Some Social Consequences of Faith-based Schooling: A Comparative Study of Denominational Secondary Education in Thanet and Lille.

Paul J. Welsh[1]

Canterbury Christ Church University, Canterbury, UK

[1] Recently retired Research Fellow, Dept. for Educational Research, CCCU.

Abstract

The paper opens with a discussion of some of the methodological difficulties inherent in comparative educational research, and outlines ways in which systemic inequalities in doing comparative work can be reduced. The social circumstances in Thanet and Lille are delineated, and the paper then considers structural differences in denominational education delivery in approximately matched schools in the two regions. Structural reasons for the differences in the delivery are explored, a Marxist analysis of the circumstances is proposed, and the paper closes with some conclusions concerning the functions and validity of denominational education, and the deleterious effect it has on social exclusion.

Introduction

This paper reports the results of a comparative analysis of the social effects of denominational education in the District of Thanet, in south-eastern England and the Académie de Lille (alternatively known as the Rectorat de Lille) in the Nord Pas de Calais region of France. The research, which investigates the political and social contexts of denominational education in the two regions, was rooted in two European Union funded longitudinal research projects jointly conducted by Canterbury Christ Church University and the Université Charles de Gaulle, in Lille 3, and work done subsequently by individual researchers. It is acknowledged that, given the background of the author, the paper is written from an Anglo-centric perspective.

Comparative social studies across national boundaries are fraught with methodological difficulties that derive from different understandings, responses and social contexts. Thus the term 'inclusion' has different connotations in Thanet and Lille. It Thanet, it connotes an ability to participate in the provisions of society while respecting cultural differences. In Lille, it is about the process of 'becoming French' through the incorporation of the individual into French society. Similarly, in England, 'exclusion' can refer to social exclusion or exclusion from school, whereas in France, where exclusion from school is not permitted – although it is practised on an informal basis – the term is taken as referring to the broader concept of social exclusion.

These differences, in turn, lead to differences in reporting and recording of social circumstances, and challenge any researcher trying to make like-with-like comparisons. One possible solution to this problem is to consider trans-national statistics published by socially-neutral international organisations. These statistics can then be used to inform the selection of criteria that could illustrate comparable social problems in each country.

Thus in 2005, UNICEF published a comparative table showing the percentage of children living in relative poverty in twenty four countries:

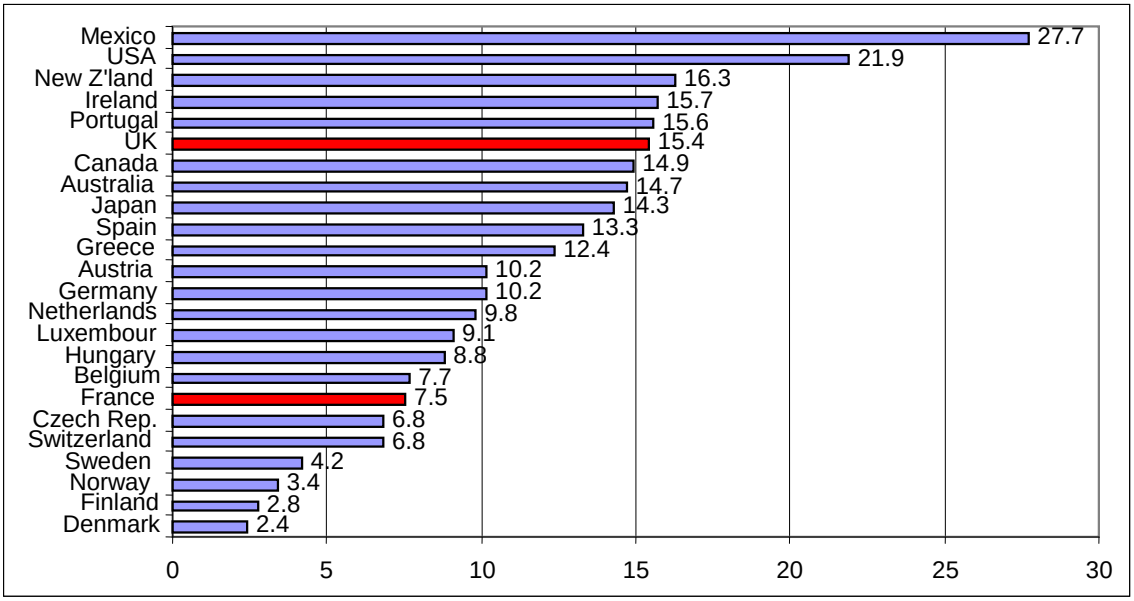

Figure 1: Percentage of children living in 'relative' poverty defined as households with income below 50% of the national median (UNICEF, 2005).

It showed that, in the United Kingdom, 15.4% of children lived in relative poverty, ranking it the sixth most poverty-stricken country out of the twenty four, whereas in France 7.5% of children lived in relative poverty, with the country being ranked fifteenth out of the twenty four countries listed (UNICEF, 2005).

These figures were subsequently supplemented by a ‘well-being’ report, based on six dimensions of well-being, which was published by UNICEF in 2007:

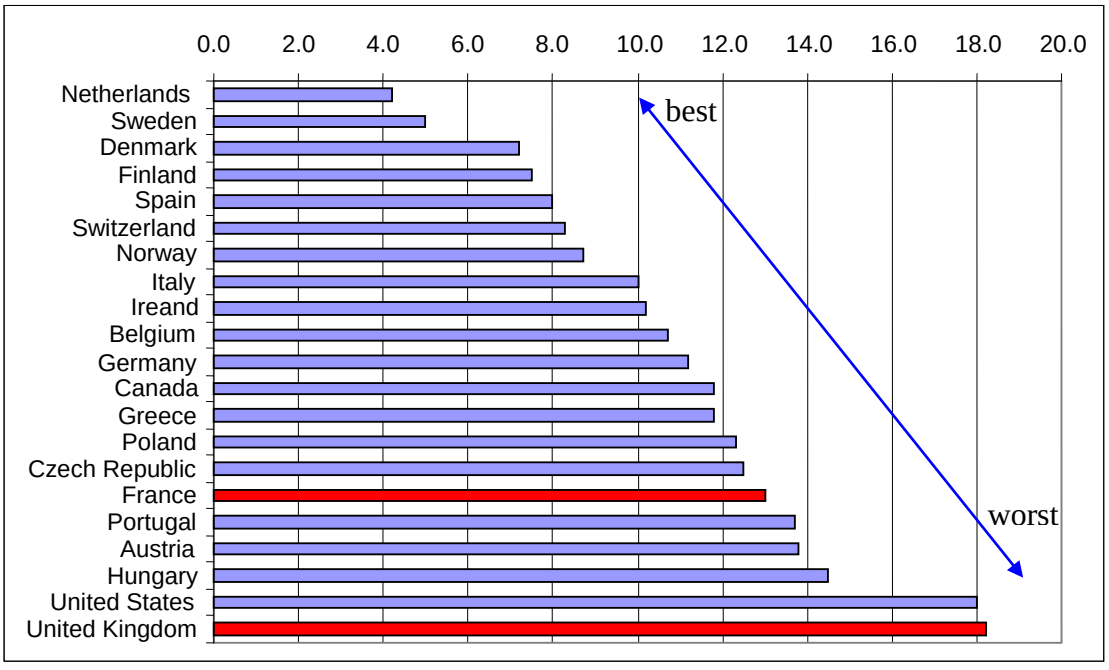

Figure 2: Average Ranking on Child Well-being Report Card (UNICEF, 2007).

This report recorded the United Kingdom as having the worst child well-being record of the twenty one countries surveyed, while France was ranked at sixteen out of twenty one for child well-being. Children were thus relatively better cared for in France than in England, and one should thus expect to find relatively less social exclusion of young people in France than in the United Kingdom.

It is then possible to take these comparative figures as a baseline, and to construct a matrix of social issues connected with schooling that are common to the trans-national areas under study. The project researchers were thus able to work out a shared set of social circumstances that were common to both sets of secondary school students, and their neighbourhoods in Thanet and Lille, and then to use this to make approximately like-with like comparisons between schools:

School Domain	**Neighbourhood Domain**
Poor attendance	Poverty
Low expectations from teachers	Quality of housing
Exclusions	Chronic community violence
Low degree of commitment to school	High rates of transition and mobility
Academic failure	Norms favour crime & antisocial behaviour
	Lack of community cohesion

Table 1: Some Matched Causes of Poor Performance and Disaffection in Education.

This then enabled the researcher to look for any differential influence that denominational education has on social exclusion in approximately matched circumstances in one region of France and one region of England.

The Social Contexts of Thanet and Lille

1) **Thanet.**

Thanet is the easternmost District in the County of Kent. It has a population of the order of 127000, many of whom inhabit the three large conurbations of Margate, Broadstairs and Ramsgate. It suffers badly from social and economic deprivation

which, as elsewhere, is unevenly distributed across the District. Thus Margate and Ramsgate are more deprived than Broadstairs, while Margate, in particular, has some wards in which deprivation is deeply entrenched (Thanet District Council, 2006a).

Much of the deprivation has a historical dimension in that the economic decline of the District can be traced to the demise of the British seaside holiday trade in the 1970's and the coterminous loss of jobs in tourism, mining in the Kentish coalfields, and agriculture (Thanet District Council, 2006b). The recession of 2008/9 also impacted disproportionately on Thanet which, like some other coastal districts, has seen increases in unemployment above the regional and national averages. Thus 'the claimant count rate in Thanet has increased by 0.8% above the southeast and national average, giving Thanet the joint 61st fastest increase in the country' (Seeda, 2009).

In Thanet, as in other areas of deprivation, people living in disadvantaged circumstances 'are more likely to be the victims and the perpetrators of crime' (Thanet Community Safety Partnership, 2004, pp4&5). Thanet has also suffered from the highest incidence (85%) of recorded missing juveniles in Kent (Thanet, 2006b), many of whom are vulnerable 'looked after' children. Children living in single parent families – particularly if the parent is not working – are at significant risk of 'growing up in poverty for at least some periods of their lives' (Wiles and Sexton, 2008, p39). Ethnicity in Thanet is a relatively insignificant driver of deprivation, as approximately 94% of the population is of white ethnicity. This strongly suggests that the differential deprivation in Thanet, which manifests itself as an uneven distribution of disadvantage in the District, is a function of the prevailing socio-economic conditions.

The statistics so far quoted as underpinning the social circumstances described in Thanet are all in the public domain, and are relatively easily accessible. The French state takes a different stance with respect to some social statistics, and both espouses and enacts a different concept of citizenship to that found in the UK. These differences add to the difficulty of securing like-with-like comparisons between regions of the UK and France.

2) **Lille.**

The City of Lille has a population of the order of 230000 people, although the wider metropolis, known as Lille Métropole, which includes the townships of Roubaix and Tourcoing, as well as many other communities, has a population of over 1000000. In 1989, the City Council of Lille divided the (old) city into ten wards, or municipalities, known as 'quartiers' and, as in Thanet, there is an uneven distribution of deprivation among the quartiers. This research looked at some schools in two of Lille's quartiers in which the problems that arise from deprivation showed a similar patterning of behaviours and responses (see Table 1) to those in Thanet. However, one big structural difference between deprivation in the quartiers of Lille and deprivation in Thanet was the greater ethnic diversity of Lille, in which there are many people of North- or sub-Saharan African origins.

Equivalent statistics on deprivation existing within the quartiers are difficult to obtain, in part because of the principle of equality of citizens that is enshrined in Article 1 of the French constitution. The same Article requires that there should be no difference in the treatment of individuals where that treatment is based on racial, ethnic or religious criteria. Vanmalle (2008) suggests that this principle has been firmly anchored in the French psyche since the revolution, and has only been subject to one exception – the census of Jewish people carried out by the Vichy government during the Second World War. She further argues that shame over this census has served to reinforce a subsequent strict application of the principle of non-discrimination, including a ban on collecting ethnically-based statistics. However, universal application of the principle of egalité remains problematic, as anti-Semitic sentiment among some residents remains a feature of the varied sub-cultural life in Lille. This has found expression in Jewish cemetery desecration in Lille-Sud in 2007 and the graffiti-ing of two synagogues in 2009, the latter being linked to the Israeli invasion of Gaza. Such inter-communal discord exemplifies some of the difficulties with multiculturalism, particularly given the small size of Lille's Jewish community.

The ban on collecting ethnically-based statistics raises the problem of how to help social minority groups in difficulty in circumstances where there are restrictions on identifying the minorities. President Sarkozy has spoken in favour of relaxing this ban, noting that 'if one refuses to recognise the composition of French society, how are we to integrate those while refusing to recognise their characteristics and their

identity? It doesn't make any sense!' (cited in Vanmalle, 2008, p9. My translation). It should also be noted that the object of the ban on ethnically-based statistics was to promote integration into mainstream French society (une meilleure insertion), not multiculturalism as practised in the UK context and, through integration, to become fully accepted as French citizens. This represents a fundamental political difference with respect to the concept of citizenship between the French and British states, which is further illustrated by the fact that Mr. Sarkozy has also called for a ban on wearing the burqa in all public places, labelling it as 'a sign of subjugation … (that is) not welcome on French territory' (The Economist, 2009a, p52).

I.N.S.E.E. (the French National Institute for Statistics and Economic Studies, which is the approximate equivalent of the British Office for National Statistics) publishes census data, but these require careful interpretation, and cannot be directly used for quantitative trans-national comparisons with Thanet, as they are not collected on a like-for-like basis. They do, however, provide a useful snapshot of the socio-economic circumstances in Lille:

Total	**Year (2006)**
Actives (proportion of population comprising:	
1) Active in employment	53.4%
2) Those unemployed	10.8%
Inactives: Comprising of pupils, students and those undergoing non-remunerated work experience or training.	23.6%
Retired or pre-retired	3.8%
Other inactives (not further specified)	8.3%

Table 2: Employment statistics for Lille (source: INSEE) (My translation).

These statistics are complemented by the figures for rate of employment broken down by age groups:

Age Group	Population	Rate of Employment
15 - 24	57590	25.8%
25 - 54	93267	72.5%
55 - 64	16380	39.9%

Table 3: 2006 Rate of Employment by Age Group in Lille (Source: INSEE).

Both of these sets of statistics require interpretation in the particular context of Lille. Thus the high number of pupils etc recorded as 'economically inactive' is, in part, due to the fact that Lille has several universities and Institutes of Higher Education. Similarly, a part of the group recorded as 'inactive' and 'non-remunerated' would, in the context of education in Lille, include 'stagiaires', who are often unemployed university graduates on government sponsored job creation or work experience placements, designed to reduce graduate unemployment. They are grant-aided, but are not officially remunerated in the sense of receiving a wage. In many schools they fulfil a similar role to classroom assistants, although their brief includes some wider social roles.

One component that is missing from all of these statistics concerns details of ethnicity, which is a significant social criterion in Lille, as a large minority of the inhabitants come from a North African Arabic background. A perceived lack of respect from teachers appears to be an important issue for many French pupils (Debarbieux 2001), while some young people of Arabic extraction suffer cultural dissonance in the Lille school context and, in consequence, feel that their heritage is disrespected by the system. They have difficulty, for example, in accepting that teachers can refer to them using the friendly form of 'you' (tu), but they are expected to respond formally by using the pronoun 'vous' (Welsh et al., 2002, p264).

It is extremely difficult – perhaps impossible – to get accurate multi-ethnic data, due to the superordinacy of equality in the French constitution. This has caused some French social scientists to use surnames as a proxy for ethnicity (The Economist, 2009b), although a French government minister, of Algerian extraction, has stated that 'our republic must not become a mosaic of communities … Nobody must have to wear the yellow star again' (ibid., p47). Nevertheless, the French government is

clearly wary of the social impact of recognising differences in ethnicity, and this has led to contrarian attempts to recognise diversity in French society and to suppress any expression of cultural difference, such as the wearing of some Arabic modes of dress.

Devolved Regional Educational Administration in Kent and Lille

Kent Local Education Authority (LEA) is responsible for providing the type of education in the County of Kent. It operates a largely selective system of secondary education, within which approximately 25 to 30% are admitted to grammar schools at the age of 11, and on the basis of performance in the Kent Selection Test. The balance of the cohort – that is the majority of pupils – are offered places in high schools, many of which now have a further designation such as a religious affiliation or a vocational specialism (eg technology, business, etc). The system is complex, and underpinned by parental choice which ranges across all schools, and must be met subject to availability of places and any local admissions criteria. The autonomy of an LEA with respect to the structure of education is evident when Kent is compared with neighbouring LEAs. Thus East Sussex has an 11-16 comprehensive system and Years 12 and 13 colleges, while the London boroughs operate 11 – 18 comprehensive schools.

The French approximate equivalent of an LEA is an organisation known as the Académie, or sometimes the Rectorat because of its administrative relationship with higher education. Thus the Académie de Lille is responsible for education in the whole of the Nord Pas de Calais region. Most pupils are expected to go to their local schools, although there is some limited parental choice, mainly in relation to private (usually denominational) schooling. The Académie has some discretion over local variation, but its main function, as far as the population is concerned, is to ensure that schools provide an education system that accords with the policy directives of the powerful, central Ministry of Education, which is responsible for education across the whole of France.

Denominational Secondary Schools and Religious Education in Thanet and Lille

This study matched – subject to the constraints and difficulties of equivalence described above – two secondary schools in Thanet with two schools (collèges) in different quartiers of Lille. The schools were paired both because their intakes shared

some common social attributes and attitudes to school and because of their denominational designation. One of the Thanet schools chosen was a non-denominational school that taught the multi-faith Kent SACRE (Standing Advisory Council on Religious Education) syllabus. This school was paired with a French government-operated collège. A further pairing was made between a Catholic high school and a Catholic, private 'contracted' collège in Lille. However, it is not claimed that the schools provided an exact correspondence, partly because of the system of overt and covert selection that underlaid the admissions procedures of the Thanet schools, and the constitutional separation of church and state in France.

The Secondary Schools in Thanet

Thanet has a complexity of secondary schools, admissions authorities and admissions criteria. Thus, despite having only eleven secondaries, there are grammar schools, foundation schools, specialist schools, denominational schools and community schools. Some of the schools have a 'double designation' – eg a community technology school, or a music specialist foundation school. There are two denominational secondary schools in Thanet, both of which have significant criteria for admission based on religious affiliation and practice.

There is also an important distinction between different types of structure for denominational schools. Such schools can either be 'voluntary controlled' or 'voluntary aided'. Schools in the first category – ie voluntary controlled - are LEA (that is state-run) institutions in which the church denomination is a junior partner. For the second category of 'voluntary aided' schools, however, the church organisation is the senior partner, although the LEA provides substantial financial and other (eg administrative) support and liaison.

Religious education is a component of the curriculum in both types of school - indeed, all state schools in England must provide religious education – but a crucial difference is that a 'controlled' school has to provide an LEA-approved religious education syllabus. An 'aided' school, however, is free to teach its own denominational religious education, and to practise the rituals of that denomination, as part of the curriculum of the school. Most 'aided' schools in England, as is the case in Thanet, are Catholic schools. In law, parents have the right to withdraw their children from

religious education in any state school, although for those with children attending an 'aided' school, it is likely to prove difficult to enforce this right, given the religious commitment and checks sought on entry to the school.

The Catholic secondary school in Thanet is both 'aided' and its own admissions authority. This gives the school control over its admissions criteria and policy, and its religious character and syllabus. Its current admissions criteria list nine separate ranked religious criteria, eight of which relate in detail to denominational requirements (Kent, 2009). These structural factors give the school enormous covert power in terms of being able to select its entry, and to use religion as a proxy for social class, even though the principle guiding school admission is that of parental choice. The other denominational secondary school in Thanet is an 'aided'/foundation Church of England secondary school, which enjoys the same structural advantages with respect to the admission of pupils as the Catholic school.

This structural advantage also contributes to maintaining a gradient of popularity among the secondary schools in Thanet, with the grammar schools being the most popular and a community (LEA) high school being the least popular. The popularity gradient is matched by the Multiple Deprivation ranking of schools (Kent, 2007) in that the grammar schools have the least socially deprived intake, while the community schools have the most deprived intake.

The Schools in Lille

Secondary schools in Lille, as in France in general, are divided into collèges and lycées. Collèges are all-ability schools that cater for pupils up to the age of 16. Pupils thereafter are able to transfer, by a system of 'guided' choice, to a lycée, which is either a lycée général (an academic school) or a lycée professionnel (a vocational school).

All secondary schools (collèges and lycées) fall into one of three categories, viz

- government operated (ie publicly provided) schools which are free,
- privately operated schools that are in receipt of public funds. These are known as 'schools under contract' and charge modest fees. The great majority of these schools are Roman Catholic schools. Finally, there are

- privately operated schools ('schools without contracts') not in receipt of public funds. They can teach a curriculum of their choice.

The vast majority of schools fall into the first two categories. Private schools which receive public finances (principally the payment of teachers' salaries) contract with the government to provide the same curriculum and standards as government schools, and to forego any selection or discrimination on the basis of the religious affiliation of pupils or parents. Although they can teach a denominational education, they are forbidden from making it compulsory. Thus 'private' Catholic schools in France operate in a very different political environment than in England, and this held true for the matched Catholic collège that formed part of this project.

Because of the French requirement for secularity in all state-run institutions, the government-operated collège that was matched with an LEA Community school was legally forbidden from teaching any religion, and both pupils and staff were prohibited by law from proselytising any religious or political beliefs. The matched Thanet community school taught the Kent approved multi-faith religious syllabus, and organised a system of religious morning assemblies. Parents, however, were free to withdraw their children from these activities, although there was no evidence that this was happening.

Conclusions

The practices of, and constraints upon, denominational education in Thanet and Lille are very different, and each needs to be understood in the context of the wider polity within which it is located. Thus the denominational system in Thanet is structured in such a way that it complements the market values of the neo-liberal, capitalist Local Authority, and helps to maintain the social-class stratification of secondary education in the District. In this it is aided and abetted by two powerful church organizations (Roman Catholic and Church of England) practising a 'Christianity that long ago shifted from the side of the poor and dispossessed to that of the rich and aggressive' (Eagleton, 2009, p55). This has resulted in 'good quality schooling for the middle classes and poor quality schooling for the poor' (Hill, 2006, p45).

The capitalist system, which Brosio (2008) describes in his 'Conclusions' as 'the most powerful secular system in the world today', when symbiotically allied with church authorities, 'has penetrated beyond the sites of production' (ibid., 2008), and enables denominational education providers to erect barriers to entry that tacitly sieve out the needy and deprived by using religious affiliation as a proxy for social class. The resulting alliance pits middle class freedom and advantage against equality, separates choice from its social consequences and 'puts individual self-interest before collective interest' (McLaren, 2008, pxiii). In so doing, the system both maintains and exploits the vulnerability of the poor, and enables the not-so-invisible hand of the market to continue the process of social exclusion and deprivation by 'acting to varying degrees, and with some disarticulation, in the interests of capitalism (Cole, 2008, p62).

The system in Lille, by contrast, is both more secular, centralised and based on a different concept of citizenship that overwhelmingly values holistic solidarity over reducing expenditure on social policy (Zay, 2005), and thus refuses to conceptualise the citizen as an individual consumer in a social market. This solidarity is complemented by the constitutional requirement for laïcité, which derives from the French revolution, and led to the formal separation of church and state in France. It limits the abuse of power by church authorities in respect of admission to school, by providing a statutory opt out from religious education and practice, thereby significantly curbing the usual tacit ecclesiastical insistence that religion should occupy a central position in the delivery of education. However, the ban on proselytising any religious belief in government operated schools, many of which are multi-ethnic, sits uneasily with the actuality of French politics, which espouses an integrationist, and somewhat monocultural, French identity. This can lead to an ambivalent attitude towards ethnic minorities – particularly those of Arabic extraction – who wish to practice or promote their minority culture.

Neither Thanet nor Lille are necessarily representative of the wider circumstances in England or France. However, aspects of each region may be relatable to broader social circumstances. Thus the religiously inspired social architecture which supports 'aided' denominational education in Thanet can be understood as one example of variable detail that is underpinned by a wider invariant religious template. Hence the detail of Catholic education is different from the detail of Church of England, Muslim

or Jewish education, but they are all invariantly designed to inculcate the 'true beliefs' of a religion at the cost of subducting the autonomy of the individual. Further, metaphysical considerations do not feature prominently in either the French or English religious education traditions, and neither polity teaches post-modern religious studies, wherein theologians become lost in their own language games.

Marx (1847, cited in Cole, 2008, p30) pointed out that education is used to spread bourgeois moral principles. In England, these principles are mediated through education in general, and denominational schools in particular. This is part of a broader capitalist system of exploitation in which parental choice appears to be a free exchange between educational consumers and producers. It is, however, founded upon an unequal distribution of power that, in the case of denominational aided schools in Thanet, is largely in the hands of the producers. This state-supported religious education has resulted in a 'hegemonic power coalition between the state and the established churches' (Welsh, 2008, p13). The power of denominational education is firmly entrenched in the English educational system in which voluntary aided schools, in particular, most of which are Roman Catholic, complement the capitalist enterprise by participating in the cruel deception of free and equal choice for all – a deception which does not even stop the bleeding, let alone close the wound, caused by the social injustices of the system. Callinicos (2000) has argued that such producer power is directly unjust.

The consequent social capitalism of the sort practised in Thanet creates a poverty trap, in which the main feature of deprived social groups 'is divergence (from the benefits enjoyed by the empowered) rather than development' (Collier, 2008, p10). This restricts the access that deprived and disadvantaged parents and pupils have to public services, including education. A socially just, whole-of-Thanet solution to the structure of secondary schooling requires an inclusive, secular education service which 'would ensure that all citizens, whatever their religious or non-religious beliefs, have equal rights to access and receive public services' (B.H.A., 2007, p21). Such a solution, however, is unthinkable under the current political administration.

The French requirement for secularity in public institutions, in combination with the different concept and expectations of citizenship, has significantly reduced the

influence that organised religion can exert on, and through, the education system, and this partially ameliorates Althusser's (1971) concerns over the confluence of the powers of church and state in a capitalist system. The power of religious authorities are thus fettered by the state in that the French denominational education system of 'schools under contract', unlike the English system, is not able to select pupils on the basis of baptismal record, church certification of attendance at services or parental religious affiliation, and cannot make religious education a compulsory part of the curriculum. French education is thus firmly rooted in secularity, and French pupils and parents enjoy a superordinate right of opting out of religious education in private denominational schools that receive state funding.

Althusser's distinction between Repressive and Ideological State Apparatuses recognises the existence of religious (the system of different churches) and educational (the system of public and private schools) ISAs, both of which operate through the power of ideology. This is helpful in understanding the possible role that the third category of school plays in French society. These schools form a very much smaller group of privately operated secondary schools that have not contracted with the government (a category officially known as 'enseignement privé hors contrat'), and hence do not receive any financial support from the State. They are free to set their own curriculum, which can include religious education, and to teach sectarian or other religious views that may be both ideologically repressive and psychologically harmful by operating in a way 'which ensures subjection to the ruling ideology (and) mastery of its practice' (Althusser, 1971, p5). They are thus likely to be attractive to parents that hold absolute or fundamentalist religious beliefs. The lack of state support for such schools makes them structurally different from minority-faith schools in England, such as the Brethren Christian schools, some of which are considering applying for state funding as denominational schools (Welsh, 2008).

The curricular freedom enjoyed by private, non-contracted schools in France and aided schools in England reveals denominational education to be a power struggle driven by the politics of identity in which the unpoliticised young are shaped, indoctrinated, and then claimed by the religious authorities, who restrain them behind a semi-permeable ideological iconostasis which separates those of faith from the rest

of society, and takes no account of the verifiability (or falsifiability) of any faith-claims or the sheer contingency of religion.

In general, the French system of denominational education is more egalitarian, and less socially exploitative, than the equivalent English system. The Republican values enacted by the French state are, at least superficially, likely to result in a more socially cohesive system than a disparate multicultural society. The French system, however, is more dirigiste than the English, and is founded upon a somewhat monocultural concept of Frenchness that tends to deny the significance of minority cultural differences, and is hence perceived as threatening by some groups. However, there remains, in both polities, a real need to speak truth to powerful religions, by recognising that if a theist 'cannot formulate his "knowledge" (Ayer's inverted commas) in propositions that are empirically verifiable, we may be sure that he is deceiving himself' (Ayer, 1952, pp119/20). There is a need to challenge the lack of credible, objective evidential bases for espoused belief systems, and to acknowledge that the separateness of English denominational aided education, and the potential separateness of French schools 'without contracts', is socially exclusive and potentially contributes to the disaggregation of society.

I am grateful for the help and advice of Mme Catherine Kini, Professor Carl Parsons and L'Institut français du Royaume-Uni in the construction of this article. However, any mistakes, and the views expressed, are mine.

Author's details:
Paul Welsh was a secondary school headteacher, in Thanet and, subsequently, in another District of Kent, before moving into educational administration to manage school admissions. He completed a doctorate in educational politics, and then moved to Canterbury Christ Church University, where he was mainly involved in social policy research. He has recently retired.

Correspondence: pjw5uk@yahoo.com

References

Althusser, L. (1971) Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses in *Lenin and Philosophy and Other Essays.* New York: Monthly Review Press. Available at **www.marxists.org/reference/archive/althusser/1970/ideology.htm**. Accessed 21 Sept 2009.

Ayer, A. J. (1952) *Language, Truth and Logic.* New York: Dover Publications Inc.

British Humanist Association (B.H.A.) (2007) *Quality and Equality: Human Rights, Public Services and Religious Organisations.* London: B.H.A.

Brosio, R. A. (2008) Marxist Thought: Still Primus Inter Pares for Understanding and Opposing the Capitalist System. *Journal of Critical Education Policy Studies.* Vol 6 No 1. Available at **www.jceps.com**. Accessed 11 October 2009.

Callinicos, A. (2000) *Equality.* Oxford: Polity.

Cole, M. (2008) *Marxism and Educational Theory.* London: Routledge.

Collier, P. (2008) *The Bottom Billion.* Oxford: OUP.

Debarbieux, E. (2001) Eléments Épistemologiques et Méthodologiques pour Une Comparaison Internationale de la Violence en Milieu Scolaire. Paper given at the International Conference on Violence in Schools and Public Policies, Paris, 5-7 March.

Eagleton, T. (2009) *Reason, Faith and Revolution.* London: Yale University Press.

The Economist (2009a) No Cover Up: France Ponders a Burqa Ban. Vol. 391 No. 8637, p52. 27 June 2009.

The Economist (2009b) To Count or Not to Count. Vol. 390 No. 8624, p47. 28 March 2009.

Hill, D. (2006) Education Services Liberalisation in Rosskam, E. (ed) *Winners or Losers? Liberalising Public Services.* Geneva: ILO.

I.N.S.E.E. (2006) Employment in Lille : Basis of Tables 2 & 3 at http://www.recensement2006.insee.fr/chiffresCles.action?codeMessage=5&zoneSearchField=LILLE&codeZone=59350-COM&idTheme=2&rechercher=Rechercher

Kent (2007) Index of Multiple Deprivation for Thanet Secondary Schools. Maidstone: Kent County Council Management Information.

Kent (2009) *Admission to Secondary School in Kent 2009.* Maidstone: Kent County Council.

McLaren, P. (2008) Foreword in Cole, M. *Marxism and Educational Theory.* London: Routledge.

SEEDA, (2009) *South East Labour Market Update, January 2009.* Available at http://www.seeda.co.uk/publications/research_&_economics/monthly_updates/Docs/LabourMarketUpdateJan2009.pdf Accessed 12 Oct 2009.

Thanet Community Safety Partnership (2004) *Thanet Crime and Disorder Audit.* Margate: Thanet District Council. Available at http://www.thanetcommunitysafety.org/pdf/crime audit 2004.pdf Accessed 27 May 2008.

Thanet District Council (2006a) *Council Policy and Supplementary Planning Guidance* Margate: Thanet District Council. Available at www.thanet.gov.uk/pdf/POLICY&%20SPG%20AS%20ADOPTED%2014%20Dec%2006%20publ.pdf Accessed 14 May 2008.

Thanet District Council (2006b) *Memorandum by Thanet District Council (CT 23)* submitted to the Office of the Deputy Prime Minister. Available at http://www.publications.parliament.uk/pa/cm200506cmselect/cmodpm/1023/1023we24.htm Accessed 17 May 2008.

UNICEF (2005) *Child Poverty in Rich Countries*, Florence, Italy: Innocenti Research Centre, United Nations Children's Fund

UNICEF (2007) *An Overview of Child Well-being in Rich Countries*, Florence, Italy: Innocenti Research Centre, United Nations Children's Fund. Available at: www.unicef.org/media/files/ChildPovertyReport.pdf Accessed 3 March 2007.

Vanmalle, N. (2008) Discriminations ethniques: où est la solution? *La Vie Outre - Manche* Maidstone : Concorde. Pp9-12.

Welsh, P. J. et al. (2002) Comparative Youth Marginalisation, Disaffection and Experiences of Education: Subcultures and Young Peoples' Voices in Thanet and Lille *International Journal of Adolescence and Youth.* 10(3) pp 255-276.

Welsh, P. J. (2008) Social Deprivation, Community Cohesion, Denominational Education and Freedom of Choice: A Marxist Perspective on Poverty and Exclusion in the District of Thanet *Journal of Critical Education Policy Studies.* Vol 6 No.2.

Wiles, J. & Sexton, J. (2008) *Joint Strategic Needs Assessment for Children in Kent.* Maidstone: KCC Children, Families & Education Directorate.

Zay, D. (2005) Preventing School and Social Exclusion: A French-British Comparative Study *European Educational Research Journal.* 4(2) pp 109-120.