Marginalisation and Ethnic Identity Politics in Schools: A Challenge for School Leadership in Botswana

The existence of marginalization and identity politics issues is forever a complex challenge in schools for educational leadership particularly in post-colonial nation states. One's identities are constructed through societal interactions and determined by wider social, cultural, political and economic values and perceptions. Through a comparative qualitative case study of a multi-national and a Tswana-medium school, this study examined the way school leadership manages issues of marginalization and identity politics. While in the multi-national school, issues are mainly associated with unfavourable policies, in the Tswana-medium school they arise mainly from cultural practices. Participants were members of school leadership team, teachers, learners, and parents. They participated in individual interviews and focus group discussions. The case study confirms that issues of marginalization and identity politics in schools are rampant, and that school leadership need to be better trained in transformational leadership to be able to deal with context-based challenges.

Keywords: Marginalisation, discrimination, identity politics, minority groups, school leadership, moral indifference, early school withdrawal

Introduction

School leadership' overarching mandate is wholesale inclusivity, which includes protection of all cultural identities, promoting non-discrimination, inculcating inter-cultural understanding and ensuring poverty reduction for minorities (McDougall, 2010). However, to successfully fulfil this mandate school heads should be able to identify and address diverse cases and practices of marginalization and identity politics in schools. Marginalisation is a social inequality concept that laments the absence of justice.

According to Messiou (2006), the term the marginalisation was derived from the 'marginal man' theory which initially focused on individuals and the way they developed personality traits when placed between two incompatible social positions. But as the theory evolved, Messiou (2006) suggests that emphasis shifted towards the sociological perspective of the marginal situation, and in particular how it affects the structure and functioning of groups. Similarly, Ormond, Cram and Carter (2006) argue that marginalisation occurs when a group of people are pushed to the periphery of a society. For example; Messiou (2006) talks of pupil marginalization in school contexts. Subrahmanian (2003) links marginalization to intersecting inequalities identified while trying to understand 'exclusion' and made apparent through the application of concepts of, for example, class, gender, race and other concepts such as "(in)justice, (dis)empowerment, (in)equity and (in)equality" (p. 4).

There is a thin line between marginalization and identity politics in the sense that identity politics provides a means to organize through lived experiences and marginalized identities (Messiou, 2006; Ormond, Cram & Carter, 2006; Hess, 2019). According to Hess (2019), the term "identity politics" emerged in the late 1970s to describe the phenomenon of organizing around identity. Hess (2019) argues that identity politics was a mode of organizing around shared identities as sites of oppression, especially by major political movements in the second half of the 20th century,

Brubaker and Cooper (2000) and Todd (2018) link the concept of identity politics to identity language which can be understood at face value, assuming homogeneity rather than heterogeneity in the society. They argue that identity language homogenizes diverse phenomena from discursive framing to identification, from valuation to classification and to feelings of belonging (Brubaker & Cooper, 2000; Todd, 2018). Identity in this case is an essential human element viewed as a rationale for societal action (Todd, 2018), and as a concept, requires either a stable or strategic identity from which to mobilize.

Historical background to marginalization and identity politics in schools

There are numerous marginalization and identity politics practices and cases in schools that negatively affect learners. The United Nations (2005), for example, observes that cases of bullying, aggression and other forms of violence in schools ruin students' abilities and opportunities for learning. Violence against students contribute to higher levels of disengagement with learning, absenteeism and greater truancy (Green, 2006). It also increases likelihood of early childhood withdrawal (Leach & Mitchell, 2006). These inschool negative practices have been shown to increase with the severity of victimisation which in turn has been associated with causes of depression, anxiety, sadness, loneliness and general low self-esteem (Bond, Carlin, Tomas, Rubin & Patton, 2001; Rigby, 2003). However, the extent to which school leadership pay attention to these issues in order to reduce incidents of violence, learning disengagements, absenteeism, marginalisation and identify politics is a universal concern.

In the United States of America, issues of racism, marginalization and identity politics in schools have become social justice concerns, dating as far back as 1849 when the Massachusetts Supreme Court ruled that segregated schools were permissible under the state's constitution (Orfield, 2001; Frankenberg, Lee & Orfield, 2003). In subsequent years, the U.S. Supreme Court used that particular case to support the "separate but equal" doctrine, paving the way for contemporary school segregation to escalate. Orfield (2001) and Frankenberg et al (2003) cite Harvard's Civil Rights Project which suggests that schools were more segregated in the 2000s than in the 1970s when busing for desegregation began. The project holds that racism scourge continued to soar and spread globally, post colonisation in Africa and elsewhere.

Cline, de Abreu, Fihosy, Gray, Lambert and Neale (2002) appreciated that schools viewed aspects of ethnicity as central in the pupils' self-identification. Cline et al (2002) noted considerable variation in how far the minority ethnic pupils would have liked to see their ethnic identity expressed more fully and openly at school. As observed, schools faced a challenging task in attempting to respect diversity because a significant proportion of the minority ethnic pupils reported race-related name calling or verbal abuse at school or while travelling to and from school. For example, 26% of the survey sample indicated that they had had such experiences during the time of the study. The study (Cline et al, 2002) argues that no school fully developed strategy for preparing pupils for life in a diverse society through the curriculum. Schools or classroom practices try to treat all children equally and down-play ethnic and cultural differences.

In Hong Kong there is no specific policy formulated for the promotion of ethnic minority or multicultural education (Hue & Kennedy, 2014). Even though the government offers some measures to support ethnic minority students in adapting to Hong Kong schools, the policy of support for ethnic minority students has been made very political and less educational (Hue & Kennedy, 2014). It is argue that school practitioners of both the majority and minority ethnic groups have been mainly silent, and rarely involved in discussions or debates concerning issues of race and discrimination. As a result, the teachers' struggles, experiences and concerns about ethnic minority education have not been effectively explored or made known to the public (Hue & Kennedy, 2014).

As a developing country in sub-Saharan Africa, Okilwa (2015) opines that Kenya has fared comparatively well in educating its young people though the country still remains very undeveloped, under-resourced, and impoverished. Okilwa (2015) argues that the region and its people have been marginalized for many years, dating back to the colonial era. The endemic discrimination and marginalization of the nomadic people of north-eastern Kenya, has bred challenges that minimize educational opportunities for young people in the country because of the historic political isolation and marginalization, sociocultural practices (e.g., nomadic lifestyle, female genital mutilation), resource deprivation and poverty, harsh geographic conditions, and poor infrastructure (Okilwa, 2015).

In Botswana schools where value of cultural diversity is ignored by school leadership, the experience is the same with that in Kenya. Practices of marginalization and ethnic identity politics are cultural, but arguably linked to the aftermath of the colonial era in Botswana. Colonisation has imagined and privileged only eight Tswana tribes (a numerical minority in the country) with culturo-linguistic capital of official recognition, while many of the other 38 tribes were constitutionalised to experience culture and language loss, disproportionate poverty, and invisibility on the national scene (Nyati-Ramahobo, 2008; Mokibelo, 2015; Tabulawa & Pansiri, 2013; Pansiri & Majwabe, 2019). The implication of this ethno-cultural classification of majoritisation and minoritisation of tribes may also explain trends in learners' performances in schools. Botswana Examinations Council (BEC) national

examination reports consistently present lower learner achievement in schools that serve tribally minoritised communities. These are rural non-Tswana minority-dominated areas such as Kgalagadi, Ngwaketse West, Kweneng East, Ghanzi and Ngamiland. School results in these areas are always lower than elsewhere. These areas are also overrepresented in the highest number of early school withdrawals (school dropouts) and repetition rates (Pansiri, 2011a; Pansiri, 2011b; Republic of Botswana, 2017). There is therefore, a linkage between poor performance and issues of marginalization, and those of identity politics in schools.

Drawing from their vast experience as teachers in public primary schools in Botswana, the authors have since established that students from marginalized groups were easy targets of negative beliefs, behaviours, and/or judgements from others. Individuals and groups are marginalized on the basis of multiple socio-economic aspects of their identity, such as race/ethnicity, sexual orientation/gender/sexuality, economic status, age, religion and cultural practices. These inevitable social relations result in children becoming victims of practices of moral indifference and silent exclusion in schools (Pansiri, 2011a; Marumo & Pansiri, 2016).

Pansiri (2011a) argues that, teachers in schools that were serving ethnic minority communities play a blame-the-victim game. That is, they perceive the affected learners and their parents as subjects for accusation when all is not well in schools. In other cases teachers feel disempowered to take necessary actions against issues or cases of marginalisation of other children (Garegae, 2008). To uphold the moral values that underpin the basis for morality in schools, Mogami (2001) argues that education in every society should be an institutionalised means of 'enculturation' or cultural transmission, something that has since proved to be a challenge to the school leadership. Reflecting the context of classroom teaching in Botswana, Mulimbi and Dryden-Peterson (2017) argue that individuals of ethnic minority backgrounds do experience varying degrees of shame, discrimination, and a sense of exclusion from learning. The need to address the issue of total inclusivity by Botswana school leadership remains a challenge for both policy and practice.

Theoretical Perspective

The constructionism theoretical perspective to ethnic identity, is helpful to open up lenses for which this study should be understood. This perspectives allows one to appreciate perceptions that a school culture is man-made through social interactions by the various participants of the school community. The concept 'constructionism' is borrowed from Berger and Luckmann (1966). They argue that all knowledge, including the most basic, taken-forgranted common sense knowledge of everyday reality, is derived from and maintained by social interactions. Various social constructionists argue that, when people interact, they do so with the understanding that their respective perceptions of reality are related, and as they act upon this understanding their

common knowledge of reality becomes reinforced (Berger & Luckmann, 1966; Leeds-Hurwirtz, 2009; Garciá, 2015).

It is argued that human beings together create and sustain all social phenomena through social practices. Social constructionists uphold the belief that the way we understand the world is a product of a historical and social processes of interaction and negotiation between and amongst groups of people. This perspective appreciates that knowledge and reality are social constructs of experience and language. Language is an essential device that enables groups of people to engage in successful coordination that is employed in contexts or in reference to create shared understanding or meaning (Ary, Jacobs, Sorensen & Walker, 2014).

Social constructionism is here contextualised to school establishment settings. The language of teacher pedagogy, community relational linguistic practices, culture of team work and the school social practices inevitably contribute to practices of marginalization in schools. The socio-behavioural practices in the school environment can either depict and regulate a culture of love or hate; unity or disunity; equality or marginalisation; total inclusivity or exclusion.

Even so, it should be noted that issues of ethnicity are multi-faceted, and date back to the 1970s. From another theoretical angle, Adlparvar and Tadros (2016) argue that there are four main theoretical approaches that underpin the study of ethnicity, namely - primordialism, instrumentalism, materialism and constructionism. Primordialism is a perspective that views ethnic identity as innate, fixed and permanent social practice. It implies that ethnic identity serves a fundamental human need for belonging and meaning. Instrumentalist view is a claim that the more privileged and dominant groups in a society psychologically agitate and provoke ethnic tensions as a method to seize power. The present and protect their authority as natural, and defend themselves against the minority group threats (Fearon & Laitin 2000; Kaufmann 2005; Adlparvar & Tadros, 2016). Materialistic perspective it's a view that ethnic tensions and/or cases of marginalization exist between ethnically aligned groups, and are a result of economic inequalities and elite exploitation.

Eriksen (2002) argues that ethnicity is not a product of class relations, and that there is no direct link between the two categories, but rather a resource relations based perspective. Constructionist approach then emerges to dispute the other three views of ethnicity and identity. It perceives ethnicity and identity as 'socially constructed' positions. It is argued that this approach continuously develops through social interaction, and in this cases, by both the dominant and minority ethnic tribes (Berger & Luckmann, 1966; Garciá, 2015; Adlparvar & Tadros, 2016). As such, the constructionist approach to ethnicity initiates a shift of focus into what ethnicity, ethnic identity politics, and marginalization are, in school systems. Settling for constructionism as an epistemological argument that provised varying perspectives of viewing ethnicity as a knowledge development phenomenon, it is reasonable to appreciate that it is difficult to deal with cases of marginalization in schools where ethnic diversity is inevitable. As such, the constructionist approach to

ethnicity and the authors' vast experience in school leadership have also shifted focus into the belief that marginalization in schools is man-made and can therefore be overturned. However, it should be noted that cases of marginalization may emerge unconsciously, as a result of the diverse sociocultural interaction between teachers, pupils and parents construct, through language and shared meaning.

Methodology

This study adopted a qualitative approach to data generation and analysis with much influence from the work of Mogami (2001), Pansiri (2011a) and Mulimbi and Dry-Peterson (2017), and together with the works of Mulford (2008), Nyati-Ramahobo (2008) and McDougall (2010). These works have based their methodological emphasis on the context of the research topic and constituencies of their studies. In this case study, the authors' personal reflective experiences in both teaching and school leadership, and their exposure to educational research, directed their focus towards the need for a more qualitative-focused research design. Through a blend of lecturer-student collaborative strategy where the lecturer brought in rich research knowledge and experience, while the in-service students contributed phenomenally from their practical and working knowledge as deputy school heads, this study became interestingly action research, attempting to address a practical problem in school leadership. The qualitative approach anchored more on critical literature review and grounded on developing action leadership defined by acts of collaboration and openness to collegial learning with and from others in the school set up. It is testimony of democratic decision making processes where voices of others are valued.

Two linked public (government) primary schools in Botswana were used for the comparative case study. These were a multi-national school and a Tswana medium school. Multi-national here refers to a school that has more children of refugees from different countries. The Tswana medium school is one with local (Batswana) children of mixed ethno-linguistic background. The participants were selected through purposive and convenience sampling methods. They were twenty-five (25) children aged between 9 and 14 years. From School A, ten (10) multinational children who participated in the study comprised 1 Zimbabwean, 1 Congolese, 2 Somalis, 2 Namibians, 3 Rwandis, and 1 Burundian. There was no representation from Botswana, Eritrea and Ethiopia in this particular study. From School B or Tswana medium school, fifteen (15) children participated. Five (5) PTA members and ten (10) Batswana teachers were purposively and conveniently selected. In approach, the methods of Bahar and Bilgin (2003) and Alkan (2016), of concrete

school community.

experience and active participation of individuals in the activity, as well as

reflective observation for the development of various perspectives were

applied. Researchers were on the ground observing and interacting with the

The researchers observed and studied the behaviour of teachers, parents and children. The participated in one-on-one interviews, focus group discussions and intensive case analysis (Fraenkel, Wallen & Hyun, 2012). To build rapport and trust with the participants, self-introductions by the researchers and preliminary one-on-one interviews with the teachers from both School A and B were conducted. Follow-up questionnaires were also presented for the participants' own interpretation of issues to be further discussed. An interview was held with a Principal Education Officer (PEO) of the research constituency. Follow up discussions were conducted with more participants in their focus groups of parents, teachers and pupils, to get more insightful interpretations and opinions about social relations and behavioural practices in their schools.

To uphold research ethical considerations, the following codes have been used to refer to the participants cited in this paper:

School A – multinational school, **School B** – Tswana medium school, S = Student, T = teacher, P = parent and F/G = Focus Group

Descriptive analysis was used, where different responses to a given research question were grouped and discussed together, to try and understand the underlying reasons for the observed behaviours, thoughts and feelings (Creswell, 2002; Onwuegbuzie & Leech, 2005). In presenting the findings, some quotations or verbatim presentations are used. In terms of limitations, it is noted that interpretations of findings could be viewed differently by another researcher. It is also possible that during transcribing informants' comments from the vernacular to English very significant intended meaning could lost. The actual data collection was conducted between the 26 November 2018 and 11 January 2019. The time frame presented itself as a limitation to the study.

The overarching goal of this study was to investigate how school leadership understood and mediated issues and cases of marginalisation and identity politics. The guiding research questions were:

- 1) How does the school leadership deal with issues and cases of marginalization and identity politics in schools?
- 2) Are school leaders aware of practices that constitutes silent exclusion as a phenomena of identities and marginalization in schools?
- 3) What kind of a school leadership model would be best suited to assist school leadership to effectively manage cases of marginalization and identity politics in their schools?

Data Analysis

Qualitative content analysis and thematic analysis are widely recognised for being transparent and systematic in terms of research processes (Vaismoradi, Jones, Turunen, & Snelgrove, 2016). The analytical importance of theme is based on the research participants' subjective meanings and social

reality as appropriately conveyed in research report (Braun & Clarke, 2006; Vaismoradi et al, 2016). As such, the data collected from the interviews and observations has been categorized into themes. Table 1 shows the themes derived from the participants' verbatim responses, and their behaviours as observed by the researchers during the interviews. Table 2 displays a comparative analysis of the researchers' interpretation of the themes.

KEY: School A – multinational school, School B – Tswana medium school, S = Student, T = teacher, P = parent and F/G = Focus Group Student from a multinational school

Table 1. Participants' verbatim statements and observed behaviours

Themes	Verbatim Statements	Observable Behaviours
Insecurity (trepidation and fear)	"I like school but I don't like this school because I don't feel safe" (SAS I) "Here, we live in fear. For some days peace would prevail, but for some there would be so much tension that we even fear for our lives. We even feel we might be attacked in our houses. But we put all our security in God's hands as we strive to give these people normalcy in their lives, to the best of our abilities" (SAT 1).	Unwillingness to talk openly to the researchersAvoidance to talk about certain events
Inequity (no hope)	"Our lives end here. Form five is like the end of school. You watch your friend who was here in school with you become a president" (SAS 4) "Some [of us] came here for independence and running away from civil wars" (SAP 1)	Shaky tone (of voice)Nervousness of the speakerFaint voice
Alienation (deprived)	"Because we are regarded as BaSarwa, even our children are intentionally deprived of education" (SBP 1) "We want to have rights, the right to movement" (SAS 4) "You have intentionally separated us [from the rest of the village]" (SAP 2)	-Divisive and identity of deprivation through social interactions between the students
Averseness	"May be we fear that we are not educated and would not know what is inside the children's books) (SAP 2)	-Avoidance identity to participate in school activities - Lack of enthusiasm
Attention seeking	"We don't want Teacher X because when we were doing standard 5, he gave us 24% because he was always on the phone or is out to town" (F/G)	-Making pleas (e.g. to be transferred elsewhere for better living conditions)

Table 2. Comparative Analysis of the Findings

THEMES	SCHOOL A	SCHOOL B
Insecurity	Socio-political influences lead to ethnic tensions/rivalry – hence fear identities	Pedagogically teacher-influenced (e.g. what the teacher(s) might say or do to the students, leading to early school withdrawals)
Alienation	From unfavourable education system, resulting in: - some pupils deliberately failing themselves – protest behaviour	From unconducive school environment(e.g. degradation/humiliation) of those in disadvantaged positions)
Alienation & Inequity	-Desire for equal treatment like the locals -Wish to enjoy both human and civil rights alike just like the locals (e.g. right to free movement)	The minorities feel oppressed by those from the dominant groups (from discrimination, prejudice & othering them)
Averseness	Lack of parental involvement due to: -illiteracy – identity social and symbolic capital	Lack of parental involvement due to: Illiteracy – identify with no qualification for better job opportunities in the society
Attention Seeking	Unfavourable education system, teacher pedagogy (e.g. silent exclusion)	Unconducive school environment (e.g. practices of moral indifference

Findings and Discussions

The fieldwork data gathered from different sources has led to the main argument that marginalisation and identity issues, including ethnic identity politics are common in schools. The findings have established new emerging themes of identity centred on economic, educational and social-cultural factors of marginalization, leading to the school leadership's inability to gel well within the communities they serve. Not to blame the school leadership, it has also been found that groups display certain types of behaviour, beliefs and values that are unacceptable to the broader community (Petkovska, 2015), consequently leading to social stereotyping of identity among people. Key identity themes, although closely related in meanings and implications to behaviour of identity, were drawn from the field work data as illustrated in Tables 1-2. The discussion below is an interpretation of each theme of identity.

Insecurity

The results are raising the issue of insecurity propelled by fear or trepidation. The voices of the pupils raise an alarm that both the teachers, pupils and parents alike live in fear almost every day. For example; a pupil from School A said, "I like school but I don't like this school because I don't

feel safe." This voice attaches a clear message of a cry for help. Literature has indicated that children dislike school due to fear of being marginalised, abused, bullied or discriminated against, in any form. The feeling of fear, usually attached to emotional experiences, has a significant role in organising the construct system, and hence regarded a result of conscious construction (Kirsch & Jordan 2000; Walker & Winter, 2007, Butt, 2008; Lester, 2009). Lester (2000) further suggests that fear is experienced when people fail to resolve inconsistencies that occur amongst them. Lester (2009) talks of social intelligence. He views social intelligence as competence and success in social interaction that is adaptive, and allows individuals to understand others' hopes, fears, beliefs and wishes. The school leadership, therefore, has a mammoth task of creating safe havens for children to co-exist through the use of social intelligence.

Inequity

Sahlberg and Katzenbach (2012) argue that transformational leadership should characterise proficiency and aptitude to translate education into intangible benefits for political stability, social well-being, and a more innovative approach to solving problems. In Botswana for example, there is need to ensure that a school provides all children with a free ten-year basic education as per the Revised National Policy on Education (1994). Schooling would be unfavourable to some children, if policies and practices restrict or limit their progression. For example, drawing from the experiences of children in School A who are predominantly refugees, they can only enjoy their privilege to free education here in Botswana until their reach Form Five. Speaking in a shaky tone of voice, one child had this to say, "Our lives end here. Form Five is like the end of school. You watch your friend who was here in school with you become a president." Education, as they put it, "is their only hope" towards meaningful lives. Due to inequity, some learners resort to desperate measures of protest behaviour such as deliberately failing themselves, so as to hopelessly 'cling' to the education system for a little longer.

There is no doubt that a school culture which depicts an unconducive learning environment also drives some children to despondency (Loukas, 2007; (Jacobson, Riesch, Temkin, Kedrowski, & Kluba, 2011; McLaughlin, Uggen & Blackstone (2012). This, therefore, is a clear indication that some government policies need to be revised, not only for the benefit of the children, their parents and the community, but for the agenda to create better opportunity for learners. Likewise, there is great need for a paradigm shift in the way school heads run their schools. Walter and Griffin (2014) submit that, if transformational leaders are to address evolving economic and societal demands, they must adopt a holistic approach that covers all aspects of schooling. When seeking support for education transformations with the government, leaders have to convey the importance of reforms for the overall socio-economic benefit of the country, and not just for the education sector (Sahlberg & Katzenbach, 2012; Walter & Griffin, 2014). As such, leaders should seek to depoliticise issues and utilise

evidence to prove the relevance of education reforms, if effective inclusive education is to be achieved in schools.

Alienation

Increasing access to schooling has been a major priority of government (Republic of Botswana, 1994; 2014). Despite the achievement of increased school enrolments, research shows that there are considerable disparities and imbalances in the educational system which leads to some learners feeling alienated. Alienation explains pain of rejection and hopelessness. Identity of marginalisation cuts off someone from the rest, rendering a person loveless and isolated. Provision of education to children, especially from vulnerable groups such as the "so-called minorities" remains a great challenge in Botswana (Pansiri, 2008; Republic of Botswana, 2014; Marumo & Pansiri, 2016); which Nyathi-Ramahobo (2008) noted that education standards in rural minority-dominated areas are generally lower than elsewhere, and fit the definition of education of alienation.

In this study, one parent in School B said, "Because we are regarded as BaSarwa, even our children are intentionally deprived of education," while a student in school A said, "we want to have rights, the right to movement [like all the other children who enjoy the freedom to travel to any part of the country]." Those from marginalised communities feel discriminated against, and one cannot ignore the fact that both statements above carry a strong connotation of alienation in divisive social interactions between and among both parents and children in schools. The minorities feel alienated by those from the dominant groups (from discrimination, prejudice & othering), and leave them in rejection and despair (Pansiri, 2008; Nyathi-Ramahobo, 2008). Transformational approach would expect school leadership to level the education playing ground for all children, thus eliminating possibilities of learner alienation, lest the goals of RNPE (1994), Education for All, Vision 2036 and the Sustainable Development Goal (SDG4) remain a far-fetched vivid dream.

Averseness

The statement, "maybe we fear that we are not educated and would not know what is inside the children's books" as uttered by one of the parents in the study, overtones the effects of fear or uncertainty. This is compounded by parents' lack of social capital, not literate, hence inability to help their children to effectively participate school assignment. In light of this, averseness is linked to student and school performance. Plagens (2011) argues that, despite the equal distribution of resources across schools, some students and schools do perform better than others. Plagens (2011) contends that even though it is often difficult to identify the exact reasons why that is the case, such a fear or uncertainty can be attributed to variations in levels of social capital. Similarly, the current study findings have revealed that avoidance to participate in school

activities and lack of enthusiasm displayed by parents in both schools may be due to lack of education and /or illiteracy.

The differences in educational success can be attributed to different levels of existing social capital, which is produced in the networks and connections of families that the school serves (Rogošić & Baranović, 2016). As such, when experienced, weak networks and connections between the school, the parents and the community at large can present themselves as factors to 'educational marginalization' that affects children. The role of the school leadership should therefore, ensure that schools become more than learning factories where inputs are used to generate outputs (Plagens, 2011); but also are essentially crafted to child-friendly social environments. Consequently, schools should put in place strategies that can be employed to deal with averseness and academic marginalisation that tend to detach schools from the communities they serve.

Attention Seeking

The study has revealed that the unfavourable education system, ineffective teacher pedagogy and unconducive school environment continue to lead to the withdrawal of many children from schools. Kristić, Ilić and Videnović (2017) are of the opinion that low motivation, educational expectations, as well as low participation in school and extracurricular activities are some common risk factors that lead to children seeking attention for inclusion. As such, the use children's voices is essential, not only as a tool for gathering information, but also a critical way of proving that schools are truly engaging with those involved in the process of inclusive education.

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For example; when the focus group used in the study said, "We don't want Teacher X because when we were doing standard 5, he gave us 24% because he was always on the phone or is out to town," it became quite apparent that the children are in need of help because they lack the necessary attention they deserve. Literature indicates that children's voices can be viewed as the challenging starting point for the creation of more inclusive practices within schools, and as such, can no longer be ignored (Messiou, 2006). All forms of exclusion should be dealt away with, and this means continually engaging children on issues that matter the most regarding their education (Messiou, 2006; Kristić, Ilić & Videnović, 2017). Therefore, the children's attention seeking tendencies are indisputably a critical wake up call for the school leadership. Appropriate action towards ensuring effective teacher pedagogy for the inclusivity of all children has now become a priority.

Managing Marginalisation and Identity Practices

Hallinger (2010) suggests that the suitability or effectiveness of a particular leadership practice is linked to factors in the external environment and the local context of a school. The marginalisation and identity cases in the two schools are influenced from both environments. In School A, cultures from politically challenged experiences bother all – teachers, parents and learners. In

School B the bigger cultural challenge is associated with sociological and psychological issues of social and symbolic capital. So in both schools marginalisation and identity behaviours come as challenges to school leadership. Leadership practices show desire for help to acquire skills on inclusivity to satisfy the learning needs for all and motivate improved quality parental participation in children's education. There is great need for the school leadership and teachers to acquire mind-set change training. Much has to change the status quo through critical thinking and reflective practices in managing marginalisation and identity behaviours. This would, optimistically, lead to adoption of pragmatic, progressive and modest school leadership that is inspirational, and values total inclusivity and learner empowerment for sustainability.

Marginalisation experienced in both schools is a manifestation of identity politics that is not effectively mediated by school leadership practices. Both external and internal school environments could be controlled through transformational leadership activities, as Hallinger (2010) argues, by more constructive context-based strategies. Evidently marginalisation breeds a variety of social and psychological ills amongst members of a community, and affects children the most. The resultant identity politics behaviour results in insecurity, inequity, alienation, averseness and attention seeking. As such, a shift in school leadership culture from one that is only interested in academic performance, to a transformative culture that pays attention total inclusion of learners and parents from diverse cultures is required. This begins with, according to Petkovska, (2015), developing the right attitude towards differences in people who might result in preventing socially unacceptable behaviour in certain individuals, their desire to condemn, exclude or in other way discriminate their peers who, for any kind of reasons do not fit into what at some point is considered a norm.

Conclusion

The study has benefited from a reflective and collaboration qualitative research for school leadership and school improvement. Kindon, Pin and Kesby (2008) argue that the primary goal of a participative qualitative research as a method is to create an environment and process where context-bound knowledge emerges to develop 'local theory' that is understandable and actionable by the school itself. Kemmis and McTaggart (2000) maintain that the researcher and participants should collaborate actively in a loosely defined group process to study and change their social reality. In this study the reflective, collaborative and participative qualitative research approach was able to assist school leadership to better improve attention to practices of marginalization and identity politics in their schools. This comparative study therefore avails opportunities for further studies in schools across the country. The emerging themes from this study also provide a philosophical background and framework for policy and curriculum development that may motivate

proactive measures of dealing with cases of marginalization and identity in
 schools.

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