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The *Journal on Education in Emergencies (JEiE)* publishes groundbreaking and outstanding scholarly and practitioner work on education in emergencies (EiE), defined broadly as quality learning opportunities for all ages in situations of crisis, including early childhood development, primary, secondary, non-formal, technical, vocation, higher and adult education.

REFUGEE STUDENTS' ACADEMIC MOTIVATION IN DISPLACEMENT: THE CASE OF KAKUMA REFUGEE CAMP

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ABSTRACT

Building on the existing body of literature on academic motivation, this research examines various factors associated with the academic motivation of students living in refugee camps in Kenya. I employ self-determination theory and a sense-of-belonging construct to explore the academic motivation of these students who, despite the overwhelming challenges of their life in exile and an unpredictable future, remain eager to learn. I use ordinary least squares regression modeling to examine the relationship between students' motivation and their individual and social predictor variables. Drawn from a survey of 664 primary school students across nine schools in Kakuma refugee camp, the findings suggest that students' sense of belonging at school is the strongest predictor of academic motivation, even after adjusting for other demographic and family-related variables. While these factors do not represent all possible predictors of motivation among students in refugee camps, the study does suggest that fostering a sense of belonging at school in a context of displacement could help educators create learning environments that promote and sustain refugee students' academic motivation.

INTRODUCTION

Due to multiple crises across the globe, approximately 25.4 million people are currently living as refugees; 3.4 million of them have been displaced by protracted crises for more than two decades (Dryden-Peterson 2016a; UNHCR 2018a). More than half of these refugees are children and youth under age 18 (UNHCR 2018a). Some refugees spend their entire academic cycle—from preprimary to tertiary—in displacement (Milner and Loescher 2011). While scholars who study education in emergencies and forced migration have paid increasing attention to the schooling

experiences of refugees, the literature has largely focused on uncovering barriers that prevent these children and youth from accessing quality education (Hatoss and Huijser 2010; Kanu 2008; McBrien 2005). Scholars primarily discuss the macro- and micro-level challenges refugee children encounter in a context of displacement or after resettlement, including overcrowded classrooms, irrelevant curricula, language barriers, and didactic teaching styles (Dryden-Peterson 2015, 2016b; Kanu 2008; McBrien 2005; Mendenhall et al. 2015; Oh and van der Stouwe 2008). Some of these barriers are the reason for the large number of out-of-school children and youth in countries throughout the world. Of the 7.4 million school-age refugee children and youth, only 61 percent attend primary school and fewer than a quarter make it to secondary school (UNHCR 2018a).

Despite the seemingly overwhelming challenges and unpredictable future refugee youth face, some are motivated to continue learning while living in exile. Recent studies have examined the various factors that enable refugee students to continue their pursuit of education (Dryden-Peterson and Reddick 2017; Dryden-Peterson, Dahya, and Adelman 2017). Despite a confluence of factors that interfere with schooling, some refugees have successfully navigated their educational trajectories owing to "locally and globally situated resources," including their families, communities, teachers, and peers (Dryden-Peterson et al. 2017). These students and those trying to support them are striving to restore "a sense of normalcy, identity, future orientation, and social connections" (Mosselson 2006, 110) in an unfamiliar environment by continuing their education.

The Kakuma refugee camp in northwest Kenya provides an example of refugee students who are academically motivated and eager to pursue an education, despite having access only to underresourced, overcrowded schools in an isolated refugee camp. For the past few years, refugee students in Kakuma camp have been recognized for their achievements on the Kenya Certificate of Primary Education (KCPE), the culminating national exam for primary school students. The UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR 2018b) reports that, for four years in a row, students in Kakuma "continue to shine" on the examination. Enrollment trends also show a sharp increase in the number of KCPE registrants, from 603 students in 2010 to 5,842 in 2018 (UNHCR 2018b), and 88 percent of those who sat for the KCPE in 2018 passed, a rate higher the national average (76%).[1] That year,

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1   There are no statistics for the out-of-school youth in Kakuma. UNHCR Education Management Information System data account for school-going youth, while UNHCR demographic data are organized by age range (e.g., 12-17 years of age) that do not align with the school-going population in Kakuma, given the large percentage of overage students. Therefore, it is difficult to approximate what percentage of the overall population sat for the KCPE. It is important to note that those who take the KCPE may be more motivated—intrinsically and extrinsically—to continue schooling. This point is further explained in the limitations and conclusion sections.

UNHCR and its partner organizations granted scholarships to the top 43 scorers to pursue their secondary education outside the camp (UNHCR 2019a). Despite these achievements, little is understood about the factors behind the academic motivation and achievement of refugee students living in camps.

Recognizing the multiple complex barriers refugees encounter in different contexts is important, but it could make it easy to gloss over the strengths and abilities of refugee youth that motivate them to succeed academically. Hence, this study emphasizes the need to move away from a deficit approach that stresses the vulnerability, passivity, and powerlessness of displaced populations (Brown, Miller, and Mitchell 2006; Dryden-Peterson 2011) and instead to examine the individual and social factors that have a positive influence on refugee children's academic motivation. These factors are critically important, not only to help prevent at-risk students from dropping out but to help those performing well to continue their education. Drawing from a survey conducted with 664 primary school students in Kakuma refugee camp, this study addresses the question, What factors are associated with the academic motivation of students in the camp schools? This study used the lens of self-determination theory to determine how a sense of belonging at school influenced these students' academic motivation. The aim of this study is to help educators and practitioners create learning environments that promote and sustain the academic motivation of students living in contexts of protracted displacement.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Academic motivation is defined as making an effort to persist in pursuing an education and to succeed academically (Ryan and Deci 2000, 56). The literature highlights the significance of academic motivation as it is associated with psychosocial wellbeing, greater life satisfaction and sense of meaning, and better academic performance (Bailey and Philips 2016; Baker 2004). In contrast, a lack of motivation is associated with low self-esteem, higher levels of stress and anxiety, and poor academic performance (Baker 2004; Petersen, Louw, and Dumont 2009). For decades, education psychologists have identified a variety of factors that contribute to students' academic motivation. Many motivation theorists also suggest that academic motivation depends on a range of factors, including students' individual characteristics and/or social factors that contribute to their (dis)engagement from educational activities. However, the existing research on academic motivation is primarily focused on formal education systems in the United States and other developed countries that are not affected by conflict.

There is a paucity of literature on the academic motivation of refugee students living in contexts of displacement; the literature that does exist focuses mostly on refugees who have settled in Australia, Canada, and the United States. Hence, this study applies a well-developed body of research on academic motivation to refugee education, the aim being to provide a fuller picture of refugee students' motivation to succeed academically in a camp setting.

Individual Factors

The first strand of motivation theories highlights the effect children's perceived ability and characteristics have on their academic behavior and performance. Scholars argue that students' perceptions of their self-efficacy and their expectations, goals, and values relate directly to their academic motivation, effort, and performance (Atkinson 1964; Bandura 1977, 1986; Schunk 1989, 1991; Wigfield and Eccles 2000). A student's academic motivation stems from their beliefs about their own ability to obtain and apply knowledge and skills (Schunk 1989), and their expectations of academic success (Atkinson 1964; Wigfield and Eccles 2000; Wigfield, Cambria, and Eccles 2012). A student is most likely to be motivated to pursue an academic goal they find attractive or believe is attainable (Schunk 1991)—for example, to take language classes if they believe they are capable of learning a new language.

For conflict-affected populations, education is often considered a means for social, spatial, and economic mobility (Bellino 2018). Even when facing economic, social, systemic, and spatial exclusion, many refugees' goals are to affirm their self-worth and claim an identity beyond that of refugee, and to build certainty in their lives through education (Bellino 2018, 10; Dryden-Peterson 2017; Dryden-Peterson, Dahya, and Adelman 2017). In her research on female Bosnian refugees in New York City, Mosselson (2006) found that refugee students were eager to succeed academically to restore "a sense of normalcy, student identity, future orientation, and social connections" (110) in their new environment. Their confidence in their capacity to learn and to succeed academically increased their motivation (Atkinson 1964; Bandura 1977; Schunk 1989, 1991; Wigfield and Eccles 2000). Hatoss and Huijser (2010) found that Sudanese refugees in Australia generally showed a high level of academic motivation, as they regarded education as "the only avenue for achieving some sense of achievement and purpose in life" (9). Refugee children and youth who have such aspirations and goals often are motivated to continue their schooling during their displacement and after resettlement (Bellino and Kakuma Youth Research Group 2018).

However, other scholars suggest that refugee students can lose their academic motivation if their displacement is protracted, especially when they feel socially excluded in the host country schools and communities or become frustrated by the overwhelming constraints of the refugee camp (Bellino 2018; Shuayb 2014). For example, Shuayb (2014) found that limited access to universities and poor employment prospects markedly reduced the motivation to pursue an education among Palestinian refugee students living in Lebanon. Refugees students also are more likely to discontinue schooling when they or their parents fail to see the value of primary and secondary education while in exile (Al-Hroub 2014). While these studies corroborate motivation theories that stress the importance of self-efficacy, expectations, values, and goals in refugee children's academic motivation, it also signals the need to recognize the salient structural challenges that discourage refugees' motivation to further their education while living in exile (Bellino 2018).

Studies also have shown that demographic factors are highly correlated with an individual's propensity to end their schooling, including age and gender (Hunt 2008). Research suggests that overage learners are often at greater risk of dropping out of school than younger students (Buchmann 2000; Fawcett, Hartwell, and Israel 2010; Lloyd, Mensch, and Clark 2000). In sub-Saharan African countries, for example, many students are not in the appropriate grade for their age due to grade repetition, late school entry, or interrupted schooling, all of which contribute to dropout (Hunt 2008; Lewin 2009). In their study of war-affected adolescents in Sierra Leone, Zuilkowski and Betancourt (2014) found that "every additional year of age increased the fitted odds of dropout by 14 percent" (459). As children get older, they may lose their motivation to continue their schooling due to feelings of social discomfort or alienation from younger classmates (Flisher et al. 2010; Siddhu 2011). They also may face social and economic pressure in their community to withdraw from school to do paid work, help with household chores, get married, or bear children (Zuilkowski et al. 2016).

Gender also can have an impact on children's educational continuity. In societies and cultures with strong gender roles, for example, girls may be discouraged from studying (Siddhu 2011; Sabates, Hossain, and Lewin 2013; Smits and Huisman 2013). In low-income households in sub-Saharan African countries, girls often are responsible for household chores, such as fetching water, cooking, and taking care of younger siblings (Abuya, Oketch, and Musyoka 2013; Flisher et al. 2010), and poor families often encourage daughters to marry at a young age to reduce the family's financial burdens or to receive a dowry (Grant and Hallman 2008; Hunter and May 2003). All of these circumstances disrupt girls' ability to

continue their education (Abuya, Onsomu, and Moore 2014). Hatoss and Huijser (2010) found that socially constructed gender roles for Sudanese refugee girls often posed a challenge to their education pathway. Even after resettlement in Australia, these girls often stayed at home rather than continuing their education, due to long-established cultural norms and gender roles. Gender in fact cuts across a wide variety of factors—nationality, ethnicity, culture, class—to limit children's academic pursuits. Considering that women and children comprise the majority of the world's refugees, more research is needed on the gendered barriers to educational opportunities faced by refugee children, both during their displacement and after resettlement (Hatoss and Huijser 2010; UNHCR 2018a).

Social Factors

The second strand of theories focuses on the role social factors play in student motivation (Reeve, Ryan, and Deci 2018). Scholars argue that children's motivation relies in part on a complex interplay between their personal characteristics and their interactions and experiences with their families and in school (Goodenow 1993; Goodenow and Grady 1993; Ginsburg and Bronstein 1993; McCoy, Wolf, and Godfrey 2014). Support from family members, teachers, and peers is considered a key determinant of children's academic engagement and motivation (Wentzel 1997). These actors provide different types of tangible and intangible support, such as parents assisting with homework, teachers' praising progress and offering motivational messages, and peers providing companionship, warmth, and kindness, all of which have a direct and indirect influence on students' academic motivation and performance (Ansong et al. 2017, 52; Ko, Wang, and Xu 2013).

A plethora of literature demonstrates that parental involvement in education— their expectations, helping their children with schoolwork, and active engagement in school functions—is a strong predictor of their children's academic motivation and achievement (Marchant, Paulson, and Rothlisberg 2001; Paulson 1994; Steinberg, Dornbusch, and Brown 1992; Stevenson and Baker 1987). Several studies on the educational success of students from disadvantaged backgrounds confirm the significance of family support, financial and emotional, in children's ability to achieve. In Nepal, Rai et al. (2016) found that family members of urban squatter children in Kathmandu played a key role in their educational persistence, despite impoverished home environments and unhygienic settlements. Dass-Brailsford (2005) found similarly that Black youth from low-income families in South Africa showed a strong commitment "to uplift their socioeconomic status" (582) when they lived with parents, siblings, or relatives who encouraged them to attend school. Studies of resettled refugees in Australia and Canada found

that strong emotional support from parents and family members was a factor contributing to children's academic success (Brown and Mitchell 2006; Kanu 2008). The informational, material, emotional, and capacity-building resources families provide are important in children's ability to adapt successfully to a new educational environment (Major et al. 2013).

Relationships with school members, particularly teachers and peers, is another important social factor that predicts academic motivation (Goodenow 1993; Goodenow and Grady 1993; Harter 1996; Wentzel 1997). Many scholars argue that the quality of the student-teacher relationship may determine students' level of engagement, motivation, and achievement in school (Furrer and Skinner 2003; Goodenow 1993; Kia-Keating and Ellis 2007; Martin and Dowson 2009). Indeed, research suggests a significant relationship between teachers' pedagogical caring (e.g., warmth, affection, and support) and students' motivation (Furrer, Skinner, and Pitzer 2014; Ryan et al. 1990; Stipek 2002; Wentzel 1997). The teacher's role is particularly significant for unaccompanied refugee children, as they can fill the role of caregiver (Kirk and Winthrop 2007). Studies also have found that peer influence is particularly critical during adolescence, a period of life when students value peer acceptance (Goodenow 1993; Goodenow and Grady 1993). McDougall and Hymel (1998) contend that students with positive peer relationships are more likely than others to experience a smooth transition to secondary school and may be more motivated academically. Relationships with peers are also critical for refugee students, as they provide "social bridges" that keep them from being isolated at school (Strang and Ager 2010).

Indeed, a wealth of literature demonstrates the individual and social factors that determine students' level of academic motivation. However, most of that literature is comprised of studies conducted in the United States or other developing countries not affected by conflict. Most of the limited research that has explored refugees' academic motivation and success has focused on resettled refugees in Australia, Canada, the United States, and Western European countries (Kanu 2008; McBrien 2005; Wilkinson 2002). However, this population represents less than 1 percent of the world's forcibly displaced population; 86 percent of refugees reside in countries that neighbor on those they've fled (UNHCR 2018a). Despite this, few studies have examined the academic motivation and success of refugees living in camps, informal settlements, and urban spaces in the Global South (Mendenhall, Russell, and Buckner 2017).

One study that does so is Dryden-Peterson et al.'s (2017) research that was conducted in Dadaab refugee camp in Kenya. Drawing from an online survey of Somalis who are geographically dispersed in various countries and in-depth interviews with 21 Somali students in the refugee camp, Dryden-Peterson et al. explored student-identified supports that contributed to their educational access and persistence. The authors found that, amid a confluence of factors that often impede refugees' access to schools, some children and youth in Dadaab had successfully navigated their educational pathways due to the financial, emotional, and/or academic support they received from individuals, their families, and their communities. Bellino and the Kakuma Youth Research Group (2018) identified some nonmaterial supports the refugee youth received, such as encouragement and advocacy, that were factors in their academic motivation. Refugee youth in Kakuma noted that they benefitted from the support of family and community members, teachers and peers, who not only provided words of encouragement and praise but took action to support their educational access and persistence. These studies demonstrate that, even in situations of protracted displacement, where refugees are often in a state of "radical uncertainty" about their future, refugees can be motivated to pursue an education if they receive support from locally and globally situated resources (Bellino and Kakuma Youth Research Group 2018; Dryden-Peterson et al. 2017; Horst and Grabska 2015).

More research is urgently needed to investigate the individual and social factors that influence the academic motivation of refugee students living in exile. Although there is a well-established literature on academic motivation, it is mostly limited to developed country contexts. This study addresses this gap in the literature by exploring the factors that contribute to the motiviation of refugee students in Kenya, which hosts one of the world's largest refugee populations.

THEORETICAL AND CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

I draw from Ryan and Deci's (2000) self-determination theory and a sense-of-belonging construct to examine refugee students' academic motivation during their displacement. Ryan and Deci identify three types of motivation—intrinsic motivation, extrinsic motivation, and amotivation. Intrinsic motivation is a person's innate psychological need to improve their competence, which eventually results in his or her motivation to pursue and enjoy learning (Deci and Ryan 1985). A student who finds an activity (e.g., reading a book) that provides the satisfaction and pleasure of participating is intrinsically motivated (Furrer and Skinner 2003). In contrast, children who engage in academic tasks mainly to satisfy their parents' or teachers'

expectations are extrinsically motivated (Sheldon and Elliot 1998; Vallerand and Bissonnette 1992). A person who engages in an activity as a means to an end is extrinsically motivated. The third type of motivation is amotivation, which means that children lose interest and disengage from learning when they cannot predict the consequences or contingencies of their motive or actions (Vallerand et al. 1992, 1007). Amotivated children invest little or no effort in their studies. In this study, I focus on in-school children's academic motivation and the factors that explain variations in their motivation, thus I address only intrinsic and extrinsic motivation.

External factors play a pivotal role in either promoting or thwarting children's innate tendency to want to learn (Deci et al. 1991). For this learning behavior to persist, children need support from their social milieu. As Deci et al. assert, individuals develop through their interaction with a social world—the integration of the self and the world. Therefore, I focus on this construct of relatedness (hereafter, sense of belonging). Furrer and Skinner (2003) argue that the sense of belonging to a community acts as "a buffer, allowing people to show more self-reliance, vigor, and tenacity in the face of obstacles" (149). A sense of belonging at school is particularly critical for children affected by conflict. Whether they resume their schooling during displacement or after resettlement, refugee children "form secure and satisfying connections with others in [a markedly different and unfamiliar] social milieu" (Deci et al. 1991, 327). While some children adapt quickly to a new school environment, others isolate themselves because of language barriers, discrimination, or for psychological reasons. Those who isolate may lose their innate desire to learn, causing them to lose their motivation and make less effort academically (Anderson, Manoogian, and Reznick 1976; Goodenow 1993; Ryan and Deci 2000; Weiner 1990). In contrast, fostering a sense of belonging in school may be a central factor in children's motivation to learn. Thus, I examine refugee students' motivation to learn relative to their sense of belonging in school in the Kakuma camp setting.

DATA AND METHODS

Data for this study come from an original survey conducted in Kakuma refugee camp from January 10 to 24, 2018. Kakuma is located in the Turkana district of northwest Kenya. For the last several decades, Kenya has been home to hundreds of thousands of men, women, and children seeking refuge. Refugees in Kenya come from Somalia, South Sudan, Ethiopia, Uganda, Sudan, Burundi, Democratic

Republic of Congo, and other countries in East and Central Africa; they have fled to Kenya across national borders due to political instability, genocide, and civil war. As of December 2019, there are 489,747 refugees and asylum seekers in Kenya, of whom 55 percent are under age 18 (UNHCR 2019b); 84 percent live in refugee camps (44% in Dadaab, 40% in Kakuma), and the remaining 16 percent live in urban areas (UNHCR 2019b). In Kakuma, the daily arrival of refugees from South Sudan has created huge problems with living accommodations and the distribution of limited resources. Founded in 1992, Kakuma refugee camp was originally intended to host refugees for a short period of time, but due to protracted crises in several neighboring countries, the camp has been operating for 28 years. Ongoing conflicts in South Sudan and the resulting influx of refugees to the camp, coupled with refugees who have relocated to Kakuma from Dadaab camp, increased Kakuma's population to nearly 190,000 in March 2016 (UNHCR 2016); children under age 18 accounted for more than half (UNHCR 2019b).

The education system in Kakuma is overseen by the UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR). At the time of this study, there were 11 early childhood centers, 21 primary schools, 5 secondary schools, and 1 vocational training center in Kakuma to accommodate the more than 60,000 children living in the camp (UNHCR 2019b, 2019c). Since 1997, schools in the camp have used the Kenyan curriculum, and Kiswahili and English are the languages of instruction. The national curriculum is based on the 8-4-4 system (8 years in primary school, 4 in secondary, and 4 at a university or college). In 2014, the camp schools became official government schools and, in keeping with the national education system, refugee students now take high-stakes exit exams in grade 8 (Standard 8) and grade 12. Their performance on the KCPE exam determines their access to secondary schools. UNHCR and its partners sponsor a few exceptionally high-performing students to study outside the camp. With no tertiary education provided in the camps except for a few online certificate programs, most secondary graduates find incentive jobs (i.e., as interpreters, cleaners, teachers, etc.) in the camp (Bellino 2018; Bellino and Hure 2018; Dryden-Peterson et al. 2017).

Schools in Kakuma camp face immense challenges. A safe environment that is conducive to learning cannot be guaranteed, and the steady influx of refugees from South Sudan and Dadaab camp have aggravated Kakuma's already overpopulated, underresourced schools. Moreover, the majority of the camp's primary school teachers are unqualified and untrained (Mendenhall 2017). The lack of qualified teachers, overcrowded classrooms, inadequate facilities, and a lack of teaching and learning materials are some of the many school-based factors that contribute to school dropout in Kakuma (Masinde Wesonga 2014).

Sampling

The target population of this study is Kakuma students in Standard 8, the highest grade in Kenya's primary schools. To provide an accurate count of the target population, I used a two-stage sampling process. First, using the probability proportional to size (PPS) sampling method, I randomly selected 12 of the camp's 21 primary schools. I used the PPS technique because the population ranged from 224 to 3,882 students per school (Lutheran World Federation 2018). This approach ensured that students in the larger schools had the same probability of getting into the sample as those in smaller schools (Lavrakas 2008). PPS is the most commonly used sampling method for large-scale international assessments, such as the Trends in Mathematics and Science Study (TIMSS) and the Programme for International Student Assessment. I originally selected 12 primary schools, but many of them were closed during my visit due to unexpected protests in the camp. Therefore, I was only able to collect surveys from 9 of the 12 schools (5 co-ed schools, 5 same sex, and 1 boarding school).

In the next phase, I used stratified sampling to include students from two classes (hereafter, streams) in Standard 8. In 2018, all nine schools in the sample had two streams in Standard 8. I visited each classroom, randomly selected 70 to 100 students per stream, and distributed the questionnaires. As gender was one major interest in this study, I oversampled the number of girls; there often are fewer girls than boys in the Kakuma schools and they are at a higher risk of dropping out (Masinde Wesonga 2014). Because the margin of sampling error is related to the size of the sample, increasing the sample size for girls through oversampling allowed me to estimate with a smaller margin of error.

With consent from UNHCR and the school head teachers (called principals), I visited students in Standard 8 during the long break in the morning (11:00-11:30 AM) or during remedial classes in the afternoon (2:00-3:30 PM); both are free periods for students to do in-class exercises or revisions. I explained the purpose of the study, including the potential risks and benefits, and recruited students to participate. I made sure that students were aware that their participation was voluntary and allowed those who did not wish to participate to leave the classroom or not submit the survey, which was administered in English, the language of instruction for most core subjects in Kenya's upper primary classes. Only two students left the room without submitting the survey.

Instrument

The survey instrument was designed as a self-administered questionnaire. It included questions to help gauge students' attitudes toward academic motivation and a sense of belonging in school. I developed these items based on a thorough examination of existing questionnaires on adolescents' academic motivation, in particular Cham et al.'s (2014) Adolescents' Motivation for Educational Attainment Questionnaire and Murdock's (1999) Educational Motivation Questionnaire. The survey also contained respondents' detailed sociodemographic information. Most of these items were adapted from the TIMSS, an international large-scale assessment that monitors trends in math and science performance among fourth and eighth graders. To ensure that the survey instrument was relevant to the context, I consulted two South Sudanese male refugee teachers, both of whom completed their own primary schooling in the camp. They reviewed the survey and pointed out vocabulary that might be unfamiliar or irrelevant to students in Kakuma. After consulting with the teachers, I made minor changes (e.g., "graduate" to "complete" and "chores" to "work") before distributing the survey.

Participants

A total of 784 students participated in the survey. During the analysis phase, however, students missing data were dropped, and the final analytical sample was 644. The sample included 12 percent of the entire Standard 8 population in Kakuma camp. Of these participants, 45 percent were female and 55 percent male. The average age of the sample was 18 (the range was 11 to 40). Standard 8 students in Kenya are usually age 13 to 15, but many refugee students are older than their Kenyan peers, due to multiple years of interrupted schooling. Only 14 percent of students in the sample were in the "average Standard 8 age" category; 86 percent were 16 and above, and thus considered "overage" or "older" learners. Participants' period of encampment ranged from one to more than twenty years, with an average of seven years. Almost half the students (48%) in the sample had resided in Kakuma for six to ten years, followed by 42 percent who had lived there for one to five years. Students came from nine countries of origin, the majority from South Sudan (60%), followed by those from Sudan (15%) and Somalia (10%). Other countries represented in the study are Democratic Republic of Congo (5%), Ethiopia (4%), Burundi (2%), Kenya (2%), Tanzania (1%), and Rwanda (<1%).

Table 1: Descriptions and Descriptive Statistics for Variables (N=664)

Variable	Definition/Metric	Mean	SD	Percentage
Independent Variables				
Female	Male	-	-	55.0
	Female	-	-	45.0
Age	Average age (11-15 years)	-	-	14.0
	Overage (16 and above)	-	-	86.0
Encampment Years	1-5 years*	-	-	41.6
	6-10 years	-	-	48.5
	11-15 years	-	-	4.8
	16 years or more	-	-	5.1
Nationality	South Sudanese*	-	-	60.2
	Sudanese	-	-	14.8
	Somali	-	-	10.4
	Others	-	-	14.6
Family Composition	Unaccompanied (alone)*	-	-	6.78
	With parent(s)	-	-	58.6
	Siblings only	-	-	14.9
	Others (foster family, relatives, or friends)	-	-	19.7
Home Responsibilities	Less than 1 hour*	-	-	41.1
	1-2 hour(s)	-	-	25.8
	2-3 hours	-	-	13.4
	More than 3 hours	-	-	19.7
School Belonging	Scale of students' sense of belonging at school	4.51	.55	-
School Type	Boarding school*	-	-	9.34
	All girls' school	-	-	11.6
	All boys' school	-	-	13.0
	Co-ed school	-	-	66.1
Dependent Variables				
Intrinsic Motivation	Scale of students' intrinsic motivation at school	4.59	.71	-
Extrinsic Motivation	Scale of students' extrinsic motivation at school	4.47	.69	-

* Reference group(s) in the analysis

Measures

Dependent Variables

Using Ryan and Deci's (1985) self-determination theory, the dependent variables are intrinsic and extrinsic motivation. A total of 12 items pertained to students' academic motivation (six for intrinsic, six for extrinsic). Most of the statements were extracted from Cham et al.'s (2014) Adolescents' Motivation for Educational Attainment Questionnaire and Murdock's (1999) Educational Motivation Questionnaire, both of which measure the multiple dimensions of youths' motivation to complete secondary school. Intrinsic motivations include "I do my best to achieve higher scores in exams" (M=4.74; SD=.63); "I am confident that I will get a good score in KCPE" (M=4.74; SD=.62); "I am confident that I can do well in my studies" (M=4.73; SD=.67); "What I do in school will help me succeed in life" (M=4.65; SD=1.03); "I think education will ensure that I get paid well in the future" (M=4.40; SD=1.24); and "I cannot be successful in life without education" (M=4.39; SD=1.31).

Extrinsic items were mainly statements regarding their relationships with parents and teachers: "My parents or guardians expect me to do well" (M=4.71; SD=.67); "My teachers expect that I will do well in the future" (M=4.54; SD=1.08); "My teachers believe that I will complete (graduate from) primary school" (M=4.50; SD=.09); "I am one of the students who teachers believe will be successful" (M=4.50; SD=.86); "My relationships with family support my educational goals" (M=4.40; SD=1.01); and "My parents or guardians expect me to complete (graduate from) secondary school" (M=4.31; SD=1.38). The motivation items included five response categories: (1) strongly disagree, (2) disagree, (3) neutral, (4) agree, and (5) strongly agree. Drawing from these items, I calculated two scales; higher values reflect higher levels of intrinsic motivation (Cronbach's alpha=.74) and extrinsic motivation (Cronbach's alpha=.64).

Independent Variables

Independent variables in the analysis were categorized into three groups: individual characteristics (demographics), family characteristics, and school characteristics. Individual variables include gender, age (by category), nationality, and years of encampment (by category). I put age in two categories: "average Standard 8 age" and "overage." I put time in encampment into four categorizes—1-5 years, 6-10 years, 11-15 years, and 16 years or more—to investigate differences, if any, in the level of motivation and years of displacement. The reference group was newly arrived refugees who had spent fewer than five years in the camp. I assigned South

Sudanese as the nationality reference group, as they are the majority population in the camp (UNHCR 2019b). With the relatively small percentages of refugees from other countries in the sample, I grouped them together as "Others."

Family-related variables included family composition and home responsibilities (e.g., number of hours spent daily doing chores). I compared the motivation of unaccompanied minors (reference category) who lived alone with those who lived with at least one family member or relative. The reference group for the home responsibilities variable was those who reported spending less than one hour a day doing chores. Other family-related factors, such as parental education and parental involvement in their children's schoolwork, were originally part of the survey, but they were omitted because most of the respondents were not able to answer the question. School variables also included the type of school attended (boarding, all girls, all boys, and co-ed) to examine the relationship with students' sense of belonging at school. Table 1 presents the descriptions and descriptive statistics of each independent variable.

Statements pertaining to students' sense of belonging were extracted from the TIMSS student questionnaire for grade 8. I borrowed the TIMMS scale on sense of belonging, which is comprised of seven items: "I like being in this school" (M=4.77; SD=.54); "I learn a lot in school" (M=4.62; SD=.75); "I like to see my classmates at school" (M=4.61; SD=.72); "I feel safe when I'm at school" (M=4.54; SD=.83); "I feel like I belong at this school" (M=4.49; SD=.90); "I am proud to go to this school" (M=4.40; SD=1.07); and "Teachers at my school are fair to me" (M=4.11; SD=1.30). These items included five response categories: (1) strongly disagree, (2) disagree, (3) neutral, (4) agree, and (5) strongly agree. Drawing from these items, I calculated a scale on which higher values reflect a greater sense of belonging (Cronbach's alpha=.73).

Table 2: Descriptive Statistics and Items Concerning Students'
Academic Motivation and Sense of Belonging in School

Item	Mean	SD
Intrinsic Motivation	4.59	.71
I do my best to achieve higher scores in exams.	4.74	.63
I am confident that I will get a good score in KCPE.	4.74	.62
I am confident that I can do well in my studies.**	4.73	.67
What I do in school will help me succeed in life.	4.65	1.03
I think education will ensure that I get paid well in the future.*	4.40	1.24
I cannot be successful in life without education.*	4.39	1.31
Reliability (alpha): .74		
Extrinsic Motivation	4.46	.69
My parents or guardians expect me to do well.**	4.71	.67
My teachers expect that I will do well in the future.*	4.54	1.08
My teachers believe that I will complete (graduate) primary school.*	4.50	.90
I am one of the students who teachers believe will be successful.*	4.50	.86
My relationships with family support my educational goals.	4.40	1.01
My parents or guardians expect me to complete secondary school.**	4.31	1.38
Reliability (alpha): .64		
*Sense of Belonging***	4.51	.55
I like being in school.	4.77	.54
I learn a lot in school.	4.62	.75
I like to see my classmates at school.	4.61	.72
I feel safe when I'm at school.	4.54	.83
I feel like I belong at this school.	4.49	.90
I am proud to go to this school.	4.40	1.07
Teachers at my school are fair to me.	4.11	1.30
Reliability (alpha): .73		

* Murdock (1999), Educational Motivation Questionnaire

** Cham et al. (2014), Adolescents' Motivation for Educational Attainment Questionnaire

*** International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement (2015), TIMSS

ANALYTICAL STRATEGY

I used ordinary least squares (OLS) regression modeling to examine factors that explained students' intrinsic and extrinsic motivation. Multiple linear regression using OLS allows the estimation of the relation between a dependent variable and a set of explanatory variables. In this study, I found it most appropriate to explore the relationship between students' motivation level (intrinsic and extrinsic) and the predictors (individual, family, school characteristics). I estimated regression models separately for intrinsic motivation and extrinsic motivation, and their associations with three groups of independent variables: (1) individual variables: gender, age, and years of encampment; (2) family variables: family composition and home responsibilities; and (3) school variables: school type and a sense of belonging at school.

LIMITATIONS

The use of motivation measures, which have been developed and used mostly in Western and noncrisis contexts, is an important limitation of this study. The sense-of-belonging scale has also been extracted from TIMSS, which is used in approximately 60 countries. While the measures are known to be of high quality and comparability, I acknowledge the need for contextualization to accurately portray the situation of refugee children in a camp setting. Considering the applicability of the measures, I piloted the survey several times with teachers and students and adjusted statements based on their feedback.

Furthermore, this research focuses only on the motivation of school-going refugees. It does not include the perceptions or motivations—intrinsic, extrinsic, or amotivation—of the large number of out-of-school children in the Kakuma camp. Regardless of their self-determination to pursue an education, the out-of-school children's desire to remain in school may have been affected by a wide range of factors, such as social, cultural, and gender barriers (Masinde Wesonga 2014). Therefore, this study cannot make any comparisons of the level of motivation between in-school and out-of-school children. It focuses only on the motivation of in-school youth who have reached the final grade in primary school in Kakuma. I discuss these limitations further, and the implications for future research, later in this paper.

RESULTS

DESCRIPTIVE STATISTICS

In my analysis, I first explored the levels of intrinsic and extrinsic motivation among respondents. Overall results indicate that, on average, Standard 8 students in Kakuma refugee camp reported a high level of academic motivation: average level of intrinsic motivation (M=4.59, SD=.71); average level of extrinsic motivation (M=4.47, SD=.66). While the mean of intrinsic motivation was slightly higher than that of extrinsic motivation, the two had about 15 percent variability. Table 2 indicates that items related to achievement motivation for national exams (e.g., KCPE), such as "I am confident that I will get a good score in KCPE," had the highest average, 4.74; this compares to another general statement, "I cannot be successful in life without education," which had the lowest average, 4.39. Interestingly, in terms of extrinsic motivation, two items related to parents received the highest and lowest average rankings. "My parents expect me to do well" was the highest, with 4.71, while "My parents expect me to complete (graduate) from secondary school" was the lowest, at 4.31. At 4.5, the three items on teachers' expectations and beliefs were comparable.

Next, I examined students' sense of belonging. Students expressed a high level of belonging in school, with an average of 4.51. The items with the highest average scores were, "I like being in school" (4.77) and "I learn a lot in school" (4.62). Although still a high average, students scored lowest on the statement, "Teachers at my school are fair to me" (4.11).

MULTIVARIATE ANALYSES

INTRINSIC MOTIVATION

Table 3 shows a summary of regression analyses for different sets of variables that predict students' intrinsic academic motivation. Model 1 contains an individual's demographic variables. Gender proved to be a statistically significant predictor of students' intrinsic motivation. Female students showed a higher level of intrinsic motivation than their male counterparts (ES=.16, p<.01), holding other individual variables constant. This loses significance once we adjust for school-related variables (Model 4). In terms of years of encampment, students who had lived in Kakuma for 6-10 years had slightly higher intrinsic motivation than those who had resided in the camp fewer than 5 years (p<.01). Nationality proved to be statistically significant in predicting students' intrinsic motivation. Both

Sudanese (p<.001) and Somali (p<.001) students had substantially lower intrinsic motivation than students from South Sudan (reference group). There was no statistical difference in intrinsic motivation between South Sudanese students and students from other countries (e.g., Burundi, Congo, Kenya, Rwanda, and Tanzania). Whether in the normal range or overage, students' age did not have any statistical significance in predicting intrinsic motivation (p>.05). Demographic variables such as gender, age, years of encampment, and nationality together explain about 5 percent of the variability in students' intrinsic motivation (p<.001). The coefficients for nationality remain significant across all models.

Model 2 introduces family-related variables, including family composition and home responsibilities. Holding other variables constant, family composition and home responsibilities were unrelated to students' intrinsic motivation. They explained less than 1 percent of the total variance, which makes them insignificant. In other words, adding family-related variables to Model 2 did not increase its explanation power.

Model 3 contained only the school-related variables. The results show that a sense of belonging is a strong predictor of students' intrinsic motivation (b=.360; p<.001). The effect of a sense of belonging remained statistically significant, even after we adjusted for individual characteristics and family-related variables (Model 4). Compared to students enrolled in boarding school (reference group), students who attend a co-ed school had a substantially lower intrinsic motivation level (ES=-.26, p<.001). However, students attending same-sex schools (either all girls or all boys) and those attending boarding schools had comparable levels of intrinsic motivation (p>.05).

As illustrated in Table 3, a sense of belonging had the strongest association with students' intrinsic motivation. While both Model 1 and Model 2 explained approximately 5 percent of the variance in intrinsic motivation (Adj R^2=.051 and Adj R^2=.050, respectively), Model 3 and Model 4 explained 10 percent and 13 percent of the total variance, respectively (Adj R^2=.104 and Adj R^2=.126).

Table 3: Summary of Regression Analyses for Intrinsic Motivation (N=664)

Variable	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4
Female	.155**	.157**		.047
	(.056)	(.057)		(.069)
Age				
Overage	-.146	-.136		-.119
	(.079)	(.080)		(.077)
Encampment Years				
6-10 years	.155**	.146*		.105
	(.060)	(.060)		(.059)
11-15 years	.200	.200		.142
	(.132)	(.133)		(.128)
16 years and above	.123	.107		.059
	(.128)	(.130)		(.127)
Nationality				
Sudanese	-.333***	-.336***		-.312***
	(.079)	(.081)		(.078)
Somali	-.335***	-.333***		-.218*
	(.095)	(.096)		(.094)
Others	-.085	-.091		-.033
	(.081)	(.082)		(.080)
Family Composition				
With parents		.076		.026
		(.114)		(.110)
Siblings		.147		.100
		(.127)		(.122)
Others		.120		.054
		(.121)		(.117)
Home Responsibilities				
1-2 hours		-.058		-.065
		(.069)		(.070)
2-3 hours		.002		-.016
		(.085)		(.086)
More than 3 hours		-.143		-.139
		(.075)		(.075)

Variable	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4
School Type				
All girls			.026	.091
			(.115)	(.124)
All boys			-.142	-.031
			(.114)	(.139)
Co-ed			-.257**	-.114
			(.092)	(.112)
School Belonging			.360***	.352***
			(.049)	(.049)
Intercept	4.653***	4.602***	3.155***	3.174***
	(.090)	(.139)	(.243)	(.279)
adj. R2	.051	.050	.104	.126
AIC	1411.000	1417.146	1368.658	1366.303
BIC	1451.484	1484.621	1391.149	1451.770

Standard errors in parentheses * p<.05, ** p<.01, *** p<.001

Extrinsic Motivation

Table 4 shows a summary of regression analyses for different sets of variables that predict students' extrinsic academic motivation. Model 1 contained individual variables. Much like the analyses conducted on intrinsic motivation, gender was a statistically significant predictor of students' extrinsic motivation. Female students showed a higher level of extrinsic motivation than their male counterparts, all else being equal (ES=.22; p<.001). The coefficients for gender remained significant across all models. Nationality proved to be statistically significant in predicting students' extrinsic motivation. Both Sudanese (p<.01) and Somali (p<.01) students showed somewhat lower intrinsic motivation than South Sudanese students. However, the coefficient for Somali refugees lost significance once we adjusted for school-related variables (Model 4). It still remained significant for Sudanese students across all models. South Sudanese students and students from other countries (e.g., Burundi, Congo, Kenya, Rwanda, and Tanzania) did not have any statistical difference in extrinsic motivation. No individual variables besides gender and nationality, such as age and years of encampment, had any statistical significance in predicting students' extrinsic motivation.

Model 2 indicates that family composition and home responsibilities were unrelated to students' extrinsic motivation, holding other variables constant. Two factors—whether students live alone, with parents, with siblings, or with other relatives or friends, and how much time they spend doing chores—did not have any significance for their level of extrinsic motivation ($p > .05$). Adding family-related variables in Model 2 did not increase the explanation power of the model, which was also true for intrinsic motivation.

Model 3 contained school-related variables. The results show that a sense of belonging is a strong predictor of students' extrinsic motivation in Model 3 ($b = .454$; $p < .001$). In this model, school type was unrelated to students' extrinsic motivation ($p > .05$). The effect of a sense of belonging remained statistically significant, even after we adjusted for individual characteristics and family-related variables in Model 4 ($p < .001$). An additional unit increase in school belonging was associated with a .46 unit increase in extrinsic motivation, all else being equal. This model also explained a significant proportion of the variance in extrinsic motivation ($R^2 = .15$, $F(4, 659) = 29.52$, $p < .001$).

As shown in Table 4, a sense of belonging had the strongest association with students' extrinsic motivation. While both Model 1 and Model 2 explained approximately 3 percent of the variance in extrinsic motivation (Adj $R^2 = .033$ and Adj $R^2 = .028$, respectively), Model 3 and Model 4 both explained about 15 percent of the total variance (Adj $R^2 = .147$ and Adj $R^2 = .154$, respectively).

Table 4: Summary of Regression Analyses for Extrinsic Motivation (N=664)

Variable	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4
Female	.215***	.220***		.135*
	(.055)	(.056)		(.065)
Age				
Overage	-.083	-.077		-.053
	(.078)	(.079)		(.074)
Encampment Years				
6-10 years	.104	.103		.075
	(.059)	(.059)		(.056)
11-15 years	.056	.056		.028
	(.129)	(.130)		(.123)
16 years and above	.012	.006		-.014
	(.126)	(.128)		(.121)
Nationality				
Sudanese	-.208**	-.198*		-.192*
	(.078)	(.079)		(.074)

Variable	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4
Somali	-.263**	-.268**		-.152
	(.093)	(.094)		(.090)
Others	-.090	-.101		-.028
	(.080)	(.080)		(.076)
Family Composition				
With parents		-.019		-.081
		(.112)		(.105)
Siblings		-.045		-.106
		(.124)		(.116)
Others		-.019		-.091
		(.119)		(.111)
Home Responsibilities				
1-2 hours		-.029		-.068
		(.068)		(.066)
2-3 hours		-.054		-.118
		(.084)		(.082)
More than 3 hours		-.121		-.159*
		(.073)		(.072)
School Type				
All girls			.085	.167
			(.109)	(.118)
All boys			-.153	.045
			(.108)	(.133)
Co-ed			-.109	.078
			(.087)	(.106)
School Belonging			.454***	.456***
			(.046)	(.047)
Intercept	4.460***	4.513***	2.503***	2.477***
	(.088)	(.136)	(.230)	(.266)
adj. R2	.033	.028	.147	.154
AIC	1382.671	1391.586	1295.524	1303.540
BIC	1423.156	1459.060	1318.016	1389.007

Standard errors in parentheses * p<.05, ** p<.01, *** p<.001

DISCUSSION

The findings suggest that, in general, Standard 8 students in Kakuma refugee camp reported high levels of academic motivation, with little variation between intrinsic and extrinsic motivation. In general, mean values for each statement in the questionnaire remained very high (M=4.59 and M=4.47, respectively). Students' strong perceived abilities and the influence of social actors seemed

to directly or indirectly contribute to their pursuit of education. While many motivation theories point out that individual characteristics (gender, age, ethnicity, etc.) and family factors (parental involvement, support, etc.) are associated with children's academic motivation, the findings from this study suggest that it may not be the case for refugee populations living in camp settings. Students surveyed in this study have different backgrounds and educational experiences from those who are schooled in nonconflict contexts. Many of the respondents were overage students and unaccompanied minors. In the sample, 86 percent of students were overage (16 and above), and approximately 7 percent lived in the camp without any parent or guardian. However, their age and family background did not predict their motivation levels, intrinsic or extrinsic. While the literature on overage students shows that they may not be motivated to study with younger children and thus have a higher risk of dropping out, no statistical differences were found between overage students and students of average Standard 8 age in Kakuma (Buchmann 2000; Fawcett et al. 2010; Lloyd et al. 2000). Similarly, the levels of motivation for unaccompanied minors and those who lived with family were comparable. Contrary to the motivation literature that emphasizes the importance of family involvement and support in academic motivation and performance, refugee students who lived alone reported being highly motivated to pursue their education (Marchant et al. 2001; Paulson 1994; Steinberg et al. 1992; Stevenson and Baker 1987).

Another interesting finding from this study is that girls reported statistically higher motivation than boys. While gender differences lost significance for intrinsic motivation once school factors were adjusted for, it remained significant for extrinsic motivation across all models. While the literature shows that sub-Saharan African countries are often recognized for having strong gender roles that discourage girls' education, the girls in the study were not only able to continue their schooling, they also had high academic motivation (Abuya et al. 2013; Flisher et al. 2010; Hunt 2008; Lewin 2009). The findings suggest that girls who reached Standard 8 may have received academic or financial support from their parent(s) or teacher(s) that extrinsically motivated them to continue their education.

Some students in the study also reported having extensive responsibilities in their home, including doing hours of household chores. Approximately 20 percent of the participants reported that they spent more than three hours per day doing chores. This suggests that these students may have had additional responsibilities at home for myriad reasons, including a lack of support from their family. Interestingly, results show that the home responsibilities variable was not a predictor of students' academic motivation. Even refugee students

living in dire situations with burdensome daily responsibilities reported being highly motivated. The findings suggest that this could be a result of their sense of belonging at school. However, their feeling of being accepted, respected, and supported in school was the primary reason for their academic motivation, rather than their individual and family characteristics.

While scholars underscore the significance of a sense of belonging at school for students regardless of context (Goodenow 1993; Ryan and Deci 2000), this study demonstrates that it is particularly crucial for displaced student populations. A sense of belonging is particularly critical for conflict-affected students, both during displacement and after resettlement. When they resume their schooling in a new environment, they need to form social connections (Deci et al. 1991). While some children adapt quickly to a new school environment, others isolate themselves as a result of language barriers, discrimination/xenophobia, and for psychological reasons (Dryden-Peterson 2015; McBrien 2005; Mendenhall et al. 2017). Those who isolate may lose their innate desire to learn, causing them to become unmotivated and to make less effort academically (Anderson et al. 1976; Osterman 2000; Ryan and Deci 2000; Weiner 1990). In contrast, fostering a sense of belonging at school could increase children's academic motivation and engagement.

Understanding the academic motivation of refugee students relative to a sense of belonging is important for the practitioners, policymakers, and researchers in the field of refugee education. The findings from this study suggest that educators of refugee students need to create educational spaces that instill in them a sense of belonging. When the school offers an environment where students feel safe, enjoy learning, and experience supportive relationships with teachers and peers, they are more likely to be motivated to learn. Teachers should use pedagogical approaches and proactive disciplinary practices to create environments where students feel not only safe but accepted and respected. Indeed, teachers play a crucial role in creating inclusive classrooms where children's physical, cognitive, and psychosocial needs are met, and even children from minority groups feel included (Mendenhall et al. 2020; Pizmony-Levy et al. 2008; Winthrop and Kirk 2005).

However, in conflict-affected contexts like Kakuma refugee camp, teachers have received little or no training in basic teacher competencies, including the protection, wellbeing, and inclusion of students (Burns and Lawrie 2015; Kirk and Winthrop 2007; Mendenhall 2017). Without the proper skills and knowledge to

create congenial classroom environments, teachers may struggle to build rapport or foster a sense of community in their overcrowded classrooms. Hence, teachers in crisis and conflict-affected settings must be given ongoing teacher professional development to help them create safe, inclusive educational spaces that foster their students' sense of belonging at school. School principals and administrators must collaborate with teachers to promote a school climate that encourages positive, warm relationships between students and teachers and among peers to ensure that everyone feels included and respected.

Beyond the schools, practitioners and policymakers at the global, national, and local levels must make a concerted effort to address systemic challenges that influence students' academic motivation. While the students in this study were reported to be highly motivated, their level of academic motivation cannot be sustained without addressing the rigid structural barriers they encounter in the camp. To illustrate, there is a shortage of secondary schools in the refugee camps in Kenya. While 3,358 students from Kakuma and Dadaab refugee camps sat for the KCPE in November 2018, there is space for only one-third of them in the camps' secondary schools (UNHCR 2019d). Secondary schools in Kakuma also introduced school fees in 2018, so students must pay 3,000 Kenyan shillings per year for their education. Even if they manage to pay the school fees and earn a diploma, they may "become despondent as they struggle to access scarce opportunities to work and continue their formal [higher] education" (Bellino and Hure 2018, 47). Until solutions to these barriers are found, refugee children and youth will likely become frustrated by what Bourdieu (1984) termed the "broken trajectory effect," which leaves a "large number of young people left out of school, unemployed, or underemployed" (Bellino 2018, 4).

Finally, moving away from deficit discourses that emphasize the vulnerability, passivity, and powerlessness of refugees, scholarship on education in emergencies and forced migration must take a balanced approach that highlights not only the challenges but the strengths and abilities of refugees. Refugee students have a sense of agency, strong beliefs, and high expectations and goals, all of which engender high motivation and performance amidst displacement (Bellino and Kakuma Youth Research Group 2018; Brown et al. 2006). The findings of this study also demonstrate that, even in unfavorable situations, refugee children and youth can be highly motivated if they have a sense of belonging at school. Therefore, researchers must examine both the challenges and opportunities of refugee education while supporting both out-of-school children and in-school children to overcome obstacles and successfully navigate their educational trajectories.

CONCLUSION AND FUTURE RESEARCH

Building on the existing body of literature on academic motivation, this research examines various factors that are associated with the academic motivation of refugee students. While these factors do not represent all possible predictors of motivation, the findings from this study suggest that a sense of belonging in school is the strongest predictor of students' motivation to continue their education in a camp setting. Feeling accepted and respected was what kept their academic motivation intact, despite being confronted with an "unknowable future" (Dryden-Peterson 2017). The findings affirm the existing literature that argues that a sense of belonging in school improves students' academic motivation and performance (Kia-Keating and Ellis 2007; Osterman 2000).

There are some limitations in this study, which should be addressed in future research. First, this study focuses mainly on the academic motivation of students living in a refugee camp who are currently enrolled in school. It does not include the out-of-school children and youth who live in Kakuma, who may be academically motivated but have had to drop out of school due to a wide range of social, cultural, and gender-related factors (Masinde Wesonga 2014). Without their input, this study cannot compare the level of motivation between in-school and out-of-school children or the factors that influence their schooling. Therefore, more research is needed to investigate the factors that drive these students away from school and discourage them from learning. Finding factors that impede the motivation of students living in exile will help education actors at all levels to provide programmatic support that could prevent students from losing their motivation or dropping out of school.

Refugees in urban spaces deserve equal attention. Approximately 58 percent of refugees in the world now live in urban areas, yet there is still a dearth of literature examining the distinct opportunities and challenges refugee children face in urban environments (UNHCR 2018a). In a recent study conducted on urban refugees, Mendenhall et al. (2017) described key barriers facing urban refugee children and youth, which include discrimination and xenophobia and the deprioritization of education in urban spaces. The authors stressed the importance of recognizing the multiple and overlapping vulnerabilities of urban refugee children, who face legal, economic, educational, cultural, and social barriers to accessing services. Further research should explore not only the distinct opportunities and challenges faced by camp-based refugees but also those of refugees living in urban spaces. That will make it possible to begin to address the factors that promote or impede urban refugees' academic motivation.

Moreover, future research must use mixed methods approaches to provide context-rich qualitative data. For instance, in an exploratory sequential design, interviews or focus group discussions with children and youth will help understand how they describe their educational experiences, conceptualize terms such as "belonging," and explain the different factors that interact to promote or inhibit their academic motivation—all of which could be incorporated into a survey. In an explanatory sequential design, qualitative data can help assimilate the findings obtained from a quantitative dataset. Moreover, a longitudinal study that captures how students' perceptions change as they transition to secondary and postsecondary education is needed to explore the critical factors and moments in time that shape and influence students' motivation and persistence. Last but not least, conversations with different actors, including teachers and parents, will highlight additional key issues that must be addressed by the researchers, policymakers, and practitioners who are supporting refugee students by creating safe, inclusive learning environments (Winthrop and Kirk 2005).

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