

## Social Capital and Livelihood among The Congolese Urban Refugees: A Narrative Literature Review

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**ABSTRACT:-** In this article, the authors review literature related to Social Capital and Livelihood among urban refugees using a narrative literature review methodology. The literature reviewed forms a vital part of the data available on how social capital has contributed to the welfare of refugees living in urban settings. The purpose of reviewing literature related to Social Capital and Livelihood among urban refugees is to provoke thought and controversy among scholarly writings and assumptions in order to stimulate scholarly discourse. The article specifically seeks for literature related to: Networking, Bonding, Bridging, and Linking, Social Capital formation. This narrative review methodology, proceeded by evaluating and integrating the results of several studies to address gaps and recommend useful ideas among them. By reviewing the literature, we critically analyze how Social Capital is formed and theoretical assumptions underlying it. We also examine the applicability of Social Capital on the Urban Congolese livelihoods.

**Keywords:-** Livelihood, Social Networks, Social Capital (Bonding, Bridging, and Linking) Urban

### I. INTRODUCTION

It is estimated that almost half of the world's refugees reside in cities and towns of low- and middle-income countries (Lyytinen & Kullenberg, 2013). The International Rescue Committee (IRC) and Women's Refugee Commission (WRC) in New York, convened a Roundtable discussion on urban refugee research on November 15, 2012 and the presentations focused on protection strategies, profiling, livelihood and advocacy for refugees in urban areas (Lyytinen & Kullenberg, 2013). Kampala is the capital and largest city of the Republic of Uganda. It is the headquarters for most of Uganda's large firms and the chief commercial center (Britannica, 2021). Uganda hosts 1,503,601 refugees with 28.9% (435,287) from the Democratic Republic of the Congo (Uganda Comprehensive Refugee Response, 2021) as of the update on 31<sup>st</sup> August, 2021. As a result of the International Agreements and Covenants, on free movement of refugees as a human right from places where their lives and property are threatened, "thousands of Congolese refugees have integrated into host communities near the settlements and many have moved to urban centres including Kampala city where social services are much better including economic activities" (WHO Mobilizes Urban-based Congolese Refugees in Uganda for Ebola action, 2019). The Office of the Prime Minister (2019) estimated that over 300,000 Congolese refugees in

Uganda settled under well-organized community structures in the various suburbs of Kampala city (Ibid).

Refugees living in urban setting are unique since they have to cater for their needs with minimal support from the government and humanitarian agencies as enshrined in (UNHCR Report 2018; OPM Fact Sheet, 2018). However, the majority are not well off as many people and institutions perceive. For example, the Congolese refugees living in urban setting are the neediest compared to other foreign nationals as regards their livelihood (Tippens, 2019). We review literature by drawing insights from the research of other scholars and humanitarian response actors pertaining to Congolese urban refugees' livelihood and their social capital

Most urban refugees and migrants' livelihood depends on social capital. They use the social networks among themselves to connect and hopefully establish relationships to thrive. Social Capital refers to access to and use of resources embedded in social networks, whereas a social network consists of a finite set or sets of actors and the relation or relations defined on them (Wasserman & Faust 1994; as cited in Johnston,

Kvittingen, D, & Verduijn, 2019). Actors and their actions, relational ties (linkages), network structural environment and the social, political, and economic structures are central principles underlying social networks (Wasserman & Faust, 1994).

## II. METHODS

We employed a narrative literature review methodology to ascertain how scholars have discussed the notion of social capital vis-à-vis livelihood with a strong focus on urban refugees. We step-by-step search for primary articles published by experts especially scholars that exhaustively wrote on the concept of social capital and livelihood. Information extraction was done manually by searching for databases of the google scholar search engine and other peer-reviewed journals. We synthesized the information gathered to build an augmented body of knowledge.

## III. DISCUSSION

### *Social Networks*

According to thorough analysis by different scholars, we argue that social networks” are not synonymous with “social capital.” The aim of using them together is to establish the relationships between individuals and groups and how social capital can be a strategy which urban refugees can use to survive. We further argue that in essence, social networks are links between an individual, groups, communities, organizations as well as state institutions. This review states that these links are captured in three concepts: bonding, bridging and linking, often referred to as “connectors” of refugees to different sectors in the society where they can get opportunities to sustain their livelihoods. To be explicit enough, we discuss the individual networks below and how they apply to urban refugees’ livelihoods.

### *Bonding Network*

Woolcock in (Jenny, 2011) conceptualizes social networks as he relates them to social capital. He says that social networks are the means through which social capital develops/emerges. Woolcock (2004) and Putnam (2000) refer to social networks as bonding and they view this type of network as inward-looking, characterized by very tight connections among people/groups with shared interests, norms and goals. The examples of groups that commonly bond are: family members, close friends, neighbors and members of an ethnic group. Putnam (2000) also clarifies that the bonding network can also be conceptualized through associations that bring members together to pool resources that can take the following forms: remittances, money savings, material gifts, food and non-food items and other related benefits. The pooled resources can then be mutually shared later to satisfy their needs as this review will indicate on how Congolese Urban refugees bond for livelihood. We argue that bonding network is vital to Congolese urban refugees who may use it in close acquaintances to establish relationships that would result into social capital with benefits to share in addressing some of their livelihood concerns.

### *Bridging Network*

Like the term bridge, bridging network is about connecting individual with other individuals, individuals with groups and groups with groups. We discuss this network by reviewing the ideas of other scholars.

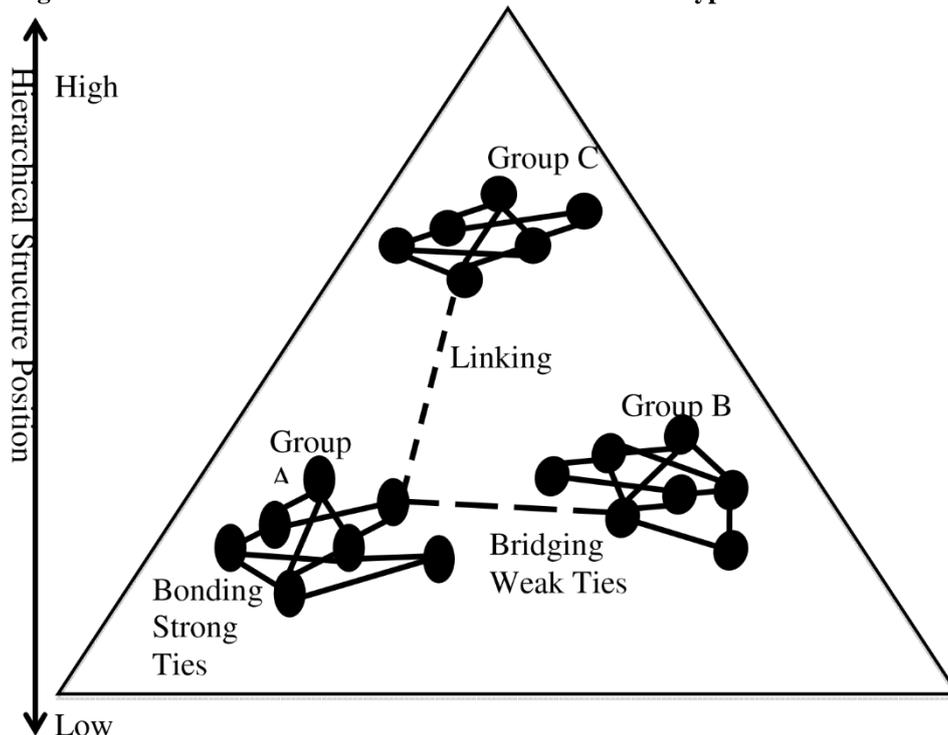
Putnam (2000) characterizes the ‘bridging network’ with the outward-looking features, or loose connections that link individuals with groups or organizations, as well as groups and other groups and/or communities with other communities. The distinct characteristic of ‘bridging’ however, is its looseness as compared to ‘bonding’ that is comparatively very tight. Bridging network is vital in connecting individuals, club members, groups, old school mates, former work mates and communities. Through these connections exists a high level of information sharing from outside, which updates the entire membership on possibilities, available opportunities and possible threats as well. Hence, bridging plays a major role in connecting dynamic groups in the society. The common resources that emerge from “bridging” are: information, small loans, good will and social protection as pointed out by (Putnam, 2000). This review is interested in knowing whether there exist some loose connections among Congolese urban refugees and of what value could such connections be to the Congolese. The review also seeks to understand whether humanitarian actors are aware of such connections and to what extent do they use them to improve livelihood among urban refugees, especially the Congolese in Kampala suburbs.

### *Linking Network*

We assert that linking networks are connections that directly link people to communities, organizations and/or government institutions, where officials in key positions of authority and power make decisions to provide assistance. We further explain that a ‘linking network’ is about creating connections with members in

external groups or associations or government institutions, which comes with some benefits including but not limited to; job opportunities, business opportunities, credit opportunities, capacity building opportunities and favour. For instance, government institutions sometimes provide capacity building training to members of the public to improve their skills (Jordan, 2015), 'Linking' is characterized by vertical nodes, with people at the base connecting with the state and other organizations at the apex for available opportunities (Woolcock, 1998); (Bowen, 2009). Social networks are crucial in improving livelihood among refugees, thus, the review seeks out knowledge that informs us on how the Government of Uganda has planned for and what structures has it set out to coordinate the social-economic activities of Congolese refugees living in Kampala to sustain their livelihoods. Thus, the knowledge generated about social networks informs this review on who the major actors and their actions are, what social ties connect Congolese refugees to social, political, and economic structures, and the scope of the network structural environment, so that we can adequately analyze the types of social capital upon which these refugees depend upon for survival as illustrated in fig. 1 below.

**Figure 1: Illustration of the hierarchical structure of three types of social networks**



Source: Lin (2001)

The pictorial illustration above shows that social capital is an overarching concept that straddles the three types of social networks, namely; bonding, bridging, and linking, showing how they are interlinked and which among them can benefit the urban refugees in building multiple connections radiating vertically outwards. The illustration shows: strong ties of bonding together with the weak and diverse; 'horizontal bridging' ties, as well as the loose and vertical linking' ties, operating together. This pyramid demonstrates the hierarchical structure of how the three social networks are interlinked in society and how people can use them to establish relationships which in turn may be very helpful to achieve their goals.

Lin (2001) explains that if we take the nodes to represent individuals or groups, then connectors found in Group A represent very close and strong ties of 'bonding'. The connection between Groups A and B represents 'bridging' which is a loose and weak tie. At the institutional level, the pyramid represents power and authority structure and it implies that the connection between Group A and C represents 'linking' type of social network.

This is also pointed out by (Woolcock 2004; Muir 2011). Regardless of whether horizontal or vertical, what characterizes bonding, bridging and linking networks, is the fact that all of them connect individuals to individuals, groups to organizations and government institutions, creating opportunities for individuals to access and enjoy the available social benefits at different levels. The common factor among all social networks is the overlapping aspect which may be helpful to individuals' community structural different groups (Stone & Hughes 2002).

Social networks are not synonymous to social capital even though they are quiet related. Therefore, social networks and social capital are conceptualized differently to understand their actual meaning and

relationship. The first step is to conceptualize bonding, bridging and linking social network and the second conceptualization is to relate bonding, bridging and linking social capital.

### *Social Capital and its Forms*

Many scholars have written about the concept of social capital, however, most of them seem to agree with (Putnam, 2000) who recognize Lyda Hanifan, an American Scholar to have developed the concept of social capital in his book 'Bowling Alone'. Putnam (2000) popularizes the social capital concept by recognizing that Lyda Hanifan is the first person to have come up with the concept of social capital which he called "*those intangible assets that count most in the daily lives of people*" which include: goodwill, fellowship, sympathy and trust. Since then, the concept of social capital has gained popularity due to the work of other three prominent researchers: Bourdieu, Coleman and Putnam as pointed out by (Filiz, 2017). Similarly, (Iravani, 2010) argues that the Economist, Glen Lori and the Sociologist, Ivan Light, employed the term social capital in the 1970s to describe the problem of economic development. In the 1980s, another Sociologist, James Colman, was the man credited with exporting the meaning of social capital to other disciplines. Robert Putnam who was a Political Scientist and the second writer to have made a powerful discussion of social capital within the context of civic society wondered as to whether it originated in Italy or The United States of America (Fukuyama, 2000).

In the initial conceptualization, social capital in organizations refers to social relations, commonly described as the structure of social networks. According to Galunic, Ertug, & Garguilo (2012) social capital is largely about the relationships that actors maintain, which is categorized using features like "numbers, strength, and density". On the other hand, Burt(2000) conceptualizes social capital as a complement to human capital. His metaphorical assumption about social capital is that; an individual connects well with others to get better. He further explains that certain individuals, or certain groups are connected to certain others, trusting certain others, obligated to support certain others, dependent on exchange with certain others and this is what Burt calls social capital. Burt's conceptualization of social capital makes a reference to friends, colleagues, and more general contacts through whom you receive opportunities as assets to a meaningful livelihood to use your financial and human capital." However, (Nahapiet & Ghoshal, 1998) recognize that one of the most common conceptualizations of social capital focuses only on the structure of network relationships developed in organizations. (Inkpen & Tsang, 2005) agree that social capital emerges from active social networks, and (Gulati & Garguilo, 1999) also propose that social networks create social capital through relationships.

Being an interesting concept, the researchers of social capital have had divergent and similar views about how it is defined and applied in the society setting. As one of the earliest people to write on social capital, (Bourdieu, 1986) views social capital as an "aggregate of actual or potential resources linked to mutual acquaintances and recognitions, a collectively owned capital, membership brought together by a mutual need or shared pooled resources." He saw social capital as a property of the individual rather than a collective, derived primarily from one's social position and status. This is another gap identified in this literature review because in its form, social capital is a connection between individuals and groups associated with group benefits. We therefore, argue that Bourdieu's view of social capital is rather divergent compared to the views of other social capital writers. Even though Bourdieu is one of the earliest people to write on social capital his conceptualization dwells on power structure in the society. He says that people with power in a group or society should take advantage of unequal access to institutional resources based on class, gender, and race (Bourdieu 1998). Another major gap found in Bourdieu's conceptualization of social capital is the explicit contrary from the mutual understanding of sharing the pooled resources by a group. His emphasis on class structures makes his conceptualization of social capital rather disturbing to writers who view social capital as a conception of mutual benefit and significance that puts people in a social group at the same level as they look to pooled resources together. Therefore, we argue that Bourdieu's conceptualization of social capital makes his definition unpopular since he focusses on class structures and economic gains rather than principles of reciprocity and trust among the group members as they pool resources to be mutually shared. It in our interest, therefore, to argue that the literature of social capital would be more captivating to the understanding Congolese urban refugees' livelihoods if it is conceptualized in terms of pooling resources for mutual significance and benefit among groups and individuals as the social networks could indicate.

Putnam (2004) defines social capital as "trust, norms and networks" and he says that social capital is not only individual but also a given society or community. By recognizing the community, Putnam's conceptualization of social capital is highly related to the group or society setting in the sharing of pooled resources which also have a connection to the urban refugees who would take advantage of group resources. The only gap in Putnam's conceptualization of social capital is found in the concept of 'trust' because it is not very possible to measure trust with unwritten rules. Therefore, we argue that this may cause disruption in the group or given community if some members fail to live to the trust of the group. Therefore, Putnam's view of social capital can benefit urban refugees if the issue of trust is well addressed by group members to avoid some

inconsistencies that might emerge due to the belief in trust. According to (Coleman, 1988), he views social capital in form of institutions and practices of interactions among people that contribute to economic and social development. Coleman was a sociologist and was mostly interested in sociology of education and public policy. However, his view point of social capital was to transfer economists' principle of rational action for use in the analysis of social systems without discarding social organizations in the process. Coleman did a lot to connect the sociology mentality and the social actions of individuals with the rationale ideas of economists.

Compared to Bourdieu, Coleman viewed social capital as basically residing in the social structure of relationship among people. Nevertheless, Bourdieu was concerned with power and status about distribution of social capital between individuals, Coleman viewed social capital as a public good where the actions of individuals benefit the whole. Therefore, we argue that Coleman conceptualized social capital as a collective asset of the group and made little provision for inequality that results in or causes differential power and status unlike Bourdieu. Coleman's view point of individuals to engage in social interaction, relationship and networks for as long as the benefits persist makes his conceptualization of social capital more popular and practical. In this sense, social capital is both a private and public good benefiting everyone in the group, not only those who invest in organizing the associations or networks. According to (Coleman 1988), direct contributions by actors would benefit the whole, not just the individual. However, the emerging gap in Coleman's conceptualization of social capital is mere mention of institutions and practices of interactions among people that contribute to economic and social development. Yet social capital should be a collection of pooled resources among the group members who would then share them following the principle of trust and reciprocity. We therefore, argue that urban refugees need to build social capital through networks that are worth to address their immediate livelihood needs in their daily lives.

Muriisa & Jamil (2004, P 5) clearly argue that social capital is a multidimensional concept defined by a set of; social norms, social networks, solidarity, civic associationism, collective production of wellbeing. In reference to the context of urban refugees wellbeing, this assertion on reflection of stoical capital is more appealing and directly related to how they can mobilize themselves and utilize the networks to build social capital for pooling resources which would then benefit them. In this context, solidarity among the urban refugees is crucial in creating the understanding on how they can respect the norms and share the pooled resources for their wellbeing. On the other hand,

(Nguyen, 2010) argues, that social capital appears recently as one option to help obtain wellbeing for individuals and the society as a whole. This argument has a serious gap because it does not specify any conceptualization of social capital. We argue that mentioning the wellbeing for individuals and society as whole is not strong enough to refer to social capital. Therefore, (Nguyen, 2010) contributes less to the conceptualization of social capital most especially in relation to the study of urban refugees.

Bhandari & Yasunobu (2009) assert that 'social capital' focuses on social relationships and its major components such as social benefits, public engagement, the norms of reciprocity, mutual trust, sympathy and goodwill are vital for the groups or origination wellbeing of members. This concept is promoted by (Mpanje *et al*, al, 2018) cited in Keeley (2007), who explain that the term social capital was used to describe an important aspect in the daily lives of people, namely; social intercourse, friendship/fellowship, good will, sympathy and empathy. In this review the authors' reference to social capital is spot on regarding the urban refugees wellbeing. It is assumed that through individual and groups pooled resources, members are able to receive support to meet their daily livelihood needs. This applies to the Congolese refugees living in urban setting.

Other scholars like (Grootaert & Van Bastelar, 2002) define social capital as "institutions, relationships, attitudes and values that govern interactions among people and contribute to their economic and social development." (Coleman,1990) takes the view that "social capital is defined by its function; it is not a single entity, but a variety of entities having common characteristics. That is, they all consist of some aspects of a social structure and they facilitate certain actions of individuals who are within the structure." However, Adler and Kwon (as cited in Shin, 2021, p. 2) perceives social capital as 'goodwill' which they refer to as sympathy, trust, and forgiveness offered by friends and acquaintances. (Adler & Kwon, 2000) explain that the core perception behind social capital is basically relationships. They assert that in market relationships there is exchange of money for economic gains. Whereas in interpersonal relationships there is social exchanges in which individuals exchange favour and not money. As such, a person grants a favour to another person and the recipient gets a credit or goodwill which is translated as benefit/ resources to smoothen the attainment of personal needs in the future.

The term "social capital" has evolved in meaning in the last decades, resulting in a rich body of literature. (Narayan,P & Cassidy, M 2001) state that one of the first formal uses of "social capital" as an academic concept was laid out by the French Marxist-sociologist, Pierre Bourdieu in 1986. According to them, Bourdieu defined social capital as the "aggregate of the actual or potential resources which are linked to mutual acquaintance and recognition; in other words, to membership in a group which provides each of its members

with the backing of the collectively owned capital.” They added a condition that membership was offered only to a specified class or group brought together by a mutual need to share pooled resources.

### ***Bonding Social Capital***

In summary, like he does for social networks, Woolcock, (1998) splits social capital into three forms (bonding, bridging and linking). According to him, bonding social capital refers to relations within or between relatively homogeneous groups, bridging social capital refers to relationships within or between both homogeneous and heterogeneous groups, and linking social capital refers to relationships between people or groups at different hierarchical levels in the society. However, “bonding” as a form of social capital is not synonymous to “bonding” as a form of social network. The former refers to the pool of resources, such as remittances, loans, material gifts, food/non-food items and solidarity to be shared among group members. The latter on the other hand, refers to connections that link people who have close ties and with the same interests, norms, goals and values, so as to enable them to access favors, information, social and emotional support (Woolcock, 1994; Putman, 2000).

To elaborate further, “bonding as social capital” refers to the resources embedded in the links between like-minded people or the reinforcement of homogeneity with high levels of solidarity, common with family members, members of the same ethnicity, close friends and neighbors (Rodríguez, Paris, & Carlos, 2012). Existing literature clarifies that “bonding” as social capital is characterized by the presence of specific reciprocity i.e. doing something for somebody as a way of returning a favor. Typically, “bonding as social capital” exists among friends and family relations, but it is also found in organizations and groups that are primarily inward-looking, bound by strong ties and who do not readily welcome new members (Beugelsdijk & Smulders, 2009). (Claridge, 2018) argues that bonding as social capital can fulfill a useful social function by providing a vital source of support to people who suffer from socio-economic hardship or poor health. According to him, bonding as social capital tends to help people ‘get by’ and provides the norms and trust that facilitate collaborative action. This also applies to Congolese urban refugees to sustain their livelihoods establishing such close ties that define bonding social capital.

Different researchers, however, characterize bonding social capital more or less in similar terms because they commonly agree that it is a form of capital that exists among friends, family and neighbors with very strong inward-looking ties intended to address common needs (Babaei, 2012) (Babaei, et al 2012). In summary, “bonding as social capital” is characterized by exclusive, homogeneous, inward looking and tight-knit grouping, displaying strong in-group loyalty, high levels of reciprocity and solidarity, myopia and narrowness of views (Kathleen, 2006)

The concept of “bonding” as social capital can be helpful in recognizing urban refugees from different countries, but possessing common features that identify them. These features include, but are not limited to the following: their “refugee” status, living in kinships, closeness to each other and trading in similar products. For example, Somalis are recognizable in Kampala from trading in oils and supermarket merchandise; the Rwandese girls commonly work in bars; the DRC commonly trade in jewelries, clothes (*bitenge fabric/garments*), artificial hair, cosmetics and commonly offer entertainment in bars; and Ethiopians and Eritreans commonly operate restaurants and bars for their survival. Therefore, we argue that bonding social capital can be very important for the Congolese refugees in urban setting if they are able to utilize well for their livelihoods.

### ***Bridging Social capital***

“Bridging” as social capital describes relationships that connect people across a dimension that typically divides society, such as race, class or religion. The term borrows its meaning from a bridge on a road, which is a structure of civil engineering across a water body connecting land masses on the opposite sides. Therefore, even in refugee research studies, the ‘bridge’ also connects communities’ groups or organizations across divides so that they can access help and resources from each other. Claridge (2018), also agrees that “bridging as social capital” is essentially the result of networking outside normal social groupings. According to him, there is always an opportunity of “bridging” whenever someone interacts with strangers. The common resources found in bridging as social capital are: information, small loans, material gifts, good will and social protection. Urban refugees have high chances of benefiting from this type of social capital because they can easily identify themselves as refugees. Refugees normally find it comfortable to live together in close-knit communities for social protection and Kampala offers plenty of evidence for this. For example, the Somali refugees live together in the slums of Kisenyi, the Ethiopians and Eritreans refugees have congregated in Najjanankumbi and Kibuye; and the DRC are scattered all over Kampala but commonly concentrated in Makindye and Lubaga Divisions where they do most of their small hawking business and other activities for survival. Through “bridging” different communities can identify common problems and together, they can find appropriate solutions to address them.

“Bridging” is mainly fostered by memberships in associations that are representative of the larger society. The researcher in this study agrees with (Claridge, 2018), that bridging as social capital presupposes divisions among refugee communities; therefore, this type of social capital relates more to externalities than internalities, the reason, it is a loose tie employed horizontally to connect individuals to individual and to organizations. This implies that different refugee communities exist in “umbrella communities,” where they can meet to identify with themselves as refugees and to enjoy social benefits that may emerge as a result. According to (Schuller et al, 2000), “bridging as social capital” refers to social benefits that are found in groups, clubs, associations and even individuals, units that are heterogeneous and likely to be more fragile, but also which foster social inclusion. Based on this assertion, “bridging” as social capital deals with distant relatively weak ties connecting individuals and groups. Some examples of such individuals are: workmates, members in a group, club associates and friends who come together to address common challenges confronting every individual (Putnam, 2000). Putnam goes further and conceptualizes that the highest resource found in “bridging” as social capital is sharing information that is collected from outside. But it also makes it possible to share pooled resources like soft loans, good will and material gifts. Bridging fosters trust between communities, a situation that can create economic opportunities among the urban refugees (Fafchamps, 2004); Bridging as social capital is also credited with enhancing community cohesion because people who form bridges mediate between groups and mobilize the individuals within them for social benefits (Putnam, 2000). Similarly, (Buscher, 2013) agrees with Putnam that “bridging” may have additional benefits. For example, it helps both individuals and communities to feel less foreign and isolated, in addition to giving them information on how to solve problems. Other benefits include, availing information on how to access services in a new environment, as well as providing protection from exploitation by employers or landlords. (Claridge, 2018) concludes that “bridging” as social capital allows different groups to share and exchange information, ideas and innovation; it also builds consensus among the groups representing diverse interests.

### *Linking Social Capital*

Since “linking as social networks” refers to vertical connections between people and organizations, government institutions and associations, “linking as social capital” is the actual amount of resources embedded in such entities, mainly job opportunities, business opportunities, financial/credit opportunities, and favour. According to (Jordan, 2014), linking social capital defines those relationships that connect individuals across institutional boundaries and can be particularly important in less developed communities. Linking social capital is determined by membership in external groups or associations, but it is a discourse that is missing in empirical studies (Jordan, 2014).

The historical development of the concept of linking social capital goes back to the works of (Evans, 1996) who argues that, besides the horizontal ties, social capital also has a vertical dimension, which (Woolcock, 2001) subsequently called “vertical ‘linkages.’” He went further to extend the concept of “linking” as social capital to cover not only the social, but also the political environment. The concept of linking social capital is understood to capture the hierarchical ties between communities and also the ties between ordinary people and people in positions of influence in government and formal organizations. This is echoed by (Szreter & Woolcock, 2003) who define linking social capital as “norms of respect of trusting relationships between people who are interacting across explicit, formal or institutionalized power or authority gradients in society.” They argue that the horizontal ties “bridging” individuals that are otherwise more or less equal in terms of their status and power are different from the vertical ties that link people across explicit ‘vertical’ power differentials, particularly as it pertains to accessing public and private services. Similarly, (Dasgupta, 1999) refers to “linking social capital” as the benefits gained from the “vertical ties between vulnerable people and people in positions of influence in formal organizations, such as banks, agricultural extension offices and the police.” The World Bank also points out that “linking social capital” captures the problem of how the vulnerable person is excluded from circles where major decisions on welfare are made.

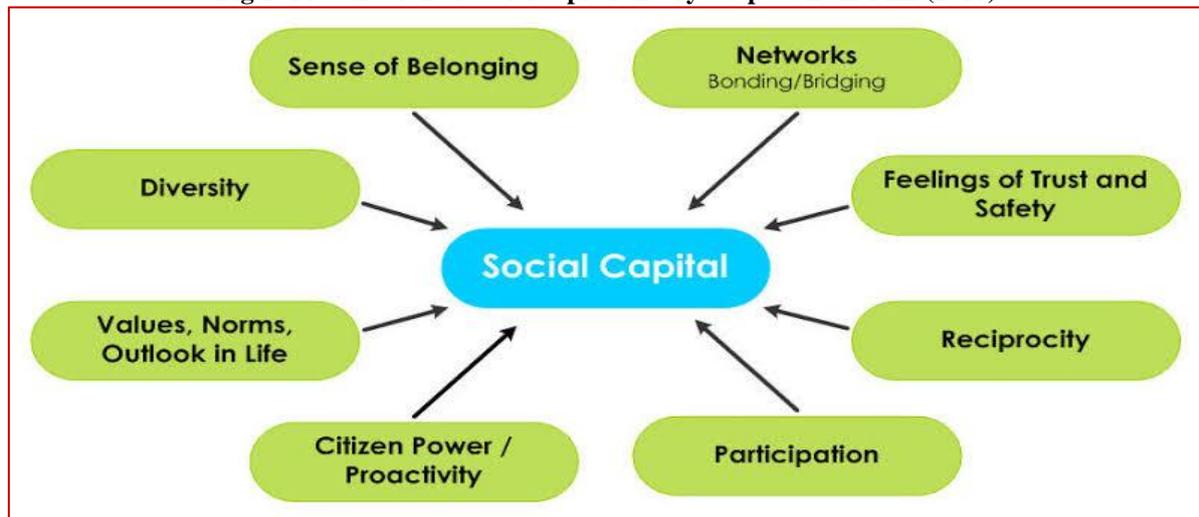
Generally, linking social capital has benefits related to social relations which individuals can establish with people in authority which they can use to access resources or power (Stone & Hughes 2002). Based on these facts, urban refugees can use such vertical networks to connect with key people in community structures to access benefits which are more likely to be found in linking social capital and networks. Firstly, are the financial benefits which organizations and state institutions give to vulnerable people. Secondly, are job opportunities which would work well for urban refugees without formal schooling and academic qualifications. There is need to inquire as to whether urban refugees actually exploit these vertical links to access financial support enjoy a more comfortable life than their counterparts in the refugee camps and settlements. However, the negative side of linking social capital is its potential to promote the following ills: nepotism, corruption and exclusion. It has already been explained that “linking” denies urban refugees certain benefits; but it can also promote favoritism depending on how well connected a refugee might be to power centres (Lovrich, 2016). Thus (Claridge, 2018) advises that it is important to have an appropriate balance of all types of social capital, not just linking with the

absence of bonding and bridging. Research has found that without linking types of social capital, “bonding” and “bridging” alone may not be sufficient to allow for community development (Claridge, 2018). (Onyx, 2000) stated that communities with higher levels of all forms of social capital are able to mobilize in the face of adversity and less likely to experience negative outcomes. This is very critical while targeting the most vulnerable people like Congolese’ refugees living in the suburbs of Kampala City.

### **Social Capital Theory**

After expounding social networks and social capital concepts, we can now discuss the social capital theory and how it is linked to urban refugees’ livelihoods. Machalek & Martin (2015) assert that social capital theory contends that social relationships are resources that can lead to the development and accumulation of human capital. So social capital theory suggests that interpersonal relations create value for individuals as they provide resources which can be used for achieving desired outcomes as described by Machalek, R., & Martin, M. R. in the (International Encyclopedia of the Social and Behavioral Science Second Edition 2015). Yet, although the core argument of social capital is clear and scholars seem to have converging opinions about it, there is still to know well what exactly does the concept of social capital capture? Does it reflect the social relations, their value, or the resources? In this review of social capital theory concept, we argue that the divergent views of writers on social capital indicate that scholars have not reached agreement on the concept even though numerous conceptualizations have been used to describe social capital.

**Fig 2: Presentation of social capital theory adopted from Filiz (2017)**



Source: Filiz, (2017)

Filiz, (2017) segments the social capital theory into eight components: networks-bonding/bridging and, feeling of trust and safety, reciprocity, participation, citizens power/proactivity, values, norms, outlook in life, diversity, and sense of belonging. These components form a network of social connections; the reason the social capital theory is even more significant to the urban refugees’ livelihoods as (See the illustration in figure 2 above).

The eight components represented in Figure 2 above are interlinked and they operate together to complete the social capital theory concept cycle. The first one is Networks, which in this review refer to bonding and bridging. These networks are vital in connecting individuals to individuals, individual to groups, groups to other groups, groups/individual to state institutions/humanitarian agencies and to the private sector in a given social setting. The role of networks is to create relationships that can be used later in accumulating social resources. This, we argue that the urban refugees can use social networks to pool both tangible and intangible resources to help them to survive as they continue to experience refugee situation.

The second component is “feeling of trust and safety”. It is everybody’s desire to feel the trust and safety within a given setting. This component therefore, has a bearing of unwritten rules of social capital like; norms, values, and principles which individuals do not compromise as members of a given group. Taking example of urban refugees, feeling of trust and safety gives them confidence as they build their social capital to remain intact in their urban setting with the hope of dependability on one another.

The third component of social capital theory is “reciprocity”. In social capital discussions, reciprocity simply means receiving something from the group without necessarily paying back in equal measure. This is a critical

factor in the context of refugees, where social networks ultimately lead to pooling of resources, which later are shared in the spirit of trust and reciprocity. Because it is not a must to equally pay back to the group in same manner, social capital becomes a fundamental strategy for urban refugees to survive and to sustain their livelihoods.

The fourth component of social capital theory is a “participation”. It is important to note that many organizations and other groups of people deprive members to participate in the affairs of running the organization. Social capital gives members’ opportunity to participate in the affairs of their groups. Their views for example are given serious consideration in management of the group affairs.

The fifth component, citizens power, is a concept that is common in social capital debates, where we talk about social networks creating ties/knots that connect different people. As mentioned earlier, the common ties in the theory of social capital are: bonding, bridging and linking. Each one of these describes a different kind of relationship. However, it is these ties that connect and open relationships among specific people in a given social setting.

The sixth component is norms and values. The common factor in “bonding” is to understand the norms and values within a given social setting/community. There is a need to harmonize the relationships and to define the strengths of reciprocity and trust. Relationships that define norms and values among refugees are: the family, kinship ties, close friends and workmates. They are connected by bonds. These bonds grow with time and become strong, which limits or even excludes outsiders from the group, based on relationships that have evolved with time.

The seventh component; diversity, relates to individuals who come from different parts of the world, cultural and social settings, meeting for the first time and for case of refugees participate in identifying themselves in a foreign country. This kind of diversity helps them to learn from each other, resulting in formidable relationships. The divergent cultures, norms, values, opinions and views are then put together to achieve common needs for survival. This review focusses how urban refugees can jointly address common issues which they face as refugees using social capital potential.

The eighth component of social capital theory is “sense of belonging “we argue that once the networks have established the functional social relationships, members of a given group start feeling sense of belonging within a social group. Sense of belonging gives members the hope to share the pooled resources which serves them to address common problems. In this concept the common problems faced by the urban refugees are commonly livelihood needs including; food and non-food items, health, education, communication, shelter, social protection and utilities to make their lives easy.

In summary, the social capital theory components are interrelated and always work together. They form a frame work that can provide discourse in the study of urban refugees. Moreover, there is a justification for applying the social capital theory in this analysis, which is that numerous researchers believe that the concept has existed for a long time, in fact since the formation of communities. Since then, humans have interacted with each other in the spirit of trust and reciprocity (Woolcock, 1998).

#### IV. CONCLUSION

We argue that the gap identified at this stage of literature review, is that the understanding of social networks is too general to give an ideal picture of the form of social networks among the Congolese urban refugees. So, other reviews should be conducted with the aim of understanding how social networks among refugees in urban settings can be used in connecting individuals, groups and institutions at government and private sector levels.

We conclude that cutting across, this rich literature is a thread that unites researchers because the majority seem to agree that social capital is characterized by social networks and social relationships that bring individuals together, leading them to pool resources that would help them overcome life’s challenges and satisfy everyday needs. We consider social capital to be “a collective potential resource” which can be gained out of social networking by urban refugees, guided by the principles of ‘trust’ and ‘reciprocity’. We also recommend social capital theory as a meaningful tool that can be adapted by scholars interested in urban refugee programming with focus of addressing their livelihood needs.

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