

Human Rights in Social Science Textbooks: Cross-National Analyses, 1970-2008*

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Abstract

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In reaction to the disasters of the first half the twentieth century and World War II, a dramatic world movement arose emphasizing the human rights of persons in global society. The contrast – celebrated in international treaties, intergovernmental and nongovernmental organizations, and much cultural discourse – was with narrower world emphases on the rights of citizens of national states. Since the 1970s, this movement has increasingly emphasized the importance of human rights education as central to sustaining human rights principles. This paper examines the rise of human rights themes in secondary school social science textbooks around the world since 1970, coding data on 465 textbooks from 69 countries. We find a general increase in human rights discussions, especially since 1995. Human rights receive less emphasis in history texts than in civics or social studies ones, and there is less human rights emphasis in books which discuss national, rather than international, society. Human rights emphases are associated with the pedagogical student-centrism of textbooks: the pro-active student is a rights-bearing student. Finally, a number of indicators of aspects of national development and especially political culture show positive effects on human rights emphases. These findings broadly support the arguments of institutional theories that the contemporary “globalized” world is one in which the standing of the participatory and empowered individual person has very great legitimacy.

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In the last half-century, a world human rights movement has formed and expanded. It has intensified the long history of development and expansion of citizenship rights, universalized these national rules to the global level, and organized and depicted a global community within which individuals have rights, powers and responsibilities. The associated stress on the individual person as sovereign actor, rather than simple beneficiary, has led rights protagonists to focus on human rights education, beyond the older emphases on legal protections. This global transformation in discourse and organization has involved two major changes: an earlier shift in focus from citizenship to human rights and a more recent broadening in emphasis from human rights as legal matters to human rights education. This broadening builds on, but goes beyond, the earlier mission of schools to create good national citizens. Human rights education presupposes and attempts to activate a wider world of common humanity within which all persons are expected to bear and act on their rights. In this sense, it represents quite a dramatic shift from national to world society in conceptions of legitimated social membership, and in part undercuts the legitimated ultimate sovereignty of the national state.

The human rights movement envisions a greatly enhanced status of the human person, and a legitimation of this status on a worldwide basis in international law and culture. This expanded status takes its form in a greatly enlarged vision of the world as a collective community whose rules take precedence over the formerly more absolute sovereignty and primordality of separate national states and societies. National uniqueness is to be subordinated, in good part, to a very multicultural global society. And with human rights education, all the students around the world are supposed to learn that they are members of a global community, and have standing as individual human persons in that community. So the human rights movement, and its educational component, can be seen as one dimension of an attempted broad post-national transformation of legitimated cultural models of human society from unified nationalist models to global and diverse ones, within which common and ultimate human rights principles are basic integrating structures.

In this paper, we examine the impact of the broad and transformative world human rights movement on junior and senior secondary school social science textbooks around the world in the period 1970-2008. We code 465 textbooks from 69 countries for their human rights emphases. Using hierarchical linear models at the book level and basic OLS regression analyses at the country level, we analyze (a) whether and how rights emphases have expanded over time, (b) which kinds of textbooks give the most attention to rights, and (c) what characteristics of national societies lead to greater human rights emphases and to increases in these emphases. Our analysis is quantitative in character, but because the issues and data we deal with are unusual, throughout the paper we illustrate our points with examples from the textbooks we survey.

Background

Since the Second World War, a dramatic social movement focusing on human rights has grown and spread around the world (see Lauren 2003, and Stacy 2009, for historical accounts). It is easy to question how much human rights have been strengthened in practice (Hafner-Burton 2007; Hafner-Burton and Tsutsui 2005; Hathaway 2002; Cole 2005), but impossible to doubt the resounding success of human rights as a normative and organizational enterprise (Ramirez and Meyer 2002; Finnemore and Sikkink 1998; Elliott 2007; Elliott and Boli 2008). Numbers of international treaties and organizations devoted to human rights grow rapidly. Country ratifications of these human rights treaties and national memberships in these international organizations also sharply increase (Tsutsui and Wotipka 2004; Cole 2005; Wotipka and Tsutsui 2008; Wotipka and Ramirez 2008). In a period when international organizations are rapidly expanding, those with human rights missions grow faster (Boli and Thomas 1999). National legal and organizational changes take place for countries to better adhere to international human rights standards: national human right institutions, for example, emerge and expand in the last decade of the 20th century (Koo and Ramirez, 2009)

The post-War intensification and globalization of the long historical process of expanded citizenship rights has multiple explanations, difficult to disentangle. The war was fought and won against powers engaged in horrifying human rights violations, and a genocidal holocaust, so that in opposition the leaders of racist America and imperialist Britain committed themselves to human rights rhetoric in the Atlantic Charter (Borgwardt 2005;

Moravcsik 2000; Lauren 2003; Stacy 2009). Against two world wars and a great depression, all understood to reflect a world of corporatist nationalisms, a United Nations regime stressing global solidarities built in part on individual human rights seemed essential. A nuclear age made the nation-state as war machine appear outmoded and dangerous. And a cold war escalated a competition to dramatize global human rights, with one world order emphasizing civil and political rights while the Communist alternative focused on social and economic rights.

The resultant human rights regime has dimensions that would have seemed implausible a few decades ago (Elliott 2007; Elliott and Boli 2008). An expansive range of kinds of persons is covered in the regime – children, indigenous people, gays and lesbians, and the disabled, for example. The range of rights involved has expanded too, from basic civil and social rights to rights to health, education, social and political participation, and cultural self-expression. Furthermore, the penetrative quality of all these rights is greatly strengthened, so that the sovereignty and authority of nation-states is challenged. All sorts of minority rights claims increasingly become human rights claims (Skrentny 2002). Under the new rules, the sovereign nation-state can be questioned and inspected for human rights violations, and so can the traditional family, the community, the religious body, the army, and the school. Strikingly, despite the continuing formal control of mass educational systems by national polities with their historic efforts to stress national citizenship rights and obligations, the rights of all human persons as individuals in global society appear to have surfaced in educational systems. By looking at textbooks, this paper seeks to ascertain empirically how much impact this effort has had in the curriculum in a world in which mass education has become practically universal.

Over the post-War decades, human rights conceptions have expanded and changed. Early in the period, the rights emphasized were akin to older conceptions of the rights of the citizen of the national state. To be sure, there was more transnational expansion and standardization of citizenship rights by mid century (Boli 1976) but the main dynamic was still contained within the national domain. In this drama, the state was usually the main actor, and the citizen/person the more passive beneficiary. But over time, with the weakening of the legitimacy of the national state as ultimate authority, the human person as the sovereign protagonist of rights claims (of self and also of others) became stronger, and the nation-state became more and more the target (Elliott 2007). The new human person, in other words, became the main actor in the drama (Frank and Meyer 2000; Ramirez 2006). National laws and local

traditions continue to be important, but increasingly the rights of persons are anchored in international standards, transnational understandings, and a vision of the world as a global human community (Stacy 2009). Not surprisingly, the national heritage is often re-interpreted to better accommodate the rights of the person. For example, the rights of women are now proclaimed in countries where the male estate was highly privileged historically. An analysis of world-level human rights instruments reveals that the great majority of rights are cast as individual rights, rather than the rights of groups as collectives: some exceptions occur in the case of the rights associated with indigenous peoples (Elliott and Boli 2008).

With the shift to more empowered notions of the human individual, the human rights movement shifted or broadened from a legal to a substantially educational enterprise, and starting in and after the 1970s human rights education became a central theme (Eide and Thee 1983; Torney-Purta 1987; Tarrow 1992; Ramirez, Suárez, and Meyer 2006). 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). The core principle was clear. Children, it was argued, should learn their rights and the rights of others, and should be educated to be active promoters and claimants of these rights (Andreopoulos and Claude 1997; Suárez 2006, 2007a). And schools and teacher education should highlight human rights and international standards (Osler and Starkey 1994, 1996, 2004; Suárez, Ramirez, and Koo 2009). Originally, a theme of the human rights social movement, this new story line has progressively become standard educational doctrine put forward by the professionals who create curricula, educational standards, and educational materials (Tibbits 2002; Suárez 2007a).

Our study assesses the success of this movement by examining secondary school textbooks from many countries since 1970. Textbooks are central instructional media, and should reflect broad educational emphases, and changes in them, over time. They fall, organizationally, between generalized educational policy agendas and the actual instructional patterns to be found in classrooms. They are core features of the intended curriculum. Our aims are (a) to see how much and in what respects these textbooks have come to incorporate human rights accounts over the period, (b) what kinds of variations across countries and textbooks characterize and help explain the changes.

Hypotheses

We are interested in examining the characteristics of textbooks that increase their human rights emphases, and also in analyzing the impact of characteristics of countries that affect these emphases. So we propose hypotheses both about textbooks and about countries.

Textbook Properties Affecting Human Rights Emphases: Most centrally, we propose to test the idea that social science textbooks increasingly reflect world human rights emphases over time:

--- H1 (Time Period). Textbooks produced later emphasize human rights more than do earlier textbooks.

The assumption here is that the world-wide political changes stressing human rights in general, and more recently human rights education in particular, find their way into curricula and textbooks. This process may occur directly, through international influences on national policy changes, or more indirectly through the responses of educators and social scientists to changed professional norms. The idea is, in either case, that the period of origin of a textbook affects its character – analogous to Stinchcombe's (1965) conception of the effect of period of organizational origin.

We expect that this hypothesis will be confirmed whether the unit of empirical analysis is the textbook or the average textbook we have for a country in a period (in cases where our data contain multiple books). Specific tests of the general hypothesis can compare textbooks on varying indicators: space devoted to human rights, attention to human rights crises and disasters, or discussions of national and international documents and prescriptions.

The De-Emphasis on History: In comparing social science textbooks, our analyses cut across some content area distinctions that are highly relevant to the human rights issues we are concerned with. Most of the books we examine fall in one of three main categories to be found in national school curricula: history (the most common), civics, and social studies.

It is emphasized in the literature that social science curricula around the world have tended over the whole modern period (especially since World War II) to de-emphasize history instruction and to give more time to civics and especially social studies (see Wong 1991, Benavot 2005; and the studies reported in Schissler and Soysal 2005 and Benavot and Braslavsky 2006; for the corresponding trend in higher education see Frank and Gabler 2006). The logic is precisely the logic of human rights education – the thematic focus on the individual person as actor in civil society and social life rather than on the history of collective and corporate society. This kind of thinking is very explicit in modern world curricular discourse (see Rosenmund 2006, for a detailed empirical account, and Meyer 2006, for an analysis).

The global shift away from (especially national) history, and toward civics and social studies, was strongly supported in the early post-War period and later, by UNESCO (Wong, 1991). It was understood at the time that a warlike world had been produced in some part by nationalism and nationalist history -- the Clement Atlee idea that ‘wars began in the minds of men’ -- and that curricular reforms were badly needed to develop human persons with a broader, more global, and more rights-centered outlook (Jones 1990). Instead of national history textbooks excessively glorifying the country to the detriment of other countries, what was needed were “social and interpersonal competencies” that would promote tolerance and understanding, a set of outcomes that in the United States would later be critiqued as ‘tot sociology’ (Ravitch 1987). Exactly the same “progressive” spirit, as we later note, drove the collection of textbooks that is our main data source.

We hypothesize that the shift from history to social studies and civics, in the curriculum, facilitates the incorporation of human rights emphases. The causal ordering we suggest here follows from the fact that the movement away from history took on force much earlier than the more current rise of human rights foci. But plausible arguments can be made that the rise of individual human rights in global society play a causal role in the decline of history – or that both curricular changes indicate the same underlying cultural shift. Our data set, made up of textbooks selected on availability rather than sampled, does not permit us to demonstrate this broad curricular shift away from history convincingly (though social studies and civics textbooks do tend to occur more frequently in the recent periods). This shift is better demonstrated in the literature (e.g., Wong 1991; for higher education see Frank and Gabler 2006). But we can certainly examine the obvious hypothesis that follows:

--- H2 (History effects): History textbooks emphasize human rights less than civics and social studies textbooks do, and also increase their human rights emphases more slowly over time.

Thus, a Japanese History textbook from 1994 (see Textbook Sources in the Bibliography) gives a traditional account of the struggle of the nation – seen as a collective corporate body – for autonomy, with no attention to the people as individuals with either human or citizenship rights. On the other hand, a Japanese Civics textbook from 2006 has a substantial discussion of international human rights developments and their codification in the United Nations through specific mentions of the UN Declaration of Human Rights and the UN Charter.

We should note, however, that even history curricula are known to reflect two kinds of changed emphases. First, there is a re-orientation of national history from a state centric to a more social and cultural history. Textbooks increasingly reflect modern social scientific pictures of society as built by and around individual persons and their activities. (Dierkes 2005, 2009; Schissler and Soysal 2005). Even in Chinese textbooks, one finds a growth of civil society actors, as China re-entered the world and modified the national depiction it sought to communicate to its pupils, from a distinctively Communist to a more common portrait of a country and its people (Mao 1995). Secondly, a more international or global view begins to characterize these history textbooks and indeed history curricula at the university level (Frank, et. al. 2000). As the history of the nation is discussed in a more internationally contextualized mode, an international context emphasizing the importance of human rights begins to influence history textbooks over time. As we emphasize above, the broad shift to more globalized conceptions of society characteristic of the post-World War II period has been a main force leading to the modern human rights movement (Soysal and Wong 2006). Thus:

--- H3 (Internationalization) Textbooks with a focus on international society are more likely than others to include human rights emphases.

Expanded emphases on curricular internationalism predate the rise of human rights education, which suggests the causal direction we put forward here. But it would be reasonable to alternatively argue that human rights foci drive curricula toward more international orientations.

Student-Centrism and Human Rights: The broad shift in social science curricular emphases, from national to individual realities, has very special meaning educationally. Naturally, this shift includes an emphasis on the rights and realities of the child – along with those of women, minorities, the elderly, indigenous people, or gays and lesbians. So we would expect to find increased textbook attention to the rights of the child in the ordinary course of curricular development. But the child enters into this system of thought in another way, too. If the modern individual is to be a sovereign actor, this individual is to be the protagonist (not just the carrier) of rights, and must be socialized to play this role. Human rights education, in this scheme, is central to the whole enterprise, as the place in which the new norms and identities are installed. So children’s rights are not just one more item in a long list; children’s rights are central to the enterprise of both affirming society as attuned to human rights and of preparing students to function as human rights bearing persons (Elliott 2007; Elliott and Boli 2008).

Because childhood worldwide is increasingly focused on school enrollment beginning at early ages, it follows that a first or central place where children’s rights should be emphasized is the school itself. The school, and its pedagogical arrangement, is to be the template for a rights-bearing society, and the crucial medium of instruction for that society. A progressive pedagogy (rooted variously in Dewey, Freire, or many earlier theorists) should follow. The student is to be an active participant in instruction and society, and is to learn to acquire participatory rights precisely through this process. Thus we expect to find a considerable rise over time in the degree to which textbooks focus on the development of active, participatory, and thus rights-bearing students. And we hypothesize that this characteristic of textbooks affects their overall emphasis on human rights. Since progressive pedagogies have a long history throughout the world’s educational system, we see them as playing a causal role in the more immediate rise of human rights foci, but effects in the opposite causal direction can clearly be envisioned too.

--- H4 (Effects of Student Centrism): Textbooks that are pedagogically student-centered more commonly emphasize human rights than do other textbooks.

For instance, a Social Studies textbook from Korea stresses the importance of cooperation and moral conduct in conformity with societal requirements. Rights are portrayed only as abstractions. On the other hand, a 2001 Social Studies book for senior high school students in Ireland emphasizes the student's active participation in exercising rights and in supporting the human rights of others through activities, group projects, role playing and open ended questions. A similarly-oriented 2006 History book for senior high school in Tunisia asks students to examine two posters used to advertise the International Colonial Exposition in Paris in 1931 and identify how the posters aimed to promote pro-colonization attitudes in society. Thus Tunisian students are expected to critically reflect on an historical injustice via a concrete focus on a specific earlier manifestation.

The idea here is that as human 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 models for the proper pedagogical development of the student. In this sense, student-centered instructional styles should be important components as human rights education comes to be properly "schooled."

Country Characteristics Affecting Human Rights Emphases: We consider above hypotheses about the properties of textbooks affecting their human rights emphases. A second set of hypotheses involves comparing countries. So we outline here some broad national characteristics that might be expected, by a range of sociological theories, to affect human rights emphases in textbooks. We subsequently develop and test a variety of indicators attempting to capture these theories.

National Development: We expect, following many conventional theories, that educational changes conforming to general world patterns will show up earlier and more strongly in developed countries. This should be especially true in the area of human rights, given their earlier articulation in Western countries (Donnelly 1982, 1986, 1998), and given the established sociological argument (commonly attributed to Simmel) that the complexity of more developed societies requires and produces more individuation of human persons.

--- H5 (Developed country effects). Developed country textbooks emphasize human rights more than others.

We study this hypothesis by looking for effects of indicators reflecting distinct dimensions of national development – in particular, economic development and educational expansion.

Globalization: Human rights foci reflect the rise of a more global society. So countries with more global linkages might be expected to have more human rights emphases in their textbooks. For instance, economic globalization may orient a national educational system outward. An argument rooted in world systems thinking might make a similar case in a less positive vein.

But we also consider a closely-related hypothesis that concerns national linkages to world society and its emergent normative orders: memberships in international nongovernmental organizations. Prior studies suggest that human rights institutions and educational arrangements are positively influenced by higher levels of membership in international organizations (Koo and Ramirez 2009; Suarez, et al. 2008; Cole 2005). These, of course, tend to be highest in developed countries. Thus:

--- H6 (Linkage to world society). Countries with (a) globally oriented economies, or (b) with ties to more international nongovernmental organizations emphasize human rights more than others.

Political and Cultural Individualism: A national characteristic especially relevant for human rights education may be the degree to which the nation-state itself respects the rights of its own citizens. It may be easier for countries with histories of citizen rights and participation to incorporate human rights in the curriculum. For instance, Communist countries may give less attention to human rights.

--- H7 (Democracy and individualism effects). Textbooks in countries with democratic and rights-regarding histories give more emphasis to human rights than others.

We explore this general idea with a variety of different measures: democracy, human rights practices, ethno-linguistic fractionalization, and the strength in a country of the field of psychology.

It is worth noting, for all the development-related country hypotheses above, that the opposite hypotheses would make some theoretical sense. Educational policy changes forwarded by world societal agendas often find their quickest adoption (though less often implementation) in weaker developing-country educational systems, which have little capacity for inertial resistance, and which, despite weak external links, may be exceptionally dependent on their environments for legitimacy and support (Ramirez and Meyer 2002). First World – that is, Western and developed – educational systems more often have entrenched and successful schooling forms, and more capacity to resist world fashions. In the particular human rights domain, for instance, it is possible that established rights-based educational models to be found in countries like the United States or Britain would lower tendencies to shift their citizenship orientations toward global human rights models. Prior studies suggest that there may be no straightforward relationship between Western heritage and human rights policies and rhetoric (Cole 2005).

For example, a 1978 American senior high school textbook, “The Search for Identity: Modern American History,” gives much attention to the rights of women, children, and minorities, but does not give any emphasis to the bases of these rights in general human rights terms (see Textbook Sources under the Bibliography). The rights involved seem rooted in traditional principles of citizenship. This model of presenting rights is also seen in a number of Eastern European countries, such as Armenia, Romania and the former USSR, as well as other Western countries like Canada and Australia.

In contrast, a recent (2001) Guatemalan Social Studies textbook for grade six emphasizes – presumably in response to a problematic national history – the roots of the rights of individuals in international human rights principles. The book focuses an entire chapter on the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and Guatemala’s ratification of various international human rights treaties including the Convention on the Rights of the Child. The book further discusses how, according to international opinion, the government of Guatemala violated these human rights principles in the past.

This line of thought and observation has particular implications for the former Communist countries. The collapse of Communism clearly had strong roots in its failures in human rights terms (as promulgated in the Helsinki Accords, for instance), and we might expect these countries to show substantial educational shifts toward human rights after 1990.¹ It is possible that these countries gave less emphasis than others to human rights in the Communist period, as we hypothesize above in discussing individualism, but change more rapidly to emphasize human rights in the post-Communist period. Note though that the Communist countries commonly formally subscribed to human rights and related treaties and conventions.

--- H8 (Post-Communist effects). Communist countries' textbooks change more to emphasize human rights than other national textbooks after their regimes change.

More specific ideas about the distinctive features of Communism can also be examined. The Communist tradition emphasized human rights associated with class inequalities, and the relevant countries took the lead in developing the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights in 1966. Some competition was involved with the Western countries' support for the International Covenant on Political and Civil Rights (also of 1966), which reflected the dominant liberal models. Note, however, that in fact ratifiers of one treaty were more likely to ratify the other as well (Cole 2005). We might, thus, expect to find some special Communist textbook emphases on the rights of workers, the rights of the poor, and some basic economic rights (e.g., to employment or welfare).

Data, Measures, and Analyses

Finding Books: International organizations and national societies keep careful records, over long periods of time, on many aspects of education. They count students and teachers in each level (often, grade) of the schooling system. They record program completion and degrees, usually by substantive category. And they record these counts broken down by gender, and often by other qualities such as ethnicity or nationality. Similar data report counts for teachers, schools of various types, and sometimes specific educational resources (buildings, books, computers, and so on). Interestingly, curricula are tracked and recorded much less well, particularly over time (Meyer et al. 1992). One can often find ministerial reports defining the current intended curriculum, but data for earlier points in time are less

often kept. On a cross-national basis, the best data are usually found in the limited collections of the International Bureau of Education (see the uses in Benavot and Braslavsky, eds. 2006; Benavot 2005; Meyer et al. 1992), but these describe half or fewer of the world's educational systems.

The situation is even more extreme insofar as textbooks are concerned. With some effort, one can obtain current lists of approved textbooks, but earlier ones are often hard to find. Outmoded textbooks, in other words, are difficult to collect systematically. A few research collections exist, but these tend to be limited in scope to particular world regions or subject areas. The outstanding exception is the library of the Georg Eckert Institute for International Textbook Research in Braunschweig, Germany. The Institute 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 crises and tragedies of the first half of the twentieth century. As part of its mission, the Institute tried systematically to collect secondary education social science textbooks – history, geography, civics, and social studies, particularly -- for countries around the world. It has continued this effort up to the present, though current resource limitations have led to a recent focus especially on West and East European textbooks. The outcome of this effort is a library with something over 60,000 social science school textbooks (the many German textbooks aside), principally for the period since 1950.

Working with the helpful staff of the Eckert Institute library and adding textbooks for additional countries supplied by cooperative colleagues around the world, we have systematically coded 465 history, civics, and social studies textbooks for 69 countries for the period from 1970 to the present. We focused on junior and senior secondary books (roughly, those aimed at grades 6 through 12). We tried to find at least one textbook for each of the three periods covered by our study (1970-84, 1985-94, 1995-2008). We first selected books from countries with a minimum of two books per period (one history and one civics or social studies text in each period) at the Eckert Institute; these tended to be from European or North American countries. In a second phase of selection, aimed at gathering books from other regions, we called on the support of colleagues from around the world. For 25 countries we were able to find at least one textbook for all three periods. For 20 countries, we found textbooks for only one period. Although there is no reasonable way to develop a more systematic sampling method, our strategy of collecting books based on availability may have the advantage of leading us to books with the widest distribution, as

these are also the books likely to be most readily available. Appendix A provides a list of the countries covered by our data set, and the number of books we could find and code for each country in each period. We have varying numbers of textbooks for countries and periods, and employ a hierarchical linear model, in our analyses, to handle this problem. We also employ regression analyses aggregated to the country level. In part, our hypotheses are about textbooks, and their changes over time: but in part they are about country textbook policies, with books taken as indicators of such policies.

Each book was coded, using a simple coding scheme designed to capture human rights foci (available from the authors): on the average, something like an hour per book was needed. The coding was done, or supervised, by members of our research group. In many cases, of course, the textbooks were in languages we do not know, so we found and supervised coders (usually native-speakers) familiar with the relevant languages. In the course of developing our coding scheme, we continuously monitored inter-coder reliability. Reliability was not a major problem, since our coding scheme was straightforward and factual in character, and called for little difficult interpretation.

Some obvious caveats: We do not have comprehensive sets of textbooks for any given country, period, level of schooling, and subject area (we later briefly compare our extensive cross-national study to studies of country cases). In three cases we have simply a single book. We do not know that the books we have coded were in fact the most heavily used books. Further, we do not know how much the subject area covered by a book was emphasized in the national curriculum. And, of course, our data cover only a fraction of the extant countries of the world. Thus, our findings can not be generalized beyond the books and countries that actually enter into our analyses.

Measures: Dependent and Intervening Variables: For our core dependent variable, we constructed an Index of Human Rights Emphasis. We coded each book on four indicators of the presence of explicit human rights discourse (using the exact phrase ‘human rights’, or relevant translation), and combined these together to build the Index: (a) The amount 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. These items are substantially intercorrelated (all Kendall's Tau-b values are over .26), and Cronbach's alpha for the overall measure is a satisfactory .69. A factor analysis indicated that one primary factor captured much of the variation in the items, so our final measure was assembled from factor weights in this analysis (all of which were substantial).

As an illustration, Colombian high school history textbooks from 1977 and 1987 give an elaborate account of the development of the nation over a very long history. The emphasis is on political and military events and leaders, with little attention to ordinary social life. There is no mention of human rights (or even of citizenship rights), no depiction of international human rights disasters or of international rules. Some great tragedies in history are noted (such as slavery), but these are not presented to the student as human rights violations.

On the other hand, a 2004 junior high school social studies textbook from Sweden devotes several chapters to human rights, noting United Nations declarations, the human rights violations associated with apartheid and with genocide in Bosnia, as well as the United States Bill of Rights and French Declaration of the Rights of Man. International social and cultural leaders explicitly associated with human rights, such as Martin Luther King and Gandhi, are also presented to students.

A second issue of interest is the degree to which a textbook is student-centered – that is, whether the textbook is designed to appeal to the interests and active participation of the student. This is important in its own right, but is centrally of interest as an independent variable in our argument. We created an Index of Student-Centrism by combining information on six trichotomous items. (a) Presence (and frequency) of pictures, especially those likely to interest students (e.g., pictures of young people, or of common persons rather than elite figures, as opposed to pictures of historical figures, buildings, or documents). (b) Presence and extent of activities or questions for students. (c) Presence and extent of active project activity for students. (d) Presence and extent of role-playing exercises. (e) Extent to which questions for students are open-ended, legitimating the student's own opinions and choices, without right-wrong answers. (f) Extent to which the book is laid out in an "expanding environment" style,

with sections or chapters sequencing from child to community to society to the wider world (this educational format was advocated by a number of social studies reformers such as Paul Hanna).² These six items are substantially intercorrelated (with one exception, all the polychoric correlations are over .35), and Cronbach's alpha for the overall Index is .74. A factor analysis indicated that a single factor accounted for a substantial part of the variance in these items, so they were combined through the factor weights involved. (See McEneaney 1998, for an earlier effort to examine the extent to which more recent textbooks were more student-centric.)

Empirically, there is great variation among textbooks on this broad dimension. For example, 2005 social studies textbooks for grades nine and ten from Pakistan makes no attempt to incorporate the student as a participant in education or society. The only pictures are maps, and no activities are suggested. A few examination-type questions are listed at the ends of the chapters: They have clear right-or-wrong answers. For example, students are asked when the first general elections were held in Pakistan, and they are asked to write out the four Islamic clauses of the Constitution of 1962. The history is presented from a collective national point of view – children and communities are not involved. The Columbian history textbooks mentioned above are similarly devoid of attempts to appeal to students. Laid out like traditional history texts, there are few pictures, and they are far removed from what progressive educators identify as student interests, as illustrated in Figure 1A.

[FIGURE 1A ABOUT HERE]

On the other hand, "Guatemala Alive!," a 1997 social studies textbook for grade six students in Guatemala organizes its presentation from the point of view of the student. Many pictures show children engaged in society, while questions and activities in the book ask the student to formulate active opinions and to suggest positive social and political activities. (See Figure 1B).

[FIGURE 1B ABOUT HERE]

Measures: Independent Variables: We analyze the data employing conventional indicators of our independent variables of interest. We characterize books by the period in which they were published (experimentation

suggested that cutting points around 1984 and 1994 capture periods of change), and by the subject area they cover (e.g., history, social studies, or civics). We also include an indicator of the degree to which the book's content is international in focus: a single five-point item asked the coder to note the proportion of the book addressing international issues. As controls, we include the length of the book in pages, and the grade level on which the book is targeted. To examine our country-level hypotheses, we include a variety of indicators, averaged across the time period of our study (or the part of that period in which the country existed as an independent state):

Development Indicators: We include a standard measure of national economic development – log GDP/Capita (World Development Indicators CD-Rom 2008). And we also include standard measures of educational development (World Development Indicators CD-Rom 2008): the ratio of secondary school students, and tertiary students, to the appropriate age group population.

Globalization Indicators: (a) Economic: We employ two standard measures of national economic linkage to world society (World Development Indicators CD-Rom 2008): Trade as a percent of GDP (using purchasing power parity, PPP, calculations), and gross Foreign Investment as a percent GDP (again using PPP calculations). (b)

Organizational: We employ a standard measure of linkage to world society – the log of national memberships in International Non-Governmental Organizations (Yearbook of International Organizations 1980).

Indicators of Political and Cultural Individualism: We characterize countries by their level of democratization (Marshall and Jaggers 2007 Polity IV Project), and by their record of human rights violations (Tsutsui & Hafner-Burton 2005; based on Amnesty International and US State Department reports). We also employ the standard measure of ethno-linguistic fractionalization, taken to indicate societies with potentially conflicting corporate groups (Montalvo & Reynal-Querol 2005). We employ a measure of the strength of the field of psychology in a country, taken from Frank et al. (1995) – a variable known to be closely related to Western individualism. In addition, we characterize countries by their location in a simple typology: Western (159 books from 19 countries), Communist (or former Communist) countries (129 books from 17 nation-states), and other countries (essentially Third World cases, 177 books from 33 countries).³

Analysis Model: We present simple means and percentages, and then shift to a hierarchical linear model (Raudenbush and Bryk 2002). Hierarchical models are appropriate because we are interested in analyzing the properties of textbooks, as units of analysis. But these textbooks are clustered by country, as Appendix A describes. In addition, we hypothesize that the level of human rights in textbooks is influenced by both textbook-level and country-level variables. Modeling the outcome as only a product of textbook level variables using OLS regression underestimates the error that arises from the commonalities of textbooks within particular countries, violating the assumptions of OLS regression. Aggregating textbook level data to the country level produces similar results, as we show using OLS regression in our final analyses. But the estimates are less precise than those using HLM, particularly for countries with few books. Hierarchical models incorporate both textbook-level and country-level error, and allow us to use the fullest range of information available.

Our hierarchical model consists of a textbook level (level 1) equation and multiple country-level (level 2) equations. The constant of the textbook level equation and the dummy variable for books published after 1994 are modeled as functions of country characteristics. Given that the constant in the textbook-level equation is modeled as a function of country characteristics, the interpretation of the constant is of utmost importance. We constructed the variables such that the constant in the textbook level equation should be interpreted as the mean score on the human rights index for a textbook in country j after adjusting for differences in the predictor variables.⁴

The equations for our final model (Table 2, Model 4) are:

$$(1) \text{ Score on Human Rights Index} = \beta_0 + \beta_1(\text{Published After 1995}) \\ + \beta_2(\text{History Textbook}) \\ + \beta_3(\text{Level of Internationalization}) \\ + \beta_4(\text{Level of Student Centrism}) \\ + \epsilon_{ij}$$

$$(2) \beta_0 = \gamma_{00} + \gamma_{01}(\log \text{GDP/capita}) + \mu_{0j}$$

Results

Descriptive Findings: Table 1 presents descriptive findings on our main question of interest – changes in textbook properties over time. Panel A reports changes on our various indicators of textbook human rights emphasis, and on

the overall Index of Human Rights Emphasis that puts them together. The results are quite striking, and certainly support our core hypothesis (H1) of an increase in human rights emphasis over time. On all our indicators, there is little increase between the first two time periods, and then a substantial and statistically significant increase in the third period – a period that reflects the support of the UN Decade for Human Rights Education, which ran from 1995 through 2004. For instance, about one-fifth of the textbooks from the periods before 1995 devoted a section or more to the discussion of human rights. This jumps to 44% in later period. Similar changes occur on each indicator of human rights emphasis.

[TABLE 1 ABOUT HERE]

Panel B of Table 1 reports changes on our indicators of pedagogical student-centrism, and on the Index that assembles them. Again, the indicators show very consistent and significant increases in student-centrism over the whole period of our study. As time goes on, textbooks increasingly appeal to, and legitimate, the active and participatory student. For instance, role-playing exercises, though generally uncommon, appear more than three times as often in the post-1994 textbooks than they do in the earliest textbooks. Student-centrism, with the associated strengthening of the rights of the student, rises in the modern period.

Panel C of Table 1 presents changes over time on our Indices of Human Rights Emphasis and Student Centrism. These data differ from those in the earlier panels because they are based on countries as units of analysis rather than textbooks. So for each country-period combination, we average data for the textbooks we have coded, producing a rough overall picture of how national textbook patterns evolve. The results conform substantially to the textbook-based comparisons above, making it clear that our findings of change over time are not due to variations in numbers of books coded per country and time period.

Multivariate Analyses: I. Hierarchical Linear Models: Our hypotheses are in part about the impact of properties of textbooks on their human rights foci, and in part about the impact of properties of countries on the same outcomes. So our multivariate analyses take the form of hierarchical linear models, to show effects of both sorts of variables.

This analytic strategy has been utilized in other cross-national educational analyses with multi-level data (e.g. Baker, et. al. 2008). We show in Table 2 nine such models.

[TABLE 2 ABOUT HERE]

Our substantive analysis begins with the first model in Table 2. We begin with our textbook-level hypotheses. And we include two control variables – the length of the textbook in pages, and the grade level at which the textbook is addressed (senior versus junior secondary school). Since these controls show no significant effects throughout our textbook analyses, we drop them after the first three models. At the textbook level, we find:

(a) The period in which a textbook is published has a substantial effect on its human rights emphasis (Hypothesis 1). Preliminary analyses showed insignificant differences between our first two periods (1970-1984 and 1985-1994), so this distinction is collapsed in the analysis presented in Table 2. The third period – the period since 1994 – shows a marked effect as hypothesized, as seen in the positive and significant coefficient for the period 1995-2008 in all models.

(b) As hypothesized (H2), history textbooks are less likely than others to emphasize human rights. And the interaction term in Model 3 in the table shows, additionally, that history texts are less likely than others, over the period of our study to increase their emphasis on human rights. History texts, in other words, respond less than civics or social studies books to broader pressures for human rights education.

History, as the research literature suggests, tends to be the history of nations rather than people (Frank et al. 2000). Thus, history textbooks show at least some tendency to remain loci of nationalism. The current decline in the ultimate charisma of the national state, and the rise of both the individual and supra-national society, we argue, involves a shift in social science perspectives away from classic history.⁵ In preliminary analyses not shown here we found little difference in human rights emphasis between civics and social studies textbooks, so the distinction is not reported in Table 2.

(c) Further, as we expected (H3), textbooks with a more international flavor tend to have more human rights emphasis. We observe positive, significant effects on the Internationalization variable throughout our models. The human rights movement is indeed a global enterprise, in part replacing earlier foci on citizenship rights at national levels. Global perspectives certainly encourage the depiction of human rights topics in schools (Suárez, et al. 2009 – see also Torney-Purta 1987 on international civics education achievement).

(d) The hypothesized effect of our Index of Student-Centrism (H4) is also substantiated in the analysis of Table 2. The effect is positive and statistically significant. In Model 2 we explore an interaction between the most recent publication period and student centrism. The interaction is designed to test whether the effect of Student-Centrism is conditional – student-centrism might especially support the active involvement of the schooled student in a world society emphasizing human rights. That is, the active and engaged student can be oriented to the nation-state and to national legacies, or to an emerging world order which emphasizes the value of human rights. So its impact on human rights emphasis would be principally in a period in which education for human rights is a globally important principle – in other words, in post-1994 period.

A further rationale for the same prediction arises from the fact that the early human rights education movement followed very directly from the broad human rights social movement, not from an educational base. Over time, human rights became incorporated in, and normalized in, regular educational professionalism (Suárez 2007a). With this change, we might usefully argue, came a closer link between human rights education and educational progressivism in general. We find support for these lines of thought in Model 2 through a modest positive interaction effect capturing the idea of a special effect of student-centrism on human rights emphasis the post-1994 period.

At the country level: (e) We hypothesized (H5) that more developed countries would give more emphasis to human rights education, following the standard sociological idea that social complexity strengthens individualism. Models 4-5 show the effects of two development measures. Both Log GDP/Capita and the tertiary educational enrollment rate show positive effects. In an analysis not shown here, the secondary educational enrollment rate also has a significant effect, though a more modest one.

(f) We hypothesized (H6) that indicators of economic and organizational globalization would show effects on human rights emphases. Model 6 shows that trade – a commonly used indicator of economic globalization – does not have a significant effect: in an analysis not shown here, foreign investment dependence also has an insignificant effect. Model 7 shows that Log INGO memberships – a very commonly used indicator of national linkages to global society – does not have a significant effect on textbook human rights emphases. Whatever linkages carry human rights education norms around world society are not captured by these measures of globalization.

(g) We hypothesized (H7) that indicators of political-cultural individualism would predict human rights emphases in textbooks. Human rights ideas have clear roots in Western history, especially in its individualistic variants, and are likely to find stronger support in such countries. The first three models in Table 3 investigate the question.

{Table 3 about here}

It turns out that a simple dummy variable for the West (i.e., Western Europe and the Anglo-American colonies) shows a modest positive effect. And two variables related to the Western tradition – political democracy, and a measure of the prevalence of the academic field of psychology – do show significant effects. In an analysis not shown here, ethno-linguistic fractionalization, taken to indicate societies structured around groups more than around individuals, shows its expected negative effect. National levels of human rights violation, in an analysis not shown here, also have a negative effect.

Overall, we find strong support for our hypotheses about characteristics of textbooks likely to be associated with human rights emphases. Such emphases reflect a global rather than national orientation, and one built around the student as an active individual. And we find support for some of our hypotheses about country-level variables supportive of human rights emphasis. Several indicators of political-cultural individualism show effects, as do two indicators of national development more generally.

Related to the effects of individualism, we looked at whether Communist countries were lower on human rights emphases, and whether the same countries in the post-Communist period had higher levels of emphasis (H8). It turned out, in analyses not shown here, that neither dummy variable showed a significant effect.

The last three models in Table 3 carry the analysis one step further. We try to contrast the effects of national development (indicated by log GDP/capita), international linkage (log INGO memberships), and political/cultural individualism, though all three of these factors are obviously highly intercorrelated.. To assess individualism, we combine our measures of Western status, democracy, and the psychology index: we z-score each item, and combine them. Models 4 and 5 shows that when individualism is contrasted with log GDP or with log INGO memberships, it maintains a much stronger effect. And in Model 6, we show that the individualism variable retains a much stronger effect than either of the others. It seems clear that human rights education is especially strong in the Western individualist countries, and that political and cultural forms play a core role in affecting national uses of human rights education.

It is important to note that most of the variation in our data set is variation among books (74 %), not countries. This is characteristic of many studies of more individual and more collective units, but has clear substantive implications: the variations we find are more about the pedagogical orientations of particular books than about the distinctive policies of national educational systems. As seen in the low percent of variance explained at level-2 relative to the textbook models without country-level predictors, most of the explained country-level variance comes not from predictors, but from a decrease in the variance around mean country human rights score caused by adjusting for textbook-level factors. One exception is the effect of political democracy, which explains 25% of the country-level variation.

Methodological Checks and Further Explorations: We note, in our interpretations of Tables 2 and 3, the outcomes of a good many further exploratory analyses, as we report in the text above. Some checks can be reported here.

First, it seemed possible that some of our results reflect the simple mechanics of the textbook world. For instance, perhaps longer books have more possibilities to discuss matters like human rights. We show that this variable has

insignificant effects in several analyses in Table 2. This pattern continues through analyses, not shown here, paralleling all the models of Tables 2 and 3. Nor does the inclusion of the variable modify the pattern of effects of other variables.

Second, it seemed possible that our results would differ depending on the grade level for which a textbook is intended. For instance, middle school textbooks might emphasize issues like human rights, while senior secondary books focus on more academic history. We show in the first analyses of Table 2 that a dummy variable for grade level shows insignificant effects. This result runs throughout analyses paralleling those of Tables 2 and 3. And the inclusion of the variable does not meaningfully alter other findings.

Third, it seemed possible that our findings of the weak human rights emphases of Communist country textbooks reflected methodological biases toward Western and liberal conceptions of human rights. The Communist world tended to stress human socioeconomic rights, and to deemphasize individualist notions valuing expansive participatory personhood. To examine this possibility, we coded the specific groups with respect to which textbooks presented any sort of rights discourse.

It turns out that Communist books were not more likely than others to talk about the rights of most social groups, but they were much more likely than Western (or Third World) books to discuss the rights of workers (and the poor): over half the Communist country books discussed worker's rights in the period before 1995. Their discussions of these rights attenuated sharply in the post-Communist period – and in fact ex-Communist textbooks are less likely than Western ones to discuss worker rights (only one-fifth note these rights). Obviously, the global human rights regime is substantially about the social standing of the individual human person and not principally about social class structures in their own right, and thus not about the special rights of the working class.

Fourth, our research design and data collection maximize textbook coverage around the world since 1970. But they do not closely follow over time textbooks in particular fields, grade levels, and countries. A case study design would follow a particular sequence of books in a particular country. This is not generally feasible with the Eckert library. Fortunately, we can refer to researchers who have taken the case study route, investigating questions near

our own. Most closely, Moon (2008) tracks Korean social science textbooks through the whole current period. She finds a clear pattern of adoption of human rights education, often through international influences, and shows a substantial rise in relevant discussions in the more recent books (and in national policies). Dierkes (2009, and elsewhere) studies middle school history texts in Japan and both East and West Germany through the whole post-war period. His focus is only indirectly on human rights education, but he observes changes along the same broad lines as those reported here – earlier in West Germany, and more recently in Japan. Soysal and Wong (2006), more intensively examining textbooks from a few European and Asian countries looking for globalizing changes in conceptions of citizenship, report findings that directly parallel those noted here.

Fifth, as we note above, we treat textbook student-centrism, internationalism, and focus on history as independent variables affecting human rights emphases. This makes sense, given the much longer history of these curricular movements, and the recency of human rights foci. But it is certainly reasonable to argue for causal effects in the other direction. To avoid any issues of misspecification, we have analyzed our data with these independent variables dropped from the analysis (analyses available from the authors): no changes in the general pattern of country-level effects, or of the effects of the recent time period central to our analysis, are observed. We conclude that the inclusion of these independent variables does not distort the analysis.

Finally, our analyses partly focus on the textbook level, and partly on the country level. It is useful to see how well our findings stand up if we shift the analysis entirely to the country level – the level at which most educational policy around the world is established and changed. We thus report below an aggregated analysis.

Multivariate Analyses: II. Aggregated Regression Analyses at the Country Level.

The statistical analyses reported in Tables 2 and 3 are based on textbooks as units of analysis. We have different numbers of textbooks for different countries and time periods, and thus our ability to make inferences to national educational patterns as they change over time can be questioned. To deal with this, we have aggregated our data to the country-period level, averaging information for all the textbooks coded for each country and period. Then we repeat the core analysis of Tables 2 and 3 with this aggregated data set, reflecting 69 countries (and 142 country-time periods) rather than 465 textbooks. The results are reported in the models reported in Table 4.

[TABLE 4 ABOUT HERE]

The results of the analyses in Table 4 conform in outline to the results of the hierarchical linear analysis at the textbook level reported in Table 2. But they are, quite naturally given the limited number of country cases involved, less likely to be statistically significant. Country averages of books published after 1994 have higher human rights emphases. The Student-Centrism and Internationalization measures – averaged across books for each country/period combination – show significant positive effects. The effect of (aggregated) history textbooks is negative, as hypothesized, but not statistically significant. The effects of national characteristics parallel those found in the HLM analyses of Tables 2 and 3, but are less often statistically significant. There are modest positive effects of log GDP/capita, and (in an analysis not reported in the Table) the tertiary educational enrollment rate. Log INGO memberships has an insignificant effect, as do (in analyses not shown) our indicators of economic globalization. Among individualism indicators, the psychology measure, democracy, and the index aggregating psychology, Western status, and democracy, show effects.

In the final two models of Table 4, when the individualism index is set against the log GDP/capita effect, neither variable shows a significant effect – their close relationship means that we cannot distinguish which of them has a stronger effect – though the individualism variable retains a substantial coefficient. (In an analysis not reported, the individualism index shows a significant effect when paired with log INGO memberships.) Overall, the country-level analyses with data aggregated (averaged) to the country level show results similar to those of the more elaborate HLM analyses at the book level. The core findings remain that student-centrism and internationalism increase human rights emphases, history books have somewhat fewer such emphases, and some indicators of national development and especially political/cultural individualism show modest effects.

Discussion

We find a notable increase in human rights emphases in textbooks in the period since 1994. The change is associated with the rise of more internationalized perspectives, and with the relative decline of history in the

curriculum (compared with civics and social studies, which have a more universalized flavor). In the most recent period, it seems to be associated with the rising student-centrism of textbooks and curricula.

The world human rights regime has had the character of a change-oriented social movement, and its initial educational form in the 1970s and 1980s certainly had a social movement quality (see Tibbitts 2002). This quality seems quite tamed as it reaches the textbook level. The human rights movement, in the post-War decades, focused on legal confrontations between individual rights and often-repressive state authority. In the 1970s and 1980s, it took on more and more educational dimensions, with the idea that students needed to be protagonists of their own (and others') rights against oppressive authority: the social movement or oppositional quality remained strong (Suárez 2006 for a review). It also took on a political function, as advocates wanted to use education as a weapon to correct an unjust past (analogous to a Truth Commission). But a process of pedagogical professionalization or normalization took over, and the proactive student was depicted as simply a good citizen and person, rather than a revolutionary or oppositional protagonist (Suárez 2007a). This process is similar to the professionalization and normalization of black studies in the United States (Rojas 2007).

A cynical view of the process sees the status of human rights discourse in the wider world as approaching the "happy talk" status of diversity in the United States (Bell and Hartman 2007). One result of this taming process is that we found very few textbooks that emphasize human rights principles by way of critiquing their countries, or even as mechanisms for highlighting social problems. In practice, that means that few textbooks emphasize the past or present human rights violations in national society itself. There are exceptions: we found a few texts intended to be supplementary material emphasizing human rights as distinctive and oppositional. And among countries, Argentina was something of an exception (see Suárez 2007b for a discussion; also see Astiz 2007): six of its textbooks emphasized the human rights violations of the previous military regime. But in most countries, human rights principles are presented as naturally evolving norms and norms that are really in place in the world. So the leaders depicted are not national revolutionaries, but historic world figures in other countries (e.g., Martin Luther King, Gandhi, Nelson Mandela, Rosa Parks). Violating regimes are elsewhere than in national society.

Even when a clear reference to national society is involved, textbook human rights discussions attend to be stylized and abstract. Strong statements are made, but in terms of abstract universal principles, not necessarily immediate or concrete social realities. Thus a Korean textbook discussing the rights of migrant workers (Lee and Kim 2005, in Moon 2008): “Treating migrant workers with disrespect is a violation of their human right to dignity. If a person discriminates and maintains a prejudice against migrant workers coming from poor, underdeveloped countries, that person essentially gives up his right to be a member of the international community. As a country, we will not be able to escape from the stigma and disgrace of being labeled a society that does not respect human rights.”

Human rights principles are, by and large, presented as the natural products of progress in human history – a very Whiggish perspective. This means that they are presented as less dramatic and distinctive than we had expected to observe. So textbooks show less tendency than we had supposed to present human rights norms with elaborate references to special national and international organizations and rules. This naturalization of human rights seems to be especially characteristic of Western countries, whose textbooks treat human rights principles as natural cultural properties of the countries involved – an odd outcome in view of the disasters of Western history on the human rights front.

In this tamed but progressive pedagogy, it is seen as normal and routine and obvious that minorities, or women, or even children, would take action to demand their natural rights. These rights are natural components of proper social values, sometimes Western ones but often articulated in ahistorical and universalistic ways that do not need to be buttressed by elaborate references to United Nations resolutions, or national Bills of Rights. For example, a 1982 high school Social Studies textbook from Norway discusses the women’s movement, the civil rights movement, and even mentions gay/lesbian rights. None of these discussions find it necessary to tell the student the basis of these movements in either national or international law. Rather, the student is expected to understand that it is entirely natural for groups of all sorts to expect and demand equal and expanded rights.

In some cases, thus, our coding operations become more difficult as time periods move on. It becomes a little unclear, for instance in depictions of the women’s movement’s successes, what the normative frame of a textbook really is. Clearly, human rights norms are involved, but they are no longer presented as special and distinctive cases.

They are normalized as parts of the natural operation of society. In this fashion, human rights ideas, as with many other normative structures in history, are absorbed and routinized in the expanded educational curriculum.

Critics can reasonably see the educational normalization of human rights in a negative light, and as hiding the historical evils of national evils of world society. This may miss the modern pedagogical point. Mass schooling, throughout its history, is designed to prepare young persons for an imagined and idealized future society, not to teach them the evils of their parental past (Meyer and Ramirez 2000). In this currently-envisioned future, empowered persons will have the widest range of rights and opportunities, and students should be prepared to act on these assumptions. Blood-and-guts history moves out of the curriculum. It can and does survive on TV and in the movies. But in the proper social studies textbook, all societies are basically good, because all societies are characterized by a common humanity that frames and gives rise to the human rights of all individual persons.

Conclusion

Since the Second World War, dramatic changes have taken place in cognitive and normative maps of the world, and these have had substantial effects on education, among other institutions. In several ways, the term “globalization” describes some of the core shifts. One well-documented core change is the expanded impact of world models on national societies, and in particular national educational systems. Educational change tends, now, to be worldwide in character (Meyer and Ramirez 2000). This describes both mass and higher education, and describes both structural patterns of enrollment (e.g., the enrollment of women) and curricular arrangements.

But a second core change, aspects of which are documented in this paper, is in the reconstruction of education toward a stronger focus on a global social and natural reality. Here we are not simply envisioning global forces producing some standardization – we see the creation of a more global world. On the natural side, this is evident in the expanded curricular attention to the sciences in general and the environmental sciences in particular. On the social side, there is much more attention to supra-national, and often global, history, society and institutions; and there is a greatly expanded sense that social arrangements are reflections of both common worldwide processes.

The central human entity in this newly expanded global vision is the individual human person. The individual – not the nation, the community, or the familial group – possesses ultimate standing, in an explosively expansive human rights tradition which roots its norms beyond the purview of any positive legal system. And this individual is seen, more than simply entitled to some rights, as possessing legitimately empowered rights to proactive choices.

Our empirical analyses of social science textbooks around the world certainly show the relevant effects. We focus on human rights, not other dimensions of globalization (such as the global environment, or the problems of the global human collective). Human rights emphasis jump up everywhere – by some indicators especially in more Western and developed countries. They appear especially strong in internationalized curricula, and in the expanding civics and social studies curricula which partly replace more traditional history instruction. And they are associated with the globally rising pedagogical emphasis on student-centric education – with models of the student as an empowered social actor with the agentic capacity and responsibility to promote the human rights of both self and others.

In the high period of the nationalist state, before World War II, a core theme of social science instruction, and of the status of the individual in society, was citizenship with its rights and responsibilities. This was a business rooted in national constitutions and laws, though in some instances seen as normatively prior to these laws. The modern human rights tradition envisions rights as natural rather than entirely legal in character. And human rights instruction may tend similarly to naturalize the enterprise as if the empowerment of the human person was an inherent feature of social reality. In this matter, as is often the case, the contrast between the world of schooling and the world of practical experience is great.

¹ The collapse of the Soviet Union was obviously driven by multiple causes including its territorial overextension (Collins 1978).

² Both depictions of common persons and the use of the expanding environment style are more likely to be found in social studies or civics texts than in history books. But the latter tend to undergo changes in the same directions in a number of countries.

³ A few textbooks had some missing data, in some cases because information was absent from the textbook (for example, publication date) and in others because coders missed a question. For those cases with missing data we imputed the mean value. Specifically, the variables with any missing data include: Year of publication (9 cases), Human Rights Index (17 cases), the Student-Centrism index (4 cases), and Level of Internationalization (16 cases). For the two indices a case was considered missing if it lacked any one of the component parts.

⁴ We accomplish this by grand-mean centering all of our level-1 variables.

⁵ In neo-Marxist analysis the decline is attributed to the triumph of economic globalization (Dale 2000). This may clearly play a role but a human rights emphasis is not especially produced by an expansion of, or focus on, world markets. As our later results suggest, cultural and organizational globalization may be more critical in accounting for the rise of a human rights regime in general and for human rights emphases in textbooks in particular.

Table 1. Changes Over Time in Properties of Textbooks

| | 1970-1984 | 1985-1994 ^a | 1995-2008 ^b | |
|--|-----------|------------------------|------------------------|-----|
| A. Indicators of Human Rights Emphasis. | (n=97) | (n=150) | (n=218) | |
| Means: | | | | |
| Amount of Human Rights (0-5) | 0.86 | 0.93 | 1.57 | *** |
| Number of Int'l HR Documents Mentioned (0-8) | 0.16 | 0.24 | 0.71 | *** |
| Reference to Nat'l HR Documents (0-1) | 0.13 | 0.17 | 0.34 | *** |
| Number of Major HR Disasters Mentioned (0-13) | 0.23 | 0.31 | 0.64 | * |
| Human Rights Emphasis Index (0-4.74) | 0.69 | 0.77 | 1.36 | *** |
| HR Index for (Ex)-Communist Countries ^c | 0.46 | 0.37 | 1.39 | *** |
| Mean HR Index for non-Communist Countries ^d | 0.79 | 0.90 | 1.34 | ** |
| B. Indicators of Student-Centrism | | | | |
| Means: | | | | |
| Pictures, esp. Child-Friendly (0-3) | 0.87 | 1.06 | 1.33 | *** |
| Questions, or Activities for Students (0-3) | 1.28 | 1.5 | 1.85 | *** |
| Projects for Students (0-3) | 0.19 | 0.43 | 0.64 | ** |
| Role-Playing for Students (0-3) | 0.13 | 0.25 | 0.45 | ** |
| Open-Ended Discussion Questions for Students (0-3) | 0.69 | 1.02 | 1.24 | ** |
| Text in Expanding Environments Format (0-3) | 0.26 | 0.22 | 0.42 | *** |
| Mean Student-Centrism Index (0-2.92) | 0.71 | 0.95 | 1.29 | *** |
| C. Country-Level Aggregated Data | (n=56) | (n=55) | (n=54) | |
| Mean Human Rights Index (0-4.74) | 0.84 | 0.88 | 1.52 | *** |
| Mean Student-Centrism Index (0-18) | 0.87 | 0.91 | 1.25 | *** |

*** p<.001, ** p<.01, * p<.05, one-tailed tests

a Significance indicates t-test comparing difference between means or per cents of periods 1 and 2.

b Significance indicates t-test comparing difference between means or per cents of periods 2 and 3.

c N for period 1 is 29, period 2 is 35, and period 3 is 64.

d N for period 1 is 68, period 2 is 111, and period 3 is 148.

Table 2. Hierarchical Models for Textbook-Level Effects, and for Country-Level Globalization and Development Variables

| | Textbook Level | | | | | | Development | | | | | | | |
|-----------------------------|----------------|------|---------|------|---------|------|-------------|------|---------|------|---------|------|---------|------|
| | Model 1 | | Model 2 | | Model 3 | | Model 4 | | Model 6 | | Model 7 | | Model 8 | |
| <i>Level 1</i> | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Published After 1994 | 0.448 | **** | 0.434 | **** | 0.484 | **** | 0.464 | **** | 0.455 | **** | 0.441 | **** | 0.450 | **** |
| History | -0.653 | **** | -0.611 | **** | -0.307 | *** | -0.653 | **** | -0.658 | **** | -0.639 | **** | -0.636 | **** |
| % International | 0.101 | **** | 0.097 | **** | 0.098 | *** | 0.102 | *** | 0.104 | **** | 0.102 | *** | 0.101 | *** |
| Student Centrim | 0.332 | ** | 0.134 | | 0.293 | ** | 0.314 | ** | 0.308 | ** | 0.321 | ** | 0.315 | ** |
| Grades 11-13 | 0.041 | | 0.016 | | 0.058 | | | | | | | | | |
| N. Pages (log) | 0.084 | | 0.041 | | 0.092 | | | | | | | | | |
| Stud. Cent.*Pub. After 1994 | | | 0.434 | ** | | | | | | | | | | |
| History * Pub. After 1994 | | | | | -0.860 | **** | | | | | | | | |
| Intercept | 1.134 | **** | 1.091 | **** | 1.108 | **** | 1.122 | **** | 1.114 | **** | 1.134 | **** | 1.130 | **** |
| <i>Level 2</i> | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| GDP/capita (log) | | | | | | | 0.107 | ** | | | | | | |
| Tertiary enrollment | | | | | | | | | 0.013 | ** | | | | |
| Trade (% of GDP) | | | | | | | | | | | 0.001 | | | |
| INGO Memberships (log) | | | | | | | | | | | | | 0.050 | |
| Level 1 Variance Explained | 0.15 | | 0.16 | | 0.19 | | 0.15 | | 0.15 | | 0.15 | | 0.16 | |
| Level 2 Variance Explained | 0.12 | | 0.10 | | 0.10 | | 0.17 | | 0.20 | | 0.09 | | 0.09 | |

Table 3. Hierarchical Models for Country-level Individualism Variables, and Multivariate Country-Level Effects

| | Individualism | | | | | | Individualism vs. Globalization vs. Development | | | | | |
|----------------------------------|----------------------|------|---------|------|---------|------|--|------|---------|------|---------|------|
| | Model 1 | | Model 2 | | Model 3 | | Model 4 | | Model 5 | | Model 6 | |
| <i>Level 1</i> | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Published After 1994 | 0.458 | **** | 0.453 | **** | 0.481 | **** | 0.473 | **** | 0.442 | **** | 0.443 | **** |
| History | -0.663 | **** | -0.640 | **** | -0.667 | **** | -0.660 | **** | -0.675 | **** | -0.677 | **** |
| % International | 0.100 | *** | 0.097 | *** | 0.100 | *** | 0.097 | *** | 0.098 | *** | 0.099 | *** |
| Student Centrim | 0.309 | ** | 0.319 | ** | 0.308 | ** | 0.311 | ** | 0.324 | ** | 0.324 | ** |
| Intercept | 1.120 | **** | 1.061 | **** | 1.115 | **** | 1.117 | **** | 1.124 | **** | 1.125 | **** |
| <i>Level 2</i> | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Democracy | 0.039 | *** | | | | | | | | | | |
| West | | | 0.235 | * | | | | | | | | |
| Psychology Index | | | | | 0.220 | ** | | | | | | |
| Individualism Index ^a | | | | | | | 0.086 | * | 0.131 | *** | 0.121 | ** |
| GDP/capita (log) | | | | | | | -0.009 | | | | 0.024 | |
| INGO Memberships (log) | | | | | | | | | -0.210 | * | -0.218 | * |
| Level 1 Variance Explained | 0.15 | | 0.16 | | 0.15 | | 0.15 | | 0.15 | | 0.15 | |
| Level 2 Variance Explained | 0.25 | | 0.12 | | 0.22 | | 0.19 | | 0.23 | | 0.22 | |

**** p<0.001, *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1, one-tailed tests

Notes: (a) Individualism Index is sum of z-scores of Democracy, West and the Psychology Index. (b) Reporting robust standard errors. (c) N at level 1 is 465, N at level 2 is 69.

Table 4. Aggregated Country-Level OLS Regression

| | Textbook | Development | Globalization | Individualism | | | Individualism vs. Globalization vs. Development | |
|----------------------------------|-----------------|--------------------|----------------------|----------------------|-----------|-----------|--|----------|
| | Model 1 | Model 2 | Model 3 | Model 4 | Model 5 | Model 6 | Model 7 | Model 8 |
| Published After 1994 | 0.414 ** | 0.452 *** | 0.465 *** | 0.445 *** | 0.472 *** | 0.460 *** | 0.461 *** | 0.444 ** |
| History | -0.145 | -0.208 | -0.152 | -0.233 | -0.250 | -0.221 | -0.223 | -0.238 |
| % International | 0.147 ** | 0.133 ** | 0.137 ** | 0.133 ** | 0.150 ** | 0.122 ** | 0.124 ** | 0.126 ** |
| Student Centrism | 0.400 ** | 0.382 ** | 0.361 ** | 0.352 ** | 0.356 ** | 0.365 ** | 0.366 ** | 0.379 ** |
| GDP/capita (log) | | 0.084 * | | | | | 0.019 | 0.025 |
| INGO Memberships (log) | | | 0.099 | | | | | -0.054 |
| Democracy | | | | 0.027 ** | | | | |
| Psychology Index | | | | | 0.152 * | | | |
| Individualism Index ^a | | | | | | 0.055 * | 0.047 | 0.057 |
| Intercept | 0.307 | -0.337 | -0.316 | 0.308 | 0.395 * | 0.396 * | 0.234 | 0.537 |
| R-squared | 0.14 | 0.16 | 0.15 | 0.17 | 0.16 | 0.16 | 0.16 | 0.16 |

*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1, one-tailed tests

Notes: (a) Individualism Index is sum of z-scores of Democracy, West and Psychology Index. (b) Robust regression using Stata 10.0 command "rreg". (c) N. observations is 142 country-time periods.

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Note: Titles are English translations, except for Australia, Canada, Ireland, Pakistan and the United States.

Appendix A: List of Books by Time Period

| | 1970-1984 | 1985-1994 | 1995-2008 | Total |
|------------------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-------|
| Argentina | 1 | 2 | 4 | 7 |
| Armenia | 0 | 1 | 6 | 7 |
| Australia | 2 | 4 | 2 | 8 |
| Austria | 5 | 4 | 3 | 12 |
| Belarus | 0 | 1 | 3 | 4 |
| Belgium | 2 | 3 | 2 | 7 |
| Bolivia | 0 | 5 | 0 | 5 |
| Bosnia and Herzegovina | 0 | 1 | 8 | 9 |
| Bulgaria | 8 | 4 | 4 | 16 |

| | | | | |
|------------------|---|---|----|----|
| Canada | 4 | 4 | 3 | 11 |
| Colombia | 1 | 6 | 0 | 7 |
| Costa Rica | 0 | 0 | 4 | 4 |
| Croatia | 0 | 1 | 1 | 2 |
| Czechoslovakia | 3 | 1 | 0 | 4 |
| Denmark | 2 | 2 | 2 | 6 |
| Ecuador | 0 | 1 | 4 | 5 |
| El Salvador | 0 | 0 | 1 | 1 |
| Ethiopia | 0 | 2 | 0 | 2 |
| Finland | 2 | 2 | 0 | 4 |
| France | 5 | 5 | 5 | 15 |
| Georgia | 0 | 0 | 5 | 5 |
| Germany | 2 | 2 | 2 | 6 |
| Ghana | 0 | 8 | 6 | 14 |
| Greece | 1 | 2 | 2 | 5 |
| Guatemala | 0 | 0 | 2 | 2 |
| Guyana | 0 | 0 | 1 | 1 |
| India | 3 | 2 | 9 | 14 |
| Indonesia | 0 | 0 | 12 | 12 |
| Iran | 2 | 2 | 0 | 4 |
| Ireland | 3 | 2 | 4 | 9 |
| Israel | 1 | 4 | 0 | 5 |
| Italy | 1 | 2 | 2 | 5 |
| Japan | 2 | 2 | 3 | 7 |
| Kenya | 0 | 6 | 0 | 6 |
| Latvia | 0 | 0 | 3 | 3 |
| Macedonia | 0 | 1 | 1 | 2 |
| Malawi | 0 | 0 | 2 | 2 |
| Mexico | 1 | 3 | 2 | 6 |
| Namibia | 0 | 3 | 0 | 3 |
| Nepal | 0 | 0 | 7 | 7 |
| Nicaragua | 0 | 1 | 0 | 1 |
| North Korea | 0 | 2 | 4 | 6 |
| Northern Ireland | 0 | 0 | 2 | 2 |
| Norway | 2 | 2 | 2 | 6 |
| PR China | 0 | 1 | 1 | 2 |
| Pakistan | 0 | 0 | 3 | 3 |
| Panama | 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 |
| Philippines | 0 | 4 | 2 | 6 |
| Portugal | 2 | 2 | 2 | 6 |
| Puerto Rico | 0 | 0 | 1 | 1 |
| Romania | 1 | 2 | 2 | 5 |
| Russia | 0 | 4 | 23 | 27 |
| Serbia | 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 |
| Singapore | 0 | 2 | 0 | 2 |
| Slovenia | 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 |
| South Africa | 2 | 2 | 0 | 4 |
| South Korea | 3 | 3 | 4 | 10 |
| Spain | 3 | 2 | 6 | 11 |
| Sweden | 2 | 2 | 2 | 6 |

| | | | | |
|----------------|----|-----|-----|-----|
| Switzerland | 2 | 2 | 1 | 5 |
| Taiwan | 0 | 1 | 12 | 13 |
| Tanzania | 0 | 0 | 8 | 8 |
| Tunisia | 0 | 0 | 3 | 3 |
| Turkey | 2 | 1 | 4 | 7 |
| USA | 3 | 6 | 3 | 12 |
| USSR | 14 | 12 | 0 | 26 |
| United Kingdom | 7 | 5 | 11 | 23 |
| Venezuela | 0 | 1 | 1 | 2 |
| Yugoslavia | 3 | 2 | 0 | 5 |
| Total | 97 | 150 | 218 | 465 |

Figure 1A: A page from a textbook with low child centrisim.

32. La Regeneración

La Constitución de 1883 llevó al país a una anarquía total. El movimiento regenerador pretendió equilibrar los principios fundamentales para el funcionamiento del estado: libertad y orden. Veamos en qué forma se llevó a cabo.

32.1 La necesidad del cambio

Durante el período que estuvo vigente la Constitución de 1883, el país fue conducido a un caos absoluto. El ejercicio ilimitado de las libertades individuales y el libre comercio de armas habían incrementado las luchas entre los diferentes grupos políticos y el estado no tenía autoridad para intervenir en los desórdenes debido a que este era un asunto que concernía a cada estado en particular. Según afirma Miguel Urrutia en su obra *Historia del Sindicalismo en Colombia*, entre 1863 y 1865 hubo más de 50 insurrecciones o revueltas armadas, exclusivas de cada estado y 42 constituciones, ya que cada uno de ellos legislaba de acuerdo con sus intereses.

Además de la anarquía política existía también un desorden económico total. El exagera-



32.1 Rafael Núñez.

do federalismo no hacía posible una unidad económica que permitiera el desarrollo del país. Por otra parte, al consagrar la libertad como principio fundamental se dio paso para que se practicara el libre comercio y se ahogara la industria local.

Esta era la situación en 1878 cuando el radicalismo entró en franca decadencia. Se hacía necesaria una nueva concepción del estado para organizar el desorden existente y esa, precisamente, fue la respuesta que quiso dar el movimiento de la Regeneración.

32.2 ¿Qué fue la Regeneración?

La Regeneración, como su nombre lo indica, fue un movimiento encaminado a reconstruir el país, devastado por las guerras y carente de una dirección política estable. Aunque la inquietud por el cambio se manifestaba ya desde 1878, quien la llevó a cabo fue Rafael Núñez durante su segunda presidencia.

Este movimiento, concebido como una auténtica revolución, culminó en 1886 con la proclamación de una nueva constitución que, con algunas reformas, rige aún en nuestro país.

32.3 Factores que hicieron posible la Regeneración

En 1884, Rafael Núñez fue elegido nuevamente para la presidencia de la república, apoyado por una nueva fuerza política: el partido Nacional, que alineó en sus filas gentes pertenecientes al liberalismo y al conservatismo. La alianza consumada en el nuevo partido fue una manifestación del descontento general an-

Source: 1987. Colombia. "History of Colombia." History textbook for lower high school.

Figure 1B: Sample pages from a textbook with high child centrism.

Tiempo de descubrir

La cruzada de los niños

En Polonia, en el año treinta y nueve, se libró una batalla muy sangrienta que convirtió en ruinas y desiertos las ciudades y aldeas. Allí perdió la hermana al hermano. Y, entre fuego y escombros, a sus padres los hijos no encontraron. No llegaba ya nada de Polonia. Ni noticias ni cartas. Pero una extraña historia, en los países del Este circulaba. La contaban en una gran ciudad, y al contarla nevaba. Hablaba de unos niños que, en Polonia, partieron en cruzada. Por los caminos, en rebaño hambriento, los niños avanzaban.




Se les iban uniendo muchos otros al cruzar las aldeas bombardeadas. De batallas y negras pesadillas querían escapar para llegar, al fin, a algún país en el que hubiera paz. No faltaban la fe ni la esperanza, pero sí les faltaba carne y pan. Quien les negó su amparo y fue robado después, nada les puede reprochar. Mas nadie acusa al pobre que a su mesa no los hizo sentir. Para cincuenta niños hace falta mucha harina: no basta la bondad.

Fragmento de "La cruzada de los niños", de Bertolt Brecht (alemán).

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Pasatiempo

Que la paz reine en todo el mundo:

- Lleva al aula periódicos donde aparezcan noticias internacionales.
- Con tus compañeros(as), organicense en grupos de trabajo.
- Seleccionen el artículo de prensa que más les interese, en donde se presente algún problema de repercusión mundial.
- Investiguen y recopilen información acerca de la situación expuesta en el artículo.
- Organicen una exposición oral para sus compañeros y compañeras. El contenido del artículo seleccionado proponiendo soluciones positivas para el problema presentado.

Recuerda... a grandes problemas grandes soluciones.



Actividades

1. Con tus compañeros(as), organicense en grupos. Con la ayuda del maestro o la maestra elijan un proyecto económico factible. Trabajen los objetivos, propongan actividades para lograrlo, bautícenlo con un nombre sugestivo y preséntenselo al grupo. Comenten los resultados.
2. Con tus compañeros(as), formen cuatro grupos. Cada grupo visitará diferentes organizaciones guatemaltecas que trabajan por resolver alguna problemática del país. Pueden elegir entre Consejo de Procuraduría de los Derechos Humanos, Asociación contra el Sida y Segoplan o alguna otra institución. Antes de realizar la visita, preparen las preguntas que se realizarán en la entrevista. Compartan sus resultados en clase.
3. Inviten al aula a una mamá o un padre de familia. Selecciónese un problema de la comunidad que les explique y comente cómo y por qué se trabaja en Guatemala. Luego, trabajen una propuesta en común.

Source: 1997. Guatemala. "Guatemala Alive!" Social Studies textbook for middle school.

