Legitimacy and the Contingent Diffusion of World Culture: Diversity and Human Rights in Social Science Textbooks, Divergent Cross-national Patterns (1970–2008)[1]

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Abstract. Over the 20th century the celebration of both human rights and the rights of diverse minorities have become central features of an emerging world culture. Using multilevel modeling I empirically test whether nation-state legitimacy, measured on security, political, and cultural dimensions, influences emphases on diversity and human rights in national curricula. The data consist of 501 high school history, civics, and social studies textbooks from 67 countries published between 1970–2008. I find that discussions of human rights are on the rise in all countries, particularly in less legitimate ones. In contrast, discussions of the rights of diverse groups are lower in less legitimate countries. These findings provide a more nuanced understanding of the relationship between globalization and education; the spread of world culture is mediated by both the nature of the element being diffused, in this case diversity or human rights, and nation-state legitimacy.

Keywords: neoinstitutional theory, world culture, diffusion, human rights, minority rights, education

Résumé. Au cours du vingtième siècle, la célébration des droits de la personne et des droits de diverses minorités est devenue le centre primordial d'une culture

mondiale émergente. En utilisant un modèle à plusieurs niveaux, je fais un test empirique pour déterminer si la légitimité nation État, mesurée à partir de dimensions politiques, culturelles et de sécurité, influence l'importance de la diversité sur les droits de la personne dans le programme national. Les données consistent en 501 manuels d'histoire, d'éducation civique et d'études sociales au niveau secondaire provenant de 67 pays et publiés entre 1970 et 2008. J'ai constaté que les discussions sur les droits de la personne prennent de l'importance dans tous les pays, surtout dans les moins légitimes. Par ailleurs, les discussions sur les droits des minorités sont moins fréquentes dans les pays légitimes. Ces conclusions permettent de mieux comprendre la relation mondialisation et éducation. La propagation de la culture mondiale est légèrement modifiée à la fois par la nature de l'élément diffusé, en l'occurrence la diversité ou les droits de la personne et la légitimité de la nation État.

Mots clés: théorie néo-institutionnelle, culture mondiale, diffusion, droits de la personne, droits de minorités, education

Over the course of the 20th century, a world culture celebrating the principles of human diversity and equality has emerged, shaping much state action. Immediately following World War II, for instance, a nascent international human rights regime took form through the United Nations system and Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR). In subsequent decades other international treaties and organizations, aimed at protecting a diverse range of vulnerable social groups, such as indigenous peoples and refugees, arose, especially following the collapse of the Soviet Union and associated increases in intrastate conflict. Today, principles promoting human diversity and universal equality are enshrined in world culture and research has documented their diffusion into countries around the world. A dominant explanation is that nation-states seek to conform to world models to enhance their legitimacy. Existing studies focus on linkage as the primary explanation for varied diffusion patterns, and tend to treat all countries as equally legitimate units. In practice, however, nation-states vary on multiple dimensions of legitimacy, which may shape diffusion patterns net of ties to world culture. Further, there are contradictory and inconsistent elements of world culture, some of which may be more sensitive to nation-state legitimacy than others. This paper examines how the legitimacy of nation-states, measured on security, political, and cultural dimensions, mediates the diffusion of world cultural emphases on diversity and human rights in history, civics, and social studies textbooks worldwide.

Specifically, I analyze the content of history, civics, and social studies education textbooks to assess the extent to which they emphasize two outcomes — human rights and an index of the rights of a diverse range of historically disadvantaged groups (including racial or ethnic minorities,

indigenous groups, and immigrants or refugees). For the purposes of this paper, discussions of the rights of these historically marginalized and vulnerable social groups are collectively referred to as diversity rights. The sample consists of 501 high school civics, history, and social studies textbooks from 67 countries published between 1970–2008. Using the tool of hierarchical linear modeling, I address two related questions: (1) How is the legitimacy of a nation-state, measured on security, political, and cultural dimensions, related to emphases on human rights and diversity rights in textbooks? (2) To what extent do human rights and diversity rights emphases follow similar diffusion trajectories worldwide?

BACKGROUND
The Rise of Human Rights and Diversity Rights in World Culture

The post-World War II period is marked by the expansion of international and national legal and political reforms that signal an emphasis on respect for diversity and equality, and an increasing recognition of a burgeoning array of rights. The United Nations, for example, was established "to reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person, in the equal rights of men and women and of nations large and small" (United Nations Charter 1945). Dozens of regional and international treaties related to the protection of human rights and the rights of diverse groups have been adopted, such as the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination in 1995 and the Declaration on the Rights of Persons Belonging to National or Ethnic, Religious and Linguistic Minorities in 1992. Country ratifications of these international instruments have increased since World War II (e.g., Cole 2005 for human rights covenants; Wotipka and Ramirez 2008 for the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women; Abu-Sharkh 2002 for child labour). Often these international conventions call for legal, political, and social changes within countries, such as the establishment of national human rights institutions, which were established in 70% of countries in the world by 2004 (Koo and Ramirez 2009). A number of studies document national level changes that stem from the emergence of human rights and diversity in world culture, such as the expansion of female suffrage (Ramirez et al. 1997), indigenous colleges (Cole 2006), and criminal regulation of sex (Frank and McEneaney 1999; Frank et al. 2010).

The globalization and expansion of rights to a range of historically disadvantaged groups follows a long historical trajectory, and the causes of this process stem from multiple, overlapping influences. World War II established a precedent of intervention in cases of egregious human

rights violations into the sovereign affairs of another nation, elevating rights to a matter of international rather than solely national concern (Donnelly 1992; Levy and Sznaider 2004).[2] In addition, nationalism, which was thought to have contributed to the War, was largely delegitimized (Kaplan 2006) and replaced by a newly created international regime emphasizing global solidarity (such as the United Nations system), which further weakened the idea of absolute sovereignty of the nation-state. More recent pressures of neoliberalism also act to hollow out the state and contribute to convergence in civic education curricula, as Scheutze et al. (2011) describe for Canadian provinces. The construction of a supra-national rights regime and weakening charismatic authority of nation-states play a large role in changing cultural conceptions of citizenship, the limits of acceptable nation-state behaviour, and the status of the individual in countries around the world (Skrentny 2002).

Human and Diversity Rights in Civic Education

A number of recent studies indicate that the traditional model of civic education is changing in response to increasing global attention to human equality and diversity. Schools historically emerged as a key mechanism for aligning nation and state, in accordance with the ideal model of a nation-state. Education systems were intended to create a unitary nation within the territorial boundaries of a state (Bendix 1964; Donald 1985; Tyack 1974), and they are often envisioned with this function today. Traditionally, civic education was designed to create a group of culturally homogenous citizens participating in, and loyal to, a polity with distinct national boundaries (Anderson 1991; FitzGerald 1979; Moreau 2004). Classic citizenship courses trained students in the structure of government, taught about the obligations of citizens, and transmitted areas of national pride and culture. In this view, the ideal citizenry shares a common value system and history and the purpose of citizenship education is to incorporate all citizens without special group distinctions. Given the status of schools as a site for socializing future generations,

2. The principles of universal equality and protection of vulnerable minority groups, now global phenomena, stem from the Western liberal democratic tradition (Macedo 2000; Freeman 2011; Woodiwiss 2002). But it is both historically incorrect and an overstatement of Western commitment to human and diversity rights to view the rise of these concepts at the international level as straightforwardly "imposed" by Western countries (Freeman 2011; Morsink 1999). For instance, numerous items in the Declaration of Human Rights, most notably economic and social rights, were promoted by non-Western countries and included despite the misgivings of Anglo-American countries (Freeman 2011:41). Elliott (2007) provides an excellent overview of the evolutionary, interest-based, and cultural explanations for the worldwide spread of human rights. Regardless of the causal factors one envisions as leading to the institutionalization of human rights and the rights of diverse groups in world culture, in the modern period these conceptions are well-established international norms.

many battles over human rights and diversity are situated in educational policies and curricula. For example, there have been conflicts over language education in Canada, whether to recite the Pledge of Allegiance in US schools, the banning of headscarves in French schools, and street protests in Japan in reaction to history textbook revisions.

Starting in the 1970s, the human rights movement broadened from a legal focus to become a central theme in schooling (Eide and Thee 1983; Ramirez et al. 2006; Tarrow 1992; Torney-Purta 1987). For instance, the United Nations General Assembly, in December 1994, established a United Nations Decade for Human Rights Education to take place from 1995 through 2004 (United Nations 1998). Since then, schools and teacher education increasingly highlight international human rights (Osler and Starkey 1994, 1996, 2004; Suárez et al. 2009) and children are expected to know, and be active promoters of, their rights and the rights of others (Andreopoulos and Claude 1997; Suárez 2007). Relatedly, Mintrop (2003) shows the emergence of new forms of civic education that emphasize social movements, rights discourse, and critical thinking, using achievement data from 28 mainly European countries gathered by Torney-Purta et al. (2001). Additionally, a large body of literature concerned with "multicultural education" is emerging to promote both content knowledge and the empowerment of students to work against social injustice, typically understood as marginalization or discrimination against historically disadvantaged groups such as women, children, gays or lesbians, and racial, ethnic, linguistic, or religious minorities (e.g., Banks and Banks 2004). Clearly, civic education is changing, but how much emphasis on diversity and human rights is incorporated into curricula worldwide? Are the changes more striking in some countries than others?

Contradictions between Human Rights and Diversity Rights

There are some important differences between globalized conceptions of human rights and diversity that may shape their diffusion into national curricula. These concepts share a number of features: they have become similarly central components of contemporary world society; they represent a shift away from traditional ideas of rights as embedded in a relation between citizens and states; and they stem from a common Western cultural and political tradition. They have one fundamental difference. Human rights claim universal equality for all persons, while diversity rights promote special recognition of distinct, heterogeneous groups in society.[3]

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3. Within the human rights community the differences between various types of rights are expressed as conflicts between "third generation" group and cultural rights (the rights of many minorities), "second generation" economic and social rights (mainly "positive" entitlements to individuals from the state), and "first generation" political and civil rights (mainly "negative" individual freedoms from state abuse) (see, for ex-

Political theorists emphasize the elemental differences between principles of equality and diversity. Kymlicka (1995:18), for example, provides numerous examples illustrating that "existing human rights standards are simply unable to resolve the most important and controversial questions relating to cultural minorities." For example, should students be free to follow their own cultural traditions in schools (such as wearing a headscarf in France or carrying a ceremonial dagger in Canada)? Should taxpayer-funded education be provided for ethnic minorities to be taught in their own language or used to support or inhibit particular cultural or religious views (such as requiring students to recite the Pledge of Allegiance or learn theories of creation or evolution in US schools)? How much should new immigrants be required to learn of a national language or culture, and how should public funds be allocated to the education of legal or illegal noncitizens? Should homosexuality be taught about in schools? In many cases, the principles of human rights do not offer clear answers as to how nation-states should resolve controversial questions about diversity rights. Furthermore, diversity rights are less universal than human rights and they pose a more direct challenge to ideas of nation-state cohesiveness and sovereignty than human rights.

A tension between diversity and equality at the global level is evident in the earliest days of an international human rights movement. Although fourteen international treaties to guard specific minority groups were in place after the end of World War I, neither the UN Charter nor the UDHR contain special provisions for the protection of minorities (Morsink 1999:1010–1011). An initial draft of the UDHR included an article emphasizing minority rights, but it was intentionally excluded from the final document, and subsequent treaties related to the rights of special groups such as women and minorities were developed independently rather than directly as part of the UDHR.

Conceptions of diversity and human rights are similar in that both aim to provide protections beyond traditional citizenship rights rooted in national sovereignty, but they relate to the principles of citizenship in different ways. Human rights celebrate the universal equality of all persons, challenging the state from above, while the rights of diverse groups emphasize special protections for a subset of persons, potentially undermining national cohesiveness from within. The appropriate prescriptions for achieving social justice through a human rights lens differ from those proffered by a focus on diversity. World society, thus, is filled with "rampant inconsistencies and conflicts" which Meyer et al. (1997:172) argue

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ample, Blau and Moncada 2005). In this paper, I use the term "human rights" to refer to universal rights and "diversity rights" to refer to instances where particular groups are identified by name as having rights (e.g., religious rights, indigenous rights).

is responsible for a great deal of the dynamism and variation we observe worldwide. Despite this initial insight, scholars rarely compare the diffusion patterns of potentially conflicting elements of world society (see Finnemore 1996 for a discussion of institutional neglect of this issue).

ARGUMENTS

Today, the idea that individuals and groups carry certain rights that ought to be respected regardless of national citizenship is institutionalized at the global level, although its instantiation into national polities may vary. These principles, actively promoted by international government and nongovernmental organizations, diffuse to nation-states around the world. World polity scholars argue that countries conform to the principles of world culture to enhance their legitimacy (Meyer et al. 1997). Importantly, conformity is expected to often be symbolic, appearing in formal structures but not reflected in practices on the ground. Thus, actual practices related to human rights or minority rights can be largely disconnected from the discourse in textbooks, which is seen as a symbol with legitimacy-enhancing value. In this vein of research, which builds on organizational institutionalism (Meyer and Rowan 1977), legitimacy has a highly cognitive definition. It refers generally to the extent to which a form is taken for granted or without alternatives (Deephouse and Suchman 2008; DiMaggio and Powell 1991; Meyer and Scott 1983:201). Organizations and countries want to be considered legitimate to enhance survival (often through an increased ability to gain resources), buffer internal operations from external pressures, and provide protection from immediate sanctions if operational shortcomings are revealed (Deephouse and Suchman 2008). At the world level, the nation-state has become the most highly legitimate model. As Meyer et al. (1997:158) describe, "More than 130 new nation-state entities have formed since 1945 … through both selection and adaptation, the [international] system has expanded to something close to universality of the nation-state form." Of all the forms political entities might take, nation-states have become the unit we use to identify most places in the world. The abstract model of the nation-state is deeply institutionalized and legitimate, but concrete countries differ in the extent to which they fulfill various dimensions of "nation-stateness." That is, we can think of nation-states as having varied degrees of legitimacy. These differences are reflected in categories such as "weak," "fragile," "underdeveloped," or "failed" states.

Although nation-state legitimacy is central to world society research, scholars have not yet empirically examined whether variation from the ideal model of a nation-state shapes their likelihood of adopting elements

of world culture. In part, this is because existing theoretical accounts lead to conflicting predictions. For instance, in a discussion of curricular trends, Ramirez and Meyer (2002:17) argue that weaker countries are likely to be "poor at conformity [to world models] but also poor at non-conformity on both cultural and organizational grounds." Countries with more resources, including legitimacy, may have greater ability to resist the pressures of world culture. Weaker, peripheral countries may particularly require external support, while strong, central countries can display distinctiveness. Countries that are already closer to the ideal model of a nation-state are by definition more enmeshed in world society, and thus may adopt emerging elements in world culture more than countries that stray far from the policies and practices of an ideal country. In a study of curricular patterns, Kamens (1992:74) finds that extreme curricular variation occurs only in countries "that can be seen as incomplete nation-states." Two outliers known for their failure to join international treaties aptly illustrate these contradictory propositions; only the US and Somalia have failed to ratify both the Convention on the Rights of the Child and the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW).

I test the extent to which nation-state legitimacy influences the diffusion of two potentially contradictory elements of world culture, emphases on human rights and diversity rights, into civic education curricula. Following Deephouse and Suchman (2008), I conceptualize legitimacy as multidimensional, and here consider three different forms — political, security, and cultural. Country adoptions of human rights and diversity may be conditioned by existing forms and levels of legitimacy, but the expected direction of such interaction effects are unclear and may be tied specifically to the element being adopted. On one hand, countries that score high on many dimensions of the legitimate model of a nation-state might be more linked into the discourse of world society and thus more likely to adopt various elements. On the other hand, countries that diverge from the ideal model of a nation-state might be more likely to adopt elements of world society to compensate for their lesser legitimacy. The nature of the element being diffused might also matter. Human rights and diversity rights are sometimes posed as inconsistent. While human rights are universal, diversity rights emphasize heterogeneity in society, which could be particularly unwelcome in nation-states that already diverge far from the ideal model of a cohesive country. These claims generate sets of competing hypotheses.

Security legitimacy
A central indicator of nation-state legitimacy is the extent to which it violates the physical security of its citizens. Countries can be undemocratic,

but still provide a secure environment for their citizens, as in Singapore. Or they can have a stable political system, but routinely violate their citizens' rights, as in North Korea. In the ideal model of the contemporary nation-state, countries protect the rights of those within their borders and do not commit crimes against them. Greater levels of state-sponsored rights violations, such as torture, unlawful detainment, and murder, are an indication that the government is likely to be viewed as less legitimate among its citizens and by other countries. It is unclear whether perpetrating violence against its citizens would make a state more inclined to pursue symbolic forms of compliance, such as treaty ratification or discourse in textbooks, or less inclined, perhaps because symbolic conformity may provide activists with ammunition to threaten the state. Illegitimate countries may care little for global principles or perceive emphases on human and minority rights as a threat to their regime, which violates such rights. Or, plausibly, countries with more rights violations seek to shore up their status through symbolic adoption of rights discourse although their practices are highly decoupled from their discourse. Stated formally:

(1a) *Rights emphases in textbooks will increase most in countries with greater security legitimacy (fewer state-sponsored human rights violations).*

(1b) *Rights emphases in textbooks will increase most in countries with lesser security legitimacy (more state-sponsored human rights violations).*

Political legitimacy

A second feature that defines whether a country is a highly legitimate nation-state in the contemporary world is its political system. Huntington (1991) describes the great authority of the liberal democratic form as the most legitimate organizing structure for contemporary nation-states, although there are many fragile democracies, such as Myanmar or Iraq, that are nonetheless accepted as independent nation-states. An alternative measure of political legitimacy is rooted in the fragility of a political system, indicated by the number of regime changes (e.g., moving from being an autocracy to a democracy and vice versa), efforts to force unexpected leadership changes (e.g., through coups or assassination attempts), or leadership tenure being unusually short or long. Political fragility, holding constant the level of democracy in a country, is one measure of a country's legitimacy. Perhaps countries with more legitimate political regimes are more aligned with world culture and emphasize rights more, or perhaps these countries have less need to rely on

other elements of world society (such as emphasizing diversity or human rights in textbooks) to shore up their status. That is:

(2a) *Rights emphases in textbooks will increase most in countries with more political legitimacy.*

(2b) *Rights emphases in textbooks will increase most in countries with less political legitimacy.*

Cultural legitimacy

An additional, perhaps older, vision of the ideal of the nation-state is rooted in the idea that territorial boundaries demarcate the lines between peoples (nations) with a shared identity, language, and culture. The governance structure of the state may encompass a primordial ethnic group or the people within its borders may be purposefully, self-consciously constructed into an "imagined community" (Anderson 1991). For instance, Japan is often held up as a state that predominantly encompasses one nation, with a relatively highly homogenous population in terms of ethno-linguistic diversity. In contrast, the borders of many former colonies in sub-Saharan Africa are recognized as being relatively arbitrary in terms of the preexisting territories of ethno-linguistic groups. In many African countries, ethno-linguistic diversity is extremely high, even in comparison to countries with high levels of immigration such as Canada. Thus, cultural cohesiveness within a country represents another vision of the nation-state.

Although there could be many ways to measure cultural cohesion, the most widely available and commonly used indicator is ethno-linguistic diversity. In places with a high proportion of established ethno-linguistic groups the fear, from the state's perspective, is that the "minority might mobilize against the perceived project of nationalization and might seek autonomy or even secession" (Brubaker 1996:58). Beyond the direct threat of separatism, attention to diversity makes it apparent that people who claim to speak for the entire citizenry may, in fact, be from one particular group. In a world where state legitimacy depends on the claim that all citizens are represented, this could be particularly problematic in states with greater diversity. Thus, governments may cling to homogenous models of nationhood not only because they fear secession (or even when they do not fear secession at all), but also because acknowledging diversity undermines their claim to be able to speak for "the people."[4]

Given the lack of alignment between nation and state, these highly diverse countries may be more focused on building a single national identity through schooling. Their multiple, distinct cultural traditions may produce greater fears over national sovereignty and authenticity

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4. I wish to thank an anonymous reviewer for emphasizing this point.

of their imagined nation-state, leading them to place less emphasis on supra-national human rights or the rights of diverse groups. Following the logic above, countries that are a better fit with the ideal model of a nation-state will be more likely to emphasize rights. Stated formally:

(3a) *Rights emphases in textbooks will increase most in countries with greater cultural legitimacy (lower ethno-linguistic diversity).*

The directly contrasting argument is that more diverse countries need to rely more heavily on the principles of world society for their legitimacy because they lack inherent cultural cohesiveness, while those with higher cultural consistency have less need. Thus:

(3b) *Rights emphases in textbooks will increase most in countries with lesser cultural legitimacy (higher ethno-linguistic diversity).*

A fourth argument concerns a possible distinction between the trajectories of human rights and diversity rights. Strang and Meyer (1993:154) suggest that some external elements may be easier to copy than others, and some elements of world cultural models may be more inconsistent with some local contexts. World society research has yet to directly examine why some things might diffuse more easily than others. It is plausible that human rights will spread more easily than diversity rights because it is more abstract and universal. Elliott (2007) describes how all sorts of social issues, such as poverty, the environment, child soldiers, migrant workers, or female circumcision, become framed as human rights. This expansion of the range of things that fall under the frame of human rights means that it is impossible to tell what exactly is meant when one sees the generic term. In addition, emphases on diversity rights contrast with historical legacies that emphasize national similarity in citizenship education. The idea of diversity poses a more fundamental challenge to traditional notions of cohesive nation-statehood and sovereignty than the universalizing discourse of human rights. While one country could separate into a number of countries based on internal cultural differences, there is no precedent for believing that a country will be taken over by a world state. The existential threat posed by the celebration of diversity may be felt more keenly in some contexts than in others. In particular, less legitimate states may be more wary of diversity emphases, while human rights might provide a channel for compensating for these same deviations from the ideal model of nation-stateness. In other words, the diffusion of these two elements of world society may interact with country legitimacy to produce divergent trajectories worldwide. This suggests:

(4a) *Diversity rights emphases in textbooks will increase most in more legitimate states.*

(4b) *Human rights emphases will increase most in less legitimate states.*

Table 1. Summary of Arguments Predicting more Emphases on Rights in Textbooks.

Arguments	(a) More Legitimate, More Rights	(b) Less Legitimate, More Rights
1: Security legitimacy	Rights emphases in textbooks will increase most in countries with more security legitimacy.	Rights emphases in textbooks will increase most in countries with less security legitimacy.
2: Political legitimacy	Rights emphases in textbooks will increase most in countries with more political legitimacy.	Rights emphases in textbooks will increase most in countries with less political legitimacy.
3: Cultural legitimacy	Rights emphases in textbooks will increase most in countries with more cultural legitimacy.	Rights emphases in textbooks will increase most in countries with less cultural legitimacy.
4: Differences for diversity and human rights	Diversity rights will fit the pattern of the (a) hypotheses	Human rights will fit the pattern of the (b) hypotheses

Table 1 provides an overview of these arguments. The (a) hypotheses argue that more legitimate nation-states are more likely to emphasize rights, while the (b) hypotheses predict the opposite, that less legitimate nation-states are more likely to emphasize rights. The fourth argument is not a formal hypothesis, but rather a proposition to be examined by comparing results of models with the two outcomes. It specifies that emphases on diversity rights in textbooks will fit the general pattern of the (a) hypotheses — that more legitimate nation states will focus more on diversity rights, and that emphases on human rights will fit the (b) hypotheses — that less legitimate nation-states will focus more on human rights. Linking literature in world society with political theory that emphasizes difference between human rights and diversity, we might then expect human rights to spread more easily worldwide than diversity rights because they are (a) more abstract and universal, characteristics that are integral to world society and (b) they are more congruent with the ideal model of a nation-state that is highly legitimate in world society (Meyer et al. 1997). By taking a more nuanced approach to understanding the diffusion of world culture, which accounts for the nature of the nation-state and characteristics of the element being diffused, we can begin to reconcile the competing arguments that emerge from existing world society literature.

Data, Measures, and Method
Data

To test these arguments I draw on primary data gathered from high school history, civics, and social studies textbooks. Studying change over time in a large number of education systems is difficult due to the scarcity

of adequate data. Educational enrollment information has been tracked by international bodies for many decades and is widely available, and significant social science research is dedicated to understanding the factors that help children enter and stay in school. Research on the intended content of social science education has received less attention (Meyer et al. 1992).

The limited availability of curricular data is a challenge for research on the intended content of education. Systematic lists of government-recommended textbooks in earlier periods are almost unheard of and outmoded textbooks are difficult to find. The few textbook collections that exist around the world tend to be limited to particular countries or subject areas. The Georg Eckert Institute for International Textbook Research in Braunschweig, Germany is one outstanding exception. The Institute collects social science textbooks from countries around the world and has a library with over 60,000 social science school books published since World War II. It was founded after the Second World War with the explicit aim of reforming social science curricula and textbooks to move them away from the nationalism thought to have generated the tragic global conflicts of the first half of the 20th century.

A multi-year data collection effort by members of Stanford's Comparative Sociology Research Group has resulted in 501 systematically-coded history, civics, and social studies textbooks for 67 countries and territories for the period 1970–2008. Data collection focused on junior and senior secondary texts (those aimed at grades 6–12) and efforts began at the Eckert Institute library, where I spent one summer analyzing books with translators and the help of library staff. Initial sampling focused on finding books from countries that had both history and civics or social studies available at multiple time points (e.g., one history and one civics or social studies text in the 1970s and one of each subject in the 1980s and 1990s), leading to the analysis of over 250 books. In a second phase of selection, gathering additional books from outside of Europe and North America, the research team called on colleagues from around the world to send textbooks from individual countries and purchased textbooks directly through publishers. Thanks to this collaboration the sample size more than doubled and represents a broad range of countries. Appendix A provides a list of the countries covered by this data set, the number of books coded for each country, and the percent of the sample constituted by each country. No single country accounts for more than 6% of the sample.

Textbooks are conceptualized as a vehicle for disseminating and reinforcing dominant cultural norms, sometimes likened to the social function of government policy documents (de Castell et al. 1989). In the

words of Hanna Schissler (1989:81), "in addition to transmitting knowledge, textbooks also seek to anchor the political and social norms of a society. Textbooks convey a global understanding of history and of the rules of society as well as norms of living with other people." Thus, despite cross-national variations in the circumstances of producing textbook content, such as centralization of curricular control or the intricacies of publishing houses, at the global level official textbooks (the type under consideration here) can be seen to serve a similar purpose across the national societies for which they are intended.

The coding was designed to measure human rights and diversity rights emphases, as well as other relevant variables such as subject (history, civics, or social studies) and international orientation. For example, the coding protocol asks whether a book mentions the phrase human rights and, if so, the approximate number of pages dealing with human rights. Another section asks coders whether the book mentions the rights of specific groups including immigrants, ethnic or racial minorities, and indigenous groups. Appendix B shows the relevant excerpts of the coding scheme. On average, roughly an hour per book was needed to code for the variables of interest. In the course of developing the coding scheme and analyzing books, every effort was made to reduce error, including the challenges of translation, by checking inter-rater reliability, searching out fully bilingual translators (most often native speakers of the textbook language pursuing a higher education degree in English), sitting with translators as they code books to answer questions, and reviewing each coding sheet to check for inconsistencies. Most importantly, the questions are factual in nature, not relying on the judgment or content knowledge of coders and translators.

The result of this endeavour is a unique data set, covering a great many more books, countries, and time periods than any previous studies. The latter typically focus on individual country case studies (see Nicholls 2006, or Benavot and Braslavsky 2006, for examples). I can, thus, make many more comparisons across countries and over time than has previously been possible. Of course, there are several obvious limitations to these data. It is not feasible to obtain a comprehensive or random sample of textbooks from each country over time, and it is not plausible to ascertain the extent to which each book is used in the classroom or assess the direct influence of curricula on students for a cross-national, longitudinal sample like this. While my data cover many more countries than any previous data set, they still include less than half of countries of the world today. On one hand, these drawbacks limit the study's generalizability and findings should be interpreted with caution. On the other

hand, at a minimum, the consistent character of results indicates valuable areas for future research.

Dependent Variables

This paper compares cross-national emphases on human rights and diversity rights in textbooks. Both outcomes are standardized by taking the z-score to facilitate comparison. I constructed a diversity rights index from three dichotomous indicators for whether a textbook mentions rights of immigrant groups; indigenous groups; and racial, ethnic, or religious minorities. The three items were combined using a factor analysis of the tetrachoric correlation matrix, which showed high internal consistency as a single factor.[5] The result, once standardized, is a scale with a mean of zero that ranges from -0.62–2.52. A higher score on the diversity rights index indicates a greater number of rights are mentioned, with adjustments for rights that appear together more often.

For the great majority of textbooks that mention diversity rights the purpose is to emphasize equality for historically disadvantaged or marginalized groups. In a few cases, such as discussions of indigenous peoples in Canada, the type of diversity rights mentioned include notions of special rights of a group itself, for instance to land or language, rather than the rights of individuals within the group to have the same rights as all other individuals in society. The point of substantive interest for this paper is not whether the rights of diverse groups are depicted as residing in the group or in individuals, but instead on the extent to which society is depicted as heterogeneous in a modern, rights-bearing sense. This differs from older conceptions of diversity, as an anthropological study of tribes and customs of groups that did not possess rights, and from notions of universal equality through individual rights based on principles of citizenship or human rights.

A few examples from textbooks help illustrate the phenomenon captured by the diversity rights index. For example, in the textbook *Canadian and World Politics* approved for use in Ontario and British Columbia, entire subsections of a chapter focus on the rights of indigenous peoples, women's rights, lesbian and gay rights, and children's rights. Furthermore, the rights of these groups are distinguished from earlier discussions of human rights and individual rights. Another Canadian textbook, *Counterpoints: Exploring Canadian Issues*, discusses how a 1969 policy proposal by Trudeau's liberal government "suggested that

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5. The Kuder-Richardson coefficient of reliability (KR-20) is 0.71, and tetrachoric correlations range from 0.71–0.79. The rotated factor loadings indicated all items loaded heavily onto one underlying factor (with an Eigen value of 2.23) and the other identified factor had an Eigen value of 0.32. The Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin measure of sampling adequacy for the overall scale is 0.74.

Figure 1: Example of High Score on Diversity Rights Index

Source: 2001. Canada. *Counterpoints: Exploring Canadian Issues*. Social studies textbook for Grades 10–12.

Aboriginal peoples should be treated exactly like other citizens. Any special rights they had on the reserves, such as not having to pay income tax, would be abolished" (Cranny and Moles 2001). The book goes on to explain that this was viewed by First Nations "as an attack on their right to maintain their unique identity" (2001:208), and eventually led to legal recognition of Aboriginal rights, as illustrated in Figure 1.

Two other examples illustrate how texts that score low on the diversity rights index may mention the existence of social and cultural differences without an emphasis on equal rights. Figure 2, for instance, is taken from the textbook *Social Studies for Bahamian Secondary Schools* published in 2006. It indicates there are varied religious groups in Baha-

Figure 2. Example of Low Score on Diversity Rights Index

Chapter 1
Introduction to religion

Religious beliefs

In The Bahamas there are a number of religions reflecting the diversity of beliefs, cultures and people now living here.

Most early cultures had a form of religion in which images were important. This cave drawing (highlighted in white) is from the McKay Cave on Crooked Island, and may be of religious significance.

Religion itself is a complex set of beliefs and values that are geared towards moral virtues and the worship of a common god or gods. Since the beginning of humankind, people have always developed ways of attempting to know the unexplained. Most early religious beliefs focused around natural events and the worship of animals or natural forces. The beliefs in which gods and supreme supernatural forces were revealed in human- or animal-like forms are called *polytheistic animism*. Polytheism is the belief in more than one god, and *animism* is the belief that plants and other things in nature have a soul. As religious beliefs became more complex, stories of the origin of the

Source: 2006. Bahamas. *Social Studies for Bahamian Secondary Schools*. Social studies textbook for high school (p. 2).

mian society, but, rather than emphasizing the rights of diverse groups, it depicts these as a backdrop to a cohesive national culture. Cultural differences are discussed in terms of varied religions, food, and/or costumes, but these differences are not linked to contemporary ideas of rights or legislated protection of minority cultures. Later chapters in the book describe shared national holidays, festivals, and heroes, which are depicted as equally relevant to all citizens of the Bahamas.
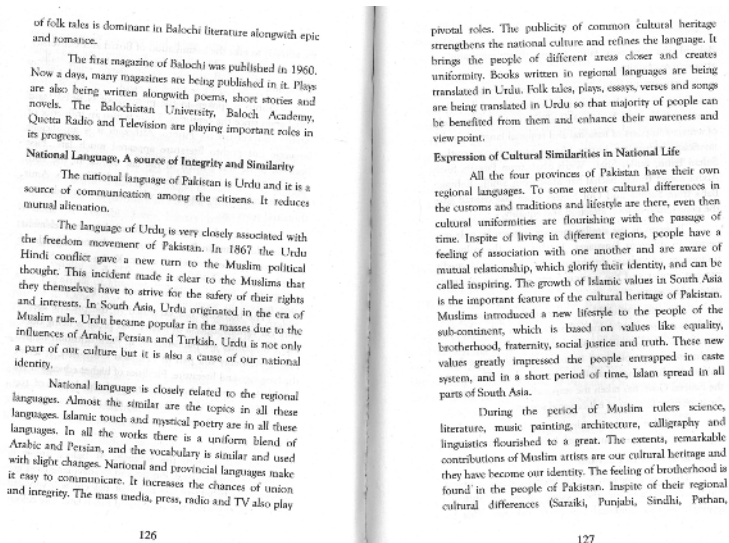
A Pakistan Studies book for Grades 9 and 10 published in 2002 also emphasizes national solidarity. Figure 3 shows a passage that stresses the national language, Urdu, as a form of national identity and goes on to teach that

Muslims introduced a new lifestyle to the people of the sub-continent, which is based on values like equality, brotherhood, fraternity, social jus-

tice and truth. These new values greatly impressed the people entrapped in caste system, and in a short period of time, Islam spread in all parts of South Asia.

The Pakistani text identifies preexisting differences among groups in society, especially between Hindus and Muslims, but focuses on a single national identity rather than the rights of these divergent social groups. Dean (2010:72) describes Pakistani textbooks as defining national identity in a way that excludes non-Muslims and promoting national unity through the depiction of Pakistan as culturally homogenous.

Figure 3. Example of Low Score on Diversity Rights Index

Source: 2002. Pakistan. *Pakistan Studies*. Social science textbook for grades 9 and 10.

The second dependent variable, an index of human rights, was reconstructed from a previous study of human rights using an earlier version of this dataset. Meyer et al. (2010) created an index of human rights emphases in textbooks using a factor analysis of four items: (a) the amount of explicit discussion of human rights (zero to five scale, zero being no discussion and five being over half the book); (b) the number of international human rights documents mentioned (e.g., United Nations Charter, Convention on the Rights of the Child); (c) reference to any national human rights documents or national governmental bodies (e.g., the Declaration of the Rights of Man or an Ombudsman's Office for Human Rights); (d) discussion of any major human rights disaster

(e.g., the Holocaust), conceived in human rights terms rather than simply as a great historical tragedy. As in the prior study, these items are substantially intercorrelated.[6] The standardized index has a mean of zero and ranges from -0.88–2.61. The results presented here also build on this earlier study by replicating core findings related to human rights using a larger sample of textbooks and countries.

Independent Variables

The core substantive idea is that a country's legitimacy, measured on various dimensions, may serve to intensify or repel the influences of world society, net of standard measures of linkage to world culture and other controls such as economic development. I include indicators of legitimacy on security, political, and cultural dimensions.

The first indicator of nation-state legitimacy is a measure of security as indicated by rights violations perpetrated by the state on its inhabitants. To measure these violations I use a one to five scale constructed by Hafner-Burton and Tsutsui (2005) and drawn from a content analysis of the US State Department and Amnesty International reports. In this project, 5=rare repression, 4=limited repression, 3=widespread repression, 2=extensive repression, and 1=systematic repression. A high score indicates greater security legitimacy, meaning states are under secure rule of law, political imprisonment and torture are rare, and political murder is extremely rare. A low score indicates systematic repression, meaning that levels of terror are population-wide and decision makers do not limit the means by which they pursue private or ideological goals.

Political legitimacy is an indicator ranging from zero to three taken from the State Fragility Index, where zero equals a stable and legitimate political regime and three indicates a fragile regime (Center for Systemic Peace 2011). A detailed discussion of the methodology used to construct the index is available on their website (www.systemicpeace.org), but in brief the items used to calculate the score are: regime durability; current leader's years in office; and total number of coup events 1996–2011, including successful, attempted, plotted, alleged coups and forced resignations or assassinations of chief executives. These indicators are scored this way: durability<10 years=1; leader years in office>12 years=1; and total coup events: 1–2=1 and >2=2. These indicators are then added to produce the regime/governance stability score (scores of 4 are recoded as 3), averaged over the period 1995–2011, and reverse coded to create a scale with a theoretical range of -2–1 so a higher score indicates greater political legitimacy.

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6. All polychoric correlations are over 0.45, and Cronbach's alpha for the overall measure is a satisfactory .68.

To examine cultural legitimacy I consider the extent to which nation and state are aligned. The measure of cultural cohesion used here, ethno-linguistic fractionalization, can be understood as the probability that two individuals selected at random from a country will come from different ethno-linguistic groups. I use the index calculated by Fearon (2003) using data sources from the early 1990s. An added benefit of this measure is it typically changes slowly over time (Mauro 1995), making the use of a fixed country-level measure required by two-level modeling more plausible. This measure is also reverse coded so a score closer to one indicates more cultural legitimacy, meaning the population is more ethno-linguistically homogenous and any two individuals selected at random are more likely to come from the same ethno-linguistic group. A score closer to two indicates greater ethno-linguistic diversity.

Controls

Based on prior curricular research, I also include a number of controls indicating textbook linkage to world culture. I use four measures characterizing the book directly that have been shown to be important in prior studies. One key indicator is publication date, which serves as a proxy for worldwide changes — such as the delegitimation of nationalism and declining authority of the nation-state — that lead to the institutionalization of human and diversity rights in world culture and drive subsequent changes in textbooks. Thus, textbooks become more rights-oriented over time, reflecting broad changes in world culture. A second curricular change is the degree to which a textbook is designed to appeal to the interests and active participation of the student. I measure student-centrism by reconstructing an index from Bromley et al. (2011), which documented a worldwide increase in student-centred pedagogy over time. A great deal of international attention is directed towards the promotion of student-centred pedagogies (e.g., Rauner 1998). As rights principles come to be seen as standard components of the imagined national and world society (Anderson 1991; Meyer et al. 1997), they are built into curricula as standard elements substantively, and also employed as pedagogical models. Third, I approach the broad curricular change toward a more globalized social approach by coding books on the extent to which they mention nonmilitary international organizations.[7] Contemporary social science is characterized by a more international or global view, even in history curricula at the university level (Frank et al. 2000). Conceptions of the nation-state as globally embedded with strong social and cultural dimensions are a main force in the modern rights

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7. The number of (nonsecurity) international organizations mentioned is measured on a 0–4 scale where 0 = no, 1 = five or less, 2 = 6–10, 3 = 11–19, and 4 = over 20.

movement (Soysal and Wong 2006). Textbooks that depict the world as more globally interconnected (especially on social and cultural dimensions rather than through military or trade relations) are more closely linked to world culture. Fourth, I compare history textbooks to civics and social studies ones.[8] A substantial body of research documents that over time, especially since World War II, history instruction is waning and social studies is on the rise, a trend strongly supported by the United Nations and UNESCO (see Wong 1991; Benavot 2005; and the studies reported in Schissler and Soysal 2005; Benavot and Braslavsky 2006). Thus, national history textbooks are considered less connected to world society than civics or social studies ones. These measures of textbook and country linkage to world society are intended primarily as controls in this study.

In addition, at the book level I include a control variable for length, addressing the common idea that modern curricula expand a great deal, and incorporate more material along many themes. I also control for the grade level at which a text is targeted, distinguishing texts for middle school from those for senior secondary school, since it is likely that the latter books have a more academic cast and perhaps cover rights discussions more extensively.

As country-level controls I include measures of economic development, political democracy, and linkage to world culture. Democracy is measured with the commonly used index developed by Marshall and Jaggers (2008), which ranges from -10 (complete autocracy) to 10 (complete democracy). Here, democracy is defined in purely operational terms based on the presence of institutions and procedures through which citizens can express effective preferences about alternative policies and leaders. The operational indicator of democracy is derived from weighted codings of the competitiveness of political participation, the openness and competitiveness of executive recruitment, and constraints on the chief executive. This is, of course, a reflection of liberal democratic values, illiberal variants of democracy would score lower on this scale. It does not include any measure of the civil or political liberties, or other forms of rights, available to citizens. Also at the country level, the earlier modernization literature considered economic development as a prerequisite for forms of social and political progress (e.g., Inkeles and Smith 1974; Lerner 1963; Lipset 1959), and economic development could also play a role in enhancing the legitimacy of the nation-state

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8. In a few countries, especially those of Asia and the Middle East, the relevant civic education material is covered under moral or religious education courses rather than civics, history, or social studies. In these cases I include moral education textbooks and count them as part of the social studies category. (See the papers in Cummings et al. 1988 on moral values education in Asia.)

(Huntington 1991). As is conventional in cross-national research, a control for log GDP/capita is included in the models (World Development Indicators 2008). Last, I include a standard measure of national linkage to world culture using the memberships in international nongovernmental organizations (INGOs), averaged by country over the period of the study (Yearbook of International Organizations, various years). As nation-states derive their operating principles from a world sociocultural system, countries more embedded in this system are more receptive to adopting its principles (Meyer et al. 1997). Studies show that country memberships in INGOs are a main indicator of linkage to world culture. For example, INGO memberships are associated with national policies supporting human rights (Hafner-Burton and Tsutsui 2005), same-sex sex relations (Frank and McEneaney 1999), and women's suffrage (Ramirez et al. 1997). The descriptive statistics for the dependent and independent variables are presented in Table 2.

Table 2. Descriptive Statistics (n= 501 textbooks, 67 countries)

	Mean	St. Dev.	Min.	Max
A. Diversity rights outcome: Each indicator and index				
Racial or ethnic minority rights	0.29	0.45	0	1
Indigenous rights	0.15	0.35	0	1
Immigrant/refugee rights	0.14	0.35	0	1
Diversity rights index	0.02	1.01	-0.62	2.52
B. Human rights outcome: Each indicator and index				
Amt HR discussed	1.31	1.48	0	5
N. HR documents mentioned	0.49	1.09	0	6
Mention of national HR bodies	0.27	0.44	0	1
N. events discussed as HR violations (e.g. Holocaust)	0.49	1.23	0	9
Human rights index	0.01	1.00	-0.88	2.61
C. Textbook level controls				
Publication date	1994.60	9.78	1970	2008
Student-centrism index	1.14	0.63	0.00	2.94
International emphases	1.02	1.00	0	4
History textbook	0.42	0.49	0	1
N. pages (log)	5.38	0.50	3.22	6.78
High grade (11–13)	0.25	0.43	0	1
D. Country-level legitimacy				
Political legitimacy	0.26	0.71	-1.12	1.00
Security legitimacy	3.71	1.21	1.00	5.00
Cultural legitimacy	0.59	0.27	0.05	1.00
E. Country-level controls				
GDP/capita (log)	8.84	1.18	6.14	10.54
INGO memberships (log)	6.80	0.85	4.92	8.05
Democracy score	5.53	5.38	-9.00	10.00

Method

My outcome variables are at the textbook level, but textbooks are nested within countries, making this study innately hierarchical (Raudenbush

and Bryk 2002). Modeling the outcome as only a product of textbook level variables using OLS regression would underestimate the error that arises from the commonalities of textbooks within particular countries, violating the assumptions of OLS regression and perhaps creating artificially significant results. Moreover, the sampling resulted in varying numbers of textbooks by country and over time, a problem for OLS models but adequately handled by hierarchical models. Thus, I employ hierarchical models to incorporate both textbook-level and country-level error, allowing me to use the full range of available information (Raudenbush and Bryk 2002).

My hierarchical model consists of a textbook-level (level 1) equation and multiple country-level (level 2) equations. The constant in the textbook level equation is interpreted as the estimated score on the dependent variable at the starting point of the study (1970) in the average textbook in each country.[9] I use country-level characteristics to model the publication date coefficient, β_1 to explore change over time. A drawback of this approach is that country-level characteristics cannot vary over time. I address this challenge by, whenever possible, selecting characteristics that tend to be relatively stable over long periods of time, such as regime stability or ethno-linguistic fractionalization. In cases where country properties vary over time, like GDP/capita or INGO memberships, whenever possible I use the country average over the entire period, or, where noted, I rely on a single time point. The equations for one of my final models (Model 1a in Table 2) are:[10]

(1) Score on diversity rights index = β_0 + β_1(*time/publication date*) + β_2(*student centrism index*) + β_3(*international organization emphases*) + β_4(*history textbook*) + β_5(*log n. pages*) + β_6(*high grade*) + r_{ij}

$B_0 = \gamma_{00} + \gamma_{01}(\ln GDP/capita) + \gamma_{02}(\ln INGO\ memberships) + \gamma_{01}(democracy\ score) + \mu_{0j}$

$B_1 = \gamma_{10} + \mu_{1j}$

FINDINGS

I turn now to a set of multivariate, multilevel analyses. The findings provide evidence that less legitimate countries, especially those lacking pol-

9. I accomplish this through centring of my level 1 variables. All level 1 variables are group-mean centred, except for publication date, which is uncentred and constructed as the number of years since 1970 so a score of zero equals a publication date of 1970. Continuous level 2 variables are grand-mean centred.

10. Discussion of the country-level results focus on interactions with the "time (publication date)" coefficient, as the central focus here is change over time. Country predictors are included in estimates of the intercept, B0/G00, as main effects. Due to the method of centring, these main effects should be interpreted as predicted changes to the score on each index in 1970, which is not of substantive interest here.

itical and cultural bases of nation-statehood, emphasize diversity rights less in textbooks than their more legitimate counterparts. These same weakly legitimate countries, however, emphasize universal human rights as much or more than other countries. Thus, states with less security, political, and cultural legitimacy incorporate less emphasis on diversity rights in their curricula — in support of Hypotheses 1a, 2a, 3a, and 4a. In contrast, states with less legitimacy incorporate more discussion of human rights in their curricula — in support of Hypotheses 1b, 2b, 3b, and 4b. Overall, this pattern indicates support for the argument that some elements of world society spread more easily than others. Nation-state legitimacy appears to mediate whether an element of world culture is embraced or muted.

Table 3 reports five models using diversity rights as an outcome and five parallel models using the human rights outcome. Model 1a shows the association between control variables and the diversity rights index and Model 1b shows the link between controls and the human rights index. The positive and significant coefficient for "time (publication date)" indicates that recently published books emphasize both diversity and human rights more than older books, although the size and significance of this association is greater for human rights. Publication date is one proxy for the sweeping world cultural changes that emphasize human persons have great authority as autonomous actors beyond their status as national citizens. Books published in later periods, when world society is more expanded and institutionalized, are imprinted with its characteristics. Other indicators of a textbook's linkage to global models of education (student-centred pedagogical style, emphasis on international organizations, and taking the form of a civics or social studies text rather than a traditional history text) are all associated with increased emphasis on both diversity rights and human rights. Controls for book length and grade level are inconsequential.

At the country level, INGO memberships have a negative and sometimes significant association with emphases on rights. This finding is consistent with prior research documenting that country-level linkage to world culture is weakened after textbook characteristics are accounted for (Meyer et al. 2010). Models unreported here show that the addition of textbook-level linkage indicators greatly mediates country-level linkage, as little variance remains on this dimension.[11] National levels of economic development, as measured by GDP/capita (log) are held con-

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11. When textbook linkage variables are excluded from the models, the INGO membership variable is either positive or negative but insignificant. It is never negative and significant. These findings suggest that future research should take greater account of the direct connection of national subunits (such as individuals or organizations) to world culture in addition to national linkage.

Table 3. Hierarchical Linear Model Analyses of Diversity and Human Rights[a, b, c]

	Diversity Rights					*Human Rights*				
	Model 1a	*Model 2a*	*Model 3a*	*Model 4a*	*Model 5a*	*Model 1b*	*Model 2b*	*Model 3b*	*Model 4b*	*Model 5b*
Textbook predictors (level 1)										
Changed world emphases										
Time (publication date)	0.011*	0.008	0.007	0.010*	0.007	0.014**	0.016**	0.017***	0.014***	0.016***
Child centrism index	0.178***	0.179***	0.176***	0.171****	0.164**	0.262***	0.262***	0.268***	0.284***	0.278***
International org. emphases	0.170***	0.168****	0.172****	0.167***	0.167****	0.368*****	0.369*****	0.367*****	0.370****	0.371*****
History	-0.301**	-0.304**	-0.305**	-0.303**	-0.310***	-0.483***	-0.477****	-0.481*****	-0.472****	-0.473*****
Control variables										
N. pages (log)	0.048	0.047	0.051	0.044	0.052	-0.012	-0.014	-0.013	-0.013	-0.014
High grade (11–13)	-0.024	-0.021	-0.051	-0.015	-0.018	0.018	0.016	0.018	0.010	0.009
Intercept	-0.207*	-0.149	-0.103	-0.182	-0.096	-0.285*	-0.335**	-0.366**	-0.293**	-0.346**
Country predictors (level 2)										
Adjustment to intercept										
GDP/capita (log)	0.267***	0.268***	0.230**	0.301***	0.246***	0.184***	0.167***	0.160**	0.153**	0.134*
INGO memberships (log)	-0.037	-0.056	-0.087	-0.055	-0.139	-0.263**	-0.283***	-0.249**	-0.261**	-0.267**
Democracy score	0.004	-0.001	0.005	0.006	0.000	0.020	0.020*	0.017	0.019	0.017
Security legitimacy					0.037					0.113
Political legitimacy		-0.130			-0.117		0.238***			0.174
Cultural legitimacy			-0.309*	-1.436***	-1.185**			0.446**	1.407***	1.122**
Adjustment to time (pub. date) coef.										
Security legitimacy					0.002					-0.004
Political legitimacy	0.009*	0.009*			0.014**		-0.009**	-0.017**		-0.006
Cultural legitimacy			0.022***	0.058****	0.045***				-0.050***	-0.038**
Variance components										
Intercept	0.644****	0.615****	0.572****	0.536****	0.541*****	0.489****	0.473****	0.533*****	0.306****	0.402****
Time (publication date)	0.002*****	0.002****	0.001*****	0002****	0.001*****	0.001****	0.001*****	0.001*****	0.001****	0.001****
Textbook level	0.450	0.451	0.451	0.449	0.450	0.531	0.529	0.526	0.534	0.529

**** p<.001, *** p<.01, ** p<.05, *<.1, one-tailed tests. Notes: a. Reporting robust standard errors; b. N at level 1 is 501, N at level 2 is 67; c. Book level variables are grand mean centred, except publication date which is uncentred and constructed as the number of years since 1970; d. Variance components for empty models are: diversity rights (intercept 0.406, textbook level 0.621), human rights (intercept 0.218, textbook level 0.797).

stant throughout, as is conventional in cross-national research. It tends to be positive and significant, as modernization theories suggest. Books in wealthier countries seem to emphasize all sorts of rights more. Net of wealth, a country's level of democracy mostly maintains a positive association with rights emphases, but the relationship is rarely significant.

Shifting to the central substantive concern of this study, Models 2a and 2b show initial differences in how diversity and human rights emphases change over time in different countries. Model 2a shows that countries that are more legitimate from a security standpoint score higher on the diversity rights index over time. In contrast, governments that repress their citizens by sponsoring kidnappings, committing murders, and sustaining widespread levels of terror, also avoid spreading ideas of the rights of immigrants; indigenous groups; and racial, ethnic, or religious minorities through their curricula. These same less legitimate countries place more emphasis than others on human rights in their textbooks. Model 2b shows that countries with greater security legitimacy emphasize human rights relatively less in their textbooks. This finding provides evidence that the diffusion of world society trends, in this case diversity rights and human rights, is mediated by the country context. Country linkages to world society can serve as "receptor sites" (Frank et al. 2000), encouraging the spread of world culture. National characteristics can also act to repel global norms, as evidenced by the extent to which illegitimate nation-states avoid emphasis on diversity rights in curricula.

We see a similar pattern using a measure of political legitimacy. Countries with more legitimate, stable political systems emphasize diversity rights more (Model 3a) and human rights less (Model 3b) than others.[12] In these fragile political systems there are greater numbers of regime changes (the system moves back and forth between being an autocracy, anocracy, and/or democracy), leaders are in office for an exceptionally short or long duration, and there are greater numbers of coup events (including successful, attempted, plotted, and alleged coups) and more forced resignations and assassinations of leaders. One possible explanation for these effects is that countries use a substitution logic for conforming to global pressures. They avoid emphasis on diversity rights because these entitlements are more threatening to the nation-state, but

12. One relevant study found that countries above the median democracy score of countries in 1980 are less likely to recognize languages of minority groups than those below the median democracy score (Laitin 2004). These results do not necessarily contradict findings in this study for two reasons. First, the median democracy score worldwide is a country on the borderline between anocracy and autocracy. It is unclear from Laitin's study whether full liberal democracies are more or less likely to grant language rights than anocracies and autocracies. Second, his findings apply to the year 1980, and it is unclear whether many additional countries have granted language policies in subsequent years, which covers most of the period of my study.

compensate by giving even greater attention to human rights, which can be defined so broadly as to render them meaningless.

Last, cultural legitimacy evidences the same pattern. The myth of the nation-state is built on an idea of encompassing a people with a shared culture, language, traditions, and history in the same territorial boundaries (Anderson 1991). Although this model does not (and likely should not) necessarily reflect reality, colloquial understandings of national citizenship still rely on the idea that citizens share a common identity as well as a common political system. In Canada, for instance, the government's efforts to construct a shared Canadian identity across the country have been described as "an obsession" (e.g., Marks 2003; James and Shadd 2001:112). Countries with less cultural legitimacy (there is a greater chance that any two members of the population come from different ethno-linguistic groups) also place less emphasis on diversity rights in textbooks (Model 4a), but place more emphasis on human rights (Model 4b). The strength of this finding holds up even after controlling for other forms of legitimacy in Models 5a and 5b. These final full models show that the significance of security and political legitimacy is weakened when accounting for cultural legitimacy, although the effects remain in the same direction.

Figure 6 provides an illustration of the findings in the final models (5a and 5b) by graphing the predicted human and diversity rights emphases in textbooks by varied political legitimacy scores. Countries with highly legitimate political systems place increasing emphasis on both human rights and diversity rights over time (represented by the thin dashed line and thick dashed line, respectively). Less legitimate countries also increasingly emphasize human rights over time, at a rate that is statistically indistinguishable from their stable counterparts, as shown by the thin solid line. Less legitimate countries place decreasing emphasis on diversity rights in their textbooks over time, as shown by the thick solid line. Thus, there is a general increase in human rights, but diversity rights increase only in more legitimate countries.

Additional methodological checks indicate the robustness of these findings. To begin, I replicated Models 1 through 5 using each group in the diversity rights index — minorities, immigrants, and indigenous groups. These results typically replicated results of the table, although in some cases the coefficients were not significant, perhaps due in part to the small number of cases for some of these outcomes. Furthermore, I conducted analyses on multiple versions of the dependent variable for diversity rights, including a simple sum of the items and indices con-

Figure 6: Estimated Score on Diversity and Human Rights by Regime Type over Time
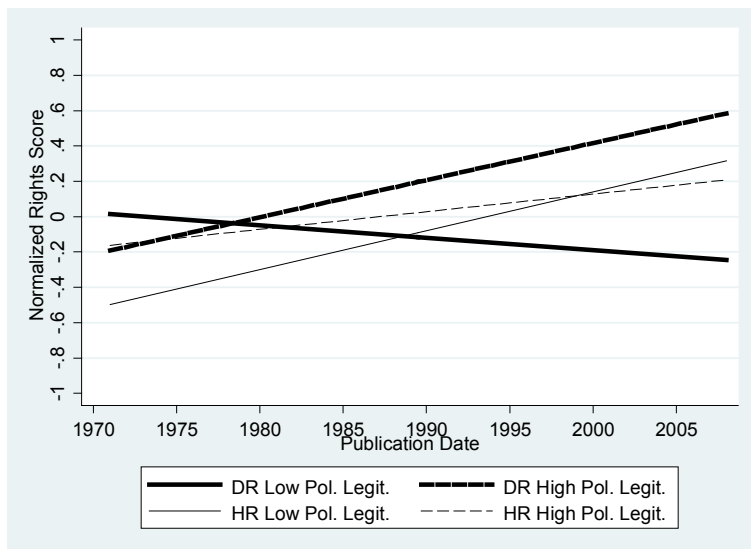
Note: DR = diversity rights. HR = human rights. Pol. Legit. = political legitimacy score (high score means more legitimate=1, low score = -1). All other variables from Models 5a and 5b held constant at the mean.

structed using combinations of greater and fewer groups.[13] The key finding, that diversity rights appear less in less legitimate countries, was robust to any specification of the dependent variable.

In additional models unreported here I explored a number of alternative arguments. At the book level one might argue that the politics of textbook publishing play a large role in determining content. I compared books published by the government and those published by private companies, but found no difference. Books published by nonprofit organizations are excluded as they are not imagined to reflect the norms and values of dominant social groups or to be subject to the same level of public debate as books created by the government or publishing companies for use in public schools. Along the same lines, it is possible that the backgrounds of individual textbook authors play a role, but fewer than half of textbooks provided any information on the authors and often no individuals at all were identified. At the country level, a few scholars observe the persistence of traditional civic education in newly independent states in Eastern Europe, and attribute an emphasis on creating national values

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13. Additional group rights tested but not included in the final index are children, workers, women, gays/lesbians, the poor, elderly, and disabled, as well as rights related to social issues including the environment, health, language/culture, and education.

to the instrumental needs of nation-building and a desire for economic growth (Green 1990; Kolstoe 2000; Rokkan 1975). Thus, I looked at whether there is a difference between established democracies, the new democracies of Eastern Europe, and other countries and found no significant differences. Many other country indicators showed no association with the outcomes, a common result for multilevel models where most of the variation occurs at the textbook level rather than the country level.[14]

DISCUSSION

This study suggests that less legitimate nation-states draw on international principles to shore up their status, but they draw selectively from contradictory elements, avoiding practices that might pose a greater threat to their already-fragile sovereignty. Just as some national characteristics facilitate the transmission of world culture (e.g., linkages) other characteristics can repel components of world culture (e.g., less legitimate nation states avoid emphases on the rights of diverse groups in their curricula). Less legitimate countries substitute more threatening emphases on diversity with additional discussions of more abstract human rights. Discussions of diversity expose divisions in national society, revealing the extent to which particular groups are excluded and raising deep differences of opinion over what the appropriate response should be. In the absence of a world state, there is less immediate threat to national cohesiveness and sovereignty through the recognition of human rights relative to the potential social cleavages or separatist sentiment that may accompany diversity emphases. Thus, diversity rights discourse poses a greater challenge to the original, nationalizing purpose of civic education than notions of human rights, dampening the diffusion of diversity rights discourse in contexts where the nation-state is less secure. A recent empirical analysis of country membership in the seven core international human rights treaties shows similar results. Cole (2012) reveals "anomalous" findings for ratification patterns of the Convention on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination and the Convention on the Elimination

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14. Notable variables I tested but found had no effect net of controls include: (1) A dichotomous indicator for Protestant countries. Cultural theorists dating back to Weber suggest that traditions of the dominant group, especially religion, influence a range of institutions in society. In contemporary work, two studies of individualism find Protestant countries score higher (Frank et al. 1995 consider the prevalence of professionalized psychology and (Bromley et al. 2011) look at student-centrism in textbooks). (2) Dichotomous indicators for any colonial legacy and indicators for specific types of colonial legacy (British, French, Portuguese or Spanish, and Other). (3) Armed conflict as measured by the total number of conflicts, external and internal, in which the government was involved over the period 1995–2000 (log), as classified by the Uppsala Conflict Data Program reported in Treisman (2000).

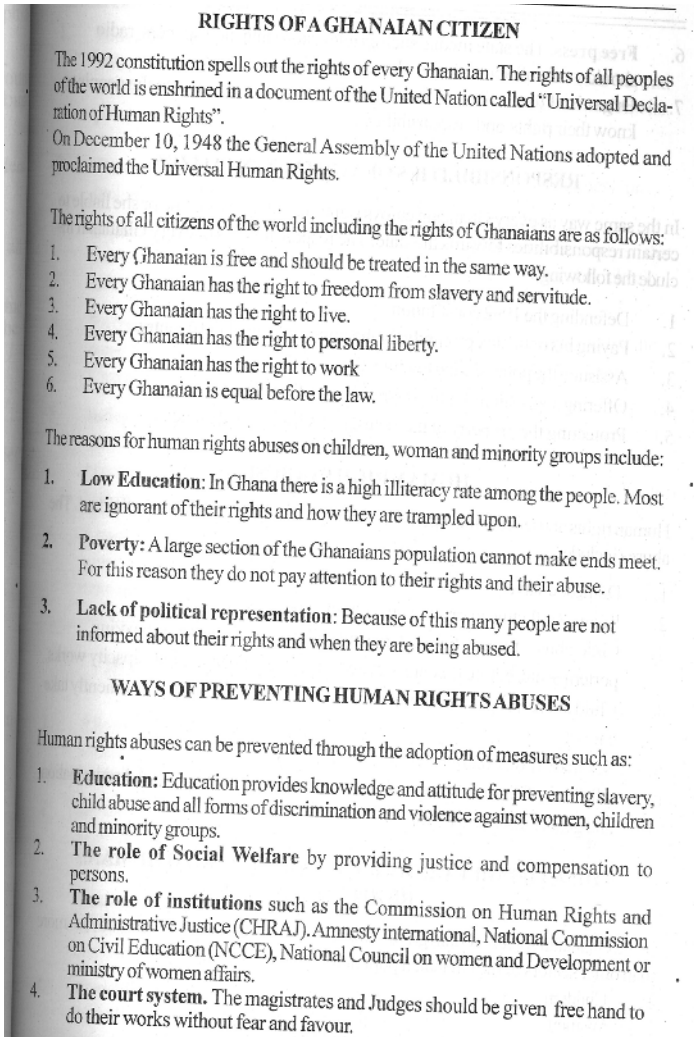of All Forms of Discrimination against Women. He concludes that the treaty differ because they focus

> not on categories of rights protections that apply universally to everyone, but on rights that accrue to distinct categories of rights holders.… These treaties exist precisely because the human rights standards already in place were deemed inadequate to protect vulnerable or historically marginalized groups from discrimination. (Cole 2012:1166)

In addition to diversity rights being relatively more threatening, it could also be the case that the language of human rights spreads more easily because of its ambiguity. Qualitatively, an earlier study using this data found that "textbook human rights discussions tend to be stylized and abstract. Strong statements are made, but in terms of abstract universal principles, not necessarily immediate or concrete social realities" (Meyer et al. 2010:129–130).

In practice, this means it is rare to see a discussion of specific past or present human rights violations in national society itself. The focus instead is on historic world figures (e.g., Martin Luther King, Gandhi, Nelson Mandela) and general global principles. The high level of abstraction of human rights can easily co-exist with or be layered on top of ideas of national citizenship. An example from a Ghanaian textbook is illustrative. Figure 4 shows a page from a chapter entitled "Citizenship and Human Rights" in a social studies textbook for junior secondary schools in Ghana. Citizenship rights and human rights are depicted as interchangeable, universal principles. Marginalized groups are mentioned, but only to confirm individual equality rather than to emphasize the protection of diverse social and cultural groups.

The example of Ghana shows how civic education can highlight general human rights principles without significantly altering traditional ideas of national citizens as homogenous. In contrast, diversity rights contradict ideas of national sociocultural cohesiveness. An excerpt from a 2008 South African *Life Orientation* textbook, shown in Figure 5, teaches that protecting diversity rights requires special attention to ensuring representation in government beyond standard citizenship rights such as voting. The lesson is that simply asserting equality, nondiscrimination, or the right to vote does not adequately protect the rights of minorities in South Africa. Some groups require special rights or attention.

The findings also show that "rights" should not be thought of as a monolithic concept in world society. Instead, emphases on diversity rights and human rights are elements of world culture that sometimes contradict, shaping their diffusion patterns. Universal human rights spread worldwide, while diversity rights increase only in more legitim-

Figure 4: Example of Human Rights and Citizenship Rights

RIGHTS OF A GHANAIAN CITIZEN

The 1992 constitution spells out the rights of every Ghanaian. The rights of all peoples of the world is enshrined in a document of the United Nation called "Universal Declaration of Human Rights".

On December 10, 1948 the General Assembly of the United Nations adopted and proclaimed the Universal Human Rights.

The rights of all citizens of the world including the rights of Ghanaians are as follows:

1. Every Ghanaian is free and should be treated in the same way.
2. Every Ghanaian has the right to freedom from slavery and servitude.
3. Every Ghanaian has the right to live.
4. Every Ghanaian has the right to personal liberty.
5. Every Ghanaian has the right to work
6. Every Ghanaian is equal before the law.

The reasons for human rights abuses on children, woman and minority groups include:

1. **Low Education**: In Ghana there is a high illiteracy rate among the people. Most are ignorant of their rights and how they are trampled upon.

2. **Poverty**: A large section of the Ghanaians population cannot make ends meet. For this reason they do not pay attention to their rights and their abuse.

3. **Lack of political representation**: Because of this many people are not informed about their rights and when they are being abused.

WAYS OF PREVENTING HUMAN RIGHTS ABUSES

Human rights abuses can be prevented through the adoption of measures such as:

1. **Education:** Education provides knowledge and attitude for preventing slavery, child abuse and all forms of discrimination and violence against women, children and minority groups.
2. **The role of Social Welfare** by providing justice and compensation to persons.
3. **The role of institutions** such as the Commission on Human Rights and Administrative Justice (CHRAJ). Amnesty international, National Commission on Civil Education (NCCE), National Council on women and Development or ministry of women affairs.
4. **The court system.** The magistrates and Judges should be given free hand to do their works without fear and favour.

Source: 2004. Ghana. *Golden Social Studies for J.S.S.* 1, 2, & 3. Social studies textbook for high school (p. 56).

ate countries. Thus, in countries that are safer, more stable, and cohesive, any conceptual differences between human rights, diversity rights, and the goal of socializing national citizens get reconciled. In less legitimate nation-states, there are divergent trends in emphases on human and diversity rights in curricular emphases, indicating the differences between these two concepts have not been resolved.

Figure 5: Example of Diversity Rights

Source: 2008. South Africa. *Life Orientation*. Social science textbook for Grade 10 (p. 130).

Conclusion

This study emphasizes the cultural underpinnings of the rise of human rights and diversity in civic education, and is one of the few papers to consider general empirical trends rather than seeking out exceptions or looking at in-depth processes through cases. Existing research on changes in civic education tend to focus on case studies, often with a more political, normative, or critical approach than taken here. (See, for example, the collections in Bruno-Jofré and Aponiuk 2001; Peters et al. 2008; Reid et al. 2010). Other related research is focused on pedagogical approaches (e.g., Egbo 2008). The findings provide evidence that there are systematic, worldwide patterns in the expansion of diversity and human rights discourse in countries.

These results provide a more nuanced understanding of the relationship between rights, legitimacy, and globalization in a number of ways. First, the findings have practical implications. Attention to human rights or individual empowerment alone does not necessarily include adequate protection for diverse groups in society, but outside of the most secure, politically stable, and culturally cohesive countries there is little attention to the particular rights of minorities, immigrants, or indigenous groups in curricula. Although the results are not a direct evaluation of any country's civic education curricula, one can infer that some countries purposefully avoid emphases on diversity rights — and these may be the nation-states that are most in need of greater protections of minorities (e.g., because they have more ethno-linguistic diversity). In the words of Will Kymlicka (2007:20–21):

> Multiculturalism has costs, and imposes risks, and these costs vary enormously both within and across societies. Multiculturalism not only challenges people's traditional understandings of their cultural and political identity, but also has potential implications for processes of democratization, economic development, respect for human rights, and even for geopolitical security. Liberal multiculturalism, in some times and places, can be a high-risk choice. It is these implications, not simply an irrational attachment to pre-modern identities, which underpins much of the opposition to liberal multiculturalism in post-colonial and post-communist states.

In support of his claim, I find diversity rights are less emphasized in countries with weaker security, political, and cultural legitimacy.

Second, the results advance existing theory. Findings support the argument that countries use world cultural models as blueprints, but go further to show that they draw selectively from inconsistent principles taking their specific context into account. National characteristics can intensify or repel the adoption of aspects of world culture, and countries may substitute emphases on some elements with others, as shown by the relatively lower emphases on diversity rights in illegitimate countries and their greater emphases on human rights. Future case study research outside of stable, developed countries would be particularly valuable. We have some understanding of how countries like Canada reconcile potential discrepancies between human and diversity rights in civic education from detailed case-based research (e.g., Bruno-Jofré and Aponiuk 2001), but we have little knowledge about how and why less legitimate countries would on average emphasize significantly more human rights and less diversity. It may also be illustrative to search out instances where education systems emphasize diversity rights and avoid human rights language, if such cases exist. These exceptions to the general trends can

be useful for developing a more sophisticated account of the relationship between rights and state legitimacy. Relatedly, the findings show that conflicting world cultural elements are adopted at different rates, indicating patterns of cross-national convergence are less all-encompassing than earlier studies imply. Countries may be converging on one dimension while diverging on others, and varied rates of adoption may lead to divergence. Thus, inconsistencies in world culture make national isomorphism a relative and unstable phenomenon.

Lastly, these findings suggest that there is a "denationalization" and "deterritorialization" of education, parallel to trends observed by Sassen (2006) in the realms of the economic and citizenship policies. To the extent that diverse groups are depicted as possessing distinct rights and supranational forms of rights are emphasized, the initial, homogenizing and nationalizing purpose of schooling is altered. Discussions of the rights of diverse groups depict national societies as made up of heterogeneous yet equal groups, moving away from the myth of states comprised of a single nation with a shared culture and history (Anderson 1991). Increases in emphases on diversity and human rights in civic education indicate a shift in the purpose of schools (away from creating national citizens) and in the model of citizenship itself (away from an ethnocultural focus). The older, nationalizing models of civic education are changing, and the shift is most striking in more legitimate countries, which increasingly emphasize both universal human rights and the rights of diverse groups.

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APPENDIX A: BOOK COUNT BY COUNTRY

Country	N. Books	Percent of Sample	Country	N. Books	Percent of Sample
Argentina	7	1.40	Kenya	10	2.00
Armenia	7	1.40	Macedonia	2	0.40
Australia	8	1.60	Malawi	2	0.40
Austria	12	2.40	Mexico	10	2.00
Belarus	4	0.80	Morocco	3	0.60
Belgium	7	1.40	Namibia	3	0.60
Bolivia	5	1.00	Nepal	7	1.40
Bosnia and Herzegovina	9	1.80	Nicaragua	1	0.20
Bulgaria	16	3.19	North Korea	6	1.20
Canada	9	1.80	Norway	6	1.20
Colombia	8	1.60	PR China	2	0.40
Costa Rica	4	0.80	Pakistan	3	0.60
Croatia	2	0.40	Panama	3	0.60
Denmark	6	1.20	Philippines	6	1.20
Ecuador	5	1.00	Poland	7	1.40
El Salvador	1	0.20	Portugal	6	1.20
Ethiopia	2	0.40	Romania	5	1.00
Finland	5	1.00	Russia	27	5.39
France	15	2.99	Serbia	3	0.60
Georgia	5	1.00	Singapore	2	0.40
Germany	6	1.20	Slovenia	3	0.60
Ghana	14	2.79	South Africa	29	5.79
Greece	5	1.00	South Korea	10	2.00
Guatemala	2	0.40	Spain	14	2.79
Guyana	1	0.20	Switzerland	5	1.00
India	14	2.79	Taiwan	13	2.59
Indonesia	12	2.40	Tanzania	8	1.60
Iran	4	0.80	Tunisia	3	0.60
Ireland	11	2.20	Turkey	7	1.40
Israel	5	1.00	USA	13	2.59
Italy	5	1.00	USSR	26	5.19
Jamaica	2	0.40	United Kingdom	23	4.59
Japan	7	1.40	Venezuela	2	0.40
Sweden	6	1.20	**Total**	**501**	**100**

Appendix B: Coding Protocol

Section 1: Biographical Variables
1. coder: Person coding (your name) =
2. date: Date coded =
3. country: Country name (country where book is used) =
    region: World Region
- 1 = "Latin America & Caribbean"
- 3 = "East Asia & Pacific"
- 4 = "North America & Western Europe"
- 5 = "Central & East Europe"
- 6 = "South & West Asia"
- 7 = "Sub-Saharan Africa"
- 8 = Middle East and North Africa
4. title: Book Title in English =
5. year: Year published =
6. lang: Language of textbook =
7. grade: Grade level/year (if unknown, best guess) =
    gradecat: Grade category
- 1 = Middle School (grades 5-7)
- 2 = Lower High School (grades 8-10)
- 3 = Upper High School (grades 11-13)
- 4 = High School (grades 8-11, if more specific is unknown)
8. pages: Number of pages in book =
9. Official Subject in which the book is used (say title if not obvious, not mutually exclusive)
- 1 = Social studies
- 2 = Civics
- 3 = History
- 4 = Religion
- 5 = Moral Education
- 6 = Government
- 7 = Other _____
- 8 = Unknown, write in best guess _____
10. Publisher codes
- 1 = Government
- 2 = Activist, Non-governmental Organization
- 3 = Private, for-profit
- 4 = Unclear

Section 2: Diversity
12. Fill in each cell of the matrix below noting whether the rights of each group are mentioned. (0=not mentioned as a right, 1=mentioned as a right). Mark cross-cutting issues into each category in which they apply. For example, civic rights in the US could be both an ethnic minority and citizenship issue. Child labor could be both a child and labor issue.

	Rights
Children, youth	
Women	
Elderly/Old Age	
Ethnic minorities/racism	
Indigenous groups	
Immigrants/Immigration or Refugees	
Workers/Labor	
Disabled, handicapped	
Gays, lesbians	
The poor/Poverty	

Section 3: Human Rights Variable Codes

These questions only apply to the parts of the text that explicitly discuss human rights. For example, a book could discuss women's rights, which would not count. Or it could discuss women's rights as human rights, which would be considered in this section. The purpose is to examine the extent to which texts use human rights discourse.

14. Does the text discuss human rights? (0=no, 1=yes) If no, skip to next section.

15. Select highest option that applies.
- 1 = brief mention: one or two sentences in the text
- 2 = larger mention: at least a paragraph on the subject in the text, but less than a subheading of a chapter
- 3 = at least one subheading within a chapter in the table of contents
- 4 = at least one chapter heading in the table of contents, but less than half of book
- 5 = over half of chapters in the table of contents

16. List approximate number of pages in text that deal explicitly with human rights. List:_____

17. International human rights documents codes. Select all that apply. If listing human rights documents only write ones that are obvious when skimming, no need to read whole text.
- 0 = no international human rights documents mentioned
- 1 = UN Charter
- 2 = Universal Declaration of Human Rights
- 3 = International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights
- 4 = International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights
- 5 = Declaration and/or Convention on the Rights of the Child
- 6 = Other. List:_____

18. Regional human rights document codes. Select all that apply.
- 0 = no regional human rights documents mentioned
- 1 = European Documents
- 2 = Latin American Documents
- 3 = African Documents
- 4 = Other. List:_____

19. Within explicit human rights discourse, are national (or subnational) human rights documents or governmental bodies mentioned? Select one.
- 0 = no national human rights documents or governmental bodies mentioned
- 1 = mentions national human rights documents
- 2 = mentions national human rights governmental bodies
- 3 = mentions both national documents and governmental bodies

Section 3: Global Polity and Internationalization
20. Are (non-security) international organizations mentioned? For example, G-8, World Economic Forum, the International Labor Organization, the World Trade Organization, the United Nations. Select highest that applies. (For example, the UN, the ICJ)
- 0 = no
- 1 = five or less
- 2 = 6-10
- 3 = 11 -19
- 4 = over 20

Section 4: Student-Centrism
21. kidpix: How many of the pictures and figures in the textbook learner friendly? For example, pictures of youth or cartoon figures (aside from political cartoons) and ordinary people versus pictures of Einstein or Marx.
- 0 = there are no pictures in the book
- 1 = there are pictures, but they are not learner friendly
- 2 = some/a few/less than half are learner friendly
- 3 = over half/most are learner friendly
22. Does the book have projects? For example, build a replica of an ancient Incan city.
- 0 = no projects
- 1 = some/a few projects
- 2 = a lot/nearly all activities are projects
23. Do the activities/assignment include role playing? For example, pretend you are a Native American meeting a European for the first time. What would you say/do?
- 0 = no role playing
- 1 = some/a few activities involve role playing
- 2 = a lot/nearly all activities involve role playing
24. Are there open-ended discussion questions (meaning questions without right-wrong answers that are meant to engage the student)? For example, should the constitution be considered a living document? Discuss why or why not.
- 0 = no questions
- 1 = there are questions, but none are open-ended
- 2 = some/a few questions are open-ended
- 3 = a lot/nearly all questions are open-ended
26. expenv: How much is the book laid out in an expanding environments style that starts, for example, with the child at home, then school, neighbourhood, state, country, world.
- 0 = not at all
- 1 = a little
- 2 = partly
- 3=entirely