Article

Teachers' perceptions of cultural capital: How do they influence the teaching of civic, social and political education?

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Highlights

- Teachers of citizenship education in lower SES schools emphasise voting and elections in their teaching approach.
- Teachers of citizenship education in fee-paying schools emphasise political structures, national politics and social responsibility.
- Teachers of citizenship education in lower SES schools tend to emphasise personal responsibility.
- Teachers of citizenship education in fee-paying schools tend to focus on participatory citizenship.
- There is little evidence of justice-oriented citizenship education in Irish schools.

Purpose: This study examines whether differences exist in the teaching of Civic, Social and Political Education (CSPE) across school types: Delivering Equality of Opportunity in Schools (DEIS), fee-paying and 'other' schools. The study also examines whether such differences are linked to students' cultural capital.

Design Methodology: A survey of 222 Irish CSPE teachers was used to identify differences in their teaching of CPSE. Responses were analysed by statistical and thematic analysis. The findings are discussed in relation to Bourdieu and Passeron's work on cultural capital and Westheimer and Kahne's typology of three forms of citizenship.

Findings: CSPE in DEIS schools was aligned with personally responsible citizenship, whereas CSPE in fee-paying schools tended to align with participatory citizenship. In other schools there were elements of both personally responsible and participatory citizenship.

Research limitations: The results are not generalisable. Furthermore, the findings are based on the teachers' espoused practice rather than observation of their actual practice.

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1   INTRODUCTION

Citizenship is not a fixed concept; it is instead an idea that has evolved over time. Marshall (1964) for instance identified three overlapping aspects of citizenship: civil, which provides citizens with individual rights, such as freedom of speech and equality before the law; political, which gives citizens the right to vote and participate in the political process; and social, which provides citizens with the health, education and welfare they need to participate fully in their cultural communities and the national civic culture. Each of these three aspects strongly influenced the concept of citizenship as it came to the fore during the 18th to 20th centuries. Johnson and Morris (2010) noted additional factors leading to changed emphases in citizenship, including the emergence of global and cross-national bodies such as the United Nations and the European Union, multiculturalism and a drift away from an ethno-nationalistic form of identity towards an emphasis on shared values such as tolerance, human rights and democracy. As views of citizenship evolved, a wider range of perspectives on civics and citizenship education has emerged.

Kerr (1999) outlined a continuum in relation to education for citizenship, ranging from a thin or minimal interpretation to a thick or maximal interpretation. The former is associated with civics; it is content-heavy and focuses on the civic and political aspects, with the teacher transmitting knowledge of a country's history and geography in whole-class teaching. By contrast, a maximal view is mainly associated with citizenship education. The primary aim is not only to inform students but also to help them use the information to develop a capacity to participate. Learning takes place through methodologies such as discussion, debate and project work. Civics and citizenship education were originally viewed as a means of promoting national pride and inculcating loyalty to the state with an emphasis on knowledge of political and legal structures of the nation. In Ireland, for instance, the civics programme introduced in 1966 had a heavy focus on patriotism, duties and responsibilities (Department of Education, 1970; O'Brien, 2023). Such views were more closely aligned with the minimal interpretation of citizenship education. However, this narrow view of citizenship education has changed with a wider range of perspectives coming to the fore.

The 2009 International Civic and Citizenship Education Study (ICCS) found teachers of civics and citizenship education primarily employ one of three frameworks: 1) dutiful school participation and consensus building, 2) knowledge and community participation, and 3) independent thinking and tolerance (Reichert & Torney-Purta, 2019). The first framework lies closer to the minimal end of the continuum, whereas the other two are closer to the maximal end.

Westheimer and Kahne (2004) similarly identified three types of citizen: the personally responsible citizen, the participatory citizen and the justice-oriented citizen. Personally responsible citizens focus on individual behaviour rather than the external causes of social problems. While personally responsible citizens engage in admirable actions such as giving blood, contributing to fundraisers, or helping older people cross the road, such actions on their own are equally suited to being a model citizen in an authoritarian regime.

Teachers of personally responsible citizenship prioritise voting, a focus on the local community and responsible participation; they teach rules and laws rather than critical thinking (Patterson, Doppen & Misco, 2012). This approach resembles Hoskins and Janmaat's (2019) acquisition model of teaching citizenship, whereby the teacher teaches the knowledge required for students to successfully negotiate democratic processes. While an approach wholly focused on acquisition of knowledge has limitations, it also includes benefits such as helping to define knowledge, skills, attitudes and values for political engagement, thereby supporting the development of proficiency in these civic competences (Hoskins & Janmaat, 2019).

Participatory citizens also engage in activities of benefit to their community, but unlike personally responsible citizens, they organise activities (Westheimer & Kahne, 2004). In the aftermath of a flooding incident, for example, personally responsible citizens contribute to a fundraising activity or donate clothing. However, participatory citizens take a more proactive role; they organise the fundraiser or put the clothing collection in place. Participatory citizenship teachers stress the value of knowledge. They have a more global outlook than teachers who prioritise personally responsible citizenship and they emphasise critical thinking and self-actualisation (Patterson et al., 2012). Students within this framework develop a capacity for civic participation and can describe the skills they use; they display personal capacity, leadership skills and confidence that they can make a difference; however, they do not understand root causes or power relationships (Westheimer & Kahne, 2004). Hoskins and Janmaat's (2019) participation model emphasises the importance of a classroom environment where open discussion is facilitated and where the students can be politically active in school. However, they suggest that the acquisition and participation models can be complimentary and a blend of both is necessary. Print, Ørnstrøm and Nielsen (2002) also highlight the value of an open classroom climate and school-based political activities; they outline how students develop participative skills by being allowed to partake in classroom and school decision-making processes, but to be effective the content taught must be negotiated between the teacher and students, and on completion be evaluated. In evaluating the teaching and their own input, students develop responsibility for their learning, independence and negotiating. Dobson (2005), however, warned that actions associated with participatory citizenship, such as charitable activities, are moral acts rather than acts founded in justice. Justice-based actions are superior, as charity suggests no obligation, whereas justice leads to equitable relations that address the causes of problems.

In Westheimer and Kahne's (2004) third model of citizenship, justice-orientation, citizens challenge social inequalities, advocate for a more just society and examine root causes of problems. In the case of the flooding incident mentioned above, the justice-oriented citizens would question why the flood happened and lobby for the causes of the issue to be addressed. In this respect, a justice-oriented citizenship education resembles Giroux's (1980) concept of critical and emancipatory citizenship education. Giroux rejected the transmission mode of teaching and instead promoted critical thinking in an

open classroom environment and recommended drawing on the student's cultural capital. As a result of being able to critically examine political and social structures and inequalities, students become capable of challenging oppressive structures and work towards achieving a more just society. Patterson et al. (2012) found that teachers of justice-oriented citizenship have much in common with participatory citizenship teachers; however, they emphasise action to change the structures of inequality rather than operating within the existing structures. Justice-oriented teachers teach their students to practise skills to challenge inequality, such as organising petitions, writing letters and running for office to enable their students to challenge these structures (Patterson et al., 2012). Students of the justice-oriented model may emphasise social critique and be interested in politics and political issues. However, their ability to be effective community leaders does not develop and they exhibit no increase in personal responsibility (Westheimer & Kahne, 2004).

In addition, justice-oriented citizenship may not be more effective than other views of citizenship education. Swalwell (2013) reported that when justice-oriented citizenship was explicitly taught to students from elite backgrounds, the type of citizenship that was fostered varied. Among four possible outcomes, only one was a justice-orientation. Lynch (2000) cautioned that in a neoliberalist society citizenship is viewed in market terms rather than of benefit to the collective good and political neutrality and consensualism are instead promoted. A consensualist view eschews dissent, which in turn stifles debate on social and political issues. Thus, promoting a personally responsible or participatory stance in citizenship education would be more desirable in a neoliberalist society than promoting a justice-orientation. Furthermore, supporting Hoskins and Janmaat's (2019) view that blending types of citizenship education is necessary, Frazer (2007) warned that justice cannot be taught without students having some knowledge of political power. Moreover, not all students are exposed to justice-oriented citizenship. It is the least common type of citizenship education taught (Leung, Yuen & Ngai, 2014). Justice-oriented and participatory citizenship are likely to be emphasised by teachers in schools attended by students of mixed or high socio-economic status (SES) (Cohen, 2016).

Research into citizenship education identified other strengths and weaknesses of the different ways of teaching the subject. Citizenship education has been shown to promote voluntary action and trust (John & Morris, 2004). Kahne and Sporte (2008) found that civic participation was impacted positively by education in citizenship but only when the classes focused on civic and political topics and ways to act. The authors advocated that teachers should be knowledgeable about current affairs, study issues that matter to students, expose students to controversial issues and discuss problems and how to act on them, along with providing exposure to civic role models. However, the minimal version of citizenship education – which is mainly aligned to personally responsible citizenship – is limited in its effectiveness. Gillborn (2006) stated that citizenship education is used as a public policy placebo; its role is to explain what is being done to solve problems, but it will not actually teach students anything either harmful or useful. In addition, teachers of

citizenship education often concentrate on issues such as littering and school rules rather than wider social and political issues such as racism and sexism. Mechanisms that offer the potential to allow students to develop leadership in their communities, such as student councils, tend to deal only with minor issues, such as school lockers (Davies, 2006).

Other school related experiences such as extra-curricular activities can have a positive impact on civic participation (Kahne & Sporte, 2008). However, Biesta and Lawy (2006) cautioned that schools alone cannot be responsible for citizenship because the conditions of young people's citizenship impact how they learn democratic citizenship, and schools cannot substitute for society.

2 CONTEXT OF STUDY

This study focuses on the teaching of CSPE in the Irish education system. In Ireland, post-primary education caters for students aged 12 to 19. The first three years of post-primary education are assessed by a Junior Cycle Profile of Achievement (JCPA). An optional transition year is available in most schools. Senior cycle education consists of the two final years of school, and pupils take the Leaving Certificate (Established) or Leaving Certificate Applied (LCA) examinations at the end of the senior cycle.

2.1 School types

Most post-primary schools belong to one of three categories: 1) voluntary secondary schools, which are generally Roman Catholic or Protestant owned; 2) vocational schools and community colleges, which are controlled by sixteen education and training boards; and 3) community and comprehensive schools, which were founded in areas lacking a post-primary school or through the amalgamation of smaller schools. The Central Statistics Office (CSO) figures contained in Table 1 indicate the dominance of the voluntary secondary sector (CSO, 2019). Traditionally, these schools operated an academic grammar school system, whereas vocational schools provided technical education (Coolahan, 1981). The introduction of new schools and reforms that allowed vocational schools to put their students forward for state examinations have changed the traditional scenario.

Table 1. CSO figures for pupils enrolled in second level schools: junior cycle 2018

Type of school	Number of pupils
Secondary	*105,613*
Vocational	*56,013*
Community and comprehensive	*32,650*

Delivering Equality of Opportunity in Schools (DEIS), referred to as DEIS rather than DEOS, was introduced in 2006. The aim was to provide selected schools with extra funding, literacy and numeracy support as well as home-school liaison teachers and access to the

School Completion Programme (Smyth, McCoy & Kingston, 2015). Second-level DEIS schools enrol more students from working-class, non-employed, low-income and lone-parent households than non-DEIS schools. In addition, more students in DEIS schools have additional educational needs or come from families with low levels of education or minority backgrounds. These disadvantages affect urban DEIS schools more than their rural counterparts.

DEIS schools typically provide the Junior Cycle Schools Programme, the LCA programme and technological subjects; they are less likely to offer a transition year or physics and chemistry than non-DEIS schools. Students in DEIS schools are likely to depend on school-based guidance because their parents' or siblings' lack knowledge of the educational system. Although DEIS has yielded benefits, Cahill (2020) noted that interventions to tackle disadvantage place the onus on the education system to level the playing field rather than addressing the root causes of poverty or social inequality.

Free second-level schooling was introduced in 1966 (Coolahan, 1981), but some schools opted not to join the free education scheme and remained fee-paying. Over 25,000 pupils attend fee-paying schools, paying an average fee of €5,528 each year (Clarke-Molloy & O'Brien, 2017). Department of Education and Skills (DES) statistics reported there were 714 post-primary schools in Ireland in the school year 2017–18 (DES, 2018a), of which 52 were fee-paying (DES, 2018b) and 197 were DEIS (DES, 2018c). No fee-paying schools have DEIS status.

While many fee-paying schools feature prominently in the league tables of the number of alumni who progress to university, these schools often present themselves primarily as agents of social responsibility and moral education rather than academic institutions (Courtois, 2018). Wealthy and highly educated families are likely to send their children to fee-paying schools (Bradfield & Crowley, 2019). The schools vary in size: in 2018, the largest fee-paying school had 1,027 pupils and the smallest had 131 pupils (DES, 2018b). However, a fee-paying basis does not necessarily mean a school can be described as elite. Courtois (2018) rated only ten of these schools as elite, with a further twenty described as sub-elite.

2.2   Civic, social and political education

Civic, Social and Political Education (CSPE) became a mandatory subject on the Irish junior cycle curriculum in 1997 (NCCA, 1996). It was assessed by an examination and an action project for the Junior Certificate Programme. CSPE was envisaged as a maximal interpretation of citizenship education and was based on seven key concepts rather than set content (NCCA, 1996). It emphasised active citizenship and developing skills through discovery, groupwork, simulation and action research. Principals and teachers were generally positive towards CSPE (Redmond & Butler, 2004), but teacher allocation remained a significant challenge for the subject (Gleeson & Munnelly, 2003; Murphy, 2003; O'Brien, 2023). A further challenge was insufficient teacher training (Cosgrove, Gilleece & Shiel, 2011; Murphy, 2003). Most CSPE teachers viewed the role of citizenship education as

promoting knowledge acquisition and student participation in their communities (Reichert & Torney-Purta, 2019). Although Irish second-year pupils' overall civic knowledge was well ranked by international standards, differences existed among the schools (Cosgrove et al., 2011). Political discussion in the home benefits students' civic knowledge (Cosgrove et al., 2011). In addition, parental interest in politics can help children to overcome their socio-economic disadvantage through fostering their internal political efficacy (Murphy, 2017).

In 2017, CSPE became part of the Wellbeing Programme in schools (NCCA, 2017). Wellbeing comprises three subjects: 1) CSPE; 2) social, personal and health education; and 3) physical education. The examination and action project were removed, and 37 learning outcomes replaced the seven key concepts. As with the 1996 syllabus, the learning outcome approach allows the teacher significant scope in the content taught.

3   LITERATURE REVIEW

3.1   Cultural capital

In theory, schools provide equal opportunities regardless of students' social origins. However, Bourdieu and Passeron (1977) suggested that this view of a neutral school culture is misrecognition because students from backgrounds that are familiar with school culture are best suited to school. This becomes more evident as students move up through the education system. An ability to understand and use scholarly language becomes more and more necessary to succeed. Because this is more challenging for students not familiar with scholarly language, an increased dropout rate becomes evident amongst students coming from lower SES backgrounds. Students from higher SES backgrounds do not rely solely on the knowledge they gain from school in each area of culture, they are consequently at an advantage over their lower SES classmates who often are only exposed to this culture in school. Secondary education institutions assume that the knowledge, skills and modes of expression familiar to children from wealthy backgrounds are equally familiar to all students, but this assumption is not true for children from less advantaged backgrounds.

Bourdieu and Passeron (1977) ascribe the differences in familiarity to school culture to different forms of capital. Some forms of capital are more evident than others. Economic capital is a rather obvious and measurable form, whereas social capital is relatively hard to recognise and quantify. Cultural capital is a highly 'disguised' form of the hereditary transmission of capital. This characteristic makes it the most powerful form of capital. The more observable forms are strongly controlled by governments and regulation, whereas the hidden nature of cultural capital means it is often misrecognised as competence (Bourdieu, 1986). The process of acquiring cultural capital is long and costly, but people who possess economic capital recognise its value and can afford to pay for it.

Cultural capital has three forms (Bourdieu, 1986): 1) the objectified state includes the possession of cultural goods; 2) the institutionalised state includes educational

qualifications; and 3) the embodied state is an intrinsic part of a person, and unlike property or money, it is not easily passed on. Embodied cultural capital is the most powerful type of cultural capital (Kraaykamp & van Eijck, 2010).

Bourdieu and Passeron (1979) argued that social class had the greatest influence in determining a person's cultural capital; however, their measures of cultural capital were suited to the French elite of the time (Dumais, 2002; Sullivan, 2002). Prieur and Savage (2013) stated that the measures were outdated and did not consider the impact of age, gender, race or ethnicity. They outlined a more contemporary means of measuring cultural capital. An example is that people with relatively high education tend to source highbrow rap music rather than the most downloaded songs or have more discerning TV viewing habits.

Parental involvement in schooling varies according to socio-economic background. Since the 1960s, society has an increased expectation of parents' responsibility in their children's education. These responsibilities include attending school meetings, being involved in homework and providing equipment for the school (Reay, 2008). Parents, regardless of their backgrounds, want their children to succeed, but they approach schooling differently, and there are substantial differences in the skills and knowledge of students and their parents as they enter the education system (Lareau, 1987). These differences influence people's ability to conform to the formal and informal expectations of teachers and the school (Lareau & Weininger, 2003).

Middle-class parents have relatively high levels of cultural capital. This characteristic is evident in how they monitor schoolwork, help with homework, speak with their children about their day and take positions on school management bodies to gain greater insight. They also ensure a critical mass of middle-class children in the school, provide private classes and contact the head teacher directly when they are unhappy (Crozier et al., 2008). In addition, middle-class parents' cultural capital is evident in their sense of entitlement to interact with teachers as equals when they need to, in a relaxed and informal manner, and in their parental vocabulary. Furthermore, they ensure transport and child-care arrangements to attend school activities and develop a social network of parents to provide information about schools and teachers (Lareau, 1987; Lareau & Horvat, 1999).

Cultural capital includes skills taught by middle-class parents, such as a propensity to intervene, rehearsing interactions with authority figures and an ability to deal with problems related to institutions (Lareau & Weininger, 2003; Lareau, 2015). Parents successfully activate their cultural capital by correctly reading the hidden expectations of the school and discretely addressing their concerns for their child's education. In contrast, parents who fail to determine the expectations of the school do not activate their cultural capital. Unlike middle-class parents, who view education as a joint activity, working-class parents rarely initiate contact with the school or raise non-academic issues. They engage in uneasy discussions with teachers and see educating the child as the teacher's role (Lareau, 1987).

Middle-class parents have the cultural knowledge required to help their children, whereas parents of working-class and poor children can provide emotional support but may be restricted in their ability to resolve problems due to a lack of cultural knowledge and limited educational attainment. The increased requirement for parental involvement in their children's education has therefore negatively impacted working-class parents.

3.2 Cultural capital and citizenship education

Cultural capital may affect the type of citizenship education that students receive. Teachers of pupils with low socio-economic status generally focus on local and community issues, whereas those teaching pupils from higher SES place greater emphasis on global issues (Wood, 2014). Society views global issues as having more value. For instance, Bourdieu and Passeron (1979) reported that when sociology students were given the choice of studying their own society or a more exotic one, the higher the socio-economic status of the student, the more likely they were to choose an exotic society. Field trips to developing countries, which have the potential to influence the thinking of students and develop their cultural capital, are possible only for students who possess economic capital (Wood, 2014). Moreover, teachers of pupils from poorer backgrounds perceive their pupils to be preoccupied with daily struggles and disinterested in global issues (Goren & Yemini, 2017). However, Osler (2011) suggested that the difference in focus on local versus global issues was related to ability rather than SES. Poorly achieving students concentrated on local issues, whereas higher achievers were exposed to a broader horizon.

Interestingly, more academic and higher SES schools do not necessarily place a greater emphasis on citizenship education than schools less focused on academic outcomes or lower SES schools. Kahne and Sporte (2008) found civic education had relatively poor outcomes in schools where parents were focused on academic success. In addition, teachers of pupils from wealthy backgrounds perceived their students to be apathetic about issues beyond their immediate environment (Goren & Yemini, 2017). However, teachers judged children with high SES more favourably than equally performing students from lower SES (Auwarter & Aruguete, 2008). Moreover, students with high SES were encouraged by their teachers to become active and involved citizens, whereas students from lower SES backgrounds were directed towards passivity and an ambiguous understanding of their rights (Goren & Yemini, 2017). Hoskins and Janmaat (2019) found all children regardless of SES become more politically engaged by citizenship education and especially by an open classroom environment and political activities at school. However, these key promoters of political engagement were not experienced equally by all students. Students from lower SES backgrounds had less exposure to an open climate in classroom discussion and the optional nature of school political activities saw middle class children more likely to put themselves forward for involvement in such activities. As with Goren and Yemini's (2017) findings, higher SES students were more likely to be approached by teachers asking them to participate in school-based political activities.

The factors that positively influence civic participation are both home- and school-related. Tournaki and Podell (2005) found that teachers with high efficacy – namely, a belief in their ability to affect student outcomes – tended not to be negatively influenced by the complexity of characteristics their students brought to the classroom. Sullivan (2001) found no evidence of teachers being prejudiced against working-class pupils because of their lack of cultural capital. However, Hoskins and Janmaat (2019) showed that teachers are more likely to urge students of higher SES to become involved in school-based political activities. Other studies have demonstrated how teachers can influence the type of citizenship education provided, and the teachers' perceptions can in turn be influenced by many factors (Cohen, 2016; Patterson et al., 2012). In addition to noticing coursework mastery and basic skills, teachers judge their students based on their work habits, such as homework, class participation, effort and organisation (Farkas, Grobe, Sheehan & Shuan, 1990).

Different focuses in the type of citizenship education taught show how teachers' perceptions can influence the kind of citizen emerging from different socio-economic backgrounds. The aim of this study was to identify whether differences exist in the teaching of CSPE based on the type of school. It also aimed to discover whether teachers' perceptions of their pupils' cultural capital impact the teaching of CSPE.

4 METHODOLOGY

4.1 Research questions

The following research questions were formulated, based on the research aims and an analysis of the literature relating to citizenship education and cultural capital:

- 1a. Is there a difference in how teachers teach CSPE based on the school's classification?

- 1b. If there is a difference, how can it be described?

- 2a. Do teachers' perceptions of their pupils' cultural capital impact the way in which the teacher teaches CSPE?

- 2b. If so, what is the impact?

For the analysis, the key indicators chosen were DEIS, fee-paying schools and other schools. While DEIS and fee-paying schools did not directly represent SES, the information on pupil background in DEIS schools and the costs associated with attending fee-paying schools provide some indication of the SES of the respective pupils.

4.2 Design of instrument

Data were collected by a self-completion questionnaire. Some of the questions were taken from the International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement (IEA)

International Study of Civic Education Teacher Questionnaire and others were original. Muijs (2004) suggested that a panel of experts is aware of the nuances and the theoretical basis of the questions in a survey. To ensure content validity, the researcher consulted two educational researchers. They suggested that some questions become open-ended to prevent directing respondents to a fixed set of answers and that the Likert scale questions be realigned.

Gillham (2008) stated that an indication of a defective design is several participants having problems with the same question. To avoid this and to check for reliability, the researcher piloted the questionnaire among six teachers. Thereafter, two questions were removed, and one question was rephrased; the other questions remained the same. The final questionnaire comprised 34 items. Five items collected demographic information, 23 items were forced-choice closed questions, and six questions were open-ended. Prior to data collection, ethics approval was sought and was granted in October 2018.

The first section of the questionnaire contained twelve questions designed to measure the CSPE teachers' attitudes to the cultural capital of their pupils. Responses were given on a five-point Likert scale (strongly agree, agree, neither agree nor disagree, disagree and strongly disagree). Two questions were reverse scored to avoid response bias.

The second section of the questionnaire contained eleven questions designed to identify differences among CSPE teachers and schools in the teaching of CSPE based on school classification. One question on action projects was subdivided according to the focus of the project and the type of project.

The final section contained six open-ended questions designed to allow respondents freedom to express their opinions on CSPE. Two questions were phrased with the aim of generating a strong response expressing agreement or disagreement.

4.3 Sampling method and data collection

Quota sampling was used to obtain a sample that reflected CSPE teachers in terms of their relative proportion in the different types of post-primary schools (Bryman, 2016). Quota sampling categorises and numbers the people required in each category so that the researcher can then select people who fit these categories. The quota was derived from the DES 2017/18 statistics (DES, 2018a) and the aim was to capture a sample equivalent to the population in terms of school classification and school gender.

A cover letter was included with the questionnaire, which briefly outlined the purpose of the survey. Respondents' participation was voluntary and all responses were anonymous; respondents' consent was implied through their return of the survey.

The questionnaire was posted to the CSPE coordinator in 40 schools in October 2018, and respondents were asked to return their completed questionnaires within two weeks. Because few teachers responded, the researcher created an online version on Survey Monkey and this version was forwarded by the Association of CSPE Teachers (ACT) to its members. The survey link was emailed to the CSPE coordinator in a further 450 schools chosen to meet quota requirements. The response to the online survey was substantially

higher than for the emailed version. A reminder email was sent after six days, and a second reminder email was sent another six days later.

The order of questions in the paper survey was somewhat different to the online version. Hence, the researcher manually entered all paper survey responses into Survey Monkey to avoid possible errors while inputting information into SPSS and NVivo software.

5   FINDINGS

The findings are presented in three sections: 1) statistical analysis of the attitude scale, 2) statistical analysis of responses to closed questions on teachers' and schools' practice in teaching CSPE and 3) thematic analysis of open-ended questions.

In total, 223 responses were received. Among the respondents, 20.3% (n = 45) were teaching in DEIS schools, 13.5% (n = 30) were teaching in fee-paying schools and 66.2% (n = 147) were teaching in schools that were neither DEIS nor fee-paying, labelled here as other schools. One respondent did not specify their school type. Based on DES statistics (DES, 2018a; DES, 2018b; DES, 2018c) the national breakdown of school types was 26% for DEIS schools, 7% for fee-paying schools and 67% for all other schools. Hence, in the final figures DEIS schools were underrepresented and fee-paying schools were overrepresented.

5.1   Analysis of the attitude scale

All respondents answered each question in this section. Cronbach's alpha in SPSS for the attitude scale was α = .60. This value is indicative of a moderately reliable scale, and as deletion of any items led to little change in the alpha, all items were retained (Hinton, Brownlow, McMurray & Cozens, 2004).

Normality testing of the attitude scale was performed using the Shapiro-Wilk test to determine whether to conduct parametric or non-parametric testing (Field, 2013). The test found a significance level of 0.23, indicating a normal distribution.

The responses to the twelve questions on the attitude scale were analysed by one-way ANOVA. Two attitudes were found to be significant: 1) the difficulty of the language used in CSPE and 2) teachers' view that parents would contact them in relation to CSPE.

One-way analysis of variance was conducted to compare the effect of school classification on the teachers' view that the language used in CSPE can be challenging. School classification was the independent variable (n = 222) and included three groups: DEIS (M = 2.38, SD = 0.91, n = 45), fee-paying (M = 3.43, SD = 0.90, n = 30) and other (M = 2.92, SD = 1.00, n = 147). The assumption of homogeneity of variance was tested and found tenable using Levene's test. The ANOVA results were significant, f(2, 219) = 11.09, p = .00. Post hoc comparisons using the Tukey HSD test indicated that the mean scores of the three school types differed significantly. The effect size was calculated using $\omega^2 = \frac{SS_M - (df_M)MS_R}{SS_T + MS_R}$, with ω^2 = 0.08, which Field (2013) suggested is a modest effect. Tables 2 and 3 outline these results.

Table 2. Descriptive statistics: challenging language in CSPE

School type	N	Mean	SD	Standard error
DEIS	45	2.38	.91	.14
Fee-paying	30	3.43	.90	.16
Other	147	2.92	1.0	.08

Table 3. One way ANOVA on the measure of challenging language in CSPE

Source	df	SS	MS	F	P
Between groups	2	20.75	10.38	11.09	.00
Within groups	219	204.97	.94		
Total	221	225.72			

One-way analysis of variance was conducted to compare the effect of school classification on teachers' beliefs that parents would contact them if they had questions about CSPE. School classification was the independent variable (n = 222) and included three groups: DEIS (M = 2, SD = 1.07, n = 45), fee-paying (M = 2.57, SD = 1.43, n = 30) and other (M = 2.5, SD = 1.25, n = 147). The data were normally distributed and the assumption of homogeneity of variances was tested based on the mean; the results found the assumption untenable using Levene's Test F(2, 219) = 4.97, p = .01. With an alpha level of .05, p .01 < α .05.

Robust tests of the equality of means were conducted using the Welch test, F(2, 64.75) = 3.8 with an alpha level of .05, p = .03 < .05. The effect size was calculated using ω2 = $\frac{df_{bet}(F-1)}{df_{bet}(F-1)+N_T}$, ω2 = .02, which Field (2013) classified as a small effect. Post hoc comparisons were conducted using the Games-Howell test to determine whether the mean for school type differed significantly. The results indicated that DEIS schools differed significantly from other schools. There was no significant difference between fee-paying and other schools or between fee-paying and DEIS schools. Tables 4 and 5 outline these results.

Table 4. Means and standard deviation on the measure of parental contact

School type	N	Mean	SD	Standard error
DEIS	45	2.00	1.07	.16
Fee-paying	30	2.57	1.43	.26
Other	147	2.50	1.25	.10

Table 5. Robust test of equality of means on the measure of parental contact

Source	Statistic	df1	df2	P
Welch	3.8	2	64.75	.03

5.2   Statistical analysis of teachers' and schools' practice in teaching CSPE

Twelve chi-square tests of independence were performed to assess the relationship between teacher and school practice and school type. The following five tests showed significant associations.

The relation between the setting where students learned the most about society and school type was significant, χ2 (6, 220) = 4.04, p = .04. In fee-paying schools, the role of the school was less important than expected, with only 16.7% of teachers in these schools believing that students learned about society from their schools. The teachers saw home and television as equally likely to provide that information. By contrast, in DEIS schools (42%) and other schools (44%), many teachers believed that students learned more from school.

The relation between the choice of guest speaker and school type was significant, χ2 (6, 213) = 7.75, p = .01. In DEIS schools, the choice of guest speaker was significantly less likely to be made by the students 11.9% (n = 5) than in the 'other' school category 35% (n = 50) or fee-paying schools 39% (n = 11). In DEIS schools, the decision was more likely to be made by the teacher 61.9% (n = 26) compared to 32.1% (n = 9) in fee-paying schools and 47.6% (n = 68) in other schools.

The relation between the level of help provided at home and school type was significant, χ2 (6, 217) = 8.63, p = .00. In DEIS schools, respondents were more likely to report that no help was given to students at home 58% (n = 26), compared with 28% (n = 8) in fee-paying schools and 36.7% (n = 51) in other schools.

The relation between the most effective teaching aids used and school type was significant, χ2 (6, 217) = 4.58, p = .03. In DEIS schools the use of popular artists was significantly more likely, whereas in fee-paying schools it was significantly less likely to be used. In DEIS schools, 27% (n = 12) of teachers used popular artists compared to 3.4% (n = 1) in fee-paying schools. The figure was 12.6% (n = 18) in other schools. Documentaries were commonly used in all categories, DEIS 56% (n = 25), other 70% (n = 100), but were particularly favoured by teachers in fee-paying schools, 83% (n = 24).

The relation between an international development project and school type was significant, χ2 (2, 216) = 10.86, p = .00. In fee-paying schools, a link to an international development project was significantly more likely to exist, at 57% (n = 17), compared to 20% (n = 9) in DEIS schools and 31.6% (n = 45) in other schools.

The emphasis on local issues was high in DEIS schools at 31% (n = 14), and the primary focus in fee-paying schools was national issues at 45% (n = 13). Global issues were the most evenly distributed, with DEIS 29% (n = 13), fee-paying 31%. (n = 9) and other 32%, (n = 47). No statistically significant difference was found in the emphasis on local, national or global issues. Table 6 lists the significant results.

Table 6. Chi square test results

School type	Where students learn most about society			
	School (%)	Internet (%)	Television (%)	Home (%)
DEIS	42.2	44.5	2.2	11.1
Fee-paying	16.7	50	16.7	16.7
Other	44.1	43.5	4.1	8.3

$\chi2$ (6, 220) = 4.04, p = .04

School type	Guest speaker selection			
	Teacher (%)	School (%)	Students (%)	Parents (%)
DEIS	61.9	23.8	11.9	2.4
Fee-paying	32.1	25	39.3	3.6
Other	47.6	17.5	35	0

$\chi2$ (6, 213) = 7.75, p = .01

School type	Level of help provided from home			
	None (%)	Little (%)	A lot (%)	Too much (%)
DEIS	57.8	35.6	6.7	0
Fee-paying	27.6	55.2	13.8	3.4
Other	35.7	56.7	7	.7

$\chi2$ (6, 217) = 8.63, p = .00

School type	Most effective areas to help teaching			
	None of these (%)	Popular artists (%)	Serious artists (%)	Documentaries (%)
DEIS	15.6	26.7	2.2	55.6
Fee-paying	10.3	3.4	3.4	82.8
Other	16.8	12.6	.7	69.9

$\chi2$ (6, 217) = 4.58, p = .03

School type	School link to an international development project	
	Yes (%)	No (%)
DEIS	20	80
Fee-paying	56.7	43.3
Other	32	68

$\chi2$ (2, 216) = 10.86, p = .00

5.3   Thematic analysis

The thematic analysis of responses to the open-ended questions was aimed at an understanding of the differences outlined in the statistical analysis. Furthermore, it distinguished other differences in emphasis not evident in the statistical tests. In the survey, 206 respondents answered the six open-ended questions. The level of detail in

their responses varied considerably, from highly developed to brief but informative. There were also some single-word responses that provided little valuable information; these single-word responses (such as yes, no, agree or disagree) were excluded. All other responses were analysed using thematic analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2006).

The researcher developed seven initial themes and following a review and rereading of the data merged some of these themes. Three principal themes became evident: 1) the challenges of teaching CSPE, 2) social responsibility and 3) politics. Several sub-themes were also identified within these three areas.

The themes were analysed for the three categories of DEIS, fee-paying schools and other schools. Each theme featured across the three school types analysed. Figure 1 demonstrates the frequency of coding of these three themes.

Figure 1. Pie chart of the frequency of coding of the three principal themes
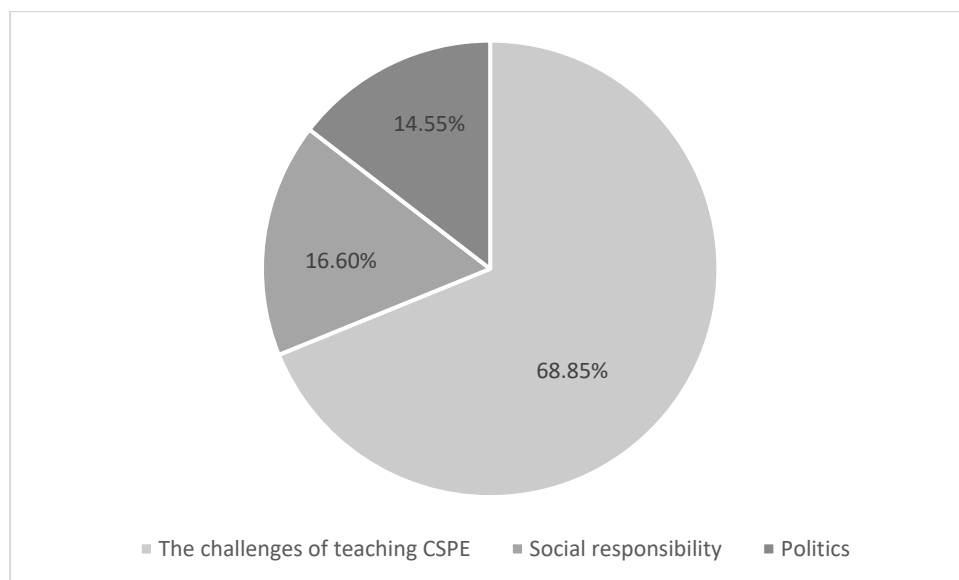
5.3.1   **The challenges of teaching CSPE**

The main theme across all school types was the challenges of teaching CSPE. Five sub-themes were identified regarding this topic: the low status accorded to CSPE, relevance, students' limited knowledge outside school, lack of resources and sensitive issues. Low status and relevance were the dominant sub-themes.

Only one subtheme, limited knowledge from outside school, showed a marked difference according to school type. This sub-theme was evident mainly in DEIS schools, where it was referenced more than in both fee-paying and other schools. Examples of responses from teachers in DEIS schools included the following:

> I do not think my pupils hear much about citizenship outside school. When they
> do discuss issues, they are often poorly informed or informed incorrectly.

> School is often one of the few experiences that youth have whereby they can safely explore attitudes and opinions. School environment is vital to encourage and support healthy, respectful debate on such a wide range of topics.

> [They] have a view that is biased [by what they hear at home and in the media] … need to make informed opinions when talking about politics.

Teachers in fee-paying schools emphasised how students viewed school as a site of academic achievement rather than for learning about citizenship. The latter role was likely to be seen as more relevant to the home. The following response is an example of such a view:

> Such limited class time and poor attitudes. It is seen as something that can be done outside school, unlike maths or science. The home is seen as the key place to earn about politics and society.

In other schools, there was little emphasis on knowledge being absent from the home. Instead, there was a strong emphasis on the lack of reading and an excessive influence of social media. One such response was as follows:

> In my experience, students are not particularly well-read or informed about wider societal issues. Watching the news, reading the newspapers, listening to the radio are not the norm. Therefore, as teachers we are starting from a low base of awareness – trying to develop that, looking at issues from many angles of repose, developing a criticality. To be in a position to express an informed opinion, students need to be in full possession of the facts, from every side, and often we begin in class from the lowest rung of the ladder. My biggest wish for students is that they would be readers, and in tune with societal issues – that is not coming from Facebook, Instagram, Snapchat.

> Schools are very important for educating students on matters of citizenship. A lot of students would not have these conversations at home or have internet access to research this information. … [Schools] are often the only place where students get neutral and informed advice.

In all cases, teachers viewed the school's role as important for promoting citizenship education; however, the challenges this role posed were clear. In DEIS schools, the lack of knowledge or incorrect information were the principal challenges; in fee-paying schools, the main challenge was that citizenship education was not seen by parents as worthwhile, unlike academic subjects. In the other schools, teachers identified the need to overcome the distractions of social media and the lack of regular reading and discussions on topical issues.

5.3.2   Social responsibility

The second theme identified was social responsibility. This theme included four sub-themes: social awareness, citizenship, rights and responsibilities. Social awareness

focused on being aware of disadvantage, taking action and having an impact on the community. Citizenship was distinguished from social awareness as it concentrated on being a good citizen and contributing to society; the focus here was less on being informed or aware of problems or taking action. The subthemes of responsibilities and rights were not as frequently referenced.

This theme was especially evident in fee-paying schools. There was an emphasis on teaching students about their social responsibilities and raising their awareness of disadvantage and social problems. Respondents from fee-paying schools were four times more likely to reference social awareness than respondents in DEIS schools and more than twice as likely as respondents in other schools. Examples of responses by teachers in fee-paying schools included:

> [The main purpose of CSPE is] for students to become well informed with regard to current affairs, aware of disadvantage, to encourage students to become more responsible, and to be more actively involved in their communities.

> Facilitating the students to become more socially aware individuals who are actively engaged in politics and other civic activities in their communities.

> To turn students into being socially aware politically and civically responsible and active members of their communities.

In DEIS schools, greater emphasis was placed on citizenship, students using their knowledge and grounding their citizenship in the local community. An example included the following response from a teacher in a DEIS school:

> I try to encourage students to bring their knowledge home and help their family of voting age to make informed decisions.

Rights did not feature as frequently as responsibilities. Nonetheless, responsibilities were referenced twice as often in DEIS schools compared to fee-paying and other school types.

5.3.3   Politics

Politics was the third theme to be identified. There were seven sub-themes in this topic: voting and elections, political structures, global, local, national, student voice and law.

Political structures referred to politicians, political institutions and leading change, whereas voting and elections emphasised having one's voice heard. The US and Irish presidential elections were frequently cited as examples of topics that generated interest among pupils, across all school types. In some cases, the emphasis was on promoting participation in voting, whereas in other cases it referred to accessing political power.

Only two sub-themes showed notable differences. Teachers in fee-paying schools tended to emphasise political structures, debate and knowing how to access political structures and how they can be used to gain power. Political structures were referenced

about four times more among teachers in fee-paying schools than teachers in the two other school types. Sample responses from teachers in fee-paying schools included:

> CSPE when properly taught uses debates and provides differing positions on national and international issues.

> To teach about citizenship and politics, to understand how decisions are made and how people gain power ... teach about political systems, human rights, voting, stewardship. To educate the students for global citizenship and to take their place in society with the skills and knowledge to lead change and development where it needs to happen.

In DEIS schools, emphasis was placed on teaching the students how to vote and participate in elections. Several respondents mentioned registering students to vote and taking them to vote. Given the age profile of CSPE students, it is probable that these respondents were referring to older students in their schools. Such responses were not evident for any other school types. Sample responses from teachers in DEIS schools included the following:

> [Students have] little interest in politics. They are interested in the voting process when they can visit polling station, seeing voting in action. When possible, I take my students with me when I cast my vote at local polling station.

> We help students register to vote and stress the importance of full participation in society through voting.

In DEIS schools, there was evidence of exclusion from power structures. The following response provides an example:

> My students know nothing about politics [;] it is very removed from their everyday lives. They don't know politicians and rarely see them ... government structures [are] beyond the interest and comprehension of my students.

6   DISCUSSION

The findings highlighted some differences in teachers' approaches to teaching CSPE across DEIS and fee-paying schools. For the 'other' school type, there were fewer differences. The following discussion focuses on how these differences manifested and what they mean for the teaching of CSPE in DEIS schools and fee-paying schools. The teaching of CSPE as a subject is also explored in light of the findings.

6.1   Teaching CSPE in DEIS schools

In this study, CSPE teachers in DEIS schools tended to identify issues related to their perceptions of students' low levels of cultural capital, and these teachers' often focused on overcoming this challenge. Reay (2008) noted that neo-liberalism obliges parents to

participate in the education of the student; however, this presupposes that all parents can contribute equally to their children's education. Respondents in DEIS schools reported that students received no help from home twice as often as did teachers in fee-paying schools.

Responses by teachers in DEIS schools mentioning the challenging language used in teaching CSPE supports Bourdieu and Passeron (1977). The teachers' response to the language challenge seems to be prioritising the practical elements of politics, such as registering to vote and the voting process. They do not appear to emphasise political structures, perhaps because these structures are unfamiliar to their students. In addition, teachers in DEIS schools opt to use popular artists in teaching the subject. Using material that is accessible to students, practical and not based in complex language or abstraction may make CSPE easier for students to relate to.

31% of CSPE teachers in DEIS schools concentrated on local issues, compared with only 10% in fee-paying schools and 15% in other schools. This finding supports Wood's (2014) findings; however, the differences were not statistically significant. Although students in DEIS schools were less likely to experience international development projects, which have the potential to develop participatory citizenship, there was no difference between schools in reference to a global focus.

The choice of guest speaker was significantly more likely to be made by the teacher in DEIS schools. Some respondents noted that students do not know people in leadership roles, indicating that this lack of awareness obliges the teacher to choose speakers. Teachers in DEIS schools placed greater focus on being an active and responsible citizen. This finding supports Cohen's (2016) statement that teachers of pupils from lower socio-economic backgrounds concentrated on personally responsible citizenship. While this focus may be related to cultural capital, personally responsible citizenship on its own restricts students' ability to participate and fosters a passive view of citizenship.

6.2   Teaching CSPE in fee-paying schools

Students in fee-paying schools often had help from their parents and their linguistic ability was less likely to be a challenge. Analysis of teachers' practices showed that only 17% of teachers in fee-paying schools believed their students learned most about what happens in society in school. In fee-paying schools, the opportunity to become involved in projects that favour a participatory approach to citizenship – such as an international development project – was three times more likely than in DEIS schools. Wood (2014) noted how such projects help develop social responsibility, but economic capital is required to participate in these trips given the financial cost involved. This favours students from higher SES backgrounds over those coming from lower SES backgrounds. These projects also provide students with experience of organising fundraising and raise awareness of disadvantage in the world. In the responses to open-ended questions, no respondent mentioned the capacity of these projects to further students' social conscience, even though such projects were undertaken in almost 60% of the schools concerned. The suggestions for promoting

social awareness were instead locally based and referred to making the students aware of disadvantage around them.

The emphasis on social awareness may indicate a belief amongst CSPE teachers that students in fee-paying schools need exposure to the disadvantages and lack of power other people face. However, this point must be balanced with Courtois's (2018) finding that a culture of social responsibility and charity is promoted in fee-paying schools; furthermore, it has other benefits – such as providing leadership roles, building social capital, improving students' CVs and making them aware of their privilege. This also supports Hoskins and Janmaat's (2019) finding that students from higher SES backgrounds have more exposure to such activities in schools.

In fee-paying schools, there was a suggestion that citizenship was viewed by parents as an area where the family, not the school, educates the children. This indicates that parental interest in fee-paying schools is focused primarily on academic subjects. The wide use of documentaries by teachers in fee-paying schools suggests that these teachers employed teaching aids that were considered academic. The reticence to use popular artists in teaching may be linked to a perceived need to promote CSPE in an academic light.

Bourdieu and Passeron (1979) and Wood (2014) found a strong interest in global issues amongst students from higher SES backgrounds; this interest was facilitated in fee-paying schools with international development projects. By contrast, Goran and Yemini (2017) found pupils from wealthy backgrounds were apathetic to global issues because they were exposed to these in the home. The current findings indicate that global issues were taught at similar levels across all school types. However, a focus on national issues was dominant in fee-paying schools, possibly because power resides at the level of national government.

Pupils in fee-paying schools have greater input in selecting guest speakers. This provides them with more opportunities to develop skills associated with participatory citizenship; it also indicates the teachers' confidence in their students. This result supports Auwarter and Agruete's (2008) findings that teachers had high expectations of students from high socio-economic backgrounds. The participatory role for students in fee-paying schools may be linked to these students' familiarity with school life and their confidence and skill in interacting with their teachers, qualities that are linked to possessing cultural capital suited to school life. These findings also support Cohen (2016), who indicated that teachers in high-SES schools are likely to teach participatory citizenship.

Similar to teachers in DEIS schools, the teachers in fee-paying schools focused on what they believed students need to know. The emphasis on political structures and social responsibility in fee-paying schools indicates a belief amongst the teachers that these students need to be prepared for the influential positions they will have in society. Hence, the teachers strive to develop the students' social awareness.

6.3 Types of citizenship education in CSPE

It is unreasonable to expect that the education system and teachers can overcome the disadvantages inherent in society (Biesta and Lawy, 2006; Cahill, 2020). However, in line with Tournaki and Podell's (2005) findings, many respondents believed they could influence their students' outcomes and were unlikely to be limited by pupils' backgrounds. This sentiment is evident when teachers in DEIS schools take their students to vote and encourage them and their families to vote. Similarly, there was a perception among teachers in fee-paying schools that active participation, social awareness and awareness of disadvantage were key outcomes of CSPE teaching and that these students might otherwise not be exposed to social responsibility.

In line with Cohen's (2016) findings, the type of citizenship taught appeared to differ according to school type. These differences seemed to stem from the teachers' perceptions of their students' cultural capital. CSPE teaching has been shown to be aligned to participatory citizenship (Cosgrove et al., 2011; Reichert & Torney-Purta, 2019). In this study, personally responsible and participatory approaches to citizenship education were both evident. The former was evident in the emphasis on voting, the focus on local issues and promoting responsibilities. The latter was evident in areas such as international development projects and student participation in decision-making. Social awareness, however, was more aligned to the participatory model than the justice-oriented model. There was little evidence of organising petitions, writing letters or examining the root causes of problems. Dobson's (2005) emphasis on justice rather than morality was not supported by the current findings.

There is undoubtedly a continuum between personally responsible and participatory citizenship, However, the teaching of CSPE is closer to the participatory model in fee-paying schools, whereas there is a greater focus on personally responsible citizenship in DEIS schools. These findings appear to be related to how CSPE teachers in different school types use the subject either to counteract a lack of cultural capital or to further develop cultural capital by including social awareness. This scenario has implications for what CSPE teaches and how the subject is taught.

Westheimer and Kahne (2004) outlined the shortcomings of personally responsible citizenship. However, participatory citizenship also has limitations, as it presupposes that all students' experiences of citizenship are the same and does not account for cultural capital. Participatory citizenship does not examine the causes of problems or challenge those causes. The limitations of this type of citizenship are clear in Gillborn's (2006) argument that citizenship education that focuses on neutrality and consensualism may give an impression of serving a useful purpose, but it cannot challenge the causes of inequality. Individual teachers operate in settings where they endeavour to overcome cultural capital differences. However, it is difficult to overcome these differences without a justice-focused citizenship programme and targeted teacher training. Hence, the type of citizenship education that teachers provide is influenced by their efforts to adapt the course to suit the students they teach.

Kemmis, Cole and Suggett (1983) cautioned that in providing students with one kind of experience rather than another, schools can either reproduce or transform society. The findings suggest that the current provision in CSPE seems likely to reproduce society. In contrast, a justice-oriented citizenship education programme could offer students a means of moving beyond social awareness to questioning the causes of inequality and taking actions to address them. Moreover, it would benefit students who have less cultural capital by providing them with the skills and knowledge to demand change. Focused citizenship education programmes with an emphasis on justice can deliver benefits to all students (Kahne & Sporte, 2008). However, such a programme would need to consider Swalwell's (2013) findings that simply teaching students justice-oriented citizenship does not mean that the outcome will be justice-oriented citizens.

6.4   Limitations of the study

The sampling method was quota-based, which meant that fee-paying schools were overrepresented and DEIS schools were underrepresented. A random sampling procedure would have provided greater external validity and yielded more generalisable findings (Buckingham & Saunders, 2004). Furthermore, although the social profile of pupils in DEIS schools and the cost of fees in fee-paying schools gave indications of the students' SES backgrounds, they were not direct measures of SES. Parental income or parents' educational backgrounds would be more direct measures of SES.

Finally, the results reflected the respondents' espoused practices. Hence, the findings may differ from their actual practices, which could only be measured by observation-based research, not by asking (Argyris & Schön, 1974). In addition, although the open-ended questions provided valuable insights, qualitative interviews were not conducted. Such interviews would have allowed for detailed probing of respondents' answers.

7   CONCLUSION

This study aimed to identify differences in the teaching of CSPE in different school types. It also aimed to see whether teachers' perceptions of their students' cultural capital impact what they teach and if so how. Pupils' cultural capital was categorised according to the type of school they attended – whether DEIS, fee-paying or 'other'. In DEIS schools, there is a strong focus on personal responsibility, practical skills, learning how to vote and concentrating on local issues; students are not highly involved in decision-making in class. CSPE teachers in DEIS schools aim to make the subject relevant to their pupils, and circumstances such as the school culture and students' backgrounds affect this goal. Many teachers actively promote voting and expose their pupils to topics they may not otherwise be aware of.

In fee-paying schools, students learn about national issues, political structures and how to be participative citizens. They are given input in decision-making and have opportunities to engage in international development projects. This is supplemented by

parental knowledge and input in their education. However, parents might not view citizenship education as important, which means that the teachers must promote these areas. Moreover, there is little reference to justice-orientated citizenship. The focus is on an awareness of disadvantage rather than examining the causes and challenging them.

Bourdieu's view of schools reproducing the social hierarchy seems borne out. CSPE teachers emphasise both personally responsible and participative citizenship. The findings indicated that the former stance was more prevalent in DEIS schools, whereas the participative approach prevailed in fee-paying schools. Elements of both personally responsible and participatory citizenship are beneficial. However, justice-oriented citizenship may offer the best potential to overcome some of the shortcomings identified in this study.

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