



The Salience of Digital Literacy in Agentic Integration of Migrants in Refugee Camps in Kenya

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Abstract

This paper explores refugees' sense of agency on integration through digital literacy and the use of digital technologies in Kakuma refugee camp. The qualitative method involved content analysis analyses of semi-structured interviews conducted with 8 purposively sampled participants who reside in the camp. The analyses focused on the resources provided by mobile phone, computer and reading tablet and the life goals enabled by the technologies that enhanced refugees' sense of

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agency in integration. The findings show that most participants use mobile phone more often than computer and reading tablet. From the analyses, three life goals emerged; social relationship, effective task performance and recreation. The study concludes that digital literacy and the enabled life goals provide opportunities for refugees to experience a sense of agency, belonging and wellbeing.

Key words: Refugees, Agentic integration, Digital literacy, Digital technologies, Life goals

1.1 Introduction

In the recent past, there has been a global increase of forced migrants most of whom are casualties of political conflicts in their countries of origin. According to International Organization for Migration Report (2020), there were 25.9 million refugees by the end of 2018. In Africa, a large percentage of refugees reside in the refugee camps. As of 2018, Kenya was the 19th largest refugee hosting country in the world (UNHCR, 2019). Of over, 491 000 refugees and asylum seekers registered in Kenya as of January 2020, majority (84%) live in a refugee camp (Utsch, 2020). Kakuma is one such camp established in 1992 and currently hosts a population of about 180, 000 refugees, half of whom are south Sudanese with other major nationalities coming from Somali and Democratic Republic of Congo. These countries have experienced unresolved and renewed political conflicts over decades and their proximity has made Kenya the hub of refugees in Africa. Globally, South Sudan remains the third largest source of refugees after Syria and Afghanistan (IOM, 2020). Although the 1969 supplementary convention of Organization of African States (OAU) exhorted Africans to exercise hospitality towards fellow Africans, most refugees find themselves in refugee camps (Tucholski, 2018). The Government of Kenya in partnership with key stakeholders such as UNHCR have assumed the responsibility of protecting refugees and ensuring respect to their human rights. On the other hand, the refugees struggle to rebuild their disrupted lives in a precarious camp setting.

The period between 1963-1991, referred to as the Golden Age, saw Kenya's refugee policy focused on refugee protection. The government of Kenya was fully in charge of refugee management in the country and refugees could access work and enjoy freedom of movement. The unprecedented influx of refugees from 1991 has a significant impact that saw the government introducing the encampment policy and creating Dadaab and Kakuma Refugee camps. The tough economic times, high unemployment rates, and insecurity shifted the national sentiment on refugees which led to

their marginalization. The Refugee Act 2006 which became operational in 2007 defined refugee status replete with exclusion and cessation clauses. It also outlined the rights and duties of refugees and asylum seekers. More importantly, it established institutions that would manage refugee affairs, for example, the Department of Refugee Affairs, the Refugee Affairs Committee and the Refugee Affairs Board. The Act also provided refugees with the right to move and seek employment or run business. Whereas, the law provided the right to work and access work permits, the same law restricted the movement of refugees and those who leave the camps without authorization faced the possibility of 6 months jail time and a fine of 20, 000 Kenya Shillings (approximately, 200 USD) or both. Such laws have sustained a systematic form of poverty and idleness that does not allow hope for refugees to eventually integrate. While integration with the local community is slowed by the encampment policy, resettlement rates for refugees within refugee camps in Kenya has also been dwindling with major destination countries for resettlement significantly lowering their quotas (Utsch, 2020). Refugees are therefore in limbo without time limit of how long they will wait for resettlement.

Kakuma refugee camp is located in the remote area of North-Western Kenya close to South Sudan border. The area has hostile dry climate, lack infrastructure and essential services. Still, within the camp refugees can experience exclusion due to diverse ethnic and cultural groups all accumulated into the same living areas (Utsch, 2020). There are different nationalities represented in refugee camp with tribes and clans creating additional subgroups of cultures. Without shared traditions, backgrounds, or languages, these refugees face even more obstacles when trying to establish a normality within a camp settlement. Without adequate ability to start a new and without emotional or social help to do so, refugee situation becomes protracted as their attempts to reestablish themselves in society are met with social barriers of language, identity, culture, and beliefs. The refugees' sense of powerlessness is evidenced by their physical exclusion from the host communities, emotional trauma of forcefully departing their home country, and consequent separation from their families and friends.

The protracted situation of refugees in Kakuma calls for new strategies for integration that is not dependent on the physical location. In this study, we conceptualize integration as digitally mediated and a process that transcend the physical boundaries with a focus on both of refugees as

agents in the process. To understand the influence of digital literacy and use of technologies on refugees' sense of agency, the study sought to answer three research questions:

- i. What are the uses of digital technologies that refugees value?
- ii. Why are some digital applications most preferred by the refugees?
- iii. What are the refugees' life goals that are enabled by the use of digital technologies?

2.1 Theoretical Background

The theoretical background captures the key concepts in this study and aims to show the gap in refugee integration that is limited to physical location. The review summarizes the capability approach in explaining the refugee agency and integration as digitally mediated process.

2.1.1 Capability Approach

In this study, we have used Amartya Sen (1999) Capability Approach to analyze how digital literacy and use contributes to integration of refugees in camp setting. According to Olatoku (2009) capability approach is a normative framework for the evaluation of individual wellbeing and social arrangement. According Sen (1999) Capability is understood as the various combinations of functionings (beings and doings) that a person can achieve with the freedom on what he or she can do. Sen believes that social arrangements should be primarily evaluated according to the extent of freedom people have to promote or achieve functionings they value. While access to basic good is a prerequisite to its use, the capability approach asserts that individual differences, capabilities and choices play a role on whether people make use of these goods, how they apply them, and how they are valued Alampay (2006b). This approach shifts attention from viewing access to resources to how people can use the resources that are available to achieve their life goals. Yet traditional measurement of ICT access still does not monitor the variations in the amounts and functions of use of Information Communication Technology (ICT) resources by different people (Olatoku, 2009). In digitally mediated space, people's real opportunities for using ICTs are dependent on the infrastructure and means of access that are available in the communities they belong (Alampay, 2006a). However, Panagakos & Horst (2006) argue that the availability of such infrastructure does not guarantee engagement with these technologies or meaningful integration of refugees.

Whether people are able to realize particular functionings depends on a range of personal, social, environmental factors that influence both their substantive freedom to do so (capability set) and the choices that they make (Zheng, 2009; Clark, 2005). Sen points out the variability of people's abilities to convert the same bundle of resources into valuable functionings and defines a person's wellbeing as their ability and freedom to achieve valuable functionings. Judging refugees' quality of life should relate to what they are able to achieve with the digital technologies. In this case, the notion of wellbeing intersects with that of agency which refers to one's ability to pursue goals that he or she values. In capability approach, conversion factors capture the transformation of individual's latent capabilities to real functioning that determine his or her wellbeing (Sen, 2010). These factors are situated in people's very specific and complex circumstances and can be both personal and social

Based on Sen capability approach, refugees need substantive freedoms (the capabilities) to live a life they have a reason to value even within the camp. Since most of these capabilities are digitally mediated, our focus on integration links refugees' digital literacy and use with their capabilities to participate in society and achieve their individual life goals. We explore the potential of digital literacy and use to empower refugees in their quest for agency and control over their current and future circumstances. We argue that integration for refugees in the camp can be global within the virtual space. We are concerned with how digital literacy and use contributes to refugees' capabilities to achieve meaningful lives.

2.1.2 Digital Literacy and Refugee Integration

The world has today become e-permeable and digital literacy and use can no longer considered a luxury. The inability to access or use Information Communication Technology has effectively become a barrier to social integration and personal development. According to European Commission (2003) digital literacy is the awareness, attitude and ability of individuals to appropriately use digital tools and facilities to identify, access, manage, integrate, evaluate, analyze and synthesize digital resources, construct knowledge, create media expressions, and communicate with others, in the context of specific life situations, in order to enable constructive social actions; and to reflect upon this process. It also includes elements of information literacy, media literacy, and visual literacy. In a minimal sense, all digital literacy rests upon elements of ICT literacy; the

basic skill to operate digital hardware, and those who only possess ICT skills cannot be considered digitally literate (Pangrazio, 2016, European Commission, 2003). According to Marlowe (2018), as people's physical and virtual mobility grow, integration is increasingly understood as something that occurs within and beyond national borders. The contemporary realities bring forth the need to reconceptualize and redefine integration beyond a specific physical context since humans essentially engage in widespread and overlapping social networks that constitutes a more global and de-territorialized world (Gifford & Wilding, 2013). Integration in this case involve disrupting the constraints of space and time so as to gain access into the social and psychological borders to enhance refugees' wellbeing.

Kakuma refugee camp is in a remote rural environment of Turkana County and therefore faces similar or worse challenges as other rural settlements. (Siti, 2014) argues that among the problems and challenges faced by rural communities are limited infrastructure, incapability to buy ICT equipment, lack of knowledge on ICT use, lack of skills, and lack of training in ICT use. Despite evidence that points to the value of digital literacy in individuals' sense of agency, integration, and well-being; stigmatization and societal perception of refugees as vulnerable recipients of welfare increases the existing forms of exclusion (AbuJarour, & Krasnova, and Hoffmeier, 2018). Research evidence also points to the role that digital literacy and digital technologies play in supporting the refugees to function in their new environments. Diaz Andrade & Doolin (2016) investigated how ICT use contributes to refugees' social inclusion of resettled refugees in New Zealand. The authors identified four valuable ICT -derived capabilities: participation in an information society, communicating effectively, understanding a new society, social connectedness and expressing cultural identity. While their study demonstrates that the usage of ICT culminates in greater opportunities for refugees to exercise their agency and improve in their wellbeing, there is scanty literature on how refugees living in the camps use digital technologies to achieve their life goals. It is this sense of agency that reflects individual refugees' ability to interact with the new environment and to navigate through the precarious environment to achieve meaningful life and wellbeing.

Digital literacy and the use of digital technologies can proximate distance and enable refugees to participate in a larger society. For example, digitally related capabilities, literacies and virtual spaces enable participation in global information society. In this case, digital technologies increase access to information, government services, education and learning of language, connection with

the local community and the country of origin, employment and entrepreneurship opportunities (AbuJarour et al., 2019). The contemporary realities bring forth the need to reconceptualize and redefine integration beyond a specific physical context since humans essentially engage in widespread and overlapping social networks that constitutes a more global and de-territorialized world (Gifford & Wilding, 2013). Integration in this case involve disrupting the constraints of space and time so as to gain access into the social and psychological borders that to enhance refugees' wellbeing. The existence of such barriers sustains the ineffectiveness of digital capabilities available to refugees as fundamental means of empowerment towards integration (AbuJarour, et al., 2018). In this case, integration requires agency by refugees to overcome the existing spatial barriers and to shift the focus on interventions provided to refugees from the care-maintenance needs 'what others can do for them' to empowerment approach 'what they can do for themselves' in order to proactively have control over their lives and future circumstances.

3.1 Research Methodology

Qualitative content analysis was used to explore how the participants make sense of their personal and social world with regard to digital literacy and use in their daily lives. Hsieh & Shannon (2005) defines qualitative content analysis as a research method used for subjective interpretation of the content of text data through systematic classification of coding and identifying themes or patterns. The method was deemed appropriate to validate existing literature on digital literacy and use by refugees. In this case the Sen's Capability Approach and existing research helped to focus the research question. In this study, purposive sampling was used to identify 8 participants in Kakuma refugee camp. Verbal consent was sought from the participants before inclusion in the study and they were free to drop out from the study without any implication. The informed statement detailed the purpose of the study, confidentiality of the participants, data management and dissemination. The informed consent together with engagement of one of the refugees in the camp in data collection was important in gaining access to the participants and enhancing their sense of psychological safety. All the participants were adults who had lived in the camp for over 10 years and had their families and friends both in South Sudan and in other countries.

We conducted semi-structured interviews with participants in a location of their preference within the camp. The questions focused on the use of digital technologies (mobile phone, computer and reading tablet), preferences of digital applications and refugees' life goals that are enabled by the

use of digital technologies. This form of interviewing allowed us to dialogue with the participants whereby initial questions were modified in the light of participants' responses and the interviewer was able to have probes and prompts in emergent and interesting areas. The questions were constructed to capture information on access to digital technologies, capabilities afforded by the technologies, and the refugees' sense of well-being and agency. Interviews conducted lasted approximately 30 minutes. Tape recording the responses during the interview was done in order to accurately capture the nuances and the voices of the respondents. Since tape recording does not capture the nonverbal responses, the interviewer acknowledged the body language of the participants and appropriately used them for further probes or integrated them as part of data. Each of the 8 interview recordings were transcribed independently by all the researchers to ensure accuracy of the information as said by the respondent.

3.2 Analysis

Data analysis enabled in-depth engagement with each individual case transcript and examination of similarities, differences, and emerging concerns in digital literacy and the use digital technologies. In this study, all the researchers sufficiently engaged with the transcripts in order to familiarize with the participants' accounts and to ensure credibility of the data. In the second phase, we independently coded each transcript and shared comments which included summaries and paraphrasing, associations or connections, similarities and differences, consistencies and contradictions in the meaning derived from the transcripts. The collaborative data coding process sought to enhance reflexivity and interpretative depth, rather than consensus between coders (Braun & Clark, 2022). We constructed the themes to reflect the data from the participants, our own experience and subjectivity and theoretical and conceptual understanding. Themes were considered as shared meaning-based patterns and not summaries of domains (Morgan, 2022). The analysis was based on the capability framework and the existing literature to explore the resources provided by the digital technologies and the capabilities those technologies enable (functionings) that empower the refugee's sense of agency and control over the process of integration. These themes formed theoretical connections within and across cases consistent with participants' perception of what is meaningful or less meaningful to their lives as relates to the use of digital technologies in integration.

4.1 Results

Data analysis shows that mobile phone is the most dominant digital technology used in the refugee camp. Women and those with low education level are more disadvantaged in accessing and using the digital tools. All the 8 participants use mobile phones compared to only three male participants and only one male participant who use computer tablet respectively. One of the female participants uses a mobile phone that does not belong to her. The great value that the refugees have placed on the mobile phone is not surprising considering the versatility of the digital technology in refugee's daily life.

4.2 Uses of Digital Technologies that Refugees Value

The analysis showed diverse uses of digital technologies that refugees value within the context of the camp to achieve their life goals which indicate their versatility particularly, the mobile phone which dominantly used by refugees. Respondent 1, who is a deputy headteacher explains what he uses his mobile phone for *'Actually, I use the phone most of the time, like when I do not have light, I use the phone to light. I use it to send sms, as a calculator and in addition to that a phone has a time'. You just check on it to see time.* Respondent 5 respondent similarly acknowledged the varied functions of a phone including, lighting *'Ok mostly I use the phone for calling at home and in work places. I also use the phone to sms, friends and family members and any other person, just passing information across I also use it for recording, photographing, the phone also helps in calculating, the phone also help in lighting at night.* The diverse uses of the mobile phone were also echoed by Respondent 2 who said that *'the thing that I use phone for first is for communications, to get information, I also use my mobile phone for calculations, as you can see I am a mathematics teacher. I also use mobile phone for photographing, recording, sending messages.* Some participants reported using mobile phone in work spaces like teaching. For example, respondent 4 noted how he uses mobile phone in teaching *'Since I am a teacher, I prefer recording, when I am teaching in a class I have to use the audio recorder.*

Most refugees do not own or use laptops or reading tablets. However, those who have access to the devices reported using them for communication, presentation, networking, data collection, data analysis, and data storage. While expressing a number of uses of computer such as typing, calculations and entertainment, Respondent 1 also noted various ways that computers are valuable to him *'... like I have to mention, MS word, excel and PowerPoint when you want to present*

something, because I can make slides to present to people, not even forgetting internet for communication through email, you can communicate with your friends. 'I use computer to write messages...when there are meetings, conferences, for teaching in class and social media'. Participants reported that it will be hard to perform the functions identified without the use of the digital technologies which explains the critical role of ICT in contemporary world. When asked if they would do the same things without the digital technologies respondent 2 said *'I don't think I can do them without a phone, the phone makes our work easier and I am able to get information with this phone'.*

4.3 Preferences for Digital Applications

Participants' responses on their most preferred function of digital applications were determined by cost effectiveness, ease of use, nature of the task to be accomplished and security of information. Confidentiality or privacy is a key factor in digitally mediated communication and this is the reason why Respondent 3 prefers whatsapp *'I prefer email and messenger, sometimes WhatsApp because you can send message and receive messages and not everyone can get your information if not authorised'.* In addition to affordability, some of the application are considered easier to use by refugees as reported by Respondent 4 *'I prefer whatsapp because it is the simplest way of communications and the Safaricom doesn't charge on them. However,* calling was the most preferred and easy to use application for all participants. Respondent 3 viewed cost implication of the bundles as an obstacle to ease of communication and points out that *'The one which I think is most difficult to use is the internet, maybe Facebooking when there is no network so I can't access there so I find it difficult to use when there is no MBs no internet, it requires a lot of bundles.* Participants related the difficulty to use computer to technological skills and according to Respondent 1 *'The most difficult one is aah internet, because google can lock itself while you are using it and this will require an IT person to pen it'.* Similar challenge was expressed by Respondent 2 who said that *'the most difficult one is recording because of some procedures I cannot manage'.* The participants' view reflects low digital literacy among the refugee. The nature of the task also emerged as a factor that determine refugees' preference for digital applications. Respondent 1 describes how reading tablet has enabled him to efficiently collect and safely store data. When asked his most preferred application he stated; *'It is Kobo collector, because once data*

is put, it is organised in a way that is easy to understand.... once information is entered it is automatically saved...it is not tampered’.

4.3 Life Goals Enabled by Digital Literacy and Digital Technologies

Based on participants responses on what they can do or achieve with digital technologies, three life goals enabled by the use of digital technologies emerged; social relationship, task performance and recreation

4.3.1 Social Relationship

Social relationship or connectedness can be described as a subjective evaluation of the extent to which one has close meaningful and constructive relationship with others. It includes feeling cared for by others and having a sense of belonging. Participants expressed their need for social connectedness with their friends and families through digitally mediated communication. When asked what they use digital technologies for, social networking emerged as a key capability across all the participants. This is expressed by Respondent 3 who explains that he cannot communicate with his family, friends and relatives without a mobile phone. He recognized communication and the need for social connectedness as significant to his wellbeing and said *‘Yes, it helps me to send messages, connecting with the friends and workmates. if it is between the family, I find how they are. What is their situation and greetings and friends also’*. Similar view was expressed by Respondent 5 who said, *‘Mostly, I use the phone for calling at home and in work place’*. According to Respondent 1, mobile phone assist in wider communication that includes work and he noted that *‘...of course with officers, administrators, friends and people from office concerned’*. This view was consistent with Respondent’s 4 perception of the value of computer which he described as follows; *‘Mostly, if it is at work place, I use it to communicate with my supervisor. In the community, when I am at home, I use it to communicate with my friends, family’*. It is this social connectedness and networking through digitally mediated platforms that can improve the refugees’ sense of belonging and wellbeing.

4.3.2 Task Performance

The analysis showed that digital technologies forms important aspect of work life and often create efficiency performing tasks. Respondent 8 who is a teacher notes how reading tablet support him

in delivery of service *'I use it at school for storing data and when sending communication.....it allows communication within a short time'*. Such communication is likely to be for purposes of school administration and communication with parents and employer. The observation was supported by Respondent 1 who noted ease of performing task as an advantage of using computer *'Sometimes for learning and writing some work to make work easier and doing assignment'*. Respondent 1 describes how reading tablet has enabled him to efficiently collect and safely store data. When asked his most preferred function stated *'It is Kobo collector, because once data is put, it is organised in a way that is easy to understand.... once information is entered it is automatically saved...it is not tampered'*. He explains how organization and quality of work is improved with the use of computers. On which digital application he prefers, stated that it is *'Excel and publisher, because with excel I can type my work in tables and I can design my work with publisher'*. Respondent 2 uses the mobile phone in school *'I use the mobile app at that particular time for calculations and solving mathematical problems...'*. He also believes that as a teacher, using his mobile phone to record his lessons enhances the quality of instruction *'when I am teaching in class, I record, and when students see the topic, it helps them to recall.'* Respondent 8 explained how reading tablet assist him in networking in his work space *'I use it to communicate with my boss and workmates...the communication is about sending data and report'*. Refugees use the digital technologies to enhance information sharing, coordination of work and efficient performance of tasks which consequently lead to social and economic empowerment.

4.3.3 Recreation

Recreation also emerged as an important life goal for refugees that they pursue through the use of digital technologies.

Respondent 1: *'I use the computer...and also free videos where at times you can watch during free time... songs.* However, some participants do not value recreation such as listening to music. When asked which mobile function is less useful, respondent expressed that *'The one I find less helpful is music app'*.

5.1 Discussions and Conclusions

Most refugees in Kakuma camp are in a state of limbo concerning their resettlement. Some have lived in the camp across generation since 1992 and fits in the definition of protracted situation. The UNHCR defined protracted refugee situation as a situation where refugees have been in exile for 5 or more years after their initial displacement without immediate prospects for implementation of durable solution (UNHCR, 2009). Based on this definition, and the unfavourable local laws and policies, refugees have initiated strategies to live meaningful lives within their precarious environment. Seufering (2019) asserts that refugees accommodated in the camps are spatially and socially at the margins of media and communication. Yet the camp produces a space which from the refugees' perspective is a center of communication. One such strategy is using digital technologies particularly mobile phone for communication with friends, family and workmates which enable them to network and to have a sense of identity and belonging. The UNHCR (2018) equally acknowledges the potential of social media to digitally reunite and proximate distant networks. The use of social media platforms such as whatsapp and facebook are cited as useful by for networking among refugees. Marlowe (2019) argues that social media bring families and friends together through audio and visual communication in synchronous and asynchronous formats. These tools provide physically separated people with an opportunity to share information, give support and exchange resources across borders. Such forms of connection build social capital and can potentially transform negative resettlement experiences to better living.

The refugees are motivated to use digital technologies in diverse ways to overcome the existing boundaries and to integrate within a global community. The choice of the digital applications is based on the information safety, cost effectiveness, skills and nature of task. In this study participants preferred calling, messenger, whatsapp due to information safety and least preferred facebook for lack of it. The cost of bundle is a barrier to internet use while lack of adequate skills affected the use of google and recording for some participants. The preference of mobile phone over computer and reading tablets is influenced by its versatility to access and use. All the participants used mobile phones for diverse functions such as calling, texting, lighting, recording, calculation, and photography. The UNHCR report on digital communications and forced migration states that refugees have increasing access to infrastructure for mobile communications. Even those who do not have are able to access it within their immediate social network. For example, one respondent used a phone that was not hers. The report also states that refugees can spend a

third of their disposal income on mobile phone. This explains not only how cost is a barrier to using digital technologies but also the extent to which refugees forgo other necessities to maintain links with their networks and to build the social glue within a digital space (Marlowe, 2019, Vertovec, 2004). Consequently, online interaction can provide refugees with opportunities for civic participation, economic growth, a sense of belonging and identity which in essence empowers refugees to be agents in integration.

Using mobile phone for lighting was cited by most participants which reflects the limited resources refugees can access and effort to adjust their lifestyles to such realities. Groen, Hounsell, Merjin, Havinga and Njogu (2020) study on access to energy for (macro) businesses in Kakuma refugee camp and Kalobeyei integrated settlement confirms our study results. The researchers found that businesses throughout the camp traditionally either have no electricity access or rely on standalone diesel generators, informal diesel-powered mini-grids or small solar panels. The use of mobile phone for lighting is a context specific need and adjustment that is unlikely to be experienced in the developed world. Most households cannot afford the cost of the generators or solar panels and the exorbitant cost of power charged by the local suppliers.

There are few refugees employed by the Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs). These refugees use digital technologies in discharging their official duties. The participants cited efficiency in task performance when using digital technologies and equally acknowledged that it would be impossible for them to perform the same actions without the tools. Haleen, Jovaid, Quadri, and Suman (2022) argues that digital technologies provide efficiencies that are unrivaled in traditional classroom. Three participants used digital technologies in teaching and reported better classroom experience. Reflecting on the scarcity of teachers and learning resources in the camp, using digital technologies can improve the quality of teaching and learning. Despite limitations imposed on refugees to engage in formal employment, the camp has a vibrant informal economy that support livelihoods (Goen, 2020). Refugees with micro (businesses) can use digital technologies to advertise their products, sell goods and transfer money. This would allow them to access wider market beyond Turkana County where the camp is located. Similarly, refugees can seek employment and work online to overcome the restriction of local laws that limit their movement and employment in Kenya.

Transition to a precarious settlement like the camp is a major change in one's life and recreation activities can support refugees to adjust in this process. Of the 8 eight refugees, only one participant

mentioned the use of digital technologies in recreation. This by no means suggest that refugees do not like leisure. It can also be understood that refugees in such contexts have a lot of competing demands that may override recreational activities. Lauckner et al. (2022) notes that engagement in meaningful and enjoyable activities within a community setting can be a means through which migrants become part of, and contribute to the cultural life of their communities. However, the authors caution that meaningful creation can be subjective. Such subjectivity can be possible explanation for most participants' failure to mention recreation via digital technologies as a life goal. In Kakuma refugee camp, such physical interactions for recreation may not be viable given the ethnic and national diversity of its residents some of whom were enemies back in their countries of origin. However, this scenario provides opportunity for virtual recreation through videos and audios. Recreation can enable refugees to connect with their home cultures, manage emotional trauma, and experience integration with the global communities.

Based on the results and existing research evidence, we conclude that digitally enabled capabilities can are opportunities for refugees' integration. Despite living in the same camp setting, refugees' ability to use digital technologies varies in achieving valuable functionings. While some refugees used more digital applications, others restricted themselves to basic functions of calling and texting but still felt satisfied with the functions. Refugees preference for the digital applications is based on skill, cost, nature of task, and information safety. Since these factors are often out of refugees' control, they affect their substantive freedom to achieve meaningful life and integration. The use of digital technologies by refugees to achieve life goals shows their intentional effort for agency, wellbeing and integrate with a wider community. Integration of refugees should therefore explore opportunities provided by the digital literacy and the use of digital tools to overcome temporal and spatial limitations.

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