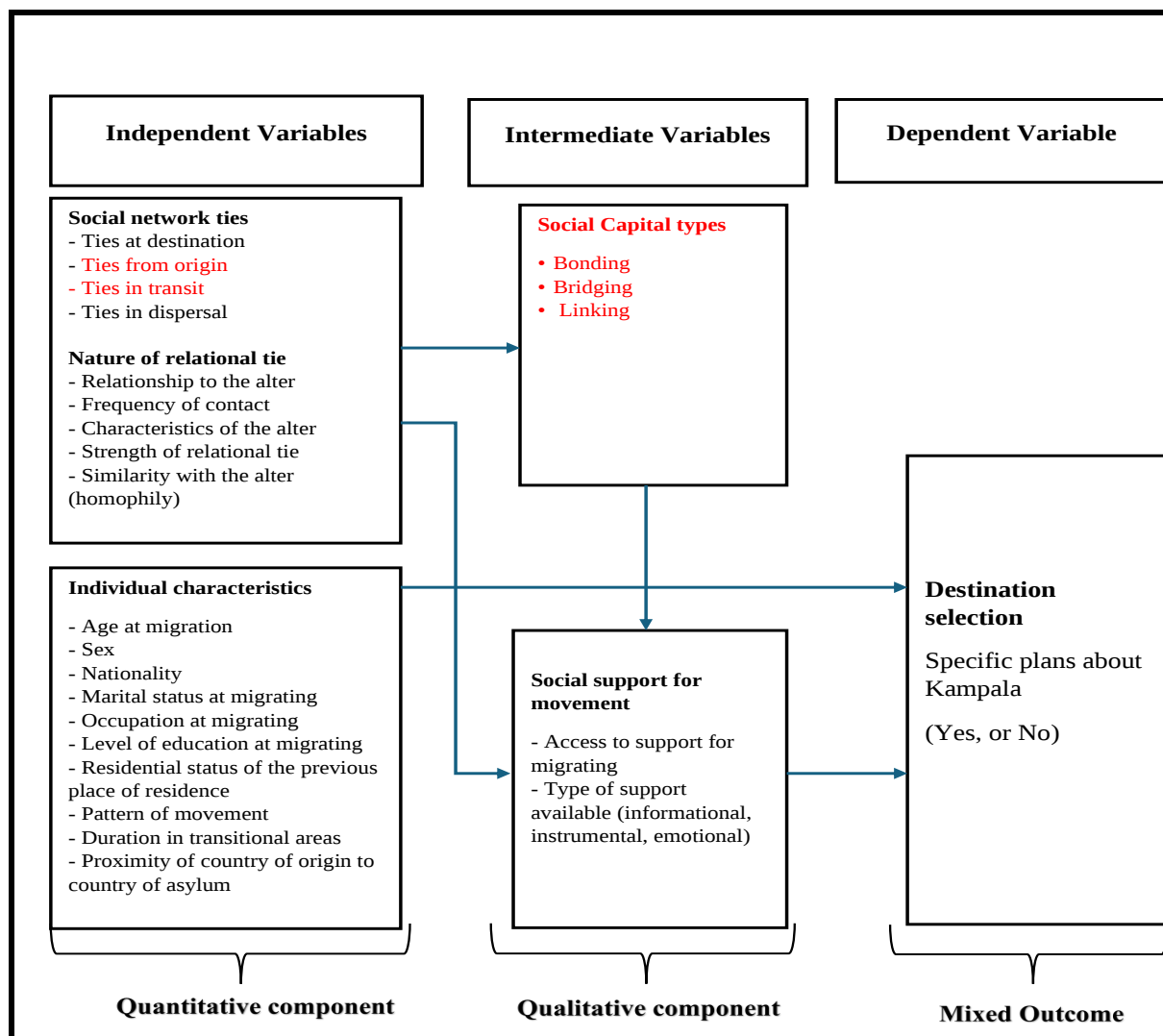


Figure 2. 1: The Conceptual Framework (adopted from the Social Network Theory of Migration)

The above conceptual framework was later revised in Chapter Seven owing to some emergent variables identified in the analysis and the discussion of the data and presented in Figure 7.1. In particular, it emerged that the applied theoretical framework did not have a provision for various places, such as origin, transit, dispersal and destination, from which refugees access their social networks. Also, the conceptual framework did not specify the nature of the conflict, whether acute or gradual, and the patterns of flight, whether direct movement to the destination or stepwise movement. Other socio-demographic variables such as income were also not included in the conceptual framework. The necessity of these variables for a more comprehensive explanation of

refugee migration therefore led to the revision of the conceptual framework and further rationale for the revision are provided in Chapter Seven.

Research Hypotheses

H₁: There is a significant difference in the profiles of refugees who had specific plans to move to Kampala from the profiles of the refugees who did not have a specific plan to move to Kampala.

H₀: There is no significant difference in the profiles of refugees who had specific plans to move to Kampala from the profiles of the refugees who did not have a specific plan to move to Kampala

H₁: There is a significant association between individual characteristics and social ties in Kampala

H₀: There is no association between individual characteristics and social ties in Kampala.

H₁: Having social network ties at the destination is likely to associate with having specific plans about moving to Kampala.

H₀: Having social network ties at the destination does not associate with having specific plans about moving to Kampala.

H₁: The nature of relationship the refugee (ego) shares with the actor (alter) in the network associates with having specific plans to move to Kampala.

H₀: The nature of relationship the refugee shares with the actor in the social network does not associate with having specific plans to move to Kampala.

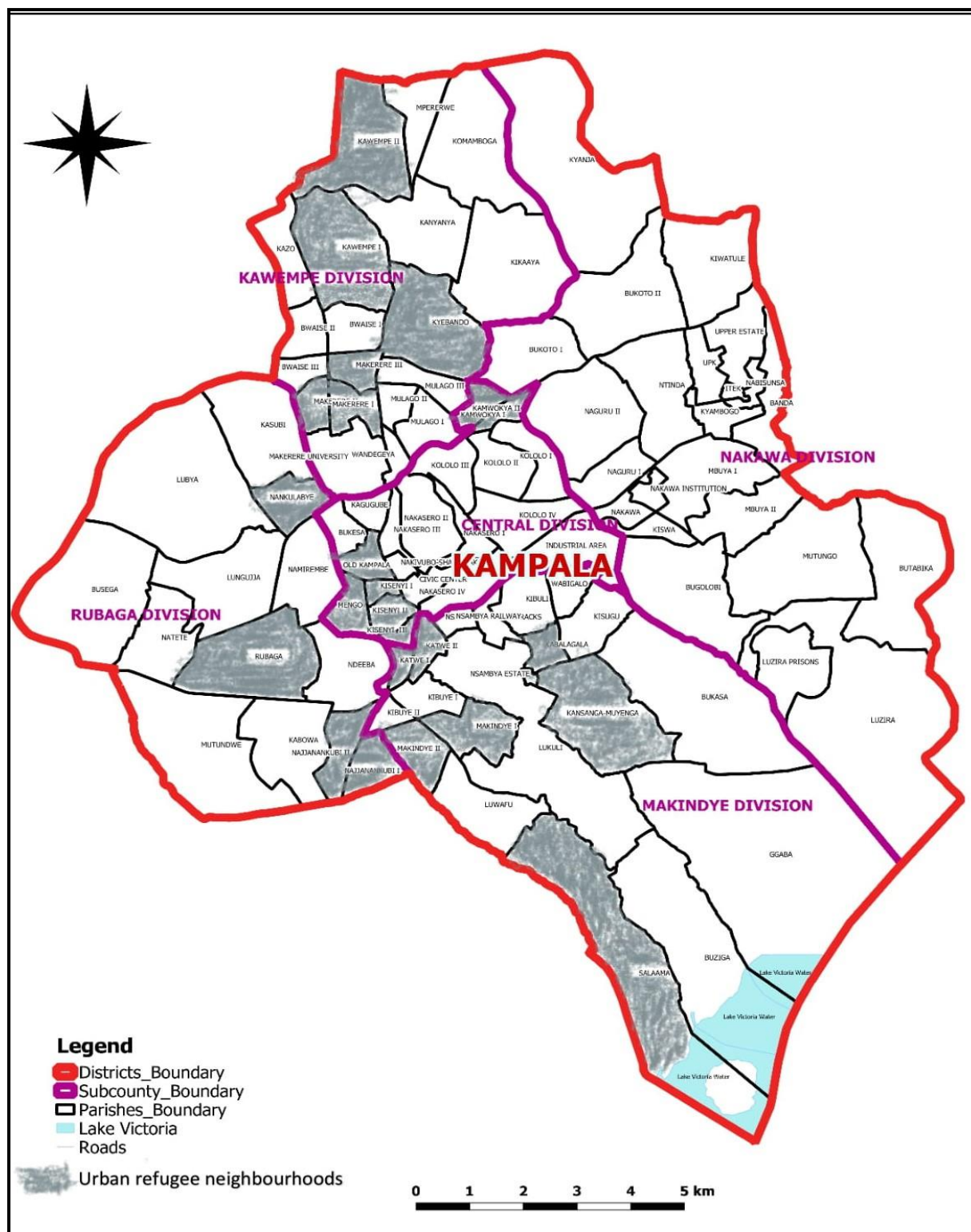
Chapter 3

METHODOLOGY

3.1 Study Setting

This study is based on refugees and asylum seekers Kampala Uganda. The recent UNHCR/OPM refugee statistics for the end of year 2020 indicates that the total refugee and asylum seeker population in Uganda stands at 1,446,378 and of these 88,157 are registered in urban areas, particularly Kampala (UNHCR, 2021). The 2014 national census data indicated that Uganda has one city, thirteen municipalities, 33 town councils and 20 town boards constituting a total of 67 urban areas (Uganda Bureau of Statistics, 2016). More recently, 7 municipalities have been elevated to city status through the Local Government Act CAP 243, 1997. Kampala city was chosen for this study.

Kampala is the capital of Uganda and the primate city of Uganda (Uganda Bureau of Statistics, 2016). The city is composed of five divisions and ninety parishes (Uganda Bureau of Statistics (UBOS), 2019). In addition, the planning unit includes the neighbouring districts of Mukono and Wakiso. The UNHCR/OPM report for 2020 indicated that Kampala and its environ hosts about 6% of the registered refugees and asylum seekers (UNHCR, 2020). However, this figure could be higher since many refugees and asylum seekers, including those registered in the settlement areas, self-settle in Kampala without registering with the OPM. Unlike the other settlement areas where refugees are segregated from the hosting community, refugees in Kampala are self-settled and are integrated among the other urban population. Refugees in Kampala are mainly located in the neighbourhoods of Kabalagala, Kansanga, Katwe, Kisenyi, Nabulagala, Nateete, Najjanakumbi, Nakulabye, Rubaga, Makindye, Mengo, Old Kampala, Salaama, Kawempe, Kyebando, Kisaasi, and Kamwokya, Makerere (Kasozi et al., 2018). Map 3.1 shows some of the neighbourhoods of the urban refugee communities within the five divisions of Kampala.



Map 3. 1: Urban refugee communities' neighbourhoods (Source: UBOS; UNHCR/OPM)

Urban refugee phenomenon in Uganda is not peculiar to Kampala alone but what distinguishes refugees and asylum seekers in this city from other urban premises in Uganda is the recognition of these refugees within the local frameworks for refugee accommodation in the country (Allen, 2010). Refugees in the emerging cities and urban areas in Uganda experience lack of access to resources due to lack of official recognition. However, the socioeconomic challenges encountered by the refugees and asylum seekers in Kampala and the strategies these refugees devise to navigate these challenges occur within ambit of the legal frameworks designed to protect the refugees (Jacobsen, 2006; Landau & Duponchel, 2011). In addition, Kampala not only reflects the context of urban refugees in Uganda in general, but it also reflects the conditions of refugees in regional cities such as Khartoum, Addis Ababa, and Johannesburg. To some extent the integration of refugees into the local population in these cities is accepted, or at least tolerated. Kampala as a primate city in the country is also significant because it provides a unique role not only for self-settlement but also a focal point for reception and dispersal of refugees to settlement areas and other regional and international cities (Iazzolino & Hersi, 2019). The linkages of Kampala to local, regional, and international destinations puts the city in a better position for investigations of personal networks in coordinating movements and settlements in urban areas. Within the context of Uganda, it is only in Kampala where refugees can be registered and granted a status as urban refugee. This is not the case for other emerging cities in Uganda even though people escaping conflicts live in some of these cities and fend for themselves without humanitarian/government assistance as refugees. Since registrations with the government and UNHCR often require connections through people who know the systems, therefore Kampala is an important place to study how social networks coordinate these processes. Kampala also has a unique status because unlike other major regional cities with high concentration of voluntary international migrants, displacements from within the region been the major drivers of international migrants to the city (Madhavan & Landau, 2011).

3.2 Study Design

The design for this study is mixed method research (Creswell, 2014; Tashakkori & Teddlie, 1998). Mixed method research aims at providing a holistic understanding of a social phenomenon by integrating description of the population of interest with an in-depth study of contextual factors and processes that shape a particular behaviour (Schoonenboom & Johnson, 2017). This study follows

a mixed method approach because of the nature of the questions being addressed; descriptively, the study aims to describe the profile of the actors in the social networks ties that influence their movement to cities. The qualitative component is included to provide a rich understanding of how the social networks operate in influencing the processes of destination choice. In particular, qualitative component is used to explore the actors in the social networks and the locations from which they operate, and how information and other resources are shared through social networks and how they influence the decision process. However, the collection and analysis of both quantitative and qualitative data was carried out concurrently.

3.3 Study Population and Sample Size

The study population are the urban refugees, including asylum seekers, in Kampala. The sampled refugees and asylum seekers according to different data sources were as follows; 87718 for the secondary quantitative data, 484 respondents for the primary quantitative survey data, and 44 participants for the primary in-depth qualitative interviews. Different criteria for inclusions were employed depending on the data source in question as discussed below.

3.4 Data sources

Multiple data sources including administrative statistics, a cross-sectional survey, and qualitative in-depth interviews were used for this study. The objective of using multiple data sources is to complement important information that is missing in each of the data collected.

3.4.1 Administrative statistics

The administrative statistical information on refugee and asylum seekers was extracted from registration database of the UNHCR and OPM. The statistics are updated yearly and include information on sex, age categories, year of registration, countries of origin and residence (settlement area). The published statistics is available in the public domain, but the raw registration data is currently not available for public use.

The published statistic for the year ending 2020 was used as a sample frame to determine the appropriate sample size for the survey. For the purpose of the survey, the sample was drawn from refugees who are 17 years and above and the eight (8) largest refugee in Kampala. The eight nationalities selected include Somali, Congolese (DRC), Eritreans, Burundians, Ethiopians, South

Sudanese, and Sudanese. As shown in Table 3.1 below, a nationality is included for the study if it had at least a count of one thousand (1000) refugees in Kampala as per 2020 refugee statistics.

Table 3. 1: Population figures of selected refugee nationalities in Kampala (Source: UNHCR/OPM)

Country of origin	0-4		5-11		12-17		18-59		60 and Over		Total
	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	
Burundi	186	182	280	313	216	209	1162	1984	35	38	4605
DRC	1243	1243	2372	2423	1950	1922	7063	7288	212	189	25905
Eritrea	848	866	1000	1019	442	464	5340	4476	61	87	14603
Ethiopia	74	96	115	109	96	84	749	941	12	19	2295
Rwanda	73	77	166	167	163	146	601	549	41	58	2041
Somalia	741	726	1535	1529	1791	1890	8558	13344	287	163	30564
South Sudan	256	273	683	699	702	649	1623	1169	48	19	6121
Sudan	68	60	97	118	61	63	295	795	4	23	1584
Total	3489	3523	6248	6377	5421	5427	25391	30546	700	596	87718

An advantage of the data from published statistical tables is that it is updated regularly and therefore more current about refugee situations in the country. It also has basic individual characteristics such as age and sex which are useful for sampling and can serve as a proxy source of information for sample frame in the absence of data on refugees in the census and national surveys targeting self-settled refugees in urban areas.

However, this data source is not from a raw dataset but from published statistical tables and therefore has several limitations. Firstly, the data could not be used for analysing demographic characteristics of the study population at individual or household levels. Secondly, other key socio-demographic variables, such as marital status, education and occupation, social network variables and variables on demographic events of mortality and fertility are lacking. Thirdly, the data is affected by coverage problems since not all self-settled refugees register with the UNHCR and the government. Fourthly, the age variable in this statistical tables is presented in aggregated form and does not follow the standard 5-, or 10-year age groups used in demography (see Table 3.1 above). Other variables such as socioeconomic status are not covered in the statistics. To mitigate some of the limitations above, primary quantitative survey and qualitative in-depth interviews were

conducted. Despite these limitations, this data source is instrumental, as the only available data sources collected on yearly basis hence the only available data for designing a sample frame.

3.4.2 Survey data source

Sample size determination for the survey

Four hundred eighty-four (484) refugees and asylum seekers who were 18 years and above were sampled for the survey conducted between November 2020 and March 2021. Children (below 18 years old) were excluded because it was assumed that they did not have good memory of their movement history to Uganda. The sample frame was based on the UNHCR/OMP published statistics for registered adult refugees in Kampala. Overall, it was estimated that out of the 88157 registered refugees in Kampala, about 57527 (26179 female, 31334 male) of the urban refugees were adults. This implies that women constitute 47% of the refugee population and men constitute 53% and about 65% of this refugee population were adults while the remaining 34% were children (UNHCR, 2021). The sample size was estimated using Cochran's (1970) method for sample size determination as shown in the formula below.

$$n = deff * (z^2 p (1 - p) / e^2) / R$$

Where,

n = the required sample

z = the level of uncertainty which is 1.96 (95% confidence level)

p = proportion of the population with the desired characteristics which is the 65% of adult population in Kampala.

1-p = proportion of population without the desired characteristics

e = Margin error, which is 0.05

DEFF = Design effect (assumed as 1)

R = Response rate, which is 75% according to previous studies in a similar setting (Morof et al., 2014).

The estimated sample size was 466.11. However, an allowance of about 7.3% was given to reach a target of 500 respondents. The response rate was 96.4% for the questionnaires. The high response rate can be attributed to the approaches employed in the collection of the data as seen below.

Participant identification and sampling strategies

As literature suggests, urban refugees constitute a ‘Hidden Population’ or ‘Hard to Reach’ population (Bozdag & Twose, 2019). Traditional sample frames such as those based on population census do not apply since refugees are not captured in census data. Refugees also tend to be transient, and use of census data may not reflect post-census changes in the refugee population (Singh & Clark, 2013). As a ‘Hard to Reach’ population, most probability sampling strategies used in the study of populations may not apply. Sometimes the refugees maintain safety in urban settings by remaining invisible to researchers thus accessing study participants may be difficult. The nature of urban refugees therefore raises challenges on representativity in sampling.

Given the challenges associated with obtaining representative sample, both stratification of the refugees according to the nationalities of interest and non-probabilistic sampling of the refugees within each of these nationalities were employed as explained below. Basing on the largest refugee communities per OPM/UNHCR’s statistics on refugees in Uganda in general and in Kampala in particular, the Somali, Congolese, Burundians, South Sudanese, Eritreans, Ethiopians, Rwandese, and Sudanese nationalities were included for the survey. Each of these selected nationalities were then allocated the proportionate sample size as per the percentage representation of the nationality in question in the overall urban refugee population. This approach was considered appropriate because reliance on sampling from geographical units alone may result in either under-sampling of smaller and less identifiable communities or over sampling larger communities.

Various approaches were then used to locate the refugees. The first approach was to inquire through local authorities and organisations about the geographical locations where refugees mostly settle. Once the areas were obtained, the researchers identified in such areas where refugees mainly congregate. Such areas of congregations included bistros, restaurants, internet cafes and shops. This method was applied mostly for the Somali, Eritrean and Ethiopian Communities that less frequented spaces of humanitarian organisations. At such places, the researchers invited those who were willing to participate. To minimise non-random sampling, ballot draws were used to select the required number of participants from the gatherings. However, where the participants at a place

very few, all the participants were interviewed. The participants were then asked where other potential participants could be found, and this set up a chain referral process.

The second approach involved identifying refugee supporting NGOs and refugee community centres where refugees could be found. Two of these NGO's were the Jesuit Refugee Service which targeted the language and skills training refugee students and those visiting for various needs, and Refugee Law Project targeting check-in refugees for various purposes. The refugee community centres visited included the Urban South Sudanese Refugee Community centres, the Sudanese Women's Community centre, Sudanese Refugees for Development centre, and the Congolese community centres. Similar process as in the previous approach was used to identify and recruit the participants. The third method involved a pure snowball approach to cater for smaller communities such as Burundians and those from larger communities such as Congolese who do not gather at common spaces. Individuals who were well connected in these communities were identified and were asked to recruit those in their networks who are willing to participate. The distribution of the refugees according to urban population, target sample and interviewed sample were shown in Table 3.2 below.

Table 3. 2: Distribution of urban refugee population and sample (Source: UNCHR/OPM)

Country of origin	Population of urban	Adult Population	Target Sample	Interviewed Sample
Burundi	4605	3219	28	27
DRC Congo	25905	14752	129	126
Eritrea	14603	9964	87	71
Ethiopia	2295	1721	15	17
Rwanda	2041	1249	11	16
Somalia	30564	22352	195	166
South Sudan	6121	2859	25	47
Sudan	1584	1117	10	14
Total	87718	57233	500	484

As seen in Table 3.2, out of the 500 targeted respondents, 484 respondents were interviewed. From the 484 sampled participants, two data sets were created for the analysis. The first dataset has a sample size of 479 observations and the unit of analysis in this dataset were individuals. This

dataset was created after cleaning the raw datasets and includes observations with complete responses to the sociodemographic questions. Hence, 5 participants were excluded since complete information could not be drawn about the sociodemographic characteristics. The second dataset consisted of 378 observations and the unit of analysis of the data were the ties, which the ego shares with the alter. This dataset was created from the 479 individuals who, in the questionnaires, responded as having known someone living in Kampala or met someone living in Kampala before coming to Kampala. Two hundred and eighty-eight (288) individuals responded as having known someone living or having lived in Kampala by the time of migrating to Kampala. These individuals knew between 1 to 4 persons in their networks with knowledge of Kampala.

Survey instruments

Close ended questionnaires were used to collect the quantitative data (see Appendix A.1). The questionnaires were translated into Kiswahili, French and Arabic and were administered by a team of research assistants. However, since the research assistants were well versed in the three languages, the English version was printed for capturing the data. Interview approach was used in collecting the data to ensure a valid response to the questions and increase the return rates of the questionnaires.

Questions were asked on socio-demographic characteristics, pre-migration characteristics, patterns of movement, social networks and selection of the destination. The questionnaire was divided into four parts: The first part captured information about the current sociodemographic characteristics of the respondents in terms of their age, sex, nationality, marital status, occupation and level of education, and length of their stay in Kampala. The second part of the questionnaire was about the characteristics of the members of the household in which the respondent is living. In this section, respondents were asked to provide the list of household members, and then questions were asked about their age, sex, nationality, refugee status, length of stay in the household and the respondent's relationship to the household member. The purpose of this section was to provide a background information to aid a better understanding of the living arrangements of the respondents.

In the third part of the questionnaire, respondents were asked about the patterns of migration to Kampala, the selection of the destination as well as their socio demographic characteristics at their

home country and at the last places of residence before coming to Kampala. Regarding destination selection, participants were asked whether they specific plans about coming to Kampala, other alternative destinations preferred, and reasons against moving to alternative destinations. Regarding patterns of migration, participants were asked to list the places they lived, the year they arrived and left the place, and the residential characteristics of this place. The last part of the questionnaire is about the social networks of the refugees. The first three questions inquired whether the respondent moved to Kampala through connections, and if the respondent has social ties in and outside Kampala before coming to Kampala.

Migration literature shows that individuals who have first-hand contacts with a migrant at a destination are likely to migrate to that destination because the conditions of the place are known (Haug, 2008; Liu, 2013). It was therefore deemed necessary to obtain further information on those who ever lived in Kampala that might have influenced the movement to Kampala. In personal networks, name generators are normally used to collect information on the ego's contacts, where the respondents are asked to list names of people in the ego's support networks and the characteristics of those listed (Kadushin, 2012; Scott, 2013). Similarly, in the personal social network questions, participants who stated that they knew someone living or ever lived in Kampala were asked to give names of the people they knew. Since the interest was to investigate the characteristics of the alters that might have influenced the movement to Kampala, detailed questions were also asked about the sex, nationality, comparisons in age with the respondent, frequency of contact, nature of relationships, and type of support received from the nominated contacts. Questions were also asked on social ties outside Kampala, whether within or without Uganda. The remaining questions inquired about the respondents' sources of information about Kampala, their attitudes towards encouraging those in their networks to migrate and the support networks on arrival in Kampala.

The aim of social research on refugee population is to provide scientific research that can inform relevant policies on reducing their vulnerabilities (Jacobsen & Landau, 2003). Therefore, it is important to have social science constructs that are reliable and valid to measure the social problem under investigation (Bhattacharjee, 2012). Achieving these two aspects boils down to how well an instrument is constructed with regard to reliability and validity. While reliability assesses whether

the instrument is capable of producing similar results when applied multiple times in a similar setting, the validity of an instrument assesses whether the designed instrument measures what it is purported to measure (Taherdoost, 2016). To ensure that the questionnaires were reliable, the first step was to do a peer-review of the questionnaire by PhD colleagues and friends. The aim was to assess the intelligibility of the questions asked. After revising the questions, the questionnaire was then sent to 10 refugees drawn from each of the 8 nationalities included in the study. The returned questionnaires were then checked to assess the consistencies in the responses given by the selected refugees for pretesting. The inputs provided by the respondents for pretesting contributed to incorporation of cultural sensitivities such as use of language in designing the questionnaire, and in improving the structure and the relevance of the questions. In addition, insights were also drawn from the first few in-depth interviews and were incorporated in the final questionnaire. Assessment of the validity of the instrument was done by seeking opinions from experts, which included supervisory guidance and inputs from experts involved in refugee research in Uganda.

Collection of the survey data

The survey was conducted by a team of four research assistants; two of them (1 female Burundian and 1 male Ugandan) are proficient in French, English and Kiswahili and two of them (both South Sudanese males) were experts in Arabic. All the research assistants have university qualifications and therefore had good understanding of research processes. The research assistants were sourced through the Jesuit Refugee Service and the Refugee Law Project and were well versed in French, Kiswahili, and Arabic. The research assistants were trained by the main researcher. Areas of training included the structure of the questionnaires and the questions, the purpose of the study, ethical issues and safety measures to consider during data collection, and how to recruit and interview the participants. Research assistants were also asked to first fill the questionnaire and on the basis of the difficulties they encountered, further guidance on filling the questionnaire was done. Regular reviews were also held to ensure that the collection of the data was within the framework of the required standards. In addition to training the research assistants, the main researcher oversaw the collection of data, sought required permissions to conduct the study and coordinated the research team with local authorities, refugee community leaders and refugee

supporting organisation. It took 18 minutes on average to fill the questionnaires, with minimum of 14 minutes and maximum of 34 minutes.

Management of the survey data

The data collected through the questionnaires were then captured in excel. Validation rules were set when conducting the data entry to ensure the appropriate values are entered for categorical data. To ensure consistency in data entry, the data captured were cross-checked by the main researcher before exporting to Stata 14. Data was captured in excel and exported to Stata 14 as numeric variables. However, most of the data were categorical hence data exported were recorded in Stata 14 as ‘string variables.’

3.4.3 Qualitative data source

In addition to the quantitative data, qualitative social network data was collected for this study. Qualitative data was necessary because of the need to reveal hidden processes that can help in comprehending the mechanisms through which the operations of the social networks operate (Başak Bilecen & Amelina, 2017). Such hidden processes cannot be explored through quantitative social network analyses focusing on the structures of the social networks (Wasserman & Faust, 1994). Moreover, qualitative approach helped to reveal those in the networks as they narrate their stories. Further, in-depth interviews provided contexts to social, cultural, political, and economic factors that motivated individuals to activate their social networks that facilitated their choice of destination. Qualitative approach also proved instrumental in developing the survey questions and defining categories.

Over forty (40) refugees who were 18 years and above and 4 community leaders participated in the in-depth interviews (see Appendix A.2 for the interview guide). The participants were drawn from seven nationalities as shown in Table 3.3, below.

Table 3. 3: Number of refugees selected for in-depth interviews by nationalities.

S/N	Nationalities	Number of participants
1	Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC)	12
2	Somalia	9
3	Eritrea	4
4	Burundi	5
5	South Sudan	5
6	Ethiopians	4
7	Sudanese	5
Total		44

A mixture of quota sampling and snowball was used to identify and select the 40 participants for in-depth interviews in Table 3.3. The objective of the study was to draw experiences from different nationalities about the journeys of refugees to Kampala. While use of quota sampling allowed for the representation of the at least 7 of the 8 nationalities selected for the study, snowball technique contributed to easing the recruitment processes. The quota for each of the refugee nationalities was based on the population statistics of urban refugees in the year 2020 as shown in the section of secondary quantitative data above. However, the quota for some nationalities were skewed due to low participation rates from some of the targeted nationalities. For instance, only 3 Eritreans plus one of their community leaders were interviewed even though the Eritreans are the fourth largest refugee community in Kampala. No Rwandese was also interviewed due to difficulties in accessing the participants from the Rwandese refugee community in Kampala. In addition to the 40 participants, 4 community leaders were interviewed to provide context to their respective refugee communities in Kampala thus bringing the total number of participants for in-depth interviews to 44 (Table 3.3). Using snowball technique, resourceful persons with good links with different refugee communities were identified through JRS and Refugee Law Project. The resource persons, who were also refugees, also formed the seeds for subsequent interviews. Using both JRS and RLP enhanced opportunities for ‘multiple entry points’ (Jacobsen & Landau, 2003) which diversified the participants. Seeds were then asked to recruit more people from within their networks. Those who were willing to participate were then interviewed. The detailed demographic characteristics of each the participants can be found in the appendix.

The narrative approach was employed in the collection of the qualitative data, using semi-structured question guide. Participants were first briefed about the study such as its purpose as an academic exercise with no rewards and how long the exercise is roughly going to take. Participants

were then asked to narrate their journey, their experiences during the journey up to the time of their arrival to Kampala. As individuals narrated their journey stories, names of people, places, organisations, time etc were noted and questions were asked further to clarify on the roles of the people mentioned as well as significant events that occurred at the mentioned place. Other general questions about their demographic characteristics, their current situation in Kampala, their future plans, and how other refugees within their communities access information were also asked. The interviews followed conversational style to give a natural flavour and to develop trust and confidence.

Most of the interviews were conducted within the JRS compound and a few others were conducted in refugees' homes, offices of other organisations, refugee community centres and restaurants. The choice of the interview venue was determined by the participants. Qualitative data collection exercise was spread out through the entire period of collecting the survey data. The first few interviews that preceded the survey data were used to improve the survey questions and the in-depth interviews conducted during and after the survey helped in probing further some of the issues that came out from the survey. The interviews lasted between 20 to 2 hours. Given the importance of time to refugees for livelihoods, efforts were made to shorten the time of the interviews. Majority of the participants were interviewed once. With the consent of the participants, the interviews were audio recorded and where the participant was not comfortable with audio -recording the interviewer relied on notes. The in-depth interviews were done by the main researcher. English was the main language used since most of the participants could express themselves in English. However, there were cases where the interviewer had to rely on translators to translate the interviews from the participants language to English. These languages included Kiswahili, Arabic, Kirundi, Somali and Amharic. Interviews with two South Sudanese were conducted in Madi, the language also spoken by the main researcher.

Positionality

The lead researcher identifies as a Ugandan, a Roman Catholic cleric, a student attached to Jesuit Refugee Service organization (JRS), a refugee supporting organisation, and past experiences of

working with displaced population. These multiple positionalities could have contributed to some biases and subjectivities from the researcher reflected in some assumptions and expectations held about refugees. To mitigate intrusions of biases and subjectivities in the study, the researcher constantly introspected about the processes of teach interviews to identify patterns of feelings and thoughts about interviews.

3.5 Variable Identification

3.5.1 Quantitative variables

The quantitative variables are shown in Table 3.4 below.

Table 3. 4: Variables included in the survey questionnaire and their definitions.

Variables	Definition of variables	Recoding
Dependent variables		
Destination selection	If the participant had specific plans about coming to Kampala?	0 'No, 1 'Yes'
	Reasons against moving to alternative destination	1.Lack of family/friends/organisations 2.Lack of support from family/friends/organisations 3.Lack of security 4.Lack of economic/social opportunities 5.Lack of third country resettlement opportunity 6.Others
	Description of alternative destination	1.Settlement/camp in Uganda 2.Another urban area in Uganda 3.Rural area in Uganda 4.Another settlement/camp outside Uganda 5.Another urban area outside Uganda 6.A rural area outside Uganda
Independent variables		
Social Networks	If the participant came and settled in Kampala through somebody (connections)	1 'Yes' 2 'No'
	If the participant knew somebody living or ever lived in Kampala before coming to Kampala	1 'Yes, 2 'No'
	Relationships to the person known in Kampala	1 'family member' 2 'Relatives' 3 'Close friend' 4 'Acquaintances'
	Age of person known in Kampala	1 'Younger' 2 'Agemate' 3 'Older'
	Sex of person known in Kampala	1 'Male' 2 'Female'

	Nationality of person known	1 'South Sudanese' 2 'Congolese' 3 'Somali' 4 'Burundian' 5 'Eritrean' 6 'Rwandan' 7 'Ethiopian' 8 'Sudanese' 9 'Ugandan' 10 'Others'
	Frequency of contact with the person known in Kampala	1 'Daily' 2 'More than once week' 3 'About once a week' 4 'About Once a month' 5 'Rarely' 6 'No contact'
	If respondent received support for migration from the social tie at destination	0 'No' 1 'Yes'
	Type of social support from the person known	1 'None' 2 'Information' 3 'Financial' 4 'Material' 5 'Emotional'
Sociodemographic variables	Sex of the participant	1 'Male' 2 'Female'
	Nationality	1 'South Sudanese' 2 'Congolese' 3 'Somali' 4 'Burundian' 5 'Eritrean' 6 'Rwandan' 7 'Ethiopian' 8 'Sudanese'
	Age at migrating to Kampala from previous place of residence	1 'Child' (Below 17) 2 'Youth' (18 – 24) 3 'Adult' (25+)
	Residential status of the last place lived before Kampala	1 'Urban' 2 'Settlement/camp' 3 'Rural'
	Marital status at migrating to Kampala from the previous place of residence.	1 'single' 2 'married/living with together' 3 'divorced/separated/widowed'
	Level of education at migrating to Kampala from the previous place of residence	1 'No formal' 2 'Primary' 3 'Secondary/vocational' 4 'Tertiary'
	Occupation at migrating to Kampala from the last place of residence	1 'Unemployed and/or student' 2 'Employed – formal sector' 3 'Self-employed' 4 'Unpaid worker' 5 'Casual/subsistence farming'

Patterns of movement to Kampala	If the participant lived in some other place after departure from home country	1 'Yes' 2 'No'
	Description of the place lived	1 'Rural area' 2 'Urban area' 3 Refugee camp/settlement
Proximity	Whether country of origin borders Uganda	1 'Yes' 2 'No'
Duration in transition	Number of years spent in places other than home country before coming to Kampala	1 '<1 year' 2 '=> 1 year'
Mediating variables		

3.5.2 Qualitative themes

Qualitative themes are outlined in Table 3.5 below

Table 3.5: Broad themes and identification of sources of themes for qualitative investigation

Theme	Identification
Actors in the social network, geographical locations, and their influences on the ego	Gaps in literature: identities of individuals and organisations and their role processes
Actors in the social networks and processes of information flows in migrating to city	Social network theory: individuals in network act as sources and channels for information on destination. Literature gap: transactions in information, including their sources and types, and how prospective migrants assess their credibility as a missing link.
Actors in the social networks, instrumental and emotional support during migration	Social network theory: social networks are sources of social capital; social capital is destination specific.
Actors in the social networks and the processes of decision-making on destination preferences and patterns of migration	Social network theory: decisions such as when, where and how to move is influenced by existence and participation in social networks

3.6 Data Analysis

Both quantitative and qualitative data analysis techniques were used according to the specific research questions. Figure 3.2 shows the operational framework for the analyses of the specific objectives.

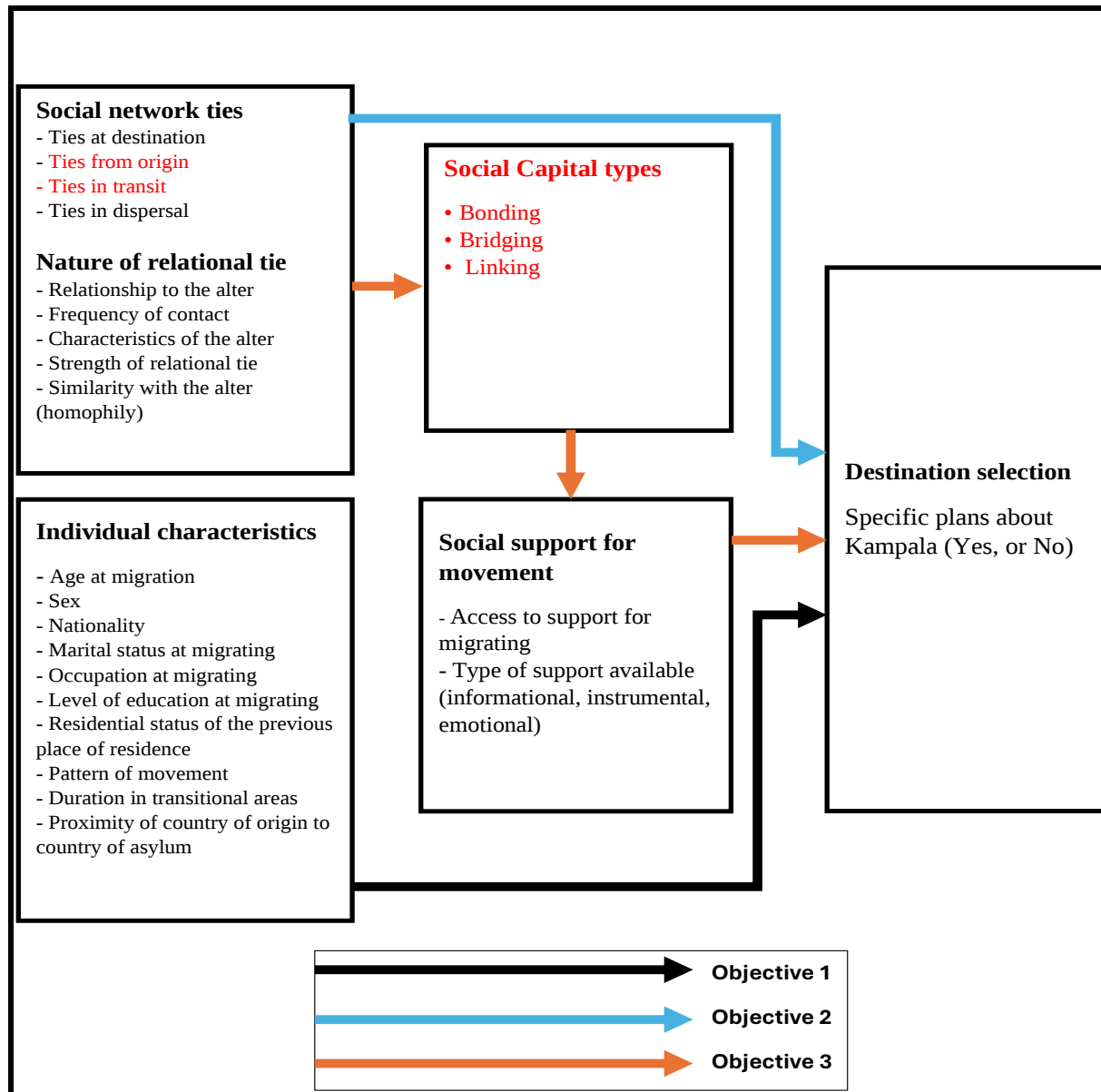


Figure 3. 1: Operational framework for the analysis of the specific objectives

Objective 1: *To describe the profiles, and patterns movement of the urban refugees in Kampala.*

This objective describes the profiles of the urban refugees, and the patterns of movement to urban areas. Survey data was used and the objective was addressed in two sections. The first section The first section compared the profiles of the refugees who had specific plans for moving to Kampala with those who did not have specific plans of moving to Kampala using a Pearson Chi-square Crosstabulation at 0.05 level of significance. Using spatial flow maps, the patterns of the refugee migration to Kampala were then presented in the second section to show the proportion of those who moved to Kampala from other countries or from other cities or settlement areas within Uganda.

Objective 2: *To assess the association between individual characteristics, social networks, and destination selection among the urban refugees in Kampala.*

This objective focuses on the social networks of the refugees in Kampala. Using quantitative approaches to data analysis, the sociodemographic characteristics of those who had ties to Kampala and those who did not have ties to Kampala was explored. Also explored was the comparison of those who moved through connections with those who did not have connections. Migration is selective over individual characteristics; however, this selectivity in individual characteristics may also affect ones access to social network ties and the composition of the ties hence the importance of investigating characteristics of those who had ties to the destination. Having social ties knowledgeable about or well connected to Kampala thus affects destination selection measured as whether one had specific plans about moving to Kampala (coded 1) or not (coded 0).

Therefore, to answer this quantitative component of the social networks, a Pearson chi-square crosstabulation was used to investigate the association between background characteristics and having ties to Kampala or moving to Kampala through connections. Pearson chi-square crosstabulation was also used to examine the association between social networks and destination selection. The sample size for this study is fairly small hence Pearson chi-square crosstabulation which is a non-parametric test was considered appropriate for the analysis in this objective. Two data sources were used; the first data source was the 479 individual data which was used to establish association of having ties to Kampala and destination selection. In the second crosstabulation, the tie data of 378 ego- alter ties was used to establish the associations between the relational ties,

frequency of communication, and ego-alter similarity on destination selection. A p-value of 0.05 (or 0.5%) was used to interpret the level of significance of the variables.

Objective 3: *To examine the influences of social networks on the selection of the destination among the urban refugees in Kampala.*

In this objective, qualitative structural analysis (QSA) method was used (Herz et al., 2014). Herz and colleagues (2014) developed QSA to address a need in qualitative social network analysis that maintains the standard qualitative analysis without losing the structural analytical domain of social network. The idea behind QSA is that concepts in structural social network analyses could be applied as sensitising concepts in qualitative narrative analysis (Altissimo, 2016). The method has been applied in the analyses of the migration of Pilipino skilled workers to United States of America and the United Kingdom, and in the analysis of transnational youth mobilities in Germany (Cases, 2018; Herz & Altissimo, 2021). Following the procedures proposed by Herz and colleagues (2014), network maps were developed to reveal the structures, actors, and ties in the ego's social networks. However, the social network maps were developed by the researcher after reading and listening to the interviews. This approach was employed because it was not possible to collect data using social network map since it was not possible to interview the refugees for long hours during COVID 19. Questions and assumptions about the emerging patterns in the social network maps were raised which led to narratives in the interview that revealed some meanings and processes to the social network maps developed. Specifically, relationships were drawn between the social network structures, actors, and relationships, and social supports that were exchanged, locations of the actors at the time of migration, actions of the ego, and processes of arriving at the decision to move to destination. This approach enabled the ability to see the effects of the social networks on the ego's (the refugees) decisions and actions that led to the choice of Kampala. Figure 3.2 shows the operational framework of the objectives.

One emerging issue with the qualitative data coding and analysis is the fragmentation of the narratives of the participants. During the interviews, participants were invited to give accounts of their movement to Kampala. This yielded rich narratives of how the refugees ended up in Kampala, and important people and places identified. However, breaking the narratives into themes to some

extent resulted into disjointed accounts. In some instances, sections of the narratives had to be repeated under new themes since each piece of account sometimes included more than one theme.

3.7 Study ethics

Ethical clearance and approval for this study was granted by the Human Subject Research Ethics Committee (HERC) of the University of the Witwatersrand (Number H20/04/02). In addition, the permission to conduct a study among urban refugees was given by the Uganda National Council for Science and Technology (UNCST) (Number SS519ES). The approval letters are included in Appendices B.5 and B.6. Participation in the study was entirely free and only those who identify as refugees and asylum seekers and are willing to participate were recruited.

Jacobsen and Landau (2003) maintain that any refugee study that seeks to be credible both in academic and policy field must meet ethical standards without compromising academic rigor. In other words, issues of confidentiality and risks of harm should be attended to while maintaining a methodologically sound study among refugees. This observation is even more important in urban context where refugees diffuse among host communities, and some may not have valid legal status in the urban areas. Researching urban refugees may involve the risk of exposure to state surveillance and hostilities with host community, re-enacting traumatic experiences and creation of illusions for better life through the outcomes of the study.

Confidentiality was maintained during the research processes through observing safety of place of interview, and the anonymity of the participants through use of pseudonyms. Practical steps such as using facilities of NGOs was taken to avoid visibility that might jeopardise the identities of the participants. Such practical steps were deemed as necessary precautionary measures for protecting the refugees even though the topic may not necessarily be sensitive. Informed consent was observed through provision of sufficient information on the study and encouraging freedom of choice to participate in the study. In order to minimise risk of harm, the investigators sought the help of Jesuit Refugee Service (JRS) organisation to provide a counsellor free of charge for those who might re-enact traumatic experiences during interviews. In order to avoid creation of false expectation, honesty and transparency was observed by informing the participants in every interview that there is no immediate material benefit in participating in the study. Social network studies may also involve providing information about individuals within the network thus issues

of confidentiality and consent may involve people who might indirectly participate in the study. In such cases, confidentiality was observed by using pseudonyms for those in the networks of the participants. However, use of snowball technique implies that complete confidentiality could be guaranteed.

This study was conducted during COVID 19 period hence Standard Operating Procedures such as maintaining a reasonable distance during interviews, wearing face mask, and regularly washing hands or using hand sanitisers was emphasised to both among the research team and the participants.

Chapter 4

PROFILES AND MOVEMENT PATTERNS OF URBAN REFUGEES IN KAMPALA

4.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the profiles of the urban refugees in Uganda over time. The chapter draws on the survey data to compare the refugees' selection of destination by their background characteristics before moving to Kampala and to map the pattern of flow to Kampala.

4.2 Socio demographic characteristics and patterns of movement of urban refugees in Kampala

This section examines whether the refugees had specifically selected to move to Kampala from their previous places of residence. It is acknowledged that in the context of conflict and violence, refugees do not have many choices on *whether to stay or move* but what matters is to escape the situation. However, this does not entirely eliminate decisions on *where to go* since conflicts and movements can take different forms. Conflicts can be gradual, and movements can be stepwise hence refugees may have a respite to consider moving to some specific places which is the aspect of destination selection investigated here. The section draws from the survey data to investigate the variations in destination selections across the characteristics of the refugees. Crosstabulations were used to present the distributions of the refugees' characteristics by destination selection.

4.2.1 Distribution of refugees by destination selection

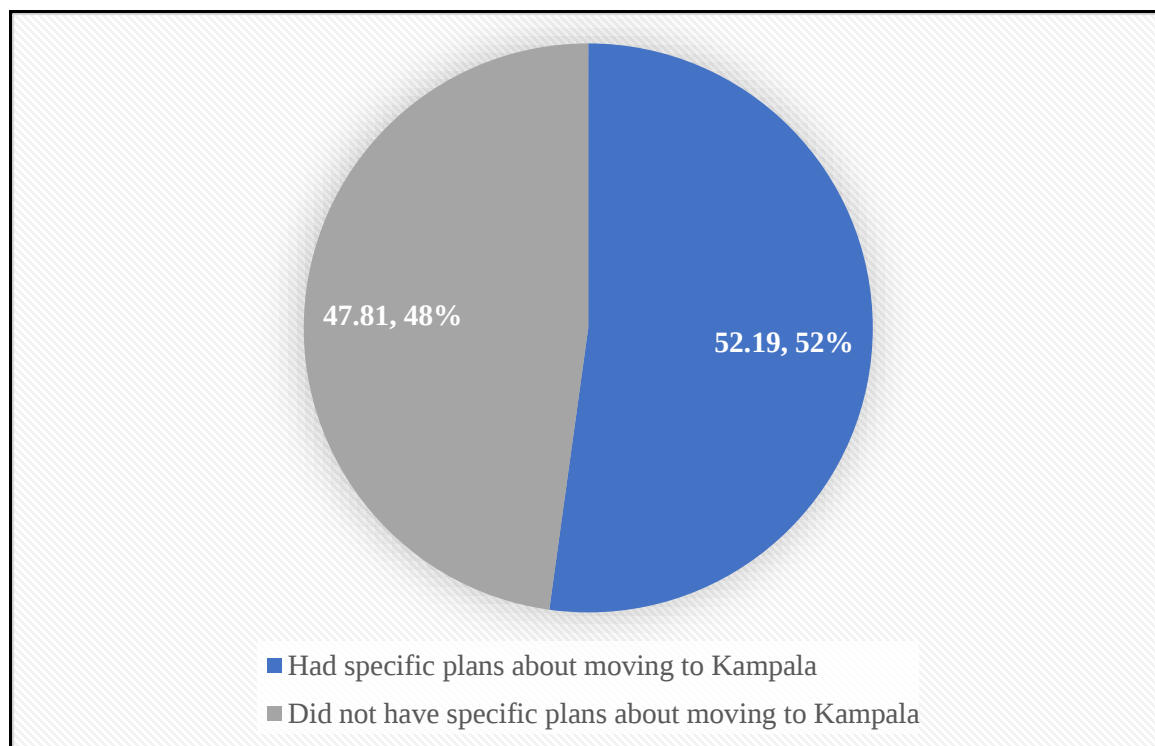


Figure 4. 1: Distributions of refugees in Kampala by destination selection (Source: Survey data)

Figure 4.1 above shows that the proportion of those who had specific plans about moving to Kampala is higher than that of those who came to Kampala without any plan. Precisely, 52.2% of the respondents had considered moving to some other destinations before coming to Kampala representing more than half of the study sample. In Table 4.2 below, the breakdown of some other places considered apart from Kampala and reasons for not moving to those places were presented.

Table 4. 1: Percentage distributions of preferred destinations and reasons for not moving to the preferred destinations (Source: Survey data)

Destinations considered and reasons against moving to the destination	Number of respondents	Percentage of respondents
Other destinations considered (N = 248)		
Settlement/camp in Uganda	11	4.4
Another urban area in Uganda	11	4.4
Rural area in Uganda	2	0.8
Another settlement/camp outside Uganda	5	2.0
Another urban area outside Uganda	214	86.3
A rural area outside Uganda	5	2.0
Reasons against the considered destination (N = 247; Missing value= 1)		
Lack of family/friends/organisations	38	15.4
Lack of support from family/friends/organisations	12	4.9
Lack of security	85	34.4
Lack of economic/social opportunities	9	3.6
Lack of third country resettlement opportunity	99	40.1
Others	4	1.6

Cities outside Uganda tend to be the most preferred destinations with 86.3% in these categories indicating a high level of resettlement aspirations. Only 4.4% considered moving to settlement or any other urban areas within Uganda. The fact that 86.29% considered moving to places that are outside Uganda and are urban areas suggests that Kampala is not necessarily the ultimate destination of the refugees at the time of migration from their previous places of residence.

When the reasons for electing against those destinations were asked, 40.1% reported lack of resettlement opportunities at their previous places of residence as the main reason for not moving to such places. Lack of resettlement opportunities as the main reason for electing against the alternative destination further attest to the fact Kampala is not necessarily chosen due opportunities it provides but because of failure to travel to the desired destination.

That social and economic opportunity is not the primary factor for moving for Kampala can also be observed by the fact that less than 4% reported lack of social and economic opportunities as their motives for not moving to the desired destination. Instead, lack of security at the planned destination was the second largest motive for not moving to the destination that was considered

before coming to Kampala. In all, social network factors as indicated by lack of reunification possibilities and lack of social support accounted for 15.4% and 4.9%. At 4.9%, lack of support falls below that of lack of reunification opportunities (15.4%). This suggests that lack of family reunification opportunities at various destinations is a major factor affecting refugee movement than lack of financial or instrumental support.

Table 4. 2: Destination selection by the characteristics of the refugees at previous place of residence (Source: Survey data)

Characteristics of the respondents	Had specific plans to move to Kampala from previous place of residence?					
	No = 229 (47.81%)		Yes = 250 (52.19%)		Total = 479	
	N	%	N	%	P value	Total
Sex					0.399	
Male	113	45.9	133	54.1		246
Female	116	49.8	117	50.2		233
Age at migrating to Kampala					0.179	
Below 20	48	52.2	44	47.8		92
20-29	108	46.2	126	53.9		234
30-39	54	53.5	47	46.5		101
40+	19	36.5	33	63.5		52
Nationality					0.000	
South Sudanese	18	38.3	29	61.7		47
Congolese	76	62.3	46	37.7		122
Somali	61	36.8	105	63.3		166
Burundians	20	76.9	6	23.1		26
Eritreans	26	36.6	45	63.4		71
Rwandese	8	50.0	8	50.0		16
Ethiopians	10	58.8	7	41.2		17
Sudanese	10	71.4	4	28.6		14
Marital status at migrating to Kampala					0.744	
Single	123	46.2	143	53.8		266
Married/living with a	81	49.7	82	50.3		163
Divorced/separated/widowed	25	50.0	25	50.0		50
Level of education at migrating to Kampala					0.111	
No formal	44	57.9	32	42.1		76
Primary	24	53.3	21	46.7		45
Secondary/vocational	100	47.4	111	52.6		211
Tertiary/university	61	41.5	86	58.5		147
Occupation at migrating to Kampala					0.006	
Unemployed and/or student	120	42.1	165	57.9		285
Employed – formal sector	14	53.9	12	46.2		26
Self employed	31	57.4	23	42.6		54
Unpaid worker	42	65.6	22	34.4		64
Casual/subsistence farming	22	44.0	28	56.0		50
Residence before Kampala					0.000	
Urban area	149	55.2	121	44.8		270
Settlement/camp	39	26.9	106	73.1		145
Rural area	41	64.1	23	35.9		64
Neighbourhood of country of origin with Uganda					0.011	
Neighbouring	102	55.1	83	44.9		185
Non-neighbouring	127	43.2	167	56.8		294
Years in transition					0.000	
<1	186	54.1	158	45.9		344
>=1	43	31.1	92	68.1		135
Length of stay in Kampala					0.217	
<1 year	18	45.0	22	55.0		40
1-2 years	51	54.8	42	45.2		93
3-4 years	70	51.1	67	48.9		137
=> 5 years	90	43.1	119	56.9		209

Table 4.2 shows significant associations at 5% level of significance between the respondent's nationality (p-value = 0.000), occupation at the previous place of residence before Kampala (p-value = 0.006), and the residential status of the last place of residence (p-value=0.000), with destination selection. In addition, significant associations were observed in the number of years spent in other places before Kampala (p-value = 0.000) and neighbourhood of the country of origin with Uganda (p-value = 0.011).

Looking at the nationality of the respondents, majority of the Burundians (76.9%) and the Sudanese (71.8%) did not have specific plans before moving to Kampala from their last places of residence (Table 4.2). These two countries do not border Uganda but have higher levels of those who came to Kampala without other destination options, compared to DRC (62.3%) and South Sudan (38.3%), the two countries bordering Uganda. On the other hand, most of the Somali (63.3%) and the Eritreans (63.4%) had specific intentions about moving to Kampala from their last places of residence. Similarly, many of the South Sudanese (61.7%) had specific intentions about Kampala. Only 36.6% and 36.8% of the Eritreans and the Somali respectively did not have some clear idea about coming to Kampala.

Regarding occupations of the respondents at their previous places of residence, it seems that those who were less involved in gainful economic activities also moved to Kampala out of preference or choice. Table 4.2 shows that among those who had plans to move to Kampala, about 58% of the respondents were unemployed/students and 56% were involved in subsistence farming or casual work. An exception to this were those in the category of unpaid workers which included volunteer work which accounted for 34.4% of the cases for having destination preferences. The opposite can also be seen, where less than half of the students/unemployed and the casual workers/subsistence farmers did not have plans about moving to Kampala. On the other hand, majority of those who were employed in the formal sector (53.9%) and self-employed (57.4%) in their previous places of residence did not have specific plans about coming to Kampala.

Further, the data shows some relationships between destination selection and characteristics of the last place of residence before coming to Kampala. In particular, the highest percentage (73.1%) of those who had plans for Kampala are from refugee camps or settlement areas. Less than 30% of those who came to Kampala from camps or settlement areas did not have plans about Kampala.

The group that least had specific intentions about coming to Kampala from their previous place of residence were those who came from some other rural areas which is about 36%. Among those who came to Kampala from other urban areas, the proportion of those who had specific intentions about coming to Kampala was 44.8% which fell below the 55.1% of those who came to Kampala without having plans. The high level of preference to move to Kampala among those with camp or settlement background compared with those with urban background is indicative of the pressure exerted by the refugee 'warehousing' (Smith, 2004) in the settlements/camps that compels them to seek better residence elsewhere.

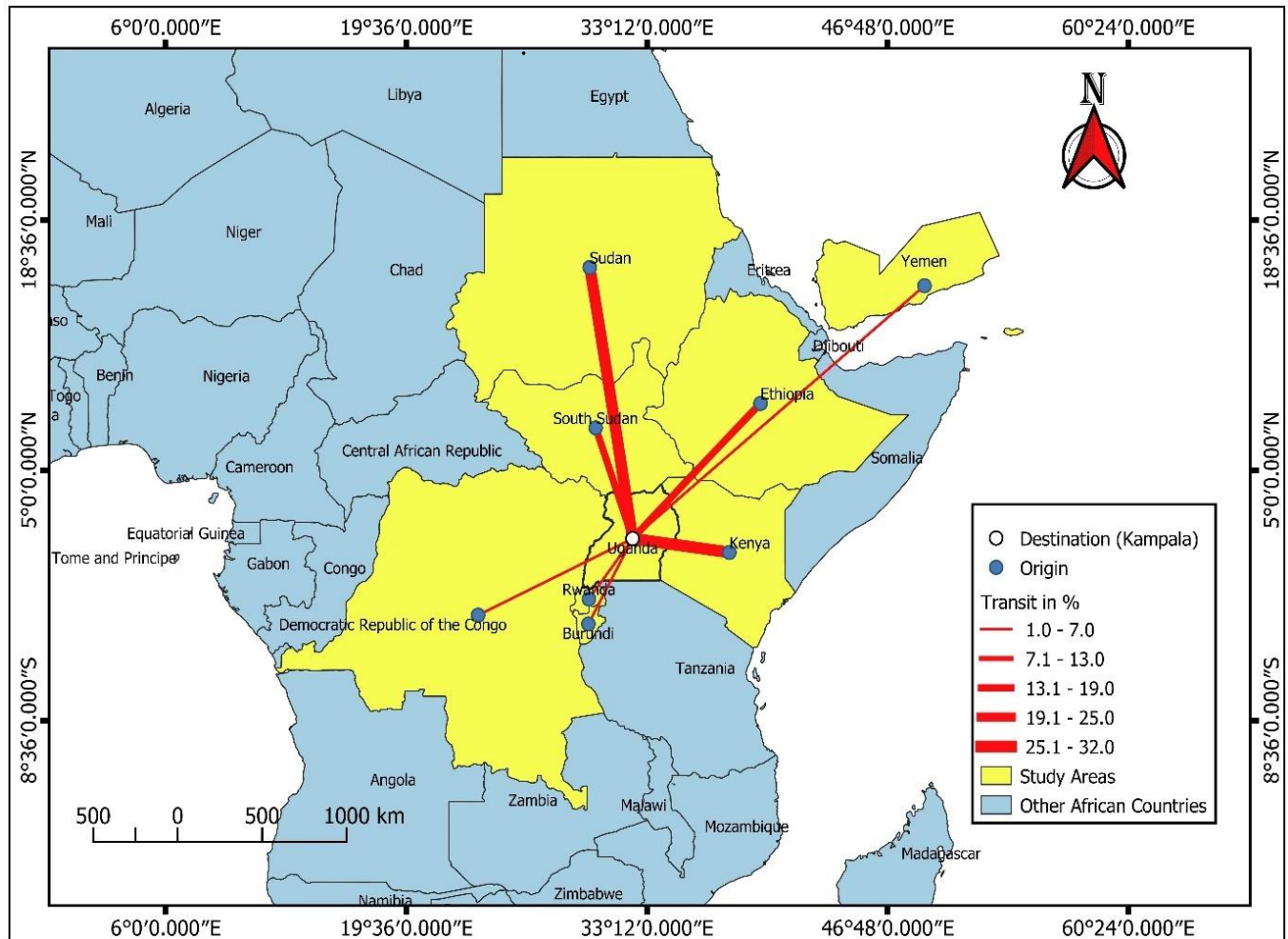
A relationship can also be observed between neighbourhood of the country of origin and destination specific intentions about Kampala. In general, those from neighbouring countries tend to come to Kampala without specific choice of Kampala. Comparing across those who had plans about moving to Kampala, 56.8% of the respondents who came from non-contiguous countries specifically planned to move to Kampala which is above the 44.9% of those who came from a contiguous countries. Among those who came from neighbouring countries, 55.1% did not have specific plans about coming to Kampala while only 44.9% had specific plans about Kampala. This result could be attributed to incidences of emergencies and short distance to Kampala where refugees flee to Kampala without having options about destinations.

The long time spent in transition also tends to heighten the plans to move to a specified destination. This can be seen by the majority (68.2%) of those who spent more than one year in some transit having specifically sought to move to Kampala from their transit areas. The 45.9% of those who came to Kampala over the last one year do not compare favourably with those who spent more than one year elsewhere in terms of having considered moving to Kampala. Moreover, less than a third of those who spent a minimum of one year in transits came to Kampala without any specific intention. The long time spent in transit areas before arrival in Kampala and its relationship with destination selection indicates a lack of durable solutions in these transit areas. Lack of durable solutions may compel refugees to exercise their agency in exploring conducive destinations. Refugees in such situations might have come to Kampala from other countries, cities, camps/settlement areas or even rural areas. In the section below we look at the patterns of the refugee's movement to Kampala.

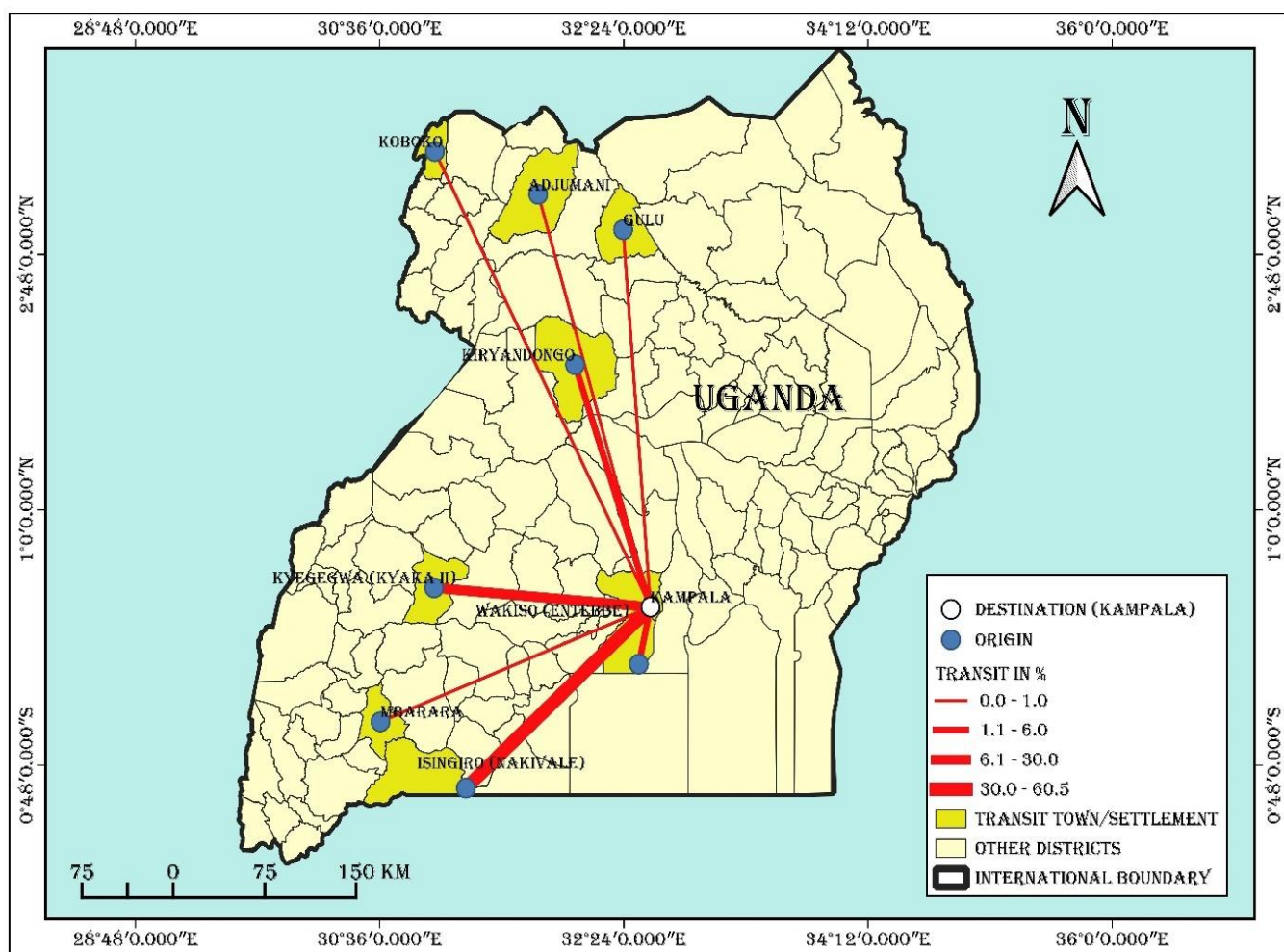
4.2.2 Patterns of movement

Patterns of movement refers to whether the respondent came direct to Kampala from country of origin or lived in some other places before coming to Kampala. Understanding how refugees move is important because choices about destinations may sometimes occur at intermediate destinations or transit areas where new influential actors may also be activated. Moreover, it helps to understand the magnitude of transit areas in dispensing refugees to Kampala, and cities in similar circumstances.

The two maps below show the movement patterns of refugee flows to Kampala after living in some other countries or other places within Uganda. The maps identify some of the locations from which the refugees originated and the proportion of those who migrated from such places. Included in the map are only those originating from a transit area, hence individuals moving directly to Kampala from their home countries are not included.



Map 4. 1: Refugee flows to Kampala from neighbouring countries (Source: Survey data)



Map 4. 2: Refugee flows to Kampala from districts and settlement areas within Uganda (Source: Survey data)

The two maps above illustrate the patterns of movement of the refugees to Kampala from their last places of residence. Included are those who spent at least a year in transit areas. Map 4.1 shows flows from another country to Kampala. Most of the refugees who lived in another country before coming to Uganda lived in either Kenya or Sudan. In one instance, a refugee from an African country first sought asylum in Yemen before moving all the way from Yemen to Kampala. Except for Kenya, all the countries in which refugees lived before coming to Uganda were also refugee producing countries indicating that these countries not only send their own citizens into exile but also refugees coming from other neighbouring countries. For instance, South Sudan, a country with the largest number of its refugees in Uganda, also receives refugees from Eritrea, Ethiopia and Sudan and then disperses these refugees to the neighbouring Uganda. The data shows that Kenya,

a country which has been politically stable since 2007 and with higher per capita income and GDP than Uganda also receives and then sends refugees to Uganda indicating that in contrary, refugees sometimes move from higher income countries to a lower income country. However, this data is small (N=99) and may not capture fully the movements of refugees in general.

Map 4.2 illustrates the places refugees live in Uganda before coming to Kampala from within Uganda. The places indicated on the map include settlement/camp areas and other cities in Uganda. Gulu and Mbarara are two of the major cities in Uganda and fairly closure to borders while Entebbe holds the international airport. These three cities play important roles in receiving refugees and then sending refugees to Kampala. Among the settlement areas, majority of the refugees came to Kampala from Nakivale followed by Kyaka II. Interestingly, Arua which is another city hosting large number of refugees in Uganda did not feature in the map.

Chapter 5

SOCIAL NETWORKS AND DESTINATION SELECTION: QUANTITATIVE RESULTS

5.1 Introduction

This chapter describes the associations between social networks and selection of destination. Chi-square crosstabulations were used to examine the associations between individual characteristics, having social ties in Kampala, and destination selection with 0.05 level of significance. The chapter first compared the individual characteristics of those who had social ties in Kampala with that of those who did not have ties to Kampala prior to coming to Kampala. The second section focused on the associations between social ties to Kampala and elsewhere with destination selection. The last section focused on the characteristics of the ties to Kampala and their associations with destination selection. The data for this section was drawn from a survey of social networks of the refugees and destination choices (see Appendix A.1 for the questionnaire).

5.2 Association of refugee profiles with having social ties at the destination

Table 5. 1: Crosstabulation of the respondents' characteristics by social ties to Kampala at migration (Source: Survey data)

Individual characteristics	Social ties in Kampala				P value	Total
	No		Yes			
	190	39.75	288	60.25		
	N	%	N	%		
Sex					0.233	
Male	91	37.1	154	62.9		245
Female	99	42.5	134	57.5		233
Nationality					0.004	
South Sudanese	22	46.8	25	53.2		47
Congolese	33	27.1	89	73.0		122
Somali	76	46.1	89	53.9		165
Burundians	6	23.1	20	76.9		26
Eritreans	36	50.7	35	49.3		71
Rwandese	7	43.8	9	56.3		16
Ethiopians	7	41.2	10	58.8		17
Sudanese	3	21.4	11	78.6		14
Age at departure for Kampala					0.005	
Below 20	33	35.7	59	64.1		92
20-29	110	47.1	124	53.0		234
30-39	35	35.0	65	65.0		100
40+	12	23.1	40	76.9		52
Marital status					0.724	
Single	110	41.4	156	58.7		266
Married/living with a partner	61	37.7	101	62.4		162
Divorced/separated/widow	19	38.0	31	62.0		50
Education					0.165	
No formal	34	45.3	41	54.7		75
Primary	13	28.9	32	71.1		45
Secondary/vocational	78	37.097	133	63.0		211
Tertiary/university	65	44.2	82	55.8		147
Occupation					0.026	
Unemployed/student	113	39.6	172	60.4		285
Employed formal sector	3	11.5	23	88.5		26
Self employed	22	41.5	31	58.5		53
Unpaid worker	27	42.2	37	57.8		64
Subsistence farming/casual work	25	50.0	25	50.0		50
Place of residence					0.017	
Urban area	109	40.5	160	59.5		269
Settlement/camp	47	32.4	98	67.6		145
Rural area	34	53.1	30	46.9		64
Neighbourhood of country of origin					0.027	
Neighbouring	62	33.5	123	66.5		185
Non neighbouring	128	43.7	165	56.3		293
Years spent in transit before Kampala					0.015	

<1	148	43.2	195	56.9	343
>=1	42	31.1	93	68.9	135

Table 5.1 shows the comparison of refugees who had social ties in Kampala prior to moving to Kampala with those who did not have ties to Kampala by their background characteristics. Having social tie in Kampala here refers to having known or met someone living in or having lived in Kampala prior to coming to Kampala. Meeting or knowing someone knowledgeable about the destination is important because of its potentials for information and other forms of support. In Table 5.1, a significant difference can be observed between those who had social ties in Kampala and those who did not in terms of their individual characteristics at 5% level of significance. In all, over 60% of the respondents had ties to Kampala before moving to Kampala indicating that most of the refugees who came to Kampala at least knew someone who ever lived in Kampala.

In particular comparing the refugees who had social ties to Kampala with those who did not by their respective nationalities as one of the significant background characteristics, showed that the Congolese, Burundian, and Sudanese refugee nationalities tend to associate more with already having had social ties to Kampala prior to migration with 73.0%, 76.9%, and 78.6% respectively. In all, the Eritreans have the least social ties to Kampala (49.3%), followed by the South Sudanese (53.2%).

Further, a significant difference is observed between those who had ties to Kampala and those who did not have in terms of their respective age groups. Most of those who had social ties to Kampala prior to coming to Kampala were mostly aged 40 and above compared as seen in the 76.9% compared to 23.1% in Table 5.1 above.

Out of the 26 respondents who were employed in the formal sector by the time of their movement to Kampala, 23 respondents (88.5%) already had social ties to Kampala and only 3 respondents did not have social ties to Kampala. Comparing those who had to social ties to Kampala with those who did not have ties to Kampala prior to coming to Kampala across all the five categories of occupations at the previous place of residence, this figure (88.5%) for the formal employment is the highest which is followed at a distant by the students and the unemployed which is 60.4%. The people in occupational group that had fewer social ties to Kampala by the time of their migration to Kampala were those employed in subsistence farming activities or other jobs such as casual

work. In this latter group, there is also no difference between those who had social ties to Kampala and those who did not have social ties to Kampala.

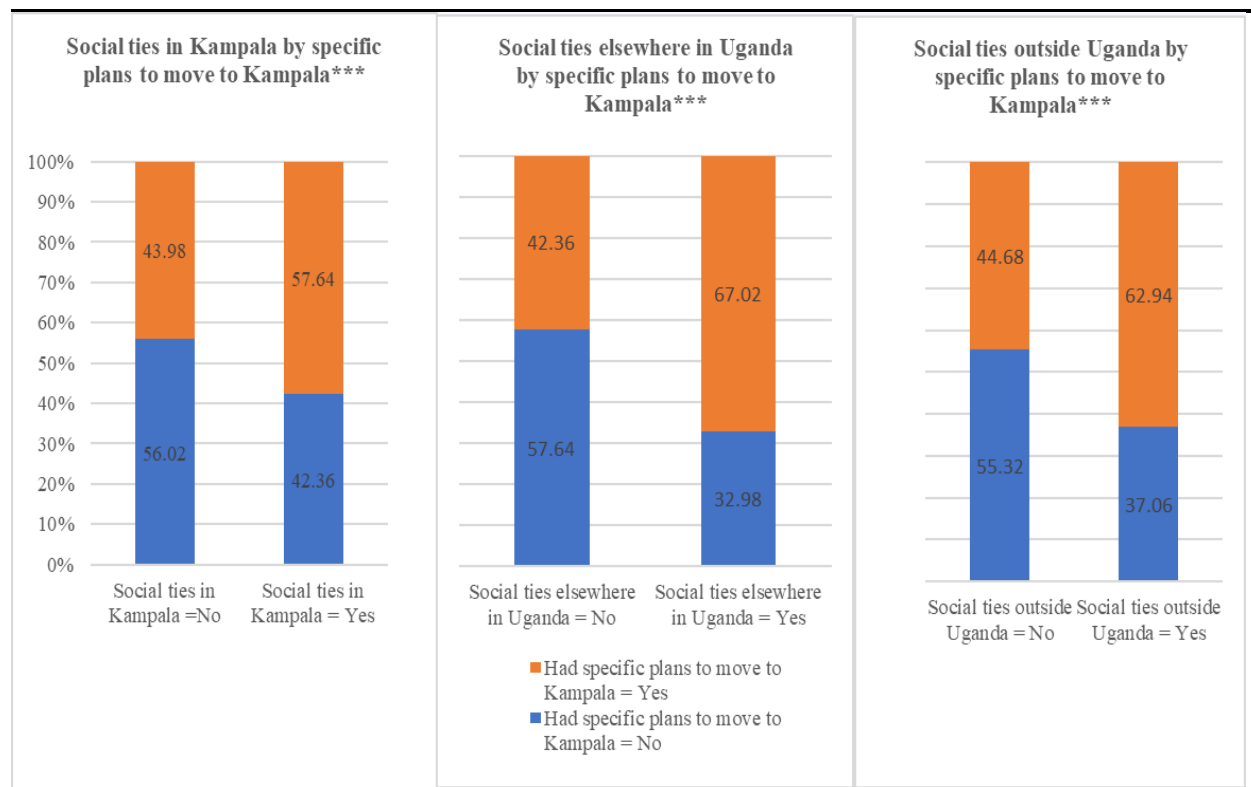
The result also shows that there is significant difference between those who had ties to Kampala prior to moving to Kampala with those who did not have ties to Kampala in terms of the characteristics of the last place they lived before coming to Kampala. The levels of those who had social ties to Kampala tends to be higher among those who migrated to Kampala from refugee settlements or camps (67.6%), than those who came directly from some other urban areas (59.5%) and rural areas (46.9%). In all, those who migrated to Kampala directly from a rural area had the fewer social ties to Kampala compared to those who did not have ties to Kampala. This finding suggests that having settlement or camp background has stronger linkages with moving to urban areas on the basis of availability of social ties than moving to an urban area directly from a rural area or another urban area.

The last two variables, neighbourhood, and duration in transit, which are both statistically significant (p-values = 0.027 and 0.015 respectively) provide a context in which social ties can develop. Individuals from a bordering country may easily develop social ties at the destination than those from non-neighbouring countries since there is likelihood of high level of interactions because of the proximity of the two countries. Moreover, development of social ties requires time, and this may be important to a refugee especially when a refugee spends time in a protracted situation. In this case, there is a tendency to keep searching for alternative destinations and activation of social ties at new destination may be important. The descriptive findings for these two variables were quite consistent with this observation. Most of the respondents (66.5% compared to 56.3%) who had social ties to Kampala originated from some neighbouring countries. Similarly, those who spent more than a year in some transitional places such as refugee camps or settlement areas, and rural or urban places other than their original place tend to associate with having more ties to Kampala (68.9%) than those who did not have experiences of living in liminal places (58.9%).

In all, the descriptive statistics indicate some selectivity in having social ties to the destination. Individuals who were already adults, employed in the formal sector, and lived in settlement or camps at the time of migrating to Kampala tend to associate with having more ties to Kampala

prior to migrating compared to other groups. Moreover, coming from nationalities such as Congolese, Burundian, and Sudanese tends to associate with having social ties in Kampala. Spending longer time in transitional places and originating from adjacent countries also tends to relate with having more social ties in Kampala.

5.3 Association between social networks and destination selection



*** $p < 0.01$

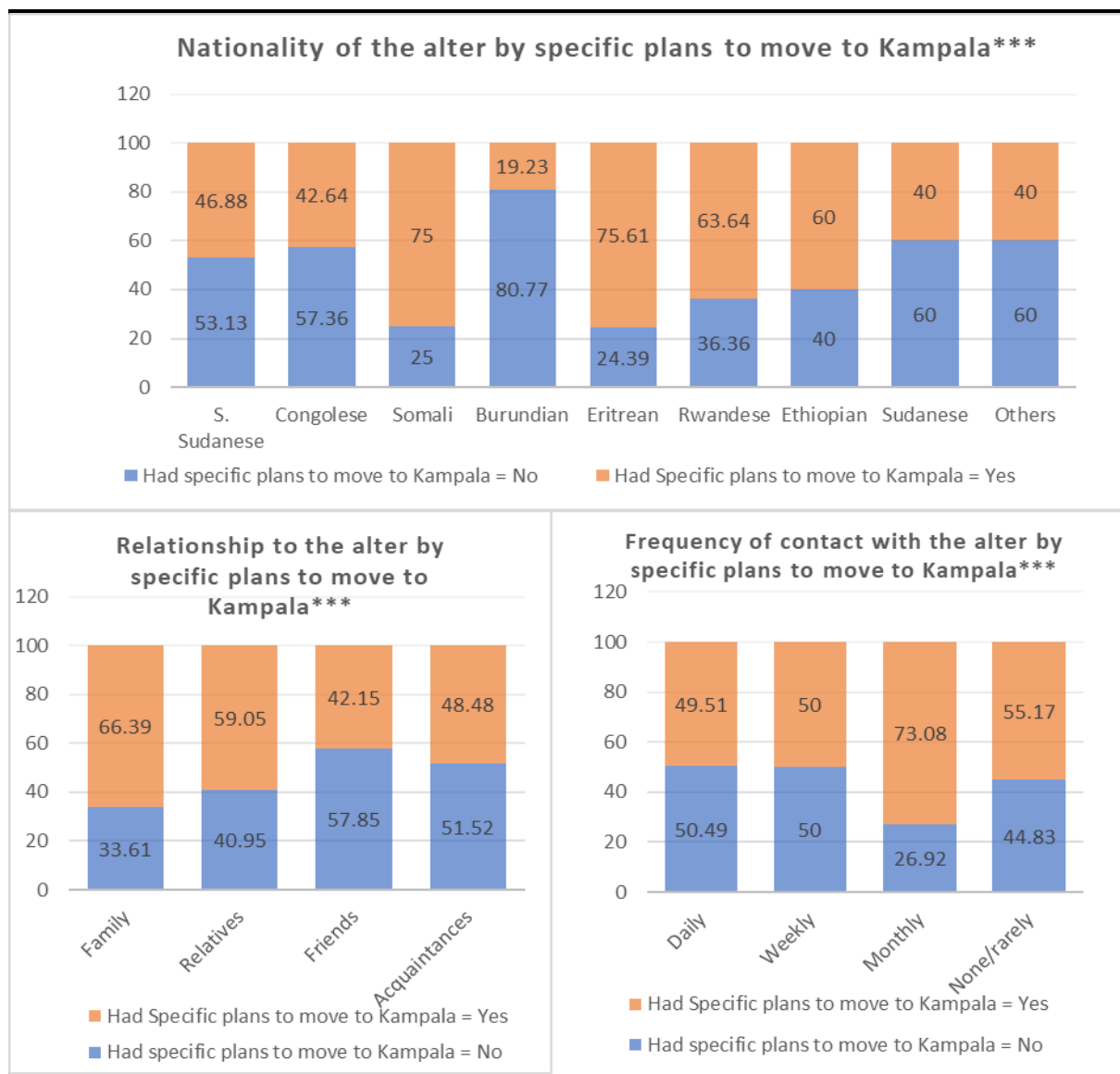
Figure 5. 1: Association between social network ties in Kampala and outside Kampala by whether refugee had specific plans to move to Kampala (Source: Survey data)

The distributions of destination selection by social networks were shown in Figure 5.1 above. There is a statistically significant association ($p < 0.05$) between having known someone living or ever lived in Kampala (social network in Kampala) and having specific intentions to move to Kampala. Most of the individuals who had specific plans of moving to Kampala also tend to have known someone living or ever lived in Kampala (57.6% for specific plans compared to 42.4% for no

specific plans in Table 4.3). On the other hand, 56.0% of those who did not have specific plans of moving to Kampala also did not know anyone living or ever living in Kampala.

In addition, Table Figure 5.1 shows some statistically significant association between social networks elsewhere but not in Kampala with destination selection at 5% level of significance. This result could be attributed to social network actors who never lived in Kampala or met some who lived in Kampala but advise the refugee to move to Kampala basing information they received from other networks as will be seen in the qualitative component. Among those who had knowledge of social ties within Uganda but not in Kampala, over 67% had specific plans to move to Kampala compared to 32.98% of those who did not have specific plans of moving to Kampala from their previous places of residence. Similarly, 62.9% of the respondents who stated that they know someone living outside Uganda but not in their country of origin had specific plans to move to Kampala compared to 37.1% of those who did not have some specific plans of moving to Kampala.

5.4 Associations between relational ties at the destination and the selection of destination



*** $p < 0.01$

Figure 5. 2: Association of relational ties in Kampala and destination selection (Source: Survey data)

The association between relational ties, defined by the nature of relationships, frequency of communication, and the nationality of the alters by destination selection were further examined in Figure 5.2. The data was generated from the 288 participants who had ties to Kampala prior to their migration, hence this analysis focused on those who reported having known some individuals living or ever lived in Kampala prior to movement to Kampala. The unit of analysis in this study are the ties or dyads between the refugee participant (ego) and the actor in the network (alter) (N=378).

There is a statistically significant association ($p < 0.05$) between relational ties and specific plans to migrate to Kampala except age as seen in the p-values Figure 5.2 above. Most of the egos (66.4%) that had specific plans to move to Kampala shared family relations with someone (alters) they knew living or ever lived in Kampala, followed by those who had relatives as their alters (59.1%) living or lived in Kampala. On the other hand, more than half (57.9%) of the egos that shared friendship relations with their alters did not have specific intentions about moving to Kampala. Regarding frequency of communication, more egos that had less frequency of communication with their alters who were living or ever lived in Kampala had specific plans about moving to Kampala, compared to those had more frequent communication (see 73.1% for monthly communication and 55.2% for rare or no communication in Figure 5.2 above). Moreover, less than 50% of egos who had daily communication with their alters had specific plans about moving to Kampala.

Considering the nationality of the alter, egos that had ties to Burundian alters living or having lived in Kampala were the least represented (19.2%). This contrasts with egos who had ties to Eritrean alters (75.69%) and Somali alters (75.0%), were most of the egos had specific plans to move to Kampala.

Chapter 6

SOCIAL NETWORKS AND DESTINATION SELECTION : QUALITATIVE RESULT

6.1 Introduction

This chapter explored how the social networks of the urban refugees in Kampala influenced the choice of the destination using qualitative structural analysis (Herz et al., 2014). The chapter complements the previous quantitative components by investigating processes leading to destination choices. The data for this chapter is drawn from the narratives of the refugees using qualitative in-depth interview guide in Appendix A.2. In the first part of the chapter, actors in the social networks, their locations and influences through relational data (social support flows) were visualised. Basing on the first section, the next three sections focused on the processes of information flows, influences through social support and the processes of destination choice.

6.2 Actors in the social network, geographical locations, and their influences on the ego

Two types of social network data were used to map and visualise the refugees' influential actors (alters) in different spatial dimensions during migration processes: actors' attributes, and the relational attributes shared or exchanged by the actors (particularly ego and alter). The attribute data included the importance of the alter, type of actor, location of the alter, and ego's relation to the alter. An alter is determined important if the ego is deemed the most critical person in terms of social support provided for his or her movement to Kampala and such alter would have larger size compared to others.² The actor's attribute relates to the whether the actor is male, female or a group of people such as family members, co-nationals (other). The location or space attributes of the actor is presented in quadrants – destination, origin, transit and dispersal – and shows where the alter of interest is located at the time of the ego's movement to Kampala. Since families often move together and yet constitute some of the egos alters, in some network maps families appear in more than one space dimensions. Ego's relationship is presented in concentric circles beginning with family and relatives, moving through close friends and acquaintances to strangers (unknown

² There are cases where an ego has more than one equally more important alters. However, for illustration purposes, only one alter is chosen in any network map.

persons). The strength of the tie gets weaker as the circles moves outwards. For purposes of analysis attribute of relationship is group as kin-based (family and relative) and non-kin-based relationship (friends, acquaintances and strangers).

The relational attribute data has the contacts of the ego, and social support exchanged at the time of migration. Ego's contact are either positive (green dash lines) or negative (red dash lines). Some of these actors may or may not have supported the ego directly but their actions or presence may have passively contributed to ego's choices. The social support included information (green solid lines), financial (grey solid lines), material or instrumental (transportation, accommodation search, connection to services - in orange line), emotional (companionship and encouragement – red line), and multiple (where more than one support was provided – in blue line). Narratives from the ego were then used to explain the processes of and decisions about moving to Kampala linking this to social support mentioned.

6.2.1 Ties at place of origin

Place of origin forms the first locus for direction of refugees to a specific destination. Social ties formed at the places of origin are particularly important for refugees who moved directly from their countries of origin to Kampala. Both kin-based ties and non-kin-based ties are influential in the movements of the refugees to Kampala. The story of Daniel illustrates how his kin-based tie, the uncle, at the place of origin supported his movement to the destination.

Kin-based ties at origin

Daniel (not actual name) is a 26 years' old South Sudanese who came to Kampala in 2014. Daniel's journey to Kampala began when he lost all his family members in an attack. Daniel managed to escape but unfortunately, he was arrested with some other people by the opposition forces. After a long period in captivity with the opposition forces, Daniel managed to find his way back with the help of some tribes mate. They then surrendered themselves to the government forces who eventually handed them to their relatives. When Daniel's uncle received him, he decided to send Daniel to Kampala. He narrates this decision to finally come to Kampala:

Now from there they started making clearance for us, the clearance, then they released us now after a month, when we spent there a month, without a reason, you see. They wanted just to kill us

just because we are from another tribe, we don't speak the same language with them you see. So, from there my uncle started saying that 'now since you are alive my brother has died, his wife and children let me take you to Uganda and you study.' I was like its ok uncle there is no problem. So, he brought me I went to Naalya Secondary School in Bweyogerere in Senior One in 2015.

Figure 6.1 below shows the location of the tie at the time of movement to Kampala.

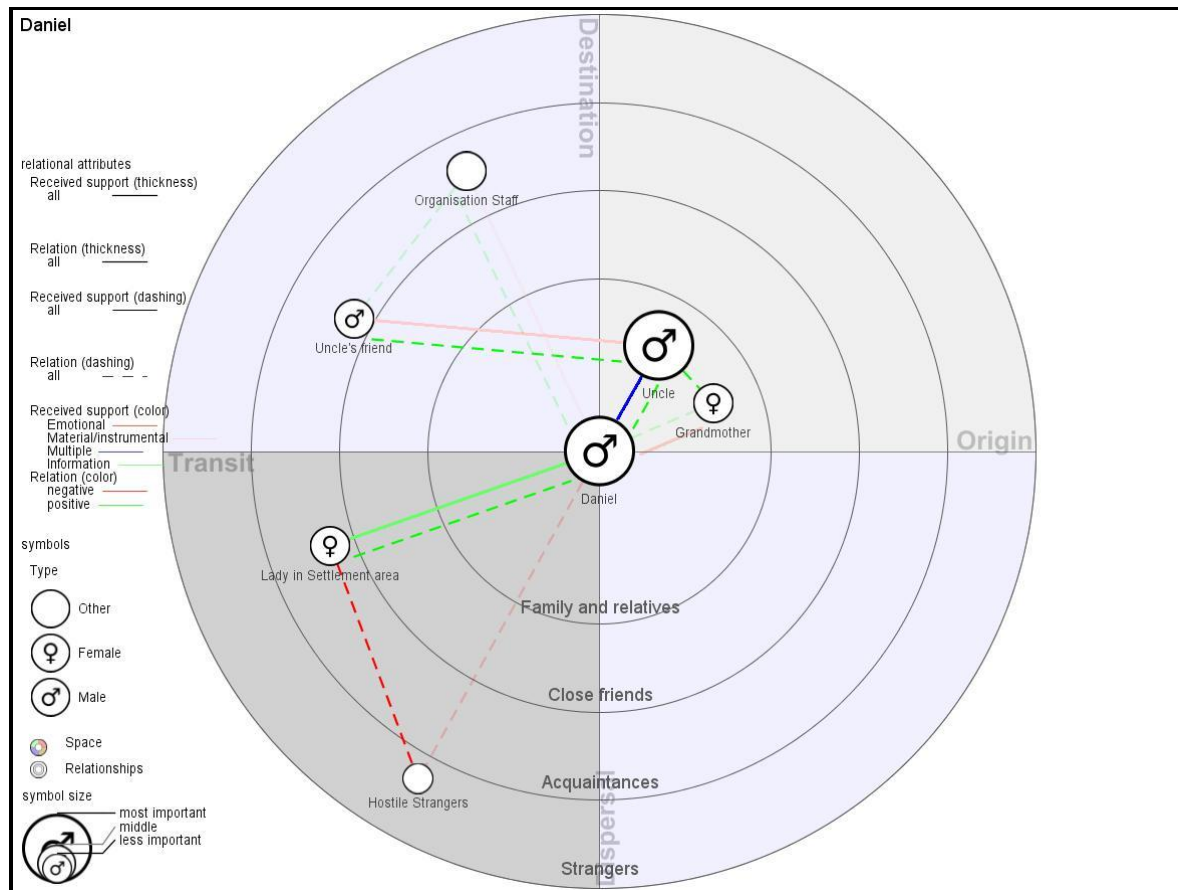


Figure 6.1: Daniel's network map - case of kin-based tie at origin (Source: In-depth interview)

Later, Daniel relocated to the settlement area after the death of the uncle, but he had to return to Kampala due to threats to his life in the settlement areas. However, for the Daniel, his uncle, who is a kin-based tie play a crucial role in deciding the future of Daniel as a young man which involved specifically choosing to send him to Kampala. His uncle also provided the necessary resource

including transportation and sourcing school to help him settle in Kampala. Even though the death of Daniel's uncle resulted in momentarily moving to a camp, this decision that led to Daniel's living in Kampala at the first was pivotal to Daniel's new networks that facilitated his return to Kampala.

Of all the interviews conducted, three (3) participants narrated similar stories of how their kins at the places of origin influenced or supported their settlement in Kampala. Crucial actors in the kin-based ties include family members, especially the heads of family and close relatives such as uncles and aunties. Family and socio-cultural obligations form the basis for the kin-base ties' influences on the ego which is transmitted through emotive and instrumental support. In the case of Daniel, this socio-cultural obligation was demonstrated by the uncle's provision of social protection for him in Kampala. In turn, this support aims to equip Daniel to regenerate the decimated lineage of the father and the deceased family members. Similarly, Hani's (not actual name), a 22-year-old Somali lady, movement to Kampala was based on her mother's decision to protect Hani's brothers from recruitment into Al Shabaab.

Kin-based ties identified at the place of origin tend to be hubs or anchors, playing active roles not only in terms of facilitating the movement through instrumental, material financial support, but also actively deciding on the destination for the participants. These kin-based ties sometimes play multiple roles such as simultaneously making the decision, sourcing information, providing accommodation and social services, and financing the journey. The refugee actor (ego) tends to be passive on the decisions pertaining to their movement to the destination. Most of these participants (ego) who relied on strong ties at the place of origin tend to be young people by the time of their migration to Kampala.

Non-kin-based at ties at origin

For some refugees, non-kin-based ties at the places of origin played significant role in their decisions to move to Kampala. Nancy (not actual name), a Burundian aged 39-year-old mother of two, whose network map is presented in Figure 6.2 below, is one of the refugees who relied on a family friend to connect her and her family to Kampala. Nancy worked with an organisation in her home country as a journalist. However, due to her profession and the nature of work, the security forces became suspicious and began to threaten her life. Previously, Nancy and her husband

travelled to Kampala and other regional cities within East Africa and therefore had some knowledge about Kampala. However, since this was a long time ago and had limited connections, she and her husband had to ask for the help of a friend who could link them up to someone to receive them and search for accommodation in Kampala. Nancy states,

‘we didn’t know anybody in Kampala, because we visited in 2010, so we had lost all the contacts that we got that time so we had to have a start, that’s how we pass by friends who might be knowing people here then we landed on someone who has given us the number of a person whom we don’t know but from the same region as us that was still in Bujumbura. ‘

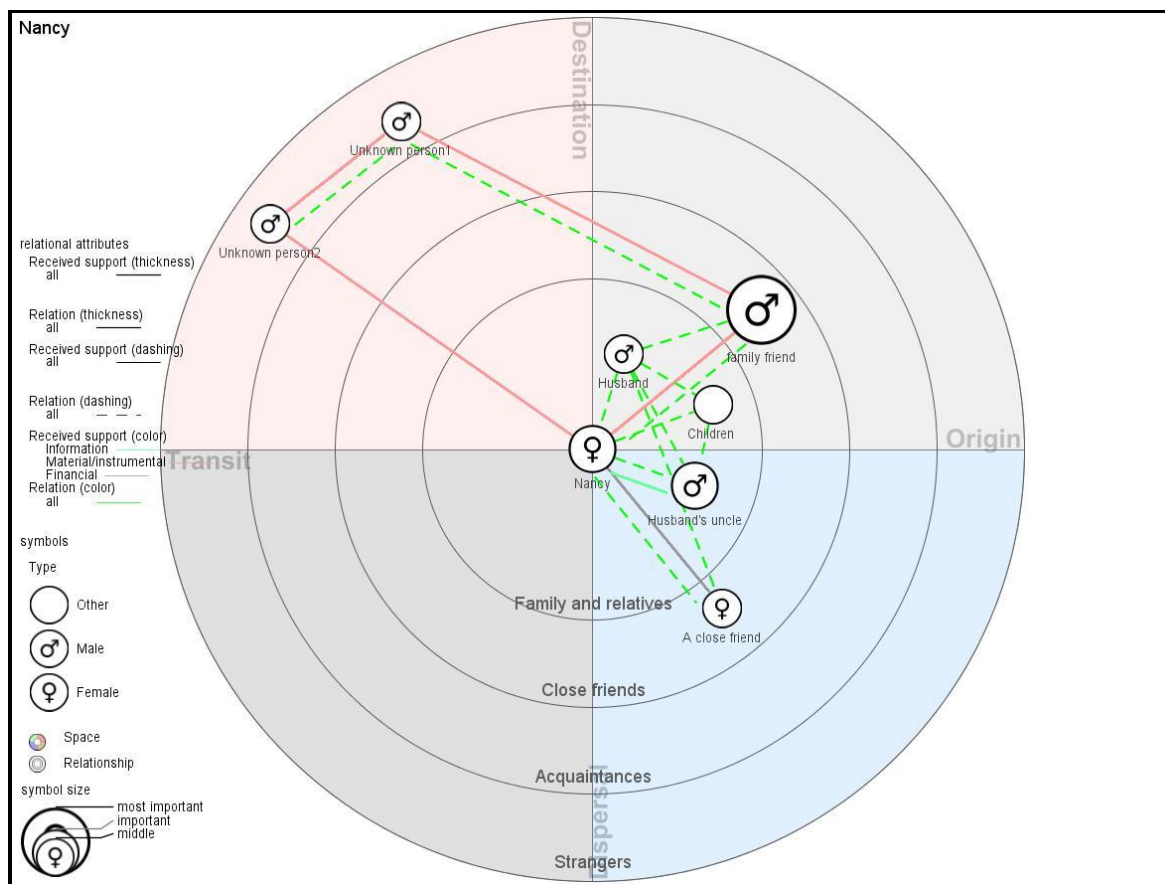


Figure 6.2: Nancy's network map (Source: In-depth interviews)

Some participants in this study indicated reliance on non-kin-based at the place of origin suggesting the instrumentality of weak ties at the places of origin as well in the flow of refugees to some specified destinations (Ryan, 2011). Bashir (not actual name) a 28-year-old postgraduate student

from Somalia used this non-kin-based ties he met at the place of origin when moving to Kampala. Bashir's parents were reluctant to allow him leave Somali for a foreign country encouraging him to get a job in Somalia. Despite his effort to search for better job, the prevailing armed conflict could not allow him to get a better job. With the little savings, Bashir decides to move Kampala. Although as a History teacher he had a wide knowledge about African countries, Bashir needed specific information about his destination requiring him to source additional information outside family circles as seen in the conversation below:

Researcher: How did you get to know about Kampala?

Respondent: Kampala... because I am a mature man, I know, I know all parts of the world, I know Kampala is the capital of Uganda, I know very well at that time because I was a teacher of History. I memorized all the capitals of Africa, even some in Europe, Asia,

Researcher: But what about life in Kampala, security etc?

Respondent: I know some friends from Uganda, I mean Somali who came here, after finishing their university education they went back to Somalia. They said if you go to Uganda, you will get a better education.

Participants often mentioned friends, some acquaintances or simply some unspecified persons referred to as 'people', 'somebody' or 'friends' met while back home when narrating their journey to Kampala. Non-kin-based ties provide information and connections to other resourceful persons at the destination. Their connections with other actors at the destination make these ties resourceful links to the destination through helping the ego to access other actors at the destination. In this case, these friends are 'bridges' to other actors (alters) at the destination. Cumulatively, the information the non-kin-based ties provide and the connections they make, contribute to the ego's choices of the destination since they ease the processes of migrating to the destination. Ego's therefore reach destination when the place is already known to them, and connections are made regarding accommodation, local transport, and refugee registration processes. Unlike the kin-based ties at the origin, however, non-kin-based ties tend to play a single role in a migration decision, such as only providing information or providing contacts at the destination.

6.2.2 Ties in Kampala

Kin-based tie in Kampala

Susan (not actual name) came to Kampala in 2013, the same year when the war in South Sudan broke for the first time. She was living in Juba when it all happened. At that time, she had her small-scale business of making and selling bedsheets, selling charcoal, and helping the brother as a shopkeeper. By the time of the interview, Susan was 39 years old, married to a chronically ill husband, and had 11 children. Susan separated from five of the children in the process of escaping from the war which eventually led to her decision to move to Kampala. Below is an extract from Susan's story on how she ended up living in Kampala and how the presence of her 'kin-based-ties', the brother-in-law, in Kampala influenced her decision.

At Kerepi I started looking for the other five children but I do not have a phone so I could not find them at that time. I thought of going back to look for the children but even that is difficult [....]. Some people told me they have already left for the camp, the camp is Nyumazi, but normally people are taken to another camp in Bweyale. So, I stayed but then decided to move with the remaining children. [.....]. Now, my idea for coming is I really cannot tell whether these children are still in Nyumazi or in Bweyale. Anyway, we came and dropped off in Atiak, but then there is nowhere else to go; we were just left in Atiak. [....]. Now the reason for Kampala, after we got stranded in Atiak, is that I did not have money to support myself. But since I knew my brother-in-law was here in Kampala, I took this decision to come. If I arrived in Kampala, at least he would take care of me because even when we were still in South Sudan, he was supporting me [.....]. Secondly, my idea was to bring the children who were with me and leave with him so that I can trace the remaining children because when they are with him, at least I know where they are.

Susan's story is also quite exceptional in that she lived in Kampala twice reflecting a cyclical pattern of migration. Because of the challenges of living in Kampala, she had to relocate to the settlement area and later return again to Kampala through some non-kin-based networks she established while in Kampala. However, during her first arrival to Kampala, the kin-based tie which she mentioned as the brother-in-law was the crucial actor but evoking his role was in tandem with tracing the children who were separated. Susan had to resolve the critical issue of reuniting with the children. Hence, the most pragmatic approach is to first settle with the remaining children in Kampala where their uncle is living rather than moving with them to the camps that were

mentioned. The trust she had towards the brother-in-law established through the kinship obligation towards an extended family member was the basis for her decision. Hence, the presence of a relative at the destination who cared for the family both in good and bad times resulted into her choice of the destination. Figure 6.3 visualises the actors involved including the brother-in-law:

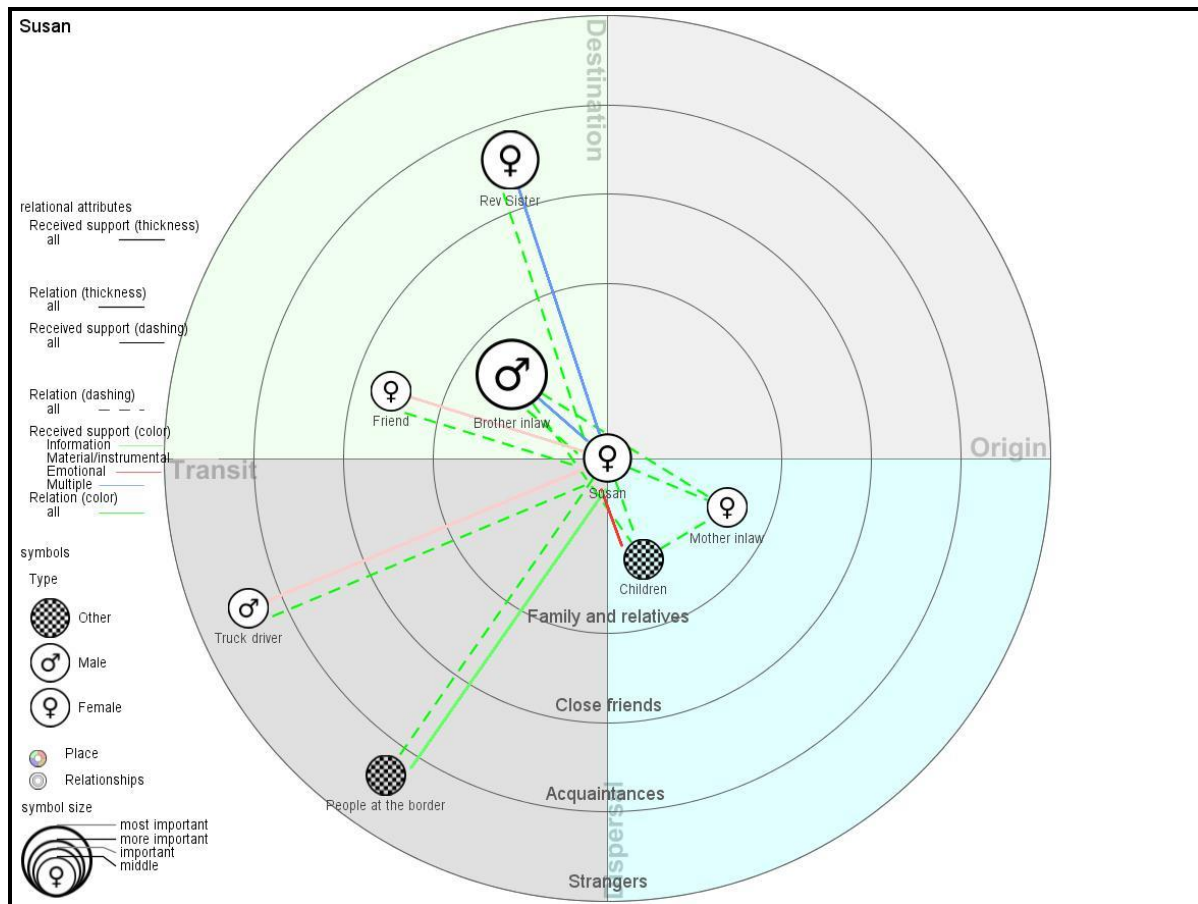


Figure 6.3: Susan's network map (Source: In-depth interviews)

Susan's story is not the only one, but the kin-based ties in other stories and their roles vary. In the case of Mary, also a South Sudanese, her decision to settle in Kampala traces to the son who was already living and studying in Kampala at the time she got displaced in 2016: 'at that time, the border between Uganda and SS was open because of the war. The only thing is that if you want to go to camp, you will assemble at Elegu. But for me because of my child, I could not stay in Elegu so I used the remaining 1000 SSP to travel to Kampala.' Strong ties at the destination provide primarily emotional support in form of companionship and belonging to a family as in the case of Mary reflecting the bonding roles of social capital (Lyytinen & Kullenberg, 2013). However, as

seen in the case of Susan, strong ties at the destination also provide multiple functions including those commonly associated with non-kin-based-ties, such as information. In Susan's case, the brother-in-law did not only provide a home for the children, but he was also involved in the search of the children who were separated. Strong ties tend to relate with pull factors connected to family reunifications and kinship support such as in the case of Susan, who had options for settlement but chose Kampala because of assurance that the brother in-law can care for the children while they search for the missing ones.

Non-kin-based ties in Kampala

Participants also mentioned 'non-kin-based ties' as important actors in their movement to the city. Actors identified include friends, friends of friends, or staff of organisations. Some of the actors were unknown to the ego prior to migration to moving to Kampala. For Susan (mentioned above), the 'Rev Sister' she met during her first time in Kampala played important role for her second return to Kampala:

So, we started living in Bweyale, in Kiryandongo in the camp (settlement area) we were given poles for building, but it wasn't enough. So, I could not make a hut, so we went to the reception. We lived in the reception centre for 2 full months [.....]. So, one day Sister calls me, she told me schools have opened. They could sponsor two of the children and enrol me for the English course. When I heard this, now.... However, there's nowhere to stay but I have the desire that my children should study. I picked the children who were accepted for the sponsorship, and we came back to Kampala. I did the interview and I passed. There are five children, so they took all the five children for sponsorship. The home now I am living belonged to a sister, she told me to come, and we live together.

In the case of Nancy, whose network map was presented earlier (see also the above story), there was no direct relationship with the non-kin-based alters at the destination though these ties contributed to their settlement in Kampala. The alter is only known to the friend of Nancy at the place of origin. The 'non-kin-based ties' participants mentioned were not only from their countries of origin; some of the actors are Ugandans and a few others are refugees from some other countries. For Bashir (false name), a Somali postgraduate student, the weak ties at the destination were fellow Somali known to his returnee friends.

Non-kin-based ties at the destination are not necessarily pull factors, but they are influential in their own right in decision about destination. Non-kin-based ties are mediators of the ego, linking the ego to opportunities and resources at the destination. As seen in the case of Susan, the connections she established with the Reverend Sister working in a refugee supporting organisation was an important factor. Her return and access to new opportunities at the destination was mediated by the presence of a known person working in the same organisation. Together with this is another friend she mentioned who provided accommodation for her and her family during her second time in the city. Non-kin-based ties link the ego to housing facilities or assist with refugee registration and status determination. For instance, refereeing to some friend, whom she calls ‘brother’, Nelly (false name), whose network map is also presented in Figure 6.4 explains how they got assistance by the friend:

That’s when we came to Uganda, we spent two days there I was 18years by then. We found a way to call our friend who was here in Uganda [....]. When we came we already had some little money with us. Reaching the boarder, we saw my mum and my uncle with his wife; he had one child. We managed to come and we reached Gadhafi, that’s where we slept for a week but in 2-3 days we found that brother of ours called, Louis. He has gone to Canada. He helped us and took us to his place until when our uncle who lives abroad helped us to get some money to rent a house (Nelly, Congolese, female, 25).

However, unlike the kin-based ties at the destination, these non-kin-based ties who are acquaintances or strangers, or were linked to the ego through another actor, do not have strong commitment to the ego. Similar to the non-kin-based ties in other locations, information transmitted from these alters, through some other alters to the ego may not be accurate. Interviews with, Tesfy and Anne (both false names), both serving as Eritrean refugee community leaders mentioned some Eritrean refugees give false image of themselves to attract others back home. Hani (false name), a Somali lady who came to Kampala in 2015, was told she would reunify with her brother in the United States if she came to Kampala but that did not happen by the time of the interview.

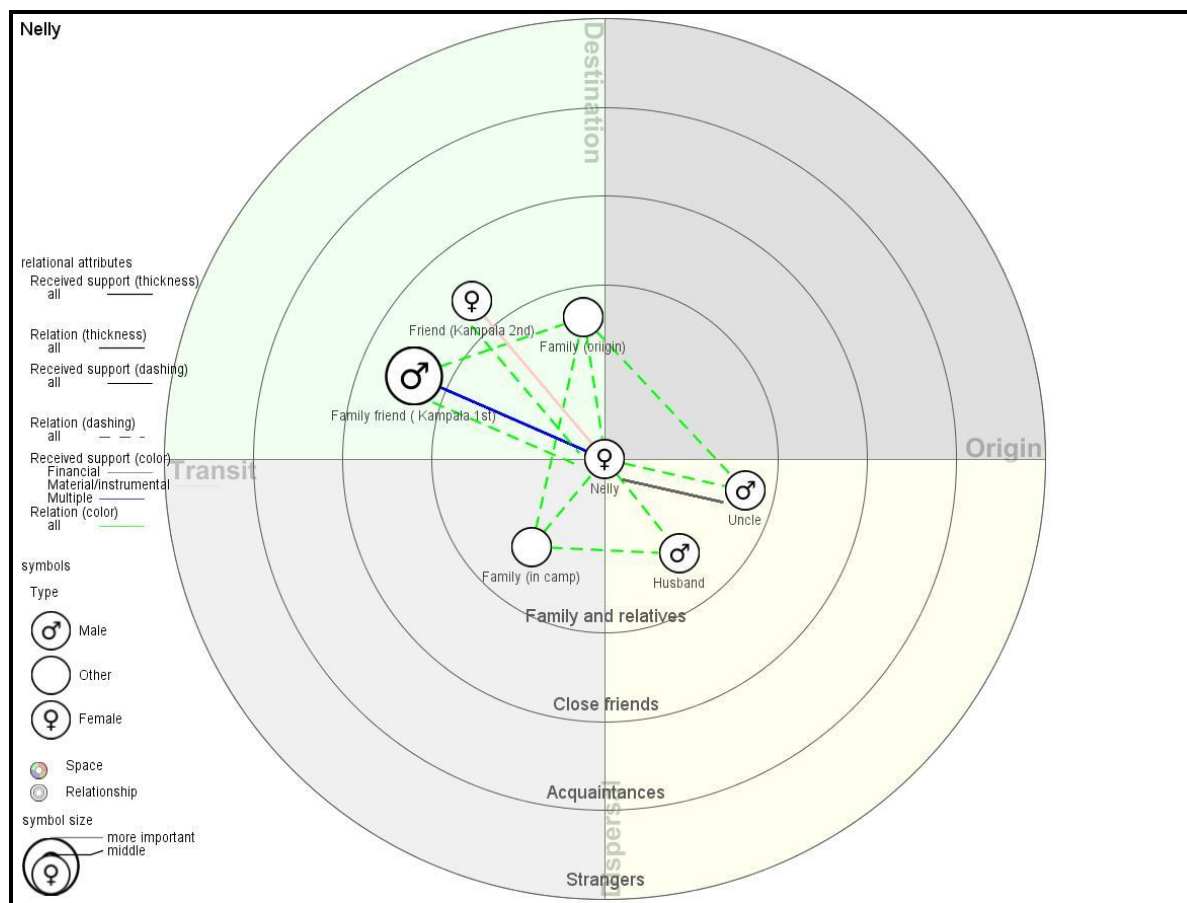


Figure 6. 4: Nelly’s network map (Source: In-depth interviews)

6.2.3 Ties in transit

Transit refers to any other location in which refugee lived for at least a month before final arrival to Kampala. These places include urban areas, rural areas, border towns overlapping two countries, and refugee camps within and without Uganda. Cities from the neighbouring countries such as Juba, Khartoum, Kigali, and Juba are main areas through which refugees transited to Kampala. In addition, refugees from South Sudan and DRC mentioned significant border towns such as Nimule (South Sudan) and Bunagana (DRC) as places where they met some instrumental actors. Participants in this study identified both ‘kin-based ties’ and ‘non-kin-based- ties’ as influential actors when transiting through other places to Kampala with the latter being more prevalently mentioned.

Non-kin-based ties in transit areas

Participants who mentioned non-kin-based ties in transit areas mainly originated from Burundi, Eritrea, Ethiopia, and Somalia. Victor (not actual name), an Ethiopian male who doubles as a preacher and whose network map is shown in Figure 6.5 below is among the cases of non-kin-based ties utilised from transit areas. Victor left his country after losing his father and series of arrests and threats to his life. He decided to cross to Juba, the capital of South Sudan, but this city became a transit destination. To cross to South Sudan, he needed someone to help. He made contacts with one Gambella fellow who was his church member and a friend. This friend arranged for him to cross to South Sudan. However, upon encountering difficulties in living in South Sudan, Victor sought information from fellow Ethiopians, and some Eritreans living in Juba about better places for refugees and how to move there. He was advised to move to Uganda. Since he did not have the financial resources, Victor and his family were then assisted by a truck driver with a ride to Kampala.

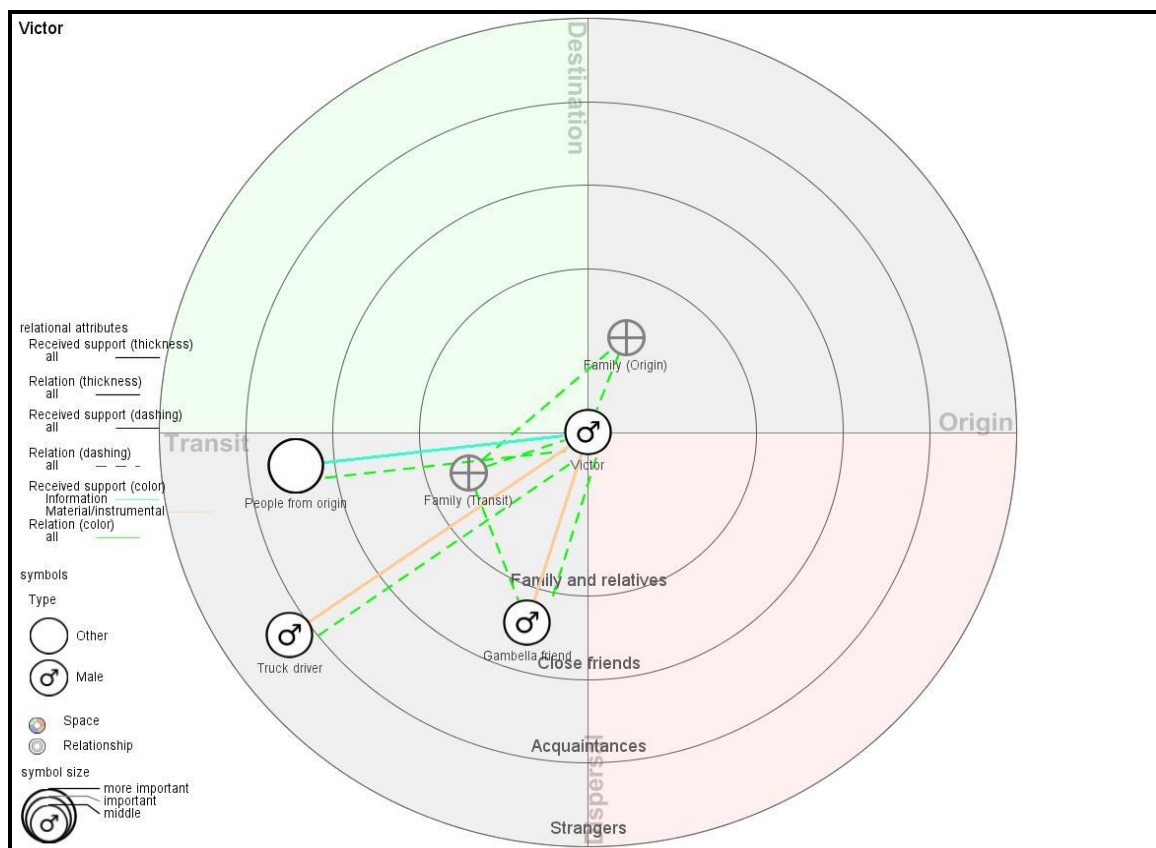


Figure 6. 5: Victor's network map (Source: In-depth Interviews)

The case of Victor shows how border crossing and momentary residence in transit areas are not simply about physical passage across a place but are also spaces where actors in social networks can exert further influences on choices of new destinations. In the case of Victor, life experiences, both from the place of origin and in Juba are the key drivers for his movement. However, three actors are instrumental in migration processes; the Gambella friend, culturally similar people met in Juba, and the trucker. Each of these non-kin-based actors played distinct but equally important roles in all the migration processes such as border navigation, information exchange, advice, and transportation. Collectively, each of these new actors formed on the way contributed to discovery of new destination while in transit (Torfa et al., 2021).

Victor's case is not an exception; participants frequently forge relationships with transporters, migration brokers, return or circular migrants, academics, church members, and visitors they met while in transit areas. These non-kin-based ties also include citizens or residents of the transit areas who had friends, relatives, or acquaintances with knowledge of Kampala. These ties perform multifaceted instrumental roles ranging from information provision to transportation and smuggling. Abdi (false name), a Somali refugee, for instance spoke of changing his plans for Kampala after being informed by those he met in Kenya about opportunities for refugee assistance in Uganda. Pierre (false name), a 54-year-old male Burundian, spoke of the boda-boda operators as source of information, advice and border crossing. In the case of Bashir (mentioned earlier), his critical actors in transit are the 'migration brokers' who facilitated all the processes of border crossing. Participants also frequently mentioned reliance on transit networks for transport.

The ego's relationship with these actors is often ad hoc, short lived and time bound. In most cases, relationships attenuate after arrival in Kampala ranging from very rare and diminished contacts to no contacts. Participants rarely mentioned maintaining contacts with the people spoke about since many of these actors are not known to the ego. Amina (false name), a 30-year-old Somali lady, for instances can no longer remember the people with whom she came to Kampala even though they were instrumental for her movement to Kampala. Similarly, Tesfy, an Eritrean PhD student in Makerere, lost contacts with the research student from Makerere who encouraged him to come and study in Makerere.

Kin-based ties in transit areas

Although networks in transit are predominantly non-kin-based, some participants also mentioned kin-based ties in transit as instrumental in their migration. Kin ties are mainly close relatives who are either migrants to the transit areas, or transnational families and relatives living across borders. These actors act as ‘anchors’ to the ego in the transit and they play multiple roles simultaneously. Freedman (false name), a Burundian, whose story and network map (Figure 6.6) is presented here is an example of an ego that was supported by his uncle in Rwanda to move to Kampala:

*When they were informed that I was still alive, they planned to come and arrest me again and I ran from **Bunjumbura** and went to **Kirundo** province near Rwanda to stay with my uncle who helped me to cross the border of Rwanda even without documents which you have to show before crossing..... When I was in **Kirundo** at my uncle's place, he tried to get contact from Kampala from those who fled before me who had reached Kampala, but they told him it is better when you go to the camp at **Nakivale** than coming to Kampala. He helped me with some money to pay from Kigali to Uganda, then at the border of Rwanda and Uganda.... I paid some money; my uncle knew that to pass without the documents you have to bribe some people to help you pass, and I collaborated.... I took another bus to **Mbarara** and went to **Nakivale**. On arrival the first person I saw was the police who was working in the police post where I was tortured, also waiting to be registered. When I saw that I turned back. These were police from Burundi who have been sent by the government to come as refugees and disturb the Burundians. I saw here I have no place remembering the serious torture back in my country. I then called the person who had been called by my uncle and told him everything about these Burundian policemen whom I saw. He then told me to come to Kampala.*

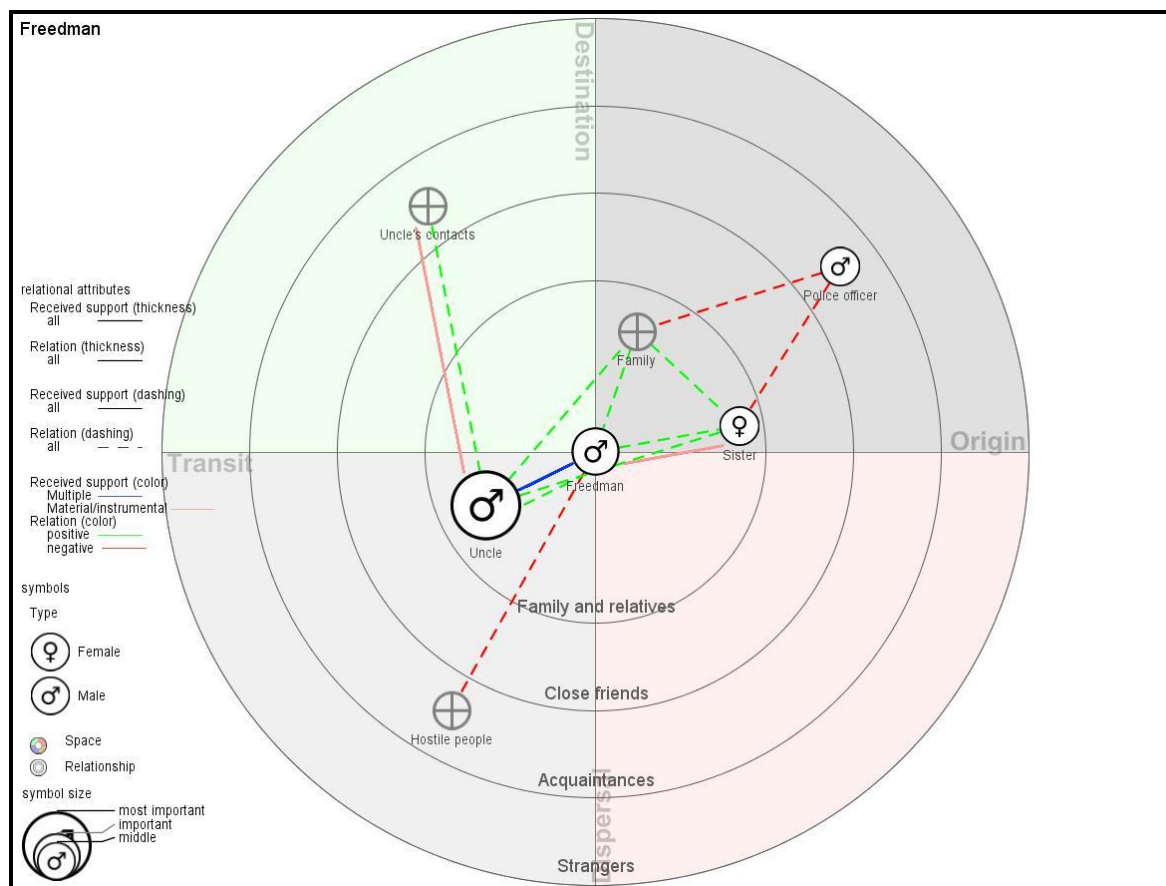


Figure 6. 6: Freedman's network map (Source: In depth interviews)

In Freedman's story we can see multiple roles his uncle played in his final arrival to Kampala including provision of information, financing the movements, providing accommodation in transit, and sourcing contacts for Freedman. Samiah (false name), a 29-year-old Sudanese lady who came to Kampala as a student, also had a similar case. Her uncle, a businessman in Juba, provided medical treatment for her when she escaped from conscription in opposition forces. The uncle also financed her travel to Kampala for studies. Since these actors are close relatives of the ego, their support is based on the kinship ties and obligations to support one's close relatives. This obligation to support is further reinforced by the fact the egos identified here are young and therefore dependent. Unlike the short-lived relationships of the non-kin-based ties, the relationships and the support tend to be last over time.

6.2.4 Ties in dispersal

Networks in dispersal refer to actors located elsewhere other than the place of origin, transit and the destination. While the role of networks in dispersal has been scarcely discussed in migration decisions, the findings in this study shows that influential actors in individual's choice of destination are not necessarily located in the places of origin, destination, and transit. Four participants from non-bordering countries mentioned instrumental actors in dispersal for their movement to Uganda. Actors include resettled refugees in developed countries, and neighbouring refugee hosting countries. The stories of Senait (false name), an Eritrean lady, and Hiba (also false name), a Sudanese lady, show the key actors in dispersal and how these actors contributed to their movement to the Kampala. Senait left Eritrea when her husband was arrested, and the family of the husband rejected her. She then sought asylum in Sudan Khartoum. Senait was born in Sudan and therefore knew Khartoum quite well. However, she could not live in Sudan because of insecurity in Sudan. While in Sudan, she considered options of onward migration. She ended up coming to Uganda because a close friend of the husband residing in Israel advised her to come Uganda. The friend of the husband also financed her journey to Kampala. In the case of Hiba, she considered the options of Egypt, Ethiopia, and Kenya. She would have gone to Kenya since her sister is already there. However, her sister's experiences about life in the camps in Kenya discouraged her. Coupled with the advice from some people who know about Uganda, she decided to come to Kampala. The network maps in the Figures 6.7 and 6.8 below show their actors in dispersal.



Figure 6. 7: Senait's network map – case of non-kin tie in dispersal (Source: In depth interviews)

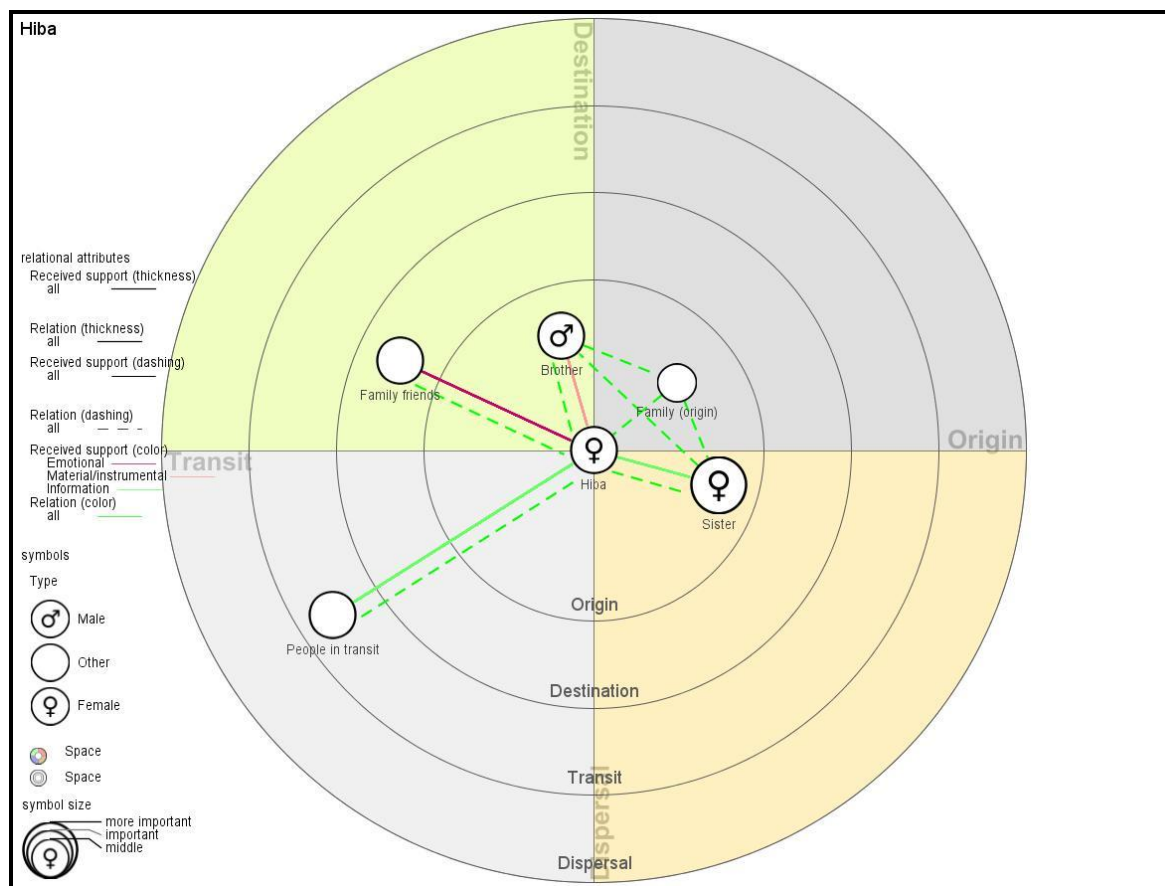


Figure 6. 8: Hiba’s network map – case of kin tie in dispersal (Source: In depth interviews)

The narratives of Senait and Hiba are not the only exception; Hani (cited earlier) also mentioned the instrumental role played by his brother in the United States for her and her family’s moving to Kampala stating, ‘so my brother called my mother, he got her number and told her that now I am in America and I can take you to a safe country can you look for the transportation of my brothers and sisters then I will take you.’ Interview with Michael (false name), an Eritrean community leader confirmed how networks in dispersal can influence individual’s choices when he said that ‘sometimes families and friends advice refugees to come to Uganda where life is cheaper, and acceptance of refugee is better. They advise their families to come to Uganda because crossing through Libya is risky and sometimes, they do not have means to sponsor them to travel.’

Similar to the networks in other locations discussed before, both ‘kin-based ties’ and ‘non-kin-based ties’ can be identified, and the differences can be seen in the two stories narrated. While for Hiba, the narratives from her sister who is a family member changed her opinion about Kenya, for

Senait, it is the advice and the support from her husband's friend that influenced her decisions. Diasporic networks also play 'centrality' role in the entire network through multiple tasks they perform. As a result, networks in dispersal also differs because non-kin-based ties such as friends sometimes assume roles performed by the kin-based ties thus blurring the categorisation between kin-based and non-kin-based ties.

Actors in dispersal have often lived in various refugee settings, and therefore they are more knowledgeable about nuances in refugee situations across different countries. The knowledge and the exposure of these actors in different refugee contexts implies that they are in a better placement to inform and advise the ego on better options regarding assistance to refugees. One such case is Nancy whose network map has been presented in Figure 6.2; the uncle of her husband lived in Malawi as a refugee before resettling to Europe. When they were looking for where to go, they contacted him and basing on his experiences, he encouraged them to come to Kampala.

Actors resettled in more developed countries are anchors for the egos in the migration processes often sponsoring the travel, sourcing places to live, and remitting some funds for the maintenance of these ego. The relatively cheap cost of living, particularly food, coupled with the accommodative policy environment on refugee acceptance makes Uganda a convenient alternative to the pursuit of third country destination. In the interim time, when family reunification or resettlement to a country with better socioeconomic opportunities is not possible, friends and families in the advanced countries would prefer to support their own in cities in low-income countries with relatively better refugee policies, better hospitality, and cheaper cost of living, though not up to the standards in the Western countries. Cities such a Kampala play this role well, compared to settlement areas since their global connections imply easier access to remittances services. As Tesfy puts it, 'there are also others whose relatives are in America, Europe etc who invite their relatives to live here. Many of these people may not be working but the families settled outside Africa supports them. It is easier to support them here than in Eritrean'(Tesfy, 43, male, Eritrean).

6.3 Actors in the social networks and processes of information flows in migrating to city

This section explores the sources and modes of circulation about Kampala focusing on personal network feedback information (Fiedler, 2019). Information exchanged through personal network is a critical aspect because of the role information plays in influencing the choices of individuals regarding where to go. For instance, a positive rating of a place in terms of narratives about opportunities available may motivate a refugee to relocate to such places when he or she encounters difficulties in a camp or city of first asylum, or when political situation at home country gradually begins to deteriorate.

6.3.1 Sources of information

Narratives from the participants show that refugees received information from their friends, family members, relatives, employees of organisations, including those who are known and unknown to the participant. Both kin-based and non-kin-based ties at various geographical locations provided information about Kampala and potential destination options. Broadly, two social network-based sources of information are identified as influential in the decisions of the refugees in this study; namely ‘personal experiences’ and ‘third party experiences,’

Personal experiences

Personal experiences constitute information refugees obtained directly from some actors who had lived in Uganda in general and Kampala in particular often based on personal life experiences of living in Kampala. Some of these actors were residing in Kampala, by the time the refugee obtained the information while other transmitters were met in place of origin, or transit or accessed from dispersal. Participants whose narratives are cited below exemplifies how refugees obtain information through first-person experiences.

My source of information about Uganda was through Ugandans who go to South Sudan and Darfur people who ever came to Kampala and went back to Juba. However, by the time I came I did not know anybody in Uganda (Samiah, (not real name), Sudanese, female, 29).

I knew of a friend who was in Kampala and I was in communication while still in Burundi so when I got the pastor to take me to Kenya I informed the friend, and while in Nairobi when life became unbearable, I informed my friend in Kampala who encouraged me to come to Kampala and she received me. She told me that here in Kampala if you have little money you can be able to do business (Patience (not real name), 27, female, Burundian)

Some refugees also indicated that they are currently involved in sharing information with their friends, families and relatives left behind as in the case of Ayan (not real name) cited below:

People normally call me by phone etc asking me about life in Kampala, whether they can come etc. I normally tell them the reality of Kampala, telling them what I know and experience. Uganda also has very good education system but you have to pay. For those who would like to come, I normally don't discourage them if they are escaping. I would tell them to come because it is safe here and nobody disturbs you. However, it is better to stay in one's own country because life is very costly here. You need to pay for everything (Ayan, Somali, female, 28).

An important aspect of 'first person experiences' is that the information is based on the lived experiences of the one relaying and therefore grounded on the knowledge about the realities of the local context at the destination:

I remember in my family, there was a professor, now he is in the University of Khartoum; he finished his university education in 1975, the same year I was born. He took 10 years in London and another 10 years in Saudia, teaching there. He went to many places including America and one time the government sent him to Makerere and found the place was beautiful and the weather was very good. He said he visited all other places but when he came to Uganda, the weather was much better than in these other places [...]. Now, that professor told us, next time he will come to Kampala because Kampala is better than these places, the weather is neither cold nor hot. So, if you want to fast, better go to Kampala and you will get everything because Kampala is cold; it was favourable to him. That was before the war; because at that time you may know Iraq but not Kampala (Ibrahim (not real name), 46. Male, Sudanese).

When I was in a wheelchair dad used to take me to school and that school was for... AMISOM, I learnt English and I had a good teacher called Gladis she was from Uganda, she taught me how

good Uganda is but before that dad used to come and take me in the afternoon (Idil (not real name), Somali, female, 25)

These refugees therefore used information from personal experiences of the actors who lived or visited Kampala to verify information received from other general sources such as news, television, classroom knowledge as well internet sources as seen in the case of Samiah, cited above. Information from first-hand experiences also helped the refugees to compare regulations, practices, and security situations affecting refugees in other countries of asylum and in settlement areas in Uganda with that of Kampala. Refugees who verify general information with those received from actors with first-hand experiences are also more realistic and better prepared about Kampala before their arrival.

Third party information

Refugees were not only influenced by information obtained from individuals who ever lived in Kampala but also through a third-party. Third party information consists of the information relayed to the participants by some actors whose knowledge about Kampala is through connections to their own networks. Relaters of third-party information are ‘bridges’ between the refugee (the ego) and the relaters’ networks elsewhere. Third party information is common among refugees who spent some time in transit cities, border towns, and refugee camps before arrival in Kampala. Some of the actors were also located in the country of origin or in dispersal. Extracts below shows the nature of the third-party information and how this information is transmitted:

When we were at the border these ‘boda-boda’ people we asked them, I called one and we shared a soda and I asked him for information, I told him that I am from Burundi I heard that it’s supposed to be open, that I want to go to Uganda, and the ‘Boda’ told me that you are not the first to come because it was in February 2016, I’ve been seeing many Burundians passing going in Uganda, better if you come and go to Kampala life is good in Kampala (Pierre(not real name), Burundian, male, 43).

I just heard people talking about Kampala while I was in Mogadishu. That it is a nice place, better than refugee camp. Some of these people I know but others I do not know. They were just talking saying how peaceful Kampala is and I listened to them. It was just a group of people talking about Kampala (Amina(not real name), Somali, female, 30).

We had been together with our friends there in the market, they told that there is Kampala which has what? The smart language you go there you will be able to learn English very well and after that you come back and apply for a University in Juba and actually that was my first decision I have taken that from there and then. After two weeks I prepare myself to come here (Aziz(not real name), Sudanese, male,37).

Since the participants do not have direct contacts with the relaters' networks, the original source of third-party information is often anonymous and disconnected. Third party information relaters also tend to be 'non-kin-based weak ties.' Participants often referred to the third-party information relaters in general terms such as 'some people', 'colleagues', or 'friends' met in a 'market', 'village.' Third party information is common among refugees who come from non-bordering countries, particularly Eritrea, Ethiopia, and Sudan. Among all the 14 participants who mentioned this source of information, 10 are from these three countries.

Third party sources make important contribution for the refugees who did not have social networks in Kampala for first-person experiences and fills a gap in lack of formal channels for information transmission in transit areas about refugee assistance in Kampala. The case of Mercy (not real name), a 37-year-old Congolese lady attests to this: Mercy and others boarded a trailer to move to Kampala from Bunagana. She states that they, 'did know anyone in Kampala.' However, she also stated that 'people told us that Kampala life is good, no fighting and people live in harmony. I don't know Kigali or Nairobi, nobody advised me to go there' thus indicating reliance on third-party information.

6.3.3 Modes of information circulation

Human mobility, technological advancement and social interactions have always served the purpose of communication. This section shows how refugees also utilise these media to receive information and transmit information to potential asylum seekers.

Migration and visits

Return migration, circular migration, visits, and secondary onward migrations are the channels through which information about Kampala is transmitted to prospective asylum seekers. Participants in the study cited receiving information from businesspeople, researchers, returning

refugees and migrants, sojourners, and refugees who moved onwards to developed countries. Some of these actors either provided first-hand experiences or third-party information about Kampala at places of origin or in transit areas.

Idil (not actual name) a 25-year-old Somali lady, for instance, cited inquiring about Uganda from Ugandan migrants to Somalia. Idil states that while in Somali, she had some Ugandan English teachers from whom she inquired about life in Uganda. Her teachers told her about life in Uganda and encouraged her to move to Uganda. Similarly, Samiah (not actual name) a Sudanese who temporarily sought refuge in South Sudan, cited Ugandan and Sudanese (Darfur) businesspeople in South Sudan and Uganda as her contacts. Bashir (false name) has a similar case citing returning students to Somali as those who encouraged him about learning English and pursuing postgraduate studies in Kampala.

Some participants also cited receiving information through their refugee relatives and friends in dispersal. Some of these relatives and friends have not lived in Kampala or even Uganda. However, their dispersal to more developed countries also implies that they have a better exposure to flow of information about global refugee situations. Therefore, these actors in dispersal advise their families, friends, and relatives who are left behind to move to Uganda, hence Kampala, where there is relatively better security, better refugee assistance and better freedom of movement and work. Senait (false name), an Eritrean refugee, is a case in point; Senait was advised by the friend of her husband who resides in Israel to move to Kampala from Khartoum where she may be able to live a fairly better life as a refugee. Senait stated that the friend of her husband lived in different places as a refugee and also had friends who ever lived in Uganda. Nancy, the Burundian refugee discussed earlier on had a similar story, where the husband's uncle in Europe advised them to move to Kampala. Michael (not actual name), an Eritrean refugee community leader confirms that Eritrean refugees who could not migrate to Europe are advised by their families, relatives, and friends to move to Uganda. Eritrean refugees divert to Kampala because of relatively lower cost of living, and better package of assistance to refugees (Michael, Eritrean, male, 45, Community leader).

Information technology

Participants often cited the social media and phone calls as the means through which they got from their personal networks about Kampala before moving to Kampala. In addition to passing information, ICT users influence the asylum destinations through production and circulation of audio-visual images about the destination. The fact that the actors in the images are sometimes known to the prospective refugee also increases their propensity to migrate to the destination. Tesfy (false name) for instance narrates how the Eritrean refugee communities capture the imagination of those left behind:

In Kampala, there are those movies that are shot by the Eritreans living in Kampala. These movies are shot at some of the beautiful cites, e.g., Rwenzori, Source of the Nile etc. they also portray the cultures of the people as beautiful. These movies are shot by people who even may not be able to go there, may be only once a year. However, when they send them out, they capture the imagination of the people who want to come to Uganda (Tesfy, 42, male, Eritrean).

Another way in which ICT users influence each other in choices about the destination, that is Kampala, is through the creation of a virtual community of people with common interest. Through social media outlets such as WhatsApp, groups are created, and members of these groups share information about refugee situations in different contexts and how to migrate to the destination. Belonging to a social media network group opens up the opportunity to explore new destinations through interactions and participations on these platforms as seen in the narrative below:

Sometimes you can add somebody, maybe you know his name, his name is Oromo. I came from Oromo community and this guy is Oromo. Then when I accept that, then that person live in Uganda, or in Kenya or may be Sudan Khartoum, then you start communication with him, you introduce yourself to him and he introduces himself. Then after that you know each other through the media. After that you share the ideas and other things. Even sometimes even if he is not Oromo, you can meet each other, you have lots of friends through the media, you can get a lot of information, different information. So at that time you share the information, the refugees share information about the life, how to survive, about the future and sometimes they encourage each other, they pray for each other (Emma, Ethiopian, male, 36).

Refugee community

Realising that the traditional humanitarian approaches designed for camp systems may not be relevant for all spaces, the UNHCR employed the refugee community approach in urban areas where refugees can form their own associations (UNHCR, 2009). Influences of refugee community associations sometimes span across different spaces including refugee camps and neighbouring countries thus making information available to refugees who are considering migrating to urban areas. Members of association share information among themselves regarding registration processes, and services offered by the government, the UNHCR and international NGOs. Refugees intending to migrate sometimes contact members of these refugee associations who in turn advise the prospective refugee about the best destination options, as well as services available in the various destinations.

Peace (not actual name), a South Sudanese female participant who also doubles as one of the leaders of South Sudanese Urban Refugee community, for instance confirms that ‘people get information through friends who have registered themselves and share with each other, those in the camp and those in Kampala.’ She further stressed that, ‘if the person feels that he/she can come to the urban centre, its free just through friend information.’ She however also pointed to the role of this associations when she said that ‘those who come direct from Juba not as refugees and they are not registered we encourage them to be registered, and have ID, it makes it easier when opening business and one wants to open an account.’ Hiba (not actual name), also a participant and a community leader for Sudanese refugee women, also spoke of those whom they assisted regarding how they got their information. She notes that people now come to them (Sudanese Women for Peace and Development), because of the popularity and reliability of the association, including information circulation. Similar narratives are also told by leaders of Somali community, ‘Sometimes people ask about that community, and you give them good comment, Uganda is this and that, that can happen. You give them to decide. And when they arrive you just help’(Abdi, Somali, male, 23).

Rumours

Interviews with refugees in Kampala shows that rumours played some important role in circulation of information leading to refugees' movement to Kampala from transit areas or border towns. Rumours thrive in a context where there is a lack of information about modalities of refugee assistance from humanitarian organisations operating in these areas. When referring to lack of information from formal channels, refugees often stated coming to Kampala without specific information about refugee assistance in the country. Omar (false name), a Somali refugee is among those whose sources of information are rumours from ad hoc networks. He stated that he 'just heard that Kampala is a nice place and good for refugees and they help refugee a lot. That is the reason why I chose to come to Kampala. I heard it from people after we left, that is when we heard about Kampala. Johnny (not real name), a Congolese shared a similar story mentioning that, 'the information I got is from other persons who told me they have some brothers there, another person there....like that. They share the information in the village. I know ... like, my relatives lived there, my colleague lived there. So, we share the information.that Uganda is very secure'(Johnny, Congolese, male, 46).

Rumours also thrive as channels for communication when refugees are at a crossroad of deciding the best course of action. Abdi (not actual name) for instance arrived in Kenya at a time of restrictions in refugee acceptance in Nairobi and rumours about better life in Uganda became instrumental source of information. Abdi narrates that he intended to settle in Kenya by the time he left Somalia. He further narrates, 'when I arrived Kenya, I heard that Kenya is not accepting new arrivals, like new refugees, they are no longer registering. And it is very hard to stay in Kenya without a document. So, a colleague told me that in Uganda they are welcoming and accepting new refugees. So, that's why I decided to come this side.'(Abdi, Somali, male, 23).

6.4 Actors in the social networks, instrumental and emotional support during migration

Information exchange constitutes the greatest part of support through which actors influence the actions of the participants in migration. However, there are other instrumental and emotional roles the identified actors in the social networks played in influencing the individuals' choice of destination. In particular, family reunification (both instrumental and emotional), companionship

(emotional), transportation (instrumental, and remittances (instrumental) are the key roles of the social networks identified from the narratives of the participants.

6.4.1 Family reunification

Narratives from participants in the study have shown some connections between social networks, family reunification and the choice of destination. For some of the refugees, the important actors were already living in Kampala. These actors are either refugee family members who fled earlier on, or voluntary migrant family members who are residents of city. Mary, the South Sudanese whose story was cited earlier on (see section 6.2) is one case. Mary ended up coming to Kampala because of her son who came to Kampala as a student before the war in South Sudan. As she states it, ‘how will my child survive if they close the road? So, I asked for help from my brother-in-law, the husband of my elder sister.’ This decision to remain in the city in spite of the socioeconomic hardships she experienced in early days of arrival, was further reinforced by the son’s disinterest in living in rural areas. Shepherd (not actual name), a 22-year-old male Congolese who escaped to Burundi with the uncle and other household members has a similar story about how he came to Kampala. In Shepherd’s case, it was through the invitation of the cousin who escaped to Kampala before other family members that he ended up living in Kampala. Shepherd states that his cousin already established some connections with some organisations, especially YARID that further facilitated their movement and settlement in the city.

In some cases, the influential actors with whom the participants want to reunite are dispersed either elsewhere in Uganda or in more developed countries. Kampala is thus strategically and pragmatically chosen for tracing dispersed families and relatives in other destinations, or as a transit point to reunite with families and relatives already resettled elsewhere. For instance, Susan whose case was discussed earlier on chose to come to Kampala though she had a clue that the children might have gone to Adjumani. Susan states that she thought this was a better idea because she could leave the other children at the brother-in-law’s place in Kampala while he could also help her to search for the children. Hani (not actual name), a Somali young woman, and her family thought that Kampala is better place from which they can reunify with her brother in the United States.

6.4.2 Companionship

Participants in this study also mentioned joining the company of those destined for Kampala or having been accompanied by somebody coming to Kampala. Both previously known and unknown actors in the social networks provided company for the refugee which is traditionally associated with household members. Some of the refugees thus moved to Kampala because of the company of the people they met on the way. For instance, Ayan (not actual name), left Somali in the company of those who were seeking asylum in Kenya. However, when they decided to move to Uganda, Ayan decided to join their company. In the case of Idil (not actual name) a 25-year-old Somali lady, the auntie who came with her from Somali wanted to leave her in Kenya. However, Idil pleaded to move to Kampala with her because being disabled, she felt she could not live in Nairobi on her own. Instances of accompaniment to Kampala were also common among other nationalities, particularly the Congolese escaping from violence in Eastern Congo. Etienne, a Congolese refugee who fled from an attack in 2009 is one example:

So, I went to the bus station terminal for all the buses and flew in one of them. I found one lady inside so when she saw me in that situation crying, she asked me what was the problem then I told her what had happened at home. Then she told me am going to Kampala for my business to bring things to sell but I know there is a church called Zion for Congolese you come we go together, if I don't find someone to stay with you then we shall come back with you (Etienne, 27, male, Congolese).

6.4.3 Transportation support

Transporters, especially the truck drivers, boda-boda taxi operators, and migration brokers provide important role in channelling refugees to Kampala by reducing the costs of transportation. A number of refugees, especially those coming from Eastern DRC and South Sudan talked of using the services of these trans-border transportation networks when traveling:

[W]e ran away from Bunagana up to Kisoro where we got a trailer which helped us reach Kampala, we didn't know anyone but they took us to the church. (Mercy, Congolese, female, 37)

He (another truck driver) left us on the way and told us that he will be going further deep inside because they are a little deep inside of Atiak. However, I could not even move with him because I

do not know who he is, so I told him to leave us on the way. We stayed there on way the whole day, until evening almost at dusk when another vehicle picked us up. So, I thought at least if it brings up to Kampala, at least my brother-in-law is here in Kampala (Susan, 29, female, South Sudanese)

Many participants who cited the services of truck drivers, boda-bodas, migration brokers, or private car operators to come to Kampala did not have knowledge about refugee assistance in Uganda. Moreover, having lost most of their livelihoods and their documents, these refugees could not afford bus fares or air tickets, or fear being reprimanded if they use bus services, and therefore could not use official channels of border crossing. Transporters thus played facilitatory role by making the destination more accessible to the refugees. Participants mentioned being transported free of charge in some instances while others describe these transporters as ‘good Samaritans’ when referring to the free services they received from them. However, refugees are sometimes transported in rather inhuman conditions. For instance, Anne (false name) had to travel in an open truck in a cold yet she was expecting a baby but also had malaria (Anne, Eritrean, female, 39).

6.4.4 Remittance

Interviews with the research participants also points to remittances from actors in their social networks as a factor for refugee movement to Kampala. The availability of financial resources from refugees in dispersal (mainly developed or upper middle-income countries) enabled refugees from far off to move to Kampala. Senait, the Eritrean lady earlier on (see section 6.1) is among the few in such circumstances. Senait states, ‘in Khartoum we stayed only for two weeks, because my husband’s friend helped us. He is living in Israel, has good mind. I really respect him; he gave me some money at least. I have three kids and my mother has no good health; it was not easy for her especially at that time in that age. That was a friend to my husband, who supported my coming to Uganda.’ Grace (false name), a 34-year-old Ethiopian lady working in an NGO had a similar case. In the case of Grace, her colleagues working in NGO in Uganda supported her to move to Kampala.

Participants stated receiving financial support from their families, friends, and well-wishers for settlement in Kampala mainly during the first few months of arrival.

There is a wife of pastor who stayed in Australia.... she came here during lock down and helps me with the basic needs. The wife of the pastor I did not know her before but just helped me according to the story she got from the church where we go (Stella, South Sudanese, 29, female).

*My uncle abroad he is the one who helped us a lot with the medication because you could go to **mulago** they tell you no help to offices no help until when she died I was the one taking care of her we were together with my biological mother and mum was sick and the provider at the same time (Nelly, Congolese, 25, female).*

Views from a few refugee leaders (especially Eritreans) also revealed that families, relatives and friends encourage refugees to move to Kampala where they can easily support them through remittances than if they settled elsewhere or remained in country of origin. For instance, Tesfy, the PhD student who now serves as a translator and liaison person at Refuge Law Project noted that, ‘there are also others whose relatives are in America, Europe etc who invite their relatives to live here. Many of these people may not be working but the families settled outside Africa supports them. It is easier to support them here than in Eritrean.’ Michael (false name) another Eritrean refugee leader corroborates this view, attributing it to the fact that opportunities of resettlement to the Eritrean refugee community has been closed thus resulting in families already resettled re-directing their loved ones to Kampala where they can support them. Ahmed (false name), an Ethiopian refugee leader also noted remittance serves a central role for sustenance and motivation for residing in Kampala driven by the low cost of living in Kampala relative to some regional cities.

6.5 Actors in the social networks and the processes of decision-making on destination

Destination selection is about the role of social network actors in influencing egos’ decision to choose a specific destination among a range of destination options. Destination selection also includes circumstances where the refugee decides to move to Kampala as a stepping-stone to some other destination. It can also occur in cases where the refugee initially intends to move some other places but ends up settling for Kampala as an alternative destination. The discussion here is limited to refugees who explicitly stated that they explored the options of going to some other cities before coming Kampala. These decisions were reached either at the time of departure from home country or emerged while in some transit areas before arrival in Kampala.

It is acknowledged that refugees often depart from their home countries without specific destinations in mind (Lyytinen, 2017). Nonetheless, a gradual precipitating event may provide a window for exploration of destination options. In addition, a journey that involves ‘stepwise migration’ implies that time spent in transit areas are also sufficient enough to explore final

destinations with better options. It is at this point that social networks intersect with preceding factors in sending area, be it country of origin or transit areas, in shaping choice of specific destination. Finding from this study revealed two ways through which refugees end up specifically choosing Kampala: aiding elimination of competing destinations and alteration of pre-selected destination.

6.5.1 Elimination of competing destination

Participants in the study frequently mentioned range of cities in the region to which they had intended to go but declined the idea. These participants also mainly came from some other urban areas and most of them were employed or had completed some basic education. For some, deliberations on where to go occurred after crossing the borders. Participants therefore arrive at the decision about city destination, in our case Kampala, after eliminating competing alternatives basing on the opportunities, they are able to attain once at the destination. Some of these opportunities are further discussed under information in the next chapter.

Although opportunities at the destination may be the determinant factor in choosing a specific city, social networks play important but interdependent role in migration to the selected city as seen in the extracts from participants presented below.

[Before] we left Burundi we had to decide which country to go. Well, thinking of Rwanda because we knew Rwanda before, my husband is born from Rwanda so he knew that country before and also I've been to Rwanda several times, so we said that country is hard to start a new life. So we said because we had also been to Uganda once just for a visit so we had an overview of the country. We had also visited Kenya Nairobi once, so we had an overview of the life in Nairobi and also Dar-esalaam we visited once, so we had an overview of all of those so we decided to come to Kampala because we said at least there is a bit free for foreigners, you can work, you can run a business 'yeah' so that's how we decided to come to Kampala.Like the friend of mine who is in the USA supported the idea said actually, because he used to work in Burundi, I worked also for him that is how we became friends so when he went back I kept really good contact even up to now so when I told him about the decision we are making he said that is the best because that country you cannot survive better you go to Uganda then he connected us with someone friend of his here, the guy is working with 'Kabira...' (Nancy- not actual name, Burundian, female, 39)

At that time, the border between Uganda and SS was open because of the war. The only thing is that if you want to go to camp, you will assemble at Elegu. But for me because of my child, I could not stay in Elegu so I used the remaining 1000 SSP to travel to Kampala (Mary- not actual name, South Sudanese, female, 51).

I had two options, by the time I was coming; option one was Kenya and the other option was Kampala. So, on the way when I was coming, people were telling me that I am disable so why don't you go to Kampala than Kenya because Kampala is more helpful than Kenya or where you are looking for. The refugees in Kampala are much better off than those ones in Kenya so I chose Kampala. These are people I just met during the journey (Omar - not actual name, Somali, male, 28).

Each of the three cases had distinct trajectories in terms of where and when they came up with the idea of moving to Kampala. They also vary in terms of their socioeconomic backgrounds and their reasons for selecting Kampala. Nancy, a journalist working with a NGO in Burundi, reached the decision about moving to Kampala from her home country. Mary, a South Sudanese businesswoman, ended up choosing to come to Kampala after crossing the border into Uganda. The little time she had at this place was also a moment for her to explore the viability of the settlements and other competing destinations, including Kampala. Like Nancy, Omar who has some disabilities made the decision in his home country but already having left his hometown.

However, there is some implicit involvement of the social networks in each of the narratives, where all the three actors mentioned some individuals that either provided information, provided some assistance in searching for accommodation, or companionship. In all, their ability to reach the destination was facilitated by some social support they received through these actors. In some instances, the support comes before the choice of the destination, hence helping the refugee to choose a specific destination (Kampala). In other cases the refugee first chooses the destination and the support from the networks becomes instrumental for reaching the selected destination. For instance, reunification for Mary and information about opportunities for Omar preceded the choice of Kampala, while Nancy had already chosen to come to Kampala when she asked for help with accommodation. The presence of social networks in the city sometimes re-directed the participant away from other potential destinations to Kampala as in the case of Mary. Mary's case also

embodies the fact that social networks channel refugees to specific destinations because of the long-established networks at the destination through family reunification.

6.5.2 Alteration of pre-selected destination

Although refugees have preferences about certain destinations, where they end up living is not what they necessarily prefer. ‘Spatial substitution’ (De Haas et al., 2019) sometimes occurred where refugees are diverted to Kampala instead of some other previously preferred or selected destination. Alteration of destination for Kampala occurred through abandoning, suspending or delaying the idea of moving to some previously intended or even visited destination. In this case, Kampala is chosen not after considering competing opportunities at various destinations but because the ability to reach the initially intended is circumscribed and Kampala becomes a proxy destination. Narratives from some participants indicated that to some extent social networks facilitated this re-direction of refugees to Kampala.

One way through which social networks rechannelled refugees to Kampala is encouraging or supporting refugees to abandon previously selected and visited cities. This occurs in a situation where refugees encounter difficulties upon arrival in such cities. Hence, instead of remaining in these cities, friends or families in Kampala encourage the refugees to move to Kampala where they are residing. It also occurs in cases where the previously supportive actor in the network abdicates his or her role of supporting the refugee. Patience’s (not actual) case epitomises this kind of destination alterations. Patience is 27-year-old Burundian lady. She went all the way to Nairobi with the help of a pastor who promised to link her up to a friend who runs a shop. However, this pastor did not fulfil his promise and life became difficult for Patience in Nairobi. She then got in touch with a friend in Kampala who encouraged her to relocate to Kampala. Patience then decided to leave Nairobi and join her friend in Kampala. Other Burundians in Nairobi then raised some money and supported her to come to Kampala. What can be seen here in Patience’s case is the role her networks both in Nairobi and Kampala played in aiding her to explore new destination and then move there.

Alterations of ultimately intended destination for Kampala sometimes occurred when refugees were facilitated with some attractive information about the destination provided by some actors, particularly from weak ties after failing to reach the desired destination. Rania (not actual name),

a 39-year-old female Sudanese from the Nuba Mountains for instance wanted to move to Egypt from Juba instead of Kampala or any other place. Egypt would have been a better option for her because she is already fluent in the Arabic language. The family and some relatives already live there, and it is also easy to get assistance from the government and organisations. However, she could not go to Egypt because of distance and the strong ties in Egypt are inaccessible. With the support she got from the new networks of friends in Juba, mainly non-kin-based ties in transit, and the attractive information they provided about Kampala, Rania ended up in Kampala. However, Rania still regrets coming to Kampala, stating that, ‘I wished if I went to Egypt, but sometimes you wish but you could not do it.’ Contrary to the expectation that social networks channel refugees to destinations where social capital is available, the case of Rania suggests that non-kin-based social ties sometimes operate in an opposite way by diverting refugees to a destination where strong ties are not necessarily available. Narrative from this case also suggests that choice of some destinations is based not only on opportunities but also contingent on the support the social ties met in transit can provide at the time.

Chapter 7

DISCUSSION

7.1 Introduction

The overarching objective of this study is to investigate how social networks of the urban refugees influenced their choices to specifically move to Kampala as opposed to any other destination. To achieve this objective, the study drew on various sources of data including review of published statistics, quantitative surveys, and qualitative in-depth interviews with refugees and some refugee community leaders. This chapter synthesizes the preceding findings in light of existing studies in the field. The chapter discusses the findings from each of the objectives by relating the results to existing related studies, integrating the quantitative and qualitative results, providing possible explanations and drawing some implications from the findings.

7.2 To describe the profiles, and patterns movement of the urban refugees in Kampala

Individual characteristics and destination selection

The findings in this study showed that more than half of the refugees had specific preferences or plans to come to Kampala compared to those who moved to Kampala without any specific plans as seen in Figure 4.4. The finding thus agrees with a similar study among refugees migrating to Australia which shows that the refugees had preferences about moving to Australia relative to other destinations (McAuliffe & Jayasuriya, 2016; McAuliffe & Khadria, 2020). Further, the findings show that specific intention for Kampala mainly came as a second alternative after considering moving to cities in more developed countries and the failure to move to such destinations due to lack of opportunities (see Table 4.2). The case of refugees in Kampala thus affirms findings in elsewhere in other African cities where refugees make conscious decision to move from one host country to another because some anticipated gains in such countries (Adem et al., 2023). This result agrees with the argument that the selection of destination is hierarchically patterned depending on factors such as the migration goals of the migrant, perceived safety at the destination, destination country's state policies and the prevailing labour market (Hofmann, 2015). In the case of the refugees in this study, the specific plan or preference to move to Kampala as opposed to other destinations can be explained by the difficulties embedded in accessing more developed countries. These difficulties may result in refugees moving to low income cities such as Kampala as a proxy

alternative, or as a stepping stone to the ultimate destination hence resulting in some form of substitution effect (Czaika & de Haas, 2017; De Haas et al., 2019). This finding is further corroborated by the results from the qualitative component of the study where some refugees particularly from non-bordering countries altered their intended destinations for Kampala. These refugees chose to move to Kampala due to challenges of access to such cities or restrictive regulations in such countries but also often with the hope that moving to Kampala will enable them reach more lucrative destinations. Hence, although refugee migration to Kampala entails some choice, living in Kampala at least for some refugees is not necessarily out of choice. This latter aspect might have some implications on the kind of assistance these refugees may need once in an urban area.

Further, individual socioeconomic and demographic characteristics prior to migrating to Kampala and their association with destination selection were examined. The result shows that Somali, Eritrean, and South Sudanese refugees associate with having had specific plans about moving to Kampala. The fact that these refugee communities had specific plans about moving to Kampala may not be entirely surprising given that refugees from these communities more often make temporary settlements in intermediate cities or countries while embarking in onward migrations (Fusari & Perrin, 2018). One study using a threshold approach showed that Somali refugees seeking to resettle in the United States divert to South Africa, hoping the process of resettlement would be easier (Shaffer et al., 2018, p. 161). Moreover, the rapport between Somali community in Uganda and the government of Uganda and the existing historical, institutional and religious linkages to Kampala contributed to some Somali refugees' relocation from cities such as Nairobi to Kampala (Bakewell & Binaisa, 2016; Iazzolino & Hersi, 2019). The Somali refugees also move to Kampala as a steppingstone for resettlement to third country (Iazzolino & Hersi, 2019). A study among South Sudanese showed that refugees who had families and relatives living in urban areas with better access to information had moved well ahead the escalation of tensions in 2013 and 2016 (Humphrey, 2020). While South Sudanese are characterized as *prima facie* refugees responding to mass displacements, the findings in this study and evidence from other studies suggests some nuances in how refugees from this country reacted to the displacement. South Sudanese also had a long history of displacement leading to some former refugees settling in Uganda. It is therefore likely that family members already established in Uganda prepared South Sudanese studied here

to evaluate options of settling in neighbouring settlement areas in Northern Uganda and instead use their connections to settle in Kampala. Refugees' specific intention to move to Uganda, and then Kampala specifically suggests that in addition to displacement as a driver for refugees, the regulations regarding freedom of movement, livelihood activities, access to resources and resettlement prospects could have contributed to intentions to move to Kampala as opposed to settlement areas or some neighbouring countries.

Further, there is a significant association between the characteristics of last place of residence before moving to Kampala and whether the refugee had a specific intention to move to Kampala. Most of the refugees who tend to have had specific plans about moving to Kampala originated from refugee settlement areas compared to those who originated from non-institutionalized refugee hosting areas. This result reflects resettlement to third countries as one of the main reasons why refugees leave camp areas and move to Kampala (Bernstein & Okello, 2007; Mulumba, 2010). Indeed, some refugees left their countries without any specific destinations in mind (Brekke & Brochmann, 2015). However, the idea of moving to a specific destination with clear intentions evolves, when refugees cross borders to camps and settlements in Uganda or in the neighbouring countries due to security and socioeconomic problems in these areas (Bagonza, 2021; Betts et al., 2020). The result is as such expected since hardships in socioeconomic opportunities in settlement areas in Uganda, as well as the need to expedite resettlement processes and status determinations processes compel refugees to explore the options of settling in Kampala (Bernstein & Okello, 2007; Crawford & O'Callaghan, 2019).

Patterns of movement

Mapping the patterns of refugee movement shows some non-linearity in refugee movement to Kampala. Refugees flee to and spend some significant amount of time in some cities or camps, both within Uganda and outside Uganda before moving to Kampala (see Map1 and Map 2 in Chapter Four). This finding is consistent with a plethora of literature on secondary migration of refugees from camps or intermediate cities or countries to another city or country (Bagonza, 2021; Iazzolino & Hersi, 2019; Norwegian Refugee Council, 2018). The nonlinear pattern of movement could be attributed to the nature and intensity of conflicts where refugees momentarily seek asylum

to neighbouring area before onward migration as seen in the Bohra-Mishras and Massey (2011) cited earlier. However, an additional and reinforcing factor for the patterns of flow observed could be attributed to lack opportunities in camps or settlement areas, criminalisation of refugees in urban areas in some countries, and a down turn in security in some neighbouring countries (Bagonza, 2021; Iazzolino & Hersi, 2019; Koizumi & Hoffstaedter, 2015; Pittaway, 2015). In consequence, the difficulties in living in first cities of arrival compels refugees in to imagine better opportunities elsewhere (Landau, 2021). In the case of Kampala, the aspirations for Kampala from some intermediate destinations could be attributed to perceptions about better freedom of movement for refugees, more opportunities for informal livelihood activities, better access to resources and easier resettlement process could have contributed to this secondary movement once in Kampala (Crawford & O’Callaghan, 2019). As a result, refugees select Kampala from among existing potential destination options leading to their movement to Kampala. This finding is further corroborated by the findings from qualitative interviews where some refugees stated moving to Kampala because of challenges such as cost of living, insecurities and refugee regulations they encountered in camps in Uganda or cities in some neighbouring countries. It can thus be argued that fluctuations in refugee contexts will perpetuate not only the movement of refugees to Kampala, but cities in similar settings.

7.3 To assess the associations between individual characteristics, social networks, and destination selection among the urban refugees in Kampala.

Knowledge of social ties in Kampala

The crosstabulation results showed some associations between background characteristics and knowing someone living or having ever lived in Kampala by the time of movement to Kampala. Focusing on the age of the respondents, individuals who are 40 and above tend to associate with having known someone prior to migration. This result is expected given that literature also shows that individual characteristics such as age, sex, ethnicity or other social factors affect having social ties at the destination (Rüegger & Bohnet, 2018; Sommers, 2001). This can be explained by the fact that the younger population do not have a wider knowledge of families, relatives and acquaintances dispersed across different places compared to adults (Clark-Kazak, 2006). Hence, their only available social ties at the destination are those known to their parents or close relatives.

This is less surprising where a number of younger people in the qualitative interviews stated being brought to Kampala by their relatives or parents, with companionship and family reunification playing critical role for their movement to Kampala. Lack of known persons at the destination among young may be an issue of concern if the young person is not accompanied by an adult relative or family member to Kampala during migration, exposing them to risk of trafficking or homelessness in urban areas.

Refugees from Somali and Eritrean refugee communities tend to associate less with having known or met someone who ever lived in Kampala, compared to refugee communities from bordering countries such as South Sudan and DRC. This result contrast previous studies in Kampala where refugee communities from the Horn of Africa tend to be associated with strong bonds and social support in Kampala (Betts et al., 2014; Krause-Vilmar, 2011). This is an important result since strong ties at the destination are associated with likelihood of migrating to the destination. While this result may seem counter-intuitive given strong support and more diasporic character of the Somali and the Eritrean communities (Fusari & Perrin, 2018; Ikanda, 2018), there are some evidences that support this finding. Some literature have shown that refugee flows to some specific destinations are patterned by cultural and ethnic similarities that spans across borders (Hébert et al., 2018; Rüegger & Bohnet, 2018). Further, results from qualitative findings in this study also shows that refugees who tend to rely on third-party information originated from non-bordering countries. Moreover, qualitative interviews with some refugees particularly from the Horn of Africa also show that refugees from these geographical areas came to Kampala not necessarily because they have some relatives or friends in Kampala but because of their awareness about strong national bonds and support among these refugee communities. This result could be attributed to the fact that the cross border cultural and ethnic similarities means that social relations often cut across borders thus privileging those from adjacent countries in terms of having known someone at the destination. For far off refugees, however, strong ties with ethnic or national members develop upon arrival and settlement but not necessarily prior to migration to the destination. This is so because refugee movement follows more complex patterns involving sometimes several secondary migrations involving more diverse actors. In addition recent scholarship on refugees moving from the Horn of Africa to European countries also suggest that more heterogenous ties, resources and values are mobilised than the traditional family based mutual obligations for

migration among these communities (Ciabbarri & Simonsen, 2024). This implies that social networks for these groups may be important but not necessarily those from family members.

Previous occupation also showed a significant result where most of those who had knowledge of social ties in Kampala have a background formal employment. The finding here is in line with one study indicating that social networks as one of the means of ascendance in occupational status where better occupation also implies larger social networks (Lin & Dumin, 1986). Hence, it can be argued that individuals who already had formal employment also had better exposure to wider knowledge of friends and acquaintances such as fellow professionals already living in Kampala. Consequently, wider knowledge of actors among those in higher occupations would turn out to be instrumental through information flows and other connections when exploring choices about destinations.

A significant result was also observed with regard to characteristics of the previous place of residence and time spent in transition, where majority of the refugees with camp/settlement background and who spent over a year in transition tend to associate with having known someone in Kampala. The statistically significant relationship observed here in the case of camp/settlement residence reflects the case of Myanmar refugees, where a refugee is likely to end up living in a specific or particular camp if a known family or ethnic member resides there (Rhoden, 2019). Moreover, literature also shows that refugees' long journeys with time spent in multiple intermediate destinations are also occasions where refugees explore networks that can help them reach their destinations (Crawley & Jones, 2021; Mallett & Hagen-Zanker, 2018; Shaffer et al., 2018). This result can be attributed to the material and psychological stress refugees experience at these temporary areas of settlement. Refugees caught up in these kind of situations are therefore likely to imagine better future elsewhere (Boer, 2015; Landau, 2021). The lack of satisfaction with the life in the camps and the long period of living in such places might have as such compelled the refugees to explore and discover individuals who ever lived in Kampala that could support their exits to Kampala. The findings in this study imply that protracted refugee stay particularly in settlement areas do not necessarily result in integrations among refugees and with host communities as long as refugees remain connected with urban areas thus resulting to their movement to urban areas hoping to find better life. This onward migration to urban areas is aggravated by difficulties refugees experience in rural settlement areas.

Social network ties and specific plans for Kampala

The finding in this study shows that social network factors facilitate the rechannelling of refugees to Kampala. Precisely, most individuals who knew someone living in Kampala or having ever lived in Kampala tend to associate with having had specific plans about coming to Kampala. The same applies in the case where the alter was living elsewhere within or without but not in Kampala or country of origin. This finding is supported by previous qualitative study among Congolese refugees in Kampala which shows that refugees who had specific plans about coming to Kampala are mainly those who already had families, relatives, or friends living in Kampala (Lyytinen, 2017). The result also lends further support to the empirical and theoretical literature on social networks and migration which shows that migrants and refugees move to some specific destinations according to the pre-existing social networks (Bertoli & Ruysen, 2016; İçduygu & Karadağ, 2018; Massey et al., 1993; Mossaad et al., 2020; Rüegger & Bohnet, 2018). Further, results from the qualitative in-depth interview in this study show that for some refugees, movement to Kampala was not a reactionary one but reached from either country of origin or when transiting through other places. Social network actors at origin, destination, transit and dispersal often played critical roles in facilitating individual decisions through information and other social support. The relationship between knowing some ties in Kampala or elsewhere and specifically choosing to move to Kampala can be explained by the patterns of refugee flight. In particular, in a context of anticipatory and intermediate patterns of flight as opposed to acute flights, the refugees might have planned their destinations drawing on resources available to them (Kunz, 1973). Hence, refugees who had such patterns of flight might have relied on their networks in Uganda in general, and Kampala in particular in order to achieve their objectives of moving to or through Kampala. This result is strongly supported by the qualitative results of this study showing that refugees were sometimes diverted to Kampala by their relatives and friends in order to achieve their family reunification goals with or through their kin-based ties already living in Kampala or attain some opportunities in Kampala. Given that social networks play important role for refugees in accessing services and integrating among urban communities, the findings in this study suggest that there is need to have specific considerations for refugees who do not have connections to Kampala and other urban areas.

The analysis of the relational ties shows that not all the ties have equal influences on destination selection. Specifically, relational ties of family membership tend to associate more frequently with having specific plans to move to Kampala when compared to relational ties of friendships. However, this difference cannot be observed when family ties are compared to ties to relatives such as aunts, uncles, grandparents or even in-laws. Evidence from existing studies also showed that kin-based relationships are crucial factors in supporting migrants on arrival at the destination (Uzobo et al., 2017). Similar result has also been shown on how refugees choose camp residence in Thailand where the likelihood of a refugee living in a given camp with family members exceeds that of living in camps with large ethnic members but no family members (Rhoden, 2019). Incentives and motivations to migrate are embedded in kinship patterns, where the presence of family and friends facilitate choice of residence through provisions of material and non-material support at the new destination (Haug, 2008, p. 589). Results from qualitative data further affirms the role of kinship factor where refugees particularly from neighbouring countries such as South Sudan mentioned reunification with family members either in Kampala or elsewhere as their motives for moving to Kampala. It is therefore not surprising that familial or kin-based ties played more influential role in the choice to specifically move to Kampala compared non-kin-base ties. The lack of significant differences between family ties and relative ties points to the equal importance of kinship obligations in African contexts where close relatives in some circumstances assume roles of parents or siblings. The more influential role of familial ties compared to friendship ties implies that there is a need to have a disaggregated approach when investigating social networks of urban refugees. Refugees who have kins at the destination might have deliberately chosen to move to Kampala among other places while those relying on non-kin-based ties did not privilege of choice among other destinations but just what ad hoc networks advise. The fact that refugees whose networks in Kampala were non-kin based moved without specific aim of choosing Kampala presents some risks of being misled or difficulties in adjusting in cities since their movement to Kampala might have been out of influences from acquaintances or strangers. Safety nets should be provided for such refugees in order to mitigate their vulnerabilities.

7.4 To examine the influences of social networks on the selection of the destination among the urban refugees in Kampala.

This study further explored the relational ties in space, information flow, social support and processes of decision making that facilitated the refugees to specifically choose to migrate to Kampala.

7.4.1 Relational ties, space, and support flows

Visualisation of the actors in the social networks through social network maps of four-space dimension of origin, destination, transit and dispersal shows diverse and multiple actors operate in influencing the migration behaviours and actions of the refugees leading to their movement to Kampala. These actors include ‘kin-based ties’ (strong ties) and ‘non-kin-based ties.’ Kind-based and non-kin-based actors play different but equally important roles (Giulietti et al., 2018; Ryan, 2011). The study shows that these influential actors are met not only from the countries of origin, but also in transit areas or activated from destination and dispersal. Through the various resources and support exchanged through these interactions, the actions of the refugees are shaped leading to their preferences and choices to move to Kampala.

To the extent that refugees draw on a wide range of personal networks for choice of a specific destination, the findings from this study differ from previous studies in urban refugee networks which showed that refugees trust and rely more on ethnic and national based ‘strong-ties’ or ‘bonding ties’ for livelihoods and integration in Sub Saharan Africa (Krause-Vilmar, 2011; Lyytinen, 2017; Lyytinen & Kullenberg, 2013; Monteith & Lwasa, 2017; Omata, 2012). Quantitative result also showed that differences in having specific intention occurs only when network ties at destination are disaggregated by family/relatives, friends and acquaintances. The diverse actors that operate to influence the decisions of the refugees can be explained by the fact that stepwise or threshold migrations provides opportunities for the discovery of new actors that become instrumental for migration to new destinations (Mallett & Hagen-Zanker, 2018; Paul, 2011; Shaffer et al., 2018; Torfa et al., 2021). In a context where conflicts take slow and precipitating pattern, refugees can draw support for migration from actors previously unknown actors encountered on during flight to enable them move to new destinations (Kunz, 1981). It can thus be argued from the results that while strong intra community bonds are vital for integration of refugees in cities, the decisions to choose to move to a specific city are influenced a broader social network ties including weak ties.

Further, mapping of the social network actors in four-space dimensions shows that refugees are attracted specifically to Kampala not only by the actors – both kin-based and non-kin-based – residing in Kampala. Actors living in transit areas and in dispersal also played important role in channelling refugees to Kampala through support that is exchanged from interactions. Although the finding in this study upholds views from past studies that refugees move to a specific destination because social capital is destination specific, it does not support this view in its entirety since actors from other spaces also channel refugees to the destination (Haug, 2008; Mossaad et al., 2020; Munshi, 2003; Rhoden, 2019; Rüegger & Bohnet, 2018). The fact that actors particularly encountered in transit or dispersal also channel refugees to Kampala can be explained by the more practical and advantageous role Kampala plays relative to the spaces where the actors are located. It is therefore expedient for relatives, friends and some acquaintances to advise and support their loved ones or those they know to move to Kampala where it is easier to support them. Reliance on networks elsewhere can also be attributed to lack of known actors living in Kampala for refugees who specifically intent to move to Kampala from place of origin or while in transit. Lack of known actors in Kampala thus resulted in refugees seeking support from actors elsewhere in order to achieve their objectives of moving to Kampala. This finding thus reflects a study of Afghan and Iraqi irregular migrants in Germany, where migrants are shown to rely on fellow asylum seekers met in transit and smugglers to obtain information about their ultimate destination (Torfa et al., 2021). The qualitative result here thus explains why the quantitative result shows significantly more actors who reside elsewhere but not in Kampala associate with specifically choosing to move to Kampala. The study thus suggests that understanding how social networks influence refugee choices about the destination should not be limited to actors at the destination cities but also those residing elsewhere.

7.4.2 Information flow

Information source

The findings in this study show that many of the refugees moved to Kampala when fairly informed about Kampala and personal contacts played a dominant role as source of information. Informants in the personal network ranged from friends, family members, relatives, employees of organisations, to strangers from places of origin transit, destination, or diaspora. Opportunities in

Kampala relative to other cities or countries and how to travel to Kampala are the critical information that potential refugees sourced from their personal networks. The need for access to information for refugees and the significance of personal networks reflects urban refugee literature that shows that anchors in urban areas provide information on migration and access to resources to refugees and migrants in cities Sub-Saharan Africa (Landau & Duponchel, 2011; Lyytinen, 2017; Mulumba, 2010). Further, findings also support studies in different contexts showing that refugees from Sub-Sharan Africa and elsewhere draw on their personal networks for information when migrating to Europe, Latin America or North America (Alcime & Gill, 2021; Carlson et al., 2018a; Dekker et al., 2018; Fiedler, 2019; Frouws et al., 2016). The fact that some refugees moved to Kampala when fairly informed about Kampala lends further support to the associations between having known someone in Kampala or elsewhere and specifically choosing to migrate to Kampala in the quantitative results of this study.

However, the finding in this study also extends these previous studies by identifying two different ways through which personal network-based information is sourced and operates. Information from ‘first person experiences’ is critical for evaluating the veracity of information received from other sources, and for comparing refugee situations in different settings. On the other hand, refugees also obtained information through a ‘third-party’ narrative about opportunities and challenges in Kampala. These differences in personal network-based sources of information implies that the benefits and influences information received from personal network as well as challenges related to these two sources may vary for the refugees. The result also suggests some inequalities within personal network-based sources of information were refugees relying on third-party information are less privileged in verifying information when choosing to move to Kampala. To mitigate vulnerabilities upon arrival in cities, accurate information is important for refugees who might end up relying on third party information. While findings in this study point to the need for a disaggregated approach when assessing personal network-based sources on information, challenges associated with each of these two sources of information were not within the scope of this current study.

Information circulation

This study identified various patterns of migration; rumours, ICT and refugee communities as the key avenues of information transmission. Personal networks played crucial role in these processes by availing information through first person and third-party experiences. Through these channels of information dissemination, refugees access information about opportunities at the destination, competing alternative destinations, and how to reach the selected destination, in this case Kampala. Hence, there is some important similarities between refugee flows to and settlement in cities in low income countries and refugee flows elsewhere in terms of the roles of ICT, rumours and transnationalism in information flows (Adugna, 2018; Akanle et al., 2021; Carlson et al., 2018b; Dekker et al., 2018; Dekker & Engbersen, 2014; Nie et al., 2021; Pesando et al., 2021). For refugees specifically, a critical factor for the thriving of this informal network based channels of information dissemination is the limited information dissemination through official channels, and fluctuations in refugee policies and implementations leading to uncertainties among refugees (Carlson et al., 2018b, 2018a). Refugees need information about prevailing refugee policies, functionalities of civil societies, and hospitalities when considering destinations (McAuliffe & Jayasuriya, 2016). It can be argued that refugees choose some specific cities when attractive images are presented to them about alternative destination through these informal means even if the accuracy of the information cannot be determined. Hence, the implication is that where this need is not met through formal channels, refugee personal social networks will continue to fill this gap, or even complement it where available, by channelling information through this informal means.

7.4.3. Roles of social support in destination selection and destination decisions

Additional to information flows, findings from the study show that other instrumental and emotional supports as well influenced or facilitated the flow of refugees to cities in low-income countries. Among these factors are family reunification, companionship, remittances and transportation.

Family reunification

Participants allude to family reunification as motivating factor for moving to Kampala, pointing to the need to trace their lost members from Kampala, respond to invitations of families and friends in Kampala, or connect to families and friends elsewhere. This result thus provides qualitative support to Uganda's 2014 census report which shows that family reunification is the second highest

motive for migration in in Uganda, accounting for over 25% of the reasons for migration (Uganda Bureau of Statistics (UBOS), 2017). It also provides further evidence for the role refugees play in urban growth of Kampala through this process (Uganda Bureau of Statistics (UBOS), 2019). Family reunification also explains why more refugees who had social ties in Kampala tend to associate with having intended to specifically move to Kampala. This growth of the role of family reunification can be explained by the context of conflict related migration, where the splitting and dispersal of families have contributed to the formation of network nodes across spaces. These nodes have now become influential pull factors to cities in neighbouring low-income countries such as Kampala through reunification. Actors (nodes) in the networks are either residents of this current city of destination or resettled elsewhere in some developed countries. These actors play critical role in the refugees' selection of specific destinations, by either inviting them to live in Kampala or rerouting them through Kampala as they move to join families and friends elsewhere. The latter case of reunifications is particularly accentuated by the global reductions in resettlement options (Hansen, 2018). Hence, these cities are chosen as strategic location through which onward migration can be expedited. The result thus confirms longstanding observed patterns of resettled refugees sponsoring their families to migrate to some cities in Sub-Saharan Africa from which they can then be resettled (Iazzolino & Hersi, 2019; Kibreab, 1989). Cities in Sub-Saharan Africa are therefore not necessarily ultimate destinations of refugees but also temporary dispersal points for family members pursuing reunification elsewhere.

Companionship

Participants also point to the influences of sojourners on their choices about moving to Kampala thus emphasising the role companionship plays in migration. Refugees encounter sojourners with whom they maintain company, including those previously unknown thus becoming actors in the social networks influencing the choices of the asylum seekers. The case of companionship thus lends support for the argument of Mallett and Hagen-Zanker that refugee journey is a transformative process where people met during the journey may become 'travelling companions' and sometime providers of financial support (Mallett & Hagen-Zanker, 2018). Similar to the South Sudanese refugees who fled in groups to the West Nile region of Uganda, movement as companions fosters a sense of bonding and belonging enabling refugees to encourage each other (Humphrey, 2020). The need to maintain this company formed in the process of displacement thus contributed

to how some of the refugees end up living in urban spaces such as Kampala. It can be argued that the choice of destination can sometimes be embedded in emotive factors such as maintenance of established bonds of companionship. Companionship is an aspect less discussed in settlement of refugees yet the findings in this study shows that this need can alter where refugees settle. Sustainable refugee settlement needs to incorporate this aspect of companionship in order to address secondary movement of refugees within and without Uganda.

Remittance

This study also shows that families and friends in diaspora in some instances supported their family left behind by remitting financial support. Resettled refugees encouraged their loved ones left behind to migrate to Kampala where they can easily support them. The low cost of living in Kampala, fairly accommodative regulations about refugee livelihoods, and the relative security, are the background driving factors for this relocation to Kampala and cities in similar set up (Ahimbisibwe, 2019). Hence, this fairly conducive environment also implies accessibility of remittances and value for the remitted funds. Hence, some refugees specifically moved to Kampala because of the easy access to the support they receive from abroad and the more productive use of these resources. Broadly, the case of remittances reflects the role of transnationalism in global remittance flows to refugee sending areas in the context of displacement (Başak Bilecen & Cardona, 2018; Lindley, 2010). In addition, literature on urban refugees in Kampala have shown that remittances especially among refugees from the Horn Africa is one of the main ways through which refugees organise their livelihoods (Betts et al., 2014; Krause-Vilmar, 2011; Mulumba, 2010). One study on refugee economy has for instance shown that with the remittances received from refugees abroad, refugees make important contributions to the local economies of their hosting countries through consumptions and entrepreneurial activities (Betts et al., 2014). The case of the urban refugees in this study extends the existing studies in two ways; firstly, remittance does not only become important after a refugee is displaced, but it can also be the purpose for which a refugee moves to a specific destination. Secondly, the need for remittance does not only attract refugees to higher income countries but may also result into some additional migration of household members to some other specific destination. Hence, remittance is likely to play important role in choices of some cities in Sub-Saharan Africa where refugees can easily access remitted resources. Transformative refugee settlement in rural settlement areas need to incorporate

this aspect through lowering costs of money transactions and promoting current technologies such as mobile money transfers that can easily be accessed by refugees.

Transportation networks

Findings from this study also point to the roles that informal networks played in transportation enabling refugees to access Kampala. Many refugees cited the use of long-haul trucks, boda-boda taxi operators (motorcycle taxis), and migration brokers to cross borders and to reach Kampala. The case of the refugees is further supported by one study among Congolese refugees in Kampala that attributed access to Kampala to low cost of transportation to Kampala (Lyytinen, 2017). The importance of informal transportation network can be explained by the constraints and opportunities available to the refugees at the time of seeking asylum. Having limited financial and material resources as well as having lost their documents, these refugees cannot afford regular channels of entry into the country while others fear being reprimanded. Yet, the contradictory role played by current one stop border posts within the East African community also facilitates irregular movements through allowance of a certain level of semi-informal cross border operations among the local community to enhance use of the facility (Nugent & Soi, 2020). The actors in the transportation network therefore fill this gap by providing affordable or even free transport and evading migration regulations thus reducing the cost of migration. Availability of transportation is not necessarily the motive for choosing to move Kampala, but its availability implies that it plays crucial role in enabling access to the preferred destination. The fact that this service is provided through personal ad hoc networks implies actors in this industry also contribute to why refugees move to specific destination.

7.4.4 Social network and decision making

Examining the processes of decision making among refugees who had some deliberations about prospective destinations shows that social networks played important role in how the refugees arrived at the decision to move to Kampala. In particular, the availability of informational, emotional, instrumental, material and financial support available from actors in the network enable the refugees to evaluate and eliminate competing destinations or alter some of the intended destinations. These processes eventually led to refugees ultimately settling in Kampala. A plethora of similar literature have already shown that social networks play significant roles regarding

settlement, ranging from refusal to be relocated or returned to countries of origin or diversion of routes through or to destination countries (Betts et al., 2020; Ikanda, 2018; Karooma, 2014; Mallett & Hagen-Zanker, 2018; Shaffer et al., 2018). The current study thus extends this literature by showing how a similar process occurs basing on the available social support that flows through these relationships. The fact that the individuals whose stories revealed some reliance on social networks have divergent background characteristics also corroborates the quantitative result in this study that showed some significant variations in individual characteristics when considering social networks and destination selection. The findings in this study thus implies that beyond the circumstances that forced the departure of the refugees from countries of origin and some refugee related opportunities attracting them ton Kampala, social networks may operate independently in facilitating the decision processes of the refugees, by enabling evaluation of competing destinations or altering some pre-selected destinations. Hence, through facilitations with information, financial aid, emotional or instrumental support by the networks the ability of the refugee regarding movement to a specific destination is enhanced. Facilitation of the refugees with regards to where to settle is crucial for safe movement of refugees. To address the challenges related to where to move and how to move to such destinations calls for interventions that can equip them with the resources they draw from the social networks.

7.5 Review and testing of the hypotheses.

H₁: There is a significant difference in the profiles of refugees who had specific plans to move to Kampala from the profiles of the refugees who did not have a specific plan to move to Kampala.

H₀: There is no significant difference in the profiles of refugees who had specific plans to move to Kampala from the profiles of the refugees who did not have a specific plan to move to Kampala
This hypothesis was tested using Pearson's chi square test at a p-value of 0.05 by examining the associations between individual characteristics and destination selection, measured by whether the refugee had specific intentions to move to Kampala. The hypothesis is informed by the literature that suggests that urban refugees are fairly positively selected in terms of the socioeconomic background; where, most of them tend to be better educated, in more professional career, mainly young men and originating from urban areas the camps by the UNHCR for specific reasons of

health and security do not have some these qualities (Jacobsen, 2006). On the other hand, another literature suggests that refugees tend to make preferences about their destination; hence, to some extent, the move to certain destinations involves some choice (McAuliffe & Jayasuriya, 2016). It was therefore assumed in this study that urban refugees who had specific intentions differ from those who had no specific intentions of moving to Kampala. This hypothesis was partially confirmed since there are some significant differences according to occupation and the residential characteristics of the previous place of residence. However, based on the existing data, the null hypothesis could not be entirely rejected particularly for the key characteristics of sex, age and education since there are not statistically significant differences ($p < 0.05$).

H₁: There is a significant association between individual characteristics and social ties in Kampala

H₀: There is no association between individual characteristics and social ties in Kampala

The second hypothesis is based on the literature which argues that individual attributes such as age, sex, education and occupation are also basis for formation of friendship which can in turn influence access to information and other support at the destination (Ryan, 2011). Hence, it is assumed that the capacity to search for and interact with people knowledgeable about the destination might also be influenced by the individuals' characteristics such as age bracket, sex, education, and occupation since these attributes are also sources of exposure to a wider social network. The hypothesis was tested using Pearson chi-square test for statistically significant association between individual characteristics and having ties at the destination ($p\text{-value} = 0.05$). This hypothesis is confirmed for a range of individual characteristics, particularly, age, nationality, occupation, characteristics of the previous place of residence, and years spent in transition. However, the null hypothesis could not be rejected regarding sex and education.

H₁: Having social network ties at the destination is likely to associate with having specific plans about moving to Kampala.

H₀: Having social network ties at the destination does not associate with having specific plans about moving to Kampala.

The third hypothesis was tested using Pearson chi-square test for a statistical significance at $p\text{-value} = 0.05$ for the association between social network ties and specific plans to move to Kampala.

Further evidence from qualitative findings were used to provide further explanations. Literature shows that migrants and refugees choose destinations with existent social ties such as cultural or conational similarities (Mossaad et al., 2020; Rüegger & Bohnet, 2018). Studies also show that migrants and refugees choose specific destinations because of the social capital and social support that flows through the established social relationships (Haug, 2008; Ryan, 2011). Hence, it is expected that refugees who have social ties at the destination or supported by their social ties to migrate to Kampala would have specific intentions to move to Kampala. The result shows a statistically significant association between having social ties in Kampala and having had specific plans to migrate to Kampala. Qualitative evidence also shows that quite a number of refugees cited having chosen to move to Kampala as opposed to camps or other cities elsewhere either because of the presence of their relatives and friends already in Kampala, or simply because of the positive information shared about Kampala through their networks. However, no statistically significant association was observed in the case of moving to Kampala through connections by social networks and having had specific plans to move to Kampala. Hence, the null hypothesis could not be rejected. The lack of statistically significant association could be attributed to the passive response of some refugees to the influences of social networks, such as in the case of joining company of those migrating to Kampala. In this case, refugees could have understated the influences of the social networks on their choices and actions.

H₁: The nature of relationship the refugee (ego) shares with the actor (alter) in the network associates with having specific plans to move to Kampala.

H₀: The nature of relationship the refugee shares with the actor in the social network does not associate with having specific plans to move to Kampala.

The last hypothesis assumed that the nature of relationships the ego shares with the alter has weight in impacting the decision of the refugee in so far as refugees may respond differently depending on who is close to him or her and who is not. This hypothesis is based on the literature which shows that stronger ties such as family relationship might have stronger effect on the ego than weak ties of co-nationals or co-ethnics (Ryan, 2011). This is so because closeness may entail more supports flowing through these strong relationships. Hence, the nature of the relationship, whether the ego's shares a tie of family membership. Friendship, acquaintanceship or relatives, may associate with whether the refugee had specific plans of coming to Kampala or not. The hypothesis was tested

using Pearson chi-square test for a statistical significance at $p\text{-value} = 0.05$ for the association between the nature of ties the refugee shares with the alter and specific plans to move to Kampala. The result shows a statistically significant association between the nature of the relationship the ego (the refugee) shares with the alter Kampala and having had specific plans to migrate to Kampala.

7.6 Review of the theoretical framework and the conceptual framework

The conceptual framework for this study was developed from the social network theory, a sociological theory of migration (FitzGerald & Arar, 2018). Social network theory is based on the idea that relationships between individuals in a social network are important channels for flow of resources (Granovetter, 1973). Social network theory assumes that interpersonal ties influence migration to specific destination through connection of prospective migrants to the place of destination by channelling ideas, information or resources flow (Boyd, 1989; Massey et al., 1993). The conceptual framework for the interactions of social network factors with the individual factors and the choice of destination is shown in Figure 2.1 in Chapter two.

One strength of the framework is that it provides clear processes leading to the choice of specific destination in context of asylum seeking. In particular, the framework linked the ability to access social network ties with individual characteristics and access to information and other social support that contribute to the choice of specific destination.

Secondly, the framework incorporated social network factors such as nature of relationships, social support exchanged through the relationships, strength of the relationships and how all these together led to the choice of specific destination. These aspects add to the relevance of social networks theory as a sociological theory in explaining other forms of migration such as forced displacement.

Thirdly, it is assumed in the framework that access to social ties might vary across individual characteristics which might in turn affect how refugees choose their destination. Findings from the study show some significant variations between some sociodemographic characteristics and having

ties to Kampala. This is an important addition when studying refugee flows to some specific urban areas.

However, the framework has some limitations: In the first place, spaces from which refugees access their social ties were not clearly specified particularly when focusing on quantitative aspects. It became quite clear in the qualitative analysis that influential actors are not only from the places of destination or origin but also in transit areas during migration or in diaspora. Actors in all different places, whether kin-based or non-kin-based provided information and other necessary support leading to migration to Kampala.

Secondly, the place of patterns of movement were not well specified in the framework although it became a key aspect in the analysis, both quantitative and qualitative. Findings from qualitative component particularly revealed that this pattern of movement impacted on how the refugees accessed their social ties in the processes of migration. For instance, some refugees first flee to neighbouring countries and later moved to Kampala after receiving information from those they met while in transit.

Thirdly, how refugees respond to conflicts and how these patterns of response led to the movement of the individuals was not included in the framework. This is an essential aspect in understanding the pathways through which social networks influence destination because social networks may be more important for those who proactively respond to displacement situation, since they have time and resources to plan their movement, than those who reactively respond to acute situations.

Fourthly, the variables included in the framework are not exhaustive. For instance, variables such as income levels, household characteristics, and social network densities were not included.

In light of these limitations, some changes to the conceptual framework were proposed. Figure 7.1 shows the proposed revision of the framework. The light-blue boxes and the texts highlighted in yellow are some of the proposed additions to the framework. Specifically, it is recommended that the conceptual framework should be revised as follows:

1. Patterns of movement, whether direct or indirect, need to be included and should be placed right after the sociodemographic variables. Placing this factor before social network variables will enhance clearer understanding of why some refugees use social networks to move to a specific destination while others do not.
2. To show the importance of place in access to social ties, the four space dimensions visualised in the analysis should be incorporated in the framework. Actors in places of origin, destination, transit and dispersal are influential in the choices of destination because of the information and other support enhancing the ability of the refugee to move to the Kampala. Inclusion of space will ensure a complete accounting for actors in the social networks when examining choices and actions of individuals.
3. Additional variables such as household characteristics, individual income levels prior to migration, social network densities and important variables need to be included to give a fairly adequate picture of the roles of social networks in understanding destination choices. Inclusion of more variables will ensure that important characteristics of the refugee (ego), the networks (alter) and relationships are not left out.
4. The framework should be further developed to specific migration situations of refugees by considering how conflicts occur and how refugees respond to different displacement contexts, such as reactively or proactively. This will ensure that the choices refugees make about specific destination is not conflated with situations such as labour migration.

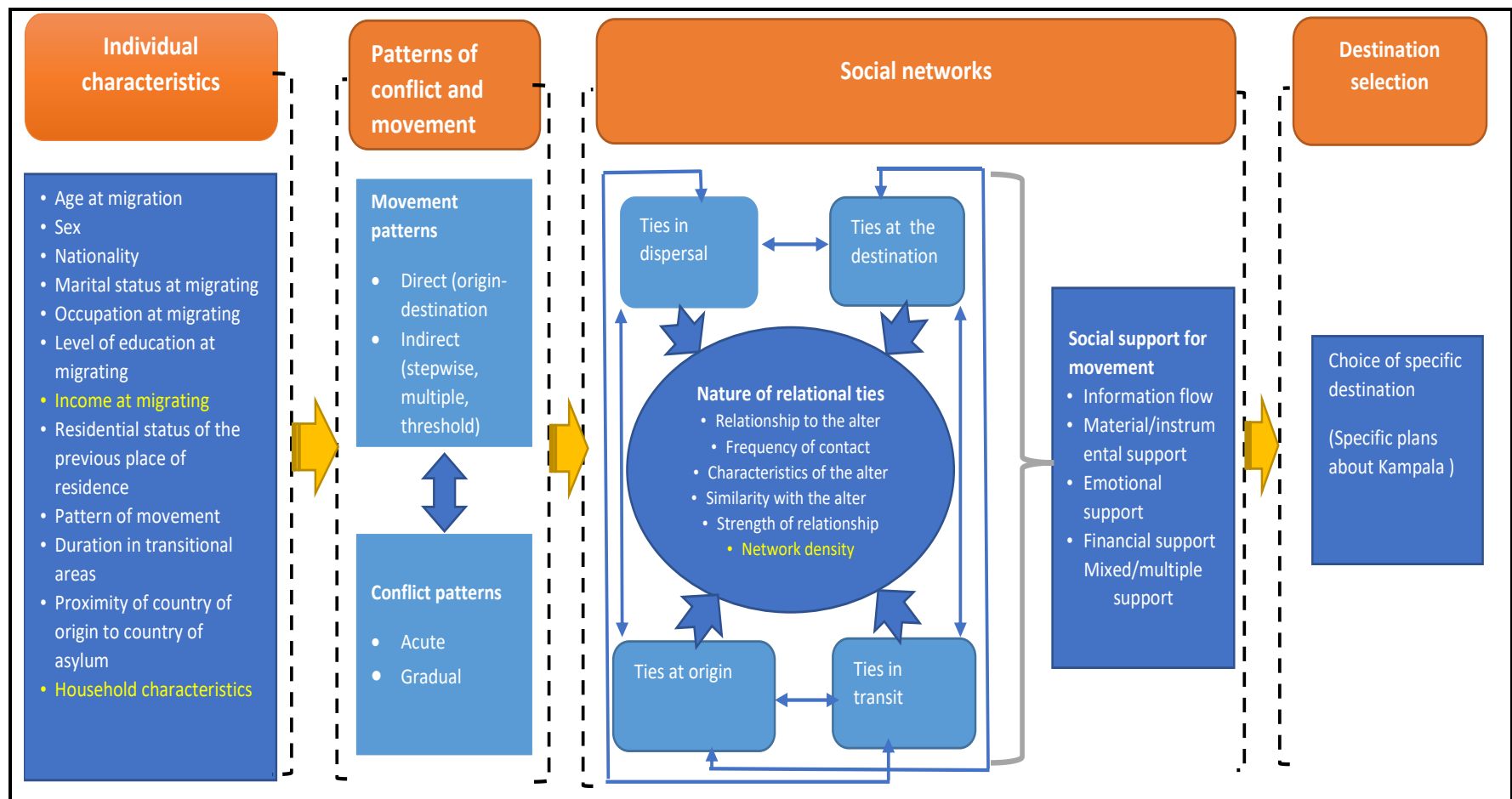


Figure 7. 1: Revised conceptual framework for the study social networks and destination selection

7.7 Contributions

This study addresses a gap in discussions about destination intentions, preferences and choices among refugees in Uganda's context of a settlement system by specifically highlighting the role social networks plays in this process. Scholarship on refugees in African cities and particularly in Kampala has shown how social networks link urban refugees to socioeconomic opportunities once the refugees arrive in the city. However, most of these discussions are limited to access to services in the city but not related to how social networks influence the refugees to specifically choose to move to Kampala. This study extends the role social networks of urban refugees plays to destination selection by investigating whether having social ties to the destination associates with specific plans to move to such destination and how these social networks operate in influencing the decisions of the refugees. This is an important aspect to consider because cities are chosen either out of circumstances that circumscribe refugee movement, or as a strategy to reach some other destinations. This study adds to this body of literature by presenting the case of Kampala in a context where the focus has been on refugee settlements. The study showed that social networks may redirect refugees to, or through Kampala when refugees find difficulties in settlements, camps or cities within Uganda and from other neighbouring refugee hosting countries, or when they find difficulties to access their ultimate destinations.

The study identified some themes within social support that are motivational or influential factors for refugees flows to Kampala. Namely, the themes of information, family reunification, companionship, remittances, and transportation emerged as the support mechanisms that enhanced the refugees ability to migrate to Kampala. On one hand, factors such as reunification with families abroad or in settlement areas, access to remittances from kin ties abroad, and maintaining bonds of companies formed during escape are the motivations for coming to Kampala. On the other, information shared through personal experiences and third-party relaters, and informal transportation are enablers of refugee movement to the city. In some instances, information is also the motive for moving to Kampala through the impacts of stories shared about life, and refugee related opportunities in Kampala. Although social support among urban refugees in African cities is a longstanding discussion, the focus hitherto remains on how refugees cope upon arrival in cities (Tippens, 2020; Willems, 2005). This study extends the existing studies by linking social support

themes to how refugees arrive at a given city. Linking social support with destination choices is important for humanitarian interventions in conflict contexts; while having these supports highlights individual's opportunities and capabilities to reach a destination, they also point to risks associated with refugee movements embedded within these exchanges. Refugees in this study frequently noted failure to achieve their desired goals upon arrival in Kampala despite the support that motivated and enabled their movement to Kampala. This study thus opens up opportunity for research in the area of refugee movement that will benefit safe and healthy migration in context of forced migration.

The study employed social network theory to investigate the refugees' decisions to migrate to Kampala. Scholarship in migration has suggested that non-economic theories such as social network theories could be appropriate in explaining other forms of migration such as displacement (FitzGerald & Arar, 2018). In applying the social network theory, the study contributed to the social network theory by extending the theory to how social networks influence refugee flows to cities in Sub-Saharan Africa. The study adds to the theory by investigating influential actors from not only in the origin and destination, but also transit and dispersal. Looking at actors from different spatial dimensions helps to understand how social networks emerge in the context of displacement and how they influence individual's actions. Secondly, the study adds to the theory by incorporating the actualised support mechanisms that motivated or enabled the refugees to choose a city. Although the relationship between actors in social network and space are not new to mixed migration, the current study provides additional evidence to the specific context of refugee hosting in Sub-Saharan Africa. The interrelationships between space, social network actors and social support is beneficial to the field of migration and spatial demography in predicting the patterns of refugee flows across different regions.

Beyond social networks, the study also contributed to understanding how background characteristics associate with destination selection. The findings showed that background characteristics such previous place of residence and nationality tend associate with whether the refugee had specific plans to move to Kampala. In addition, the study contributed to understanding the patterns of refugee movement to Kampala, showing that movement to Kampala is not linear;

refugees move to Kampala after having spent some time in camps or cities in Uganda as well as in other neighbouring countries.

7.8 Limitations

This study relied on published statistics generated from the UNHCR *Progres* system where standard age grouping of 5's or 10's was not used. Hence, its indirect estimates of net migration was not done since methods such as the census or lifetable survival methods could not be applied due to the irregular age categories.

The study covered only refugees living in Kampala area and mainly registered refugees with OPM and not refugees in other urban areas in Uganda. It is acknowledged that this decision undermines the role social networks play in other emerging cities in the country. Experiences of refugees in other urban spaces in Uganda and other developing countries may be different. Social networks in these cities might be more important given lack of recognition, and perhaps operate differently from that of Kampala. Generalising the findings to other cities needs to be treated with caution. A comparative study of different cities could yield a more generalisable result.

The survey conducted for this study is a cross-sectional survey inquiring about refugee migrations at the destination. Non-probability sampling strategies were used to sample up to 479 respondents. Although qualitative data and published statistics were used to complement the survey data, this sample size admittedly remains small for unbiased and sufficiently valid conclusions about refugee social networks and destination selection. A small sample size implies that there might be some problems with precision in estimations. Further, although the use of non-probability sampling strategies has benefits of reaching populations that are not easily accessible, the method is limited in true representation of the population in general. Sampling refugees from the destination, as opposed to camps or other cities both within and without Uganda, implies a lack of referent population to which the social networks in Kampala could have been compared. Destinations and social networks evolve over time as individuals migrate, especially when substantive time is spent in transition. Although in-depth narratives of refugees could point out some dynamisms in social network and destination choices, this process remains limited because the refugees were not followed over time. A follow up method using longitudinal data, which is beyond the scope of this

study, could have provided more insights into the dynamics of social networks and the resultant destination of refugees.

This study is primarily retrospective in its approach; participants were asked about their characteristics and migration journeys from the previous places of residence when they were already in Kampala. A retrospective approach might have resulted to recall biases and inaccuracy in measuring changes in migration intentions. In the surveys, recall biases were evident in reporting the years spent elsewhere before migration, the number of actors in the networks, and the past sociodemographic characteristics before Kampala. Similarly, in narrating their stories in the qualitative interviews, participants tended to be selective in mentioning people, places, and events leading to their migration to Kampala. Recall biases could have affected the accuracy of interpretation of the results of this study.

Even though the study is about social networks, and it employed some concepts from ego-centric networks, quantitative social network analysis was not used. Other crucial factors such as the density and the connectivity of the networks which could have provided important information on how these network structures affect individual's access to social support were not explored. In addition, the use of social network maps in the qualitative component were introduced at later stage of data analysis but not during data collection. This late introduction might have affected the number of alters nominated by the ego, and the extent to which these alters are connected.

Published statistics from the OPM and UNHCR web portals were used as a frame to estimate the sample size for survey, to compute the profiles of the refugees over time and to estimate the migration of the refugees in Kampala. However, this data comes as aggregated and their accuracies in terms of age reporting cannot be established. Moreover, the data covers refugees who are formerly registered implying that there is a possibility of coverage error. For example, refugees registered in the camps but residing in Kampala may have been excluded since they may not report their presence in the city to UNHCR or OPM.

The 'Yes' and 'No' response to the question whether the 'refugee had a specific plan for Kampala' in the quantitative component might have oversimplified how decisions about destinations are made. Refugees who might have chosen to transit through Kampala to some other destinations might as well state not having specific intention, even though transiting through Kampala is

intentional. Refugees may also have had a range of preferences including Kampala, and perhaps might have preferred some other place to Kampala. before choosing one. A 'No' response in such circumstances may not be accurate because there is some decision made in choice of destination. Although the qualitative component addressed some of the nuances, there is a possibility of problems of precision in measuring destination selection.

7.9 Strengths

One of the strengths of the study is its use of multiple sources of data. Basing on existing knowledge, this study is one of the few that provided a comprehensive understanding of refugee networks in cities of low-income countries in Sub Saharan Africa. The study drew on secondary analysis of existing statistics on refugee populations in Uganda for over period of 10 years, survey and in-depth interviews among refugees living in Uganda. Using these three sources of information provided the opportunity to estimate the immigration rates of the urban refugees over time according to their individual demographic characteristics. The survey data provided the opportunity to investigate the crucial actors involved in supporting refugees when navigating their ways to urban areas. Qualitative in-depth interviews complemented the quantitative data by providing more meaning on how the social networks are instrumental for the refugees when deciding to settle at the destination. Narrative approaches were used while collecting the data implying that the data collected reflects personal experiences of the refugees and actual actors involved in supporting the refugee in migration. In addition, small number of refugee community leaders were interviewed which gave a broader picture of how the social networks operate for each of the different refugee communities. Moreover, visual representations of patterns of refugee movements, and network actors of selected individuals were presented.

Secondly, the study employed a broader approach by collecting information from eight of the largest refugee communities in the country. Using nearly all the major refugee communities allowed for a better comparison of the profiles and the social networks of the refugees including communities that are least captured in urban refugee scholarship in Uganda. This wider coverage of refugee communities is useful for policy decisions especially about smaller refugee communities in the city. Inclusion of eight refugee communities is beneficial because movement patterns of refugee communities that are often less studied in Uganda are captured in the study.

Moreover, the study provided useful data on refugee destination choices in countries of first asylum that can be utilized in designing programs for planning refugee assistance. The study provided a long-term comparison of the profile of refugees and rates of refugee immigration over time which is useful for long term planning of settlement of refugees. Further, the study identified the need for a disaggregated data when looking at influential actors in the social network when using refugees' social networks and communities as strategies for intervention in urban areas.

Chapter 8

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

8.1 Conclusions

This study aimed to investigate the role of social networks on destination selection. Specifically, the study focused on refugees living in Kampala, and how personal networks influenced their choice of Kampala. A variety of methodological approaches were employed to investigate the urban refugees including quantitative analysis, qualitative structural analysis, and mapping refugee flows to Kampala. The following general conclusions can be drawn from the objectives.

The first objective of the study was to investigate the sociodemographic profiles of the urban refugees and to map the movements of the refugees to Kampala. the conclusion drawn from the descriptive statistics is that there is some significant variation among the urban refugees in specifically choosing to come to Kampala in terms of their nationalities, occupation, the characteristics of their penultimate place before arriving in Kampala, years spent in transit areas before Kampala and the proximity of country of origin to Uganda. . Some of the refugees relocate to Kampala from some other intermediate transit areas such as camps or cities elsewhere and this pattern might be associated with the experiences at transitional places.

The second objective investigated the association between background characteristics, social ties to Kampala, and the effects of social ties on destination selection. Destination selection was measured by the intentionality of the refugee's movement to Kampala. The overall conclusion is that there is a significant differential access to social ties, according to sex, prior marital status, and previous place of residence. Moreover, those who had social ties to Kampala particularly kin-based-ties in Kampala tend to have specifically intended to come to Kampala. This an important factor to consider since not all social networks are equal in importance in terms of support they offer, and individual characteristics matter in how refugees access services in urban areas.

The third objective examined the ways in which the social networks influenced the choice of Kampala. Visualisation of the actors in the selected social network maps showed that refugees relied not only kin-based actors but also non-kin-based actors. Influential actors do not only operate from where the refugees originated from or at the destination, but also from places the refugee transited through as well as from diaspora. These actors in the social networks motivated

or enabled the refugees to move to Kampala refugees through opportunities such as information, reunification with families companionships, accessing remittances that they provide. Yet, interviews with the refugees also suggest that Kampala is not necessarily a final destination but probably one of the many transit cities. Refugees chose Kampala as a destination substitute, either because of failure to reach intended destination or as a steppingstone to an intended final destination. For others who have links to settlements in Uganda, Kampala is a point for circular migration especially due to inadequate socioeconomic opportunities in the settlement areas and lack of foreseeable sustainable return and reintegration in home countries.

The following policy and research implications can be drawn from the study.

First, having social ties at the destination that influenced the refugee's choice of Kampala does not necessarily mean that the refugee is advantaged in terms of access to information and other support during movement to Kampala. In other words, as seen in the qualitative results, those who did not have kin-based ties at the destination were disadvantaged in terms of reliability of the information they shared and availability of places for living upon arrival in Kampala. The consequence is that a policy for refugee assistance in urban areas that is not cognisance of these differences is likely to inadvertently exclude some refugees.

Second, visualisation of the actors in space shows a variety of actors operate from all space dimensions in supporting or influencing refugee flows to urban areas. It is therefore important for demographers and social scientists to have a broader approach to understanding actors that enable refugee flows to cities such as Kampala incorporating variety of actors involved as well as where they operate. From the perspectives of policy, the risk associated with these variety of actors is that some of the actors are less informed about local contexts of refugee assistance, as seen in the discussions about information flows, and this may accentuate the vulnerabilities of the refugees during the processes of migration. It is also imperative to have an integrated approach in refugee response incorporating other neighbouring countries since social network actors involved in onward movement of refugees to Kampala operate not only from camps in Uganda but also from cities and camps in neighbouring countries of first asylum. A fragmented approach will surely strain the response mechanisms that the country has adopted, particularly in Kampala.

Thirdly, the fact that needs, for family reunification and companionship and reception of remittances found as shown in the findings of this study also act as drivers or facilitators for choice of destination means that, humanitarian and developmental interventions need to move beyond catering for material needs and equipping the refugees with the necessary skills for livelihoods in urban areas. Increasing the possibilities of family reunions and companionship in cities in developing countries and in third countries of resettlement might provide more psychological benefits than only equipping them with skills. Moreover, it is important to focus also on the risks associated with the pursuance of these support mechanism since some of the actors also mislead refugees to migrate to urban areas through false information or hope. Addressing these factors may contribute to improving the well-being of the refugees.

Fifthly, Kampala is not necessarily a final destination but probably one of the many transit cities chosen as a substitute, a transit route, or a steppingstone to an intended final destination or one of the points of circular migration. This tendency is evident in the qualitative result where some urban refugees cited being advised by their networks to move to Kampala so that they can help them while waiting to resettle elsewhere. It is therefore important that refugee response mechanisms focus not only on how to assist refugees within Kampala but also on how to enhance safe migration to their intended destinations. This is important because a long stay in Kampala when it is not the intended destination is likely to add to the problems of refugee wellbeing including mental health problems.

Finally, this study shows that the use of multiple data sources including, surveys, in-depth interviews, mappings, and visualisations is useful to research on the in refugee choices of destination. These multiple data showed that peculiarities of the urban refugee characteristics and movement patterns can be described and, the actors involved in the processes of decision making and how refugees arrive at the decision to move to a specific a destination can be constructed. In particular, it provides a step for demography and other social sciences to research the phenomenon of forced migration flows that has challenges of limitations in data sources. Moreover, other more advanced statistical analyses such as path analysis or agent-based modelling can draw from the framework developed in this study for modelling refugee flows. This can be done by showing how factors such as nature of the conflict, the pattern of movement, the characteristics of the refugee's

actors in the social network, the spaces in which the actors are distributed in terms destination, origin, dispersal and transit interact leading to the refugee's choice of destination .

8.2 Recommendations

8.2.1 Policy recommendations

1. As seen in the introduction, resettlement options under Global Compact on Refugees take as well as service delivery under the Comprehensive Refugee Response Framework take long time and few get resettled. The result in this study shows that family reunification and remittances are crucial ways in which social networks influence refugees to select specifically select Kampala. Global Compact on Refugees could prioritise family reunification as an alternative to way reducing burden on hosting cities in the Global South. Since the aim of Comprehensive Refugee Response Framework is to widen partners in refugee assistance, improving remittance flow through engaging partners such telephone companies, banks and other credit institutions will be a helpful way of assisting the refugees to meet their needs.
2. Addressing refugee issues in Kampala and similar cities in low-income countries will require expediting resettlement processes enshrined in the Global Compact on Refugees service delivery under Comprehensive Refugees Response Framework and. Other alternative pathways such as family reunification also needs to be expanded. In the hosting city, sustainable livelihoods opportunities need to be expanded such as having secure jobs. This will reduce uncertainties of the refugees about their future.
3. To reduce challenges of adjusting to city life, attention should be given to those who do not have their kin at the destination such as promoting foster families and creating a home for such refugees. Specifically, such support could be given at refugee reception points such as border areas. This could be done through the current localisation of refugees response that works through refugee and host communities and self-reliance pillar of the Comprehensive Refugee Response Framework.
4. The findings on information flow showed that some refugees relied on social network-based modes of information circulation such as rumours because they could not access information about Kampala through official channels such as government bulletins or radio

programmes in transit about refugee assistance in Kampala. However, rumours are not always accurate. There is need for an accurate and integrated approach to official information dissemination through refugee communities and other official channels across different spaces so as to reduce risk of inaccurate information about cities in low-income countries. In particular, at the level of East African region, refugee communities could be supported to coordinate information across borders, taking advantage of social media. This could be achieved through the collaboration through network of cities and regional and sub-regional refugee response initiatives proposed by the Global Compact on Refugees. This is likely to improve the quality of information transmitted.

5. The result shows that networks of boda-boda operators, truck-drivers and migration brokers facilitated the movement of refugees to Kampala because refugees lack financial means, documents and fear being reprimanded at border points. It would be useful to expand the existing refugee reception points under OPM/UNHCR to other borders. The services at the refugee reception points need to be extended to include provision of emergency travel documents and transport assistance especially to children, those with disabilities, and expectant or nursing mothers.

8.2.2 Future studies

This study has shown that close ties or kin-based- ties played a significant role in the refugee's specific choice of Kampala as a city destination and therefore distinguished the critical social network actors in influencing destination choices. The study also shows that not only social network actors in the places of destination, but social network actors encountered as well as those in the places of origin and those dispersed in various places all operate to influence the decisions of the refugee. Further, it is through what is exchanged through these networks in terms information, family reunion needs, companionship, and channels remittance that the refugees form the ideas and the decision to specifically move to Kampala. However, there are some areas that require further research in order to further understand how social networks operate and how they affect the decisions and wellbeing of the refugees.

1. Although the use of mixed method enhanced the complementarity, it also highlights gaps in data, particularly quantitative data, that needs to be improved particularly about access

and completeness of official registration thus affecting refugee population estimates. There is need to expand and improve data sources on urban refugees and other self-settled refugees. Tailored surveys employing suitable methods for surveying hard-to-reach population could be designed to collect comprehensive information about urban refugees. Information captured should reflect those found in censuses and Demographic Health Surveys (DHS). Having such information will improve migration estimates that are useful for planning.

2. There is need to expand the study to smaller cities in Uganda and other Sub-Saharan countries. In Uganda, smaller cities such as Mbarara and Arua are the first points of arrival before onward migration to Kampala. Studying refugees from these cities will improve knowledge on actual migration and migration intentions of refugees. Studies employing comparisons across cities are also needed to provide a wholistic information on destination choices.
3. Narratives from participants in this study showed that there are some health risks associated with relying on social networks for transportation to the destination such as maternal health challenges during transits. However, since the primary objective of the study is not specifically about refugees' health such as the risk of contracting disease during transitions, the aspect of health is not investigated at length. Additional research is needed on the risks associated with reliance on facilitators of migration. Such studies will be beneficial particularly for interventions related to population health during displacement.
4. Future studies need to apply the revised conceptual framework to study destination selection among refugees. In particular, such study needs to look at whether refugees responded to conflicts reactively or proactively and how this influences the necessity of social networks leading to destination selection. Retrospective study of timing movements triangulated with conflict monitoring and mapping will help in developing indicators to measure reactive and proactive responses.

The overall conclusion is that there is a crucial role social networks played for a significant number of refugees to specifically choose to move to Kampala. The need to maintain company of those in the networks, to reunite with family and access remittances from family members and friends elsewhere, and the information the actors in the networks provided about Kampala are the ways in

which social networks influenced the selection of Kampala. These functions provided by social networks need to be considered when determining where refugees need to be settle upon arrival in a country.

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APPENDICES

Appendix A: Research Instruments

Appendix A.1: Questionnaire

THE ROLE OF SOCIAL NETWORKS IN DESTINATION SELECTION AMONG URBAN REFUGEES IN UGANDA

Dear _____

Regards to you and hoping this finds you well.

My name is Francis Anyanzu and I am a PhD student in Demography and Population Studies at the University of the Witwatersrand in Johannesburg. I am currently conducting fieldwork research and _____ is assisting me in the collection of the data. The title of the research project is, "***Social networks and destination selection among urban refugees in Uganda.***" The aim of the study is to find out whether and how connections through family and kinship ties and friendships can influence the decisions on place of residence among self-settled refugees.

As part of this project, I would like to invite you to take part in answering a questionnaire. This activity will involve answering some questions about your journey from home country to your current place of residence and people who were important to you in this journey and will take around 30 - 45 minutes.

The information that will be collected from you will be kept entirely confidential and anonymous. As an exercise for academic purpose, there are no direct benefits to you resulting from your participation. Your participation is also entirely free from any coercion and you may withdraw from the interview without any consequence should you feel uncomfortable during the process. If you accept to participate, please sign the consent section below to indicate your agreement to participate and proceed with answering the questionnaire.

If you have any questions during or afterwards about this research feel free to contact me on the following contact details: anyanzu2000@yahoo.com 0776778406; +27793245316. Thank you in advance

Yours sincerely,



Francis Anyanzu

Consent: I, _____ agree to participate in this research project. The research has been explained to me and I understand what my participation will involve.

Signature _____ Name: _____ Date: _____

(Please circle or tick or highlight the appropriate responses for the questions; please write the number of people involved where required)

Questionnaire code:			Household code:		
Residential details	Division	Ward		Parish	Village
Interviewer details	Name of interviewer:			Contact(s) of interviewer:	
Interview details	Date of interview:	Start time:	End time:	Remarks:	
Respondent details	Respondent code:	Sex 1. Male 2. Female	Age in completed years (please write below)	Nationalities 1. South Sudanese 2. Congolese 3. Somali 4. Burundian 5. Eritrean 6. Rwandese 7. Ethiopian 8. Sudanese 98. Others (specify)	Length of stay in Kampala (in years) 1. Less than 1 year 2. 1 to 2 years 3. 3 to 4 years 4. 5 years and above
	Current Marital Status 1. Single (never married)		Current highest level of education: 1. No formal 2. Primary education	Current main occupation: 1. Unemployed /Student 2. Subsistence farming/fishing	

	2. Not married (legal/religious/traditional) but living with partner 3. Married (legal/religious/traditional) and living together 4. Married (legal/religious/tradition) but temporarily living apart 5. Divorced or Permanently Separated 6. Widowed 98. Others (please specify)	3. Secondary Education 4. Vocational training 5. Tertiary/University Education 98. Others (please specify)	3. Government employee 4. NGO/private sector employee 5. Self-employed (small/large scale enterprise) 6. Casual/temporary/voluntary worker 7. Unpaid family worker 98. Other (specify)
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100: HOUSEHOLD MEMBERSHIP

101	Please list for me the, age, sex, nationalities, refugee status, length of stay in this place and relationships of the other people who live with you (including those who regularly stay with you for periods of more than two months but are currently not absent) <i>(please do not write actual names)</i>						
	S/N	Age	Sex 1. Male 2. Female	Nationalities 1. South Sudanese 2. Congolese 3. Somali 4. Burundian 5. Eritrean 6. Rwandese 7. Ethiopian 8. Sudanese 9. Ugandan 98. Others (specify)	Refugee/asylum seeker? 1. Yes 2. No	Length of stay at current place (in years) 1. Less than 1 year 2. 1 to 2 years 3. 3 to 4 years 4. 5 years and above	Relationship with the people in the house 1. Staying alone 2. Family members (spouse, child, parent, sibling) 3. Relatives 4. Friends 5. Acquaintances 6. Strangers 98. Others (please specify)
	1						
	2						
	3						
	4						
	5						
	6						
	7						

	8						
	9						
	10						
	11						
	12						
	14						
	15						

201	Please indicate the year in which you left your home town/village to seek refuge?			Year:		
202	What was the place where you lived in your country/community of origin?		Urban area (city, major town)		1	
			Rural area (village)		2	
			Others (please specify)		98	
203	Please indicate for me your marital status, level of education and occupation while you were still in your country/community of origin					
	Marital Status at home country: 1. Single (never married) 2. Not married (legal/religious/traditional) but living with partner 3. Married (legal/religious/traditional) and living together 4. Married (legal/religious/tradition) but temporarily living apart 5. Divorced or Permanently Separated 6. Widowed 98. Others (please specify)		Level of education at home country: 1. No formal 2. Primary education 3. Secondary Education 4. Vocational training 5. Tertiary/University Education 98. Others (please specify)		Current Occupation at home country: 1. Unemployed/ Student 2. Subsistence farming/fishing 3. Government employee 4. NGO/private sector employee 5. Self-employed (small/large scale enterprise) 6. Casual employment/temporary/voluntary worker 7. Unpaid family worker/attending to home needs 98. Other (specify)	
204	From the time you left your home town or village to seek refuge to the time you arrived in Kampala, did you live in any place (e.g. city, village, camp, settlement) other than Kampala and your home town or village?				Yes = 1	No = 2
205	If "Yes" (in 204), please list for me the places you have lived from the time you left your home for refuge (please include the year, the country and the description of the place)					
	S/N	Year		Name of place (first three initials)	Country	Description of the place (rural, urban, settlement/camp) 1. Urban area (city, major town) 2. Rural area (village) 3. Settlement area 4. Transit camp 98. Others (please specify)
		From	To			
	1					
	2					
	3					
4						

	5					
	6					
	7					
	8					
	9					
	10					
206	Please indicate for me your marital status, level of education and occupation at your last place of residence before coming to Kampala					
	Marital Status at home country: 1. Single (never married) 2. Not married (legal/religious/traditional) but living with partner 3. Married (legal/religious/traditional) and living together 4. Married (legal/religious/tradition) but temporarily living apart 5. Divorced or Permanently Separated 6. Widowed 98. Others (please specify)		Level of education at home country: 1. No formal 2. Primary education 3. Secondary Education 4. Vocational training 5. Tertiary/University Education 98. Others (please specify)		Current Occupation at home country: 1. Unemployed /Student 2. Subsistence farming/fishing 3. Government employee 4. NGO/private sector employee 5. Self-employed (small/large scale enterprise) 6. Casual employment/temporary/voluntary worker 7. Unpaid family worker/attending to home needs 98. Other (specify)	
207	What was your main reason for coming to settle in Kampala?		To seek employment, education, health and other social opportunities			1
To join family members, friends, relatives or people I know in Kampala			2			
To avoid security problems in previous place			3			
To be resettled to another country outside Uganda			4			
To avoid xenophobia and discrimination in the previous place			5			
Lack of information about alternative places			6			
Other (please specify)			98			
208	Before coming to Kampala from your last place of residence, did you have any specific plans to move to Kampala?				Yes = 1	No = 2

209	If “Yes” (in 209), please describe any other place you had wanted to go and the main reason for moving to the place you had you had thought of going?	
	Description of the place you had thought going before coming to Kampala: 1. Settlement or camp in Uganda 2. Another city in Uganda 3. A rural place in Uganda 4. Another settlement or camp outside Uganda 5. Another city outside Uganda 6. A rural place outside Uganda 98. Others (please specify)	Reasons against moving to the place you had you had thought of going: 1. Lack of family members, friends, relatives or people or organisation I know in this place 2. Lack of support from families, friends, relatives, people or organisation I know in this place 3. Lack of security in this place 4. Lack of economic social opportunities in this place 5. Lack of opportunities for resettlement to third country in this place 6. Fear of xenophobia and discrimination in this place 98. Others (please specify)

200 PATTERNS OF MIGRATION AND SOCIO-ECONOMIC CHARACTERISTICS BEFORE MIGRATING

300 SOCIAL NETWORKS

301	How did you end up living in Kampala	Came and settled on my own	1	
		Came through family members	2	
		Came through some relatives	3	
		Came through friends	4	
		Came through some people I know but not friends or relatives	5	
		Came through some people I do not know	6	
		Faith based organisation/ refugee community organisation	7	
		Nongovernmental organisation (NGO)	8	
		Others (specify	98	
302	With whom did you travel to Kampala?	Travelled alone	1	

		Travelled with family members	2					
		Travelled with friends	3					
		Travelled with relatives	4					
		Travelled with people I know but not relatives or friends	5					
		Travelled with people I do not know	6					
		Others (please specify)	98					
303	Do you have family members, friends or relatives who ever lived in or visited Kampala but have now left Kampala?			Yes = 1 No = 2				
304	Before moving to Kampala, did you know some people already living here in Kampala?			Yes =1 No = 2				
305	If “Yes” (in 303 and 304), please list below their names (initials only), your relationship with them, your frequency of contact with them, their age (compared to your age), sex, nationality and kind of help received (if any)							
	S/N	Name (initials only)	Relationship 1. Family members (<i>spouse/partner, children, parents, sister or brother</i>) 2. Relatives (<i>uncles, aunts, grandparents, cousins, nephews/nieces, in-laws</i>) 3. Close friends 4. Acquaintances (<i>co-nationals, host community, other nationalities</i>) 98. Others (<i>please specify</i>)	Frequency of contact 1. Daily 2. More than once week 3. About once a week 4. About Once a month 5. Rarely 6. No contact 98. Others	Age (compared to your age) 1. Younger than me 2. About my age 3. Older than me	Sex 1. Male 2. Female	Nationality 1. South Sudanese 2. Congolese 3. Somali 4. Burundian 5. Eritrean 6. Rwandese 7. Ethiopian 8. Sudanese 9. Ugandan 98. Others (specify)	Type of help received 1. None 2. Information 3. Financial 4. Material (<i>food, shelter, clothes, medical care etc</i>) 5. Emotional (<i>encouragement, prayers, giving company etc</i>) 98. Others (<i>please specify</i>)

	1								
	2								
	3								
	4								
	5								
	6								
	7								
	8								
	9								
	10								
306	Before coming to Kampala did you have any family members, relatives, friends or anybody you knew living elsewhere in Uganda but not in Kampala?							Yes = 1	No = 2
307	Before coming to Kampala did you have any family members, relatives, friends or anybody you knew living outside Uganda but not in your country of origin?							Yes = 1	No = 2
308	Before moving to Kampala, did you know some organisations (including NGO, Faith Based such as Churches, Islamic community, Refugee Community Associations/organisation) Kampala?							Yes = 1	No = 2
309	If “Yes” (in 308) above, please list the name of the organisation (initial three letters only), your frequency of interaction and kind of support you received from the organisation for moving to this city								
	S/N	Name of Organisation (initial three letters only)	Type of organisation 1. NGO 2. Faith Based (Churches, Islamic association etc.) 3. Refugee community association/organisation 98. Others (Please specify)	Frequency of contact 1. Daily 2. More than once week 3. About once a week 4. About Once a month 5. Rarely 6. No contact 98. Others	Type of help received 1. None 2. Information 3. Financial 4. Material (<i>food, shelter, clothes, medical care etc</i>) 5. Emotional (<i>encouragement, prayers, giving company etc</i>) 98. Others (<i>please specify</i>)				
	1								
	2								

	3				
	4				
	5				
	6				
310	Before coming to Kampala, did you receive any information about life in Kampala (e.g. security, employment, resettlement opportunity etc)			Yes = 1	No = 2
311	If "Yes" (in 310), please indicate for me your main source of information and your assessment of the information you received				
	Source of information about Kampala 1. Through family, friends, relatives (including verbal and social media) 2. Through unknown source on social media 3. Through TV, Newspaper, Radio 98. Others (please specify)			Assessment of the information receive 1. Encouraging 2. Discouraging 3. Neither encouraging nor discouraging 98. Others (please specify)	
312	What would be your advice to someone escaping from conflict who wants to settle in Kampala?			Encourage the person to come	1
Discourage the person from coming				2	
Neither encourage nor discourage the person				3	
Others (please specify)				98	

313	When you arrived in Kampala, did you receive help or support from any organisation or individuals	Yes = 1	No = 2
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314	If “Yes” (in 313), please list the names (Initials) of the individuals, sex and nature of relationships (for persons), kind of assistance received, if you paid or exchanged for the help/assistance and mode of payment/exchange					
	S/N	Name of the person or organisation (e.g. name of NGO, Church/faith group, association etc) or person (please write the initials only)	Sex of the person (male =1; female = 2)	Relationship to the person (e.g. family member, close friend, somebody I just met, a religious leader, etc)	If paid/exchanged for the help or support received (yes =1; no = 2)	Mode of payment/exchange (e.g. paid money, gave some personal items – clothes, documents etc, did some work/service etc)
	1					
	2					
	3					
	4					
	5					
315	Please indicate for me your long-term plans/ options in terms of permanent settlement					
	1. Return to home country after end of conflict/persecution		2. Permanently settle in Uganda		3. Resettle to third country (e.g. move to US, Europe etc)	

This is the end of the survey, thank you so much for your contribution in this study

Appendix A.2: Qualitative In-depth Interview guide

SOCIAL NETWORKS AND DESTINATION SELECTION

1. **Background information:** Name, age, gender, country of origin, educational background, marital status, household membership, length of stay in Kampala.
2. If you don't mind, tell me how you came to Kampala from the time you left your place of origin up to this time in Kampala? Please describe for me the places you visited or lived in before ending up in Kampala, the people you met.
3. Why did you choose to come to Kampala instead of any other place in Uganda or outside Uganda?
4. Looking back, how did you arrive at the decision to move to Kampala?
5. Briefly describe for me how you came to receive the information about Kampala? How did you feel about the information you received?
6. How did you get the support (material and non-material) you needed for your movement to Kampala?
7. Looking back, can you identify some key people and organisations, whether in Kampala or elsewhere, that you consider important in making your journey (e.g., helping with financial support, housing, transport, emotional support etc)? Why are they important to you?
8. What is your experience of living in Kampala compared to your place of origin and other places you lived in before coming to Kampala?
9. What would be your advice to someone in your circumstance who is intending to come and live in Kampala?
10. In general, how do people in a similar circumstance as yours receive information about life in Kampala when coming here (Kampala)?
11. Looking ahead, what are your future plans in terms of where you want to settle? Why would you consider this as a better option?
12. Is there any other thing which you would like to mention? Do you have any question, clarification etc. about the interview/study? Is there any other person you know who might be able to provide similar information?

Appendix B: Research Ethics Documents

Appendix B.1: Participant Information Sheet - Questionnaire



Demography and Population Studies Programme

School of Social Sciences • Private Bag 3, Wits, 2050 South Africa •
Tel +27 11 717 4054 • E-mail: demopopstudies@social.wits.ac.za •
<https://www.wits.ac.za/socialsciences/demography-and-population-studies>

Date: 2nd September 2020

Dear Sir / Madam,

Regards to you and hoping this finds you well.

My name is Francis Anyanzu and I am a PhD student in Demography and Population Studies at the University of the Witwatersrand in Johannesburg. As part of my studies, I have to undertake a research project. The title of the research project is, “***Social networks and destination selection among urban refugees in Uganda.***” The aim of the study is to find out whether and how connections through family and kinship ties and friendships can influence the decisions on place of residence among self-settled refugees.

As part of this project, I would like to invite you to take part in answering a questionnaire. This activity will involve answering some questions about your journey from home country to your current place of residence and people who were important to you in this journey and will take around thirty (30) minutes.

You will not receive any direct benefits from participating in this research, and there are no disadvantages for not participating. You may withdraw at any time or not answer any question if you do not want to. The interview will be completely confidential and anonymous as I will not be asking for your name, names of people who are close to you or any identifying information, and the information you give to me will be held securely in a password protected computer and not disclosed to anyone else. If you experience any distress or discomfort at any point in this process, we will stop the interview or resume another time. If you need some counselling services for an emotional distress following the interview, these are available free of charge at the Jesuit Refugee Service (JRS) tel: (0)414501790, email. Kampala.pd@jrs.net. Whereas JRS is involved in facilitating the interviews, this study is purely for an academic exercise and has nothing to do with JRS's programmes; you will not be penalized should you choose not to participate. Moreover, details about your refugee documents will not be asked.

If you have any questions during or afterwards about this research, feel free to contact me on the details listed below. This study will be written up as a research report which will be available online through the university library website. If you have any concerns or complaints regarding the ethical procedures of this study, you are welcome to contact the University Human Research Ethics Committee (Non-Medical), telephone +27(0) 11 717 1408, email Shaun.Schoeman@wits.ac.za

Yours sincerely,

A handwritten signature in blue ink, appearing to read 'Francis Anyanzu', with a stylized flourish at the end.

Francis Anyanzu

Francis Anyanzu, anyanzu2000@yahoo.com +27793245316
Associate Professor Nicole DeWet Billing, nicole.dewet-billings@wits.ac.za +27117174338



Appendix B.2: Participant Information Sheet – In-depth Interview Guide

Demography and Population Studies Programme

Date: 2nd September 2020

Dear Sir / Madam,

Regards to you and hoping this finds you well.

My name is Francis Anyanzu and I am a PhD student in Demography and Population Studies at the University of the Witwatersrand in Johannesburg. As part of my studies, I have to undertake a research project. The title of the research project is, ***“Social networks and destination selection among urban refugees in Uganda.”*** The aim of the study is to find out whether and how connections through family and kinship ties and friendships can influence the decisions on place of residence among self-settled refugees.

As part of this project, I would like to invite you to take part in an interview. This activity will involve narrating your journey from home country to your current place of residence, answering some questions and completing a chart on your movement history and people who were important to you in this journey. The whole exercise will take about one and half hours and should you decide to participate you may also be contacted for a follow up interview if any need for clarification or more information arises. With your permission, I would also like to audio-record the interview using an electronic audio-recorder. The audio recorded information will be stored in a password protected and thereafter the information on the recording device will be deleted. Where necessary, I would also like to use the assistance of a translator to translate our conversations from the language you speak to English and vice versa. The translator is aware of and is committed to the importance of keeping all the conversations confidential.

You will not receive any direct benefits from participating in this research, and there are no disadvantages for not participating. You may withdraw at any time or not answer any question if you do not want to. The interview will be completely confidential and anonymous as I will not be asking for your name, names of people who are close to you or any identifying information, and the information you give to me will be held securely in a password protected computer and not disclosed to anyone else. I will be using a pseudonym (false name) to represent your participation in my final research report. If you experience any distress or discomfort at any point in this process, we will stop the interview. Should you decide later to continue with the interview, we shall another time. If you need some counselling services for an emotional distress following the interview, these are available free of charge at the Jesuit Refugee Service (JRS, tel: (0)414501790, email. Kampala.pd@jrs.net). Whereas JRS is involved in facilitating

the interviews, this study is purely for an academic exercise and has nothing to do with JRS's programmes; you will not be penalized should you choose not to participate. Moreover, details about your refugee documents will not be asked.

If you have any questions during or afterwards about this research, feel free to contact me on the details listed below. This study will be written up as a research report which will be available online through the university library website. If you have any concerns or complaints regarding the ethical procedures of this study, you are welcome to contact the University Human Research Ethics Committee (Non-Medical), telephone +27(0) 11 717 1408, email Shaun.Schoeman@wits.ac.za

Yours sincerely,
Francis Anyanzu

A handwritten signature in blue ink, appearing to read 'Francis Anyanzu', with a stylized flourish at the end.

Francis Anyanzu, anyanzu2000@yahoo.com +27793245316

Associate Professor Nicole DeWet Billing, nicole.dewet-billings@wits.ac.za +27117174338

Appendix B.3: Consent form – Questionnaire

**Research Participant Consent Form
Questionnaire**

Title of project: The role of social and networks in destination selection among urban refugees in Uganda

Name of researcher: Francis Anyanzu

I agree to participate in this research project. The research has been explained to me and I understand what my participation will involve.

I agree that my participation will remain anonymous YES NO (please circle)

I agree that the researcher may use anonymous quotes
in his research report YES NO

I agree that the information I provide may be used YES NO
anonymously by other researchers following this study

Signature:

Name:

Date:

Appendix B.3: Consent form – In-depth Interview Guide

Research Participant Consent Form In-depth Interviews

Title of project: The role of social and networks in destination selection among urban refugees in Uganda

Name of researcher: Francis Anyanzu

I agree to participate in this research project. The research has been explained to me and I understand what my participation will involve.

I agree that my participation will remain anonymous YES NO (please circle)

I agree that the researcher may use anonymous quotes
in his research report YES NO

I agree that the interview may be audio recorded YES NO

I agree that the researcher may use a translator YES NO

I agree that the information I provide may be used
anonymously by other researchers following this study YES NO

Signature:

Name:

Date:

Appendix B.5: Ethics Clearance Certificate – University of the Witwatersrand – Human Research Ethics Committed (Non-medical)



Research Office

HUMAN RESEARCH ETHICS COMMITTEE (NON-MEDICAL)
R14/49 Anyanzu

CLEARANCE CERTIFICATE

PROTOCOL NUMBER: H20/04/02

PROJECT TITLE

The role of social networks in destination selection among
the urban refugees in Uganda

INVESTIGATOR(S)

Mr F Anyanzu

SCHOOL/DEPARTMENT

Social Sciences/

DATE CONSIDERED

24 April 2020

DECISION OF THE COMMITTEE

Approved
Risk Level: Medium

EXPIRY DATE

28 May 2023

DATE 29 May 2020

CHAIRPERSON

(Professor J Knight)

cc: Supervisor : Professor N DeWet - Billings

DECLARATION OF INVESTIGATOR(S)

To be completed in duplicate and **ONE COPY** returned to the Secretary at Room 10004, 10th Floor, Senate House,
University. Unreported changes to the application may invalidate the clearance given by the HREC (Non-Medical)

I/We fully understand the conditions under which I am/we are authorized to carry out the abovementioned research and
I/we guarantee to ensure compliance with these conditions. Should any departure to be contemplated from the research
procedure as approved I/we undertake to resubmit the protocol to the Committee. I agree to completion of a yearly
progress report.

Signature

Date

29, 05, 2020

Appendix B.6: Research Approval – Uganda National Council of Science and Technology



Uganda National Council for Science and Technology

(Established by Act of Parliament of the Republic of Uganda)

10 December 2020

Our Ref: SS519ES

Francis Anyanzu
Jesuit Refugee Service
Kampala

Re: Research Approval: The role of social networks in destination selection among urban refugees in Uganda

I am pleased to inform you that on **10/12/2020**, the Uganda National Council for Science and Technology (UNCST) approved the above referenced research project. The Approval of the research project is for the period of **10/12/2020 to 10/12/2021**. Your research registration number with the UNCST is **SS519ES**. Please, cite this number in all your future correspondences with UNCST in respect of the above research project. As the Principal Investigator of the research project, you are responsible for fulfilling the following requirements of approval:

1. Keeping all co-investigators informed of the status of the research.
2. Submitting all changes, amendments, and addenda to the research protocol or the consent form (where applicable) to the designated Research Ethics Committee (REC) or Lead Agency for re-review and approval **prior** to the activation of the changes. UNCST must be notified of the approved changes within five working days.
3. For clinical trials, all serious adverse events must be reported promptly to the designated local REC for review with copies to the National Drug Authority and a notification to the UNCST.
4. Unanticipated problems involving risks to research participants or other must be reported promptly to the UNCST. New information that becomes available which could change the risk/benefit ratio must be submitted promptly for UNCST notification after review by the REC.
5. Only approved study procedures are to be implemented. The UNCST may conduct impromptu audits of all study records.
6. An annual progress report and approval letter of continuation from the REC must be submitted electronically to UNCST. Failure to do so may result in termination of the research project.

Please note that this approval includes all study related tools submitted as part of the application as shown below:

No.	Document Title	Language	Version Number	Version Date
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1	Research instrument	English	FINAL	23 July 2020
2	Consent form - interviews	English	FINAL	23 July 2020
3	Consent form – questionnaire	English	FINAL	23 July 2020
4	Admission letter	English	2	23 July 2020
5	Research instruments	Kiswahili	FINAL	23 July 2020
6	Consent form - interviews	Kiswahili	FINAL	23 July 2020
7	Research instrument	French	FINAL	23 July 2020
8	Consent form - interviews	French	FINAL	23 July 2020
9	Consent form - questionnaire	French	FINAL	23 July 2020
10	Research instrument	Arabic	FINAL	23 July 2020
11	Consent form - interviews	Arabic	FINAL	23 July 2020
12	Consent form - questionnaire	Arabic	FINAL	23 July 2020
13	Project Proposal	English		
14	Approval Letter	English	0000-00-00	
15	Administrative Clearance	English	0000-00-00	

Yours Sincerely



Hellen Opolot

For: Executive Secretary

UGANDA NATIONAL COUNCIL FOR SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY

Appendix C: Research Disseminations

Papers			
S/n	Title	Journal	Status
1	Destination Substitution and Social Networks among Urban Refugees in Kampala, Uganda	African Human Mobility Review	Published
2	Relational ties, social support, and destination decisions among urban refugees in Kampala	Journal of Eastern African Studies	Under review
Conferences			
S/n	Title	Journal	Status
1	Urban refugees in Kampala, Uganda: demographic characteristics, migration patterns and the role of kinship networks in destination selection (Proposal)	European Conference on African Studies	Presented in June 2019
2	Social network ties and the connections to city destinations among urban refugees in Uganda	The Migration Conference (TMC 2021)	Presented in July 2021
3	Comparative Study of Socio-Demographic Profiles of Self-Settled Urban Refugees and Assisted Rural Settlement Refugees in Uganda	International Population Conference (IPC2021)	Presented in December 2021
4	Plans for alternative destinations? Social networks factors and the selection of destination among urban refugees and asylum seekers in Uganda	Population Association of America (PAA2022)	Presented in April 2022
5	Social Relationship and Destination Choice Among Urban Refugees in Kampala: A Mixed Method Analysis	Wits Symposium	Presented in July 2022