

**Portraying the Global:
Cross-National Trends in Textbooks' Portrayal of Globalization and Global Citizenship¹**

ELIZABETH BUCKNER AND SUSAN GARNETT RUSSELL

Stanford University

Many have noted the rise of the *global* in academic and popular discourse. We ask how this global frame of reference has been incorporated into secondary social science textbooks, a realm traditionally dominated by nationalist discourse. Utilizing a dataset from more than 500 secondary school textbooks from around the world, spanning 1970-2008, we describe the incorporation of mentions of globalization and global citizenship into textbooks over time, and then use a multilevel model to determine the textbook and country-level variables associated with mentions of each. We find that globalization and global citizenship are both predicted by the textbook content's reflection of the external world, including international events and mentions of human rights. However, no cross-national economic or political differences systematically predict incorporation of these topics. We argue that mentions of globalization and global citizenship in textbooks are two manifestations of a world culture that increasingly emphasizes inter-connectedness in post-national society.

¹ The authors' names are listed in alphabetical order; they contributed equally to this research. They would like to thank Francisco Ramirez, John Meyer, Patricia Bromley, members of Stanford University's Comparative Sociology Workshop, and two anonymous reviewers for helpful comments. Previous versions of this paper were presented at annual meetings of the Annual Sociological Association and the Comparative and International Education Society. Data collection used for this article was funded by a grant from the Spencer Foundation (200600003).

Over the past two decades, mentions of globalization have increased markedly in popular and academic discourse (Fiss and Hirsch, 2005). Given this rise of a global narrative, Sassen (2007) argues that we should examine how global processes infuse even traditional domains of the nation-state (3). As one such domain, textbook content offers the opportunity to analyze the shifting global discourse (Schissler and Soysal, 2005). Scholars have a rich tradition of examining how textbooks serve as powerful tools through which states instill nation-specific knowledge, identities, and values in future generations (Apple, 1984, Apple and Christian-Smith, 1991, Avery and Simmons, 2001). Recently, researchers have begun to examine the changing content of social science textbooks worldwide, demonstrating increasing mentions of human rights and student centrism, in line with larger global cultural shifts emphasizing individual rights (Bromley et al., 2011, Meyer et al., 2010). Building on these analyses, our study examines the infusion of a global narrative into national textbooks as part of larger shifts in world culture.

The process of embracing the global requires a re-negotiation of the national. Soysal (1994) argues that the idea of global citizenship has challenged the traditional notion of a nation-state as a territorially and culturally contiguous unit (Soysal, 1994). Similarly, Sassen (2007) argues that incorporating conceptions of globalization into traditionally national domains may require a re-framing of “the national” (9). For example, including positive portrayals of indigenous peoples or human rights into curricular content might require shifts in how the nation portrays its ethnic identity or history. Within education, mass public schooling and standardized curricula have played a critical role in defining and legitimizing the nation-state, often in direct opposition to other nations or indigenous enclaves (Anderson, 1991, Boli et al., 1985). The rise of discourses surrounding globalization and global citizenship may shift focus away from a nation-dominant

narrative towards a global narrative, which may imply a fundamental re-conceptualization of the nation-state's purpose or identity. Thus, incorporating a global narrative into textbook content can be controversial, as it touches upon issues of citizenship, identity, and multiculturalism that are often contested by local communities and social activists.

This paper investigates the rise of global discussions in secondary social science and history textbooks worldwide. Textbooks have long been considered sources of official knowledge and provide insight into evolving portrayals of national values and “visions of legitimate knowledge” (Apple and Christian-Smith 1991:8). Further, the formal structures of schooling, including what is taught in class and what textbooks are approved, is controlled by the state and thus is inherently political and linked to the project of nation-building (Apple and Aasen, 2003). In most countries or states, including federal systems, textbooks must be approved by the national government or state agency (see Apple (1989) for discussion of the textbook approval process in the U.S.) Consequently, we expect that over time, textbooks will also reflect shifts in what is considered important knowledge about the nation-state's relationship to the exterior world, as well as evolving conceptions of citizenship.

We use a cross-national data set coded from more than 500 secondary social studies, civics, and history textbooks from more than 70 countries, spanning 1970-2008. We first examine the extent of global frames of reference in textbook content, and demonstrate a significant increase in the number of explicit mentions of “globalization” and “global citizenship” in textbooks cross-nationally over time. We then investigate which factors influence the likelihood that global frames of reference appear in textbooks by examining both textbook- and nation-level factors. In

our analysis, textbook content is conceptualized as a reflection of larger global discourse, and the inclusion of “globalization” and “global citizenship” in textbooks are viewed as two specific indicators of larger changes in world culture that increasingly links the individual directly to a post-national world.

Background

Globalization has become a catchall term for discussing contemporary social, political and economic phenomena at the world level, characterized by high levels of inter-connectedness. Robertson (1992) has defined globalization as "the compression of the world and the intensification of consciousness of the world as a whole" (Robertson 1992:8). Building on this definition, we adopt Dreher's (2006) framework for understanding the dimensions of globalization, namely:

- (a) *economic globalization*: long distance flows of goods, capital and services and the information and perceptions that accompany market exchanges;
- (b) *political globalization*: a diffusion of government policies;
- (c) *social globalization*: the spread of ideas, information, images and people (1992).

Although economic integration is often characterized as the engine of globalization, sociologists and anthropologists tend to focus on the effects of increased flows of information and cultural production. Additionally, while traditional portrayals of international events and external nation-states tend to use outsiders and enemies to emphasize the distinctness of a single national identity, the discourse of globalization is one that creates a world connected by multi-lateral relations. It is a complicated debate that combines discussions of severe income inequalities with

praises of technological advancements, and thus we expect these nuances to be translated into textbooks' portrayals of globalization.

Global Citizenship

Citizenship in a traditional sense is defined as membership in a political and geographic community, which provides legal status, rights, and belonging in a community (Bloemraad et al., 2008). While the notion of a “world citizen” is an ideal derived from antiquity, citizenship in the era of nation-states is clearly defined in terms of the nation-state, and rights and responsibilities are viewed as derived from membership in a distinct national community. In the recent era of globalization, however, the forces of global integration, economic interdependence, and international migration, coupled with the ascendancy of a universal human rights discourse, have radically transfigured the traditional notion of citizenship as territorially bound and politically constituted.

The rise of a global human rights ideology after World War II has influenced the way rights are conceptualized, shifting away from individual rights originating in the nation-state to a more universal and abstract notion of human rights (Soysal 1994:8). In the post-national model of citizenship, universal human rights and personhood trump national rights and nationhood (Soysal 1994:142). Similarly, notions of citizenship have evolved from a concept linked to nationhood to a “post-national” or “cosmopolitan” or “denationalized” citizenship that transcends the nation-state (Bosniak, 2006, Bosniak, 2000, Sassen, 2007, Somers, 2008, Soysal, 1994).

Nation-states increasingly emphasize incorporating a global perspective into educational curricula to prepare citizens for an interconnected global environment. Global citizenship education inculcates students with a notion of not merely belonging to their own nation but to the world and encompasses global issues, including human rights, democracy, social justice, and conflict (Davies, 2006). Global citizenship education moves towards a post-national model, uncoupled from one distinct nation-state identity, espousing the idea of cosmopolitan citizenship within a broader global community.

In spite of the tension that we might expect global citizenship to pose to the traditional understanding of national-level political citizenship, global citizenship is generally positively portrayed in much of the literature. While polarizing debates tend to characterize discussions of globalization, global citizenship builds on the long-standing ideal of the “citizen of the world” – symbolically welcoming all people into a universal community that is built on a sense of shared values and respect for individual human rights.

3. Research Objectives and Questions

Despite interest in global processes broadly, there is a lack of cross-national scholarship examining the manner in which globalization and global citizenship are incorporated into educational texts. By examining the rise of globalization and global citizenship in secondary social science textbooks, our study explores how global narratives are incorporated into traditional domains of nation-state control, and how they are being distilled into texts targeted towards future generations. While we are not explicitly interested in whether youth are being prepared to be “global citizens,” our exploration of global narratives in textbooks does shed light

onto how today's youth are being taught to be participants in an increasingly inter-connected global society. We are also interested in whether the shift to global discourse is a global trend, or whether it is predicted by nation-level factors. Specifically, our study asks two questions:

- (1) How are the ideas of globalization and global citizenship portrayed cross-nationally and over time in textbooks?
- (2) What country level and textbook level factors predict whether textbooks contain references to a global discourse?

Scant research has been carried out on the inclusion of global narratives in educational content, despite the fact that the effects of globalization are highly debated in national educational circles. Issues of multiculturalism, immigration, and foreign language or mother tongue education are constantly discussed. Yet, the majority of the attention that is focused on the issues of curricular content concerning globalization and global citizenship is highly localized or politicized, and often invokes contentious battles over ideas such as national identities. Very little research has empirically examined how curricular content is shifting -- not due to politicized debates -- but as part of a long-term global cultural shift in understandings of individuals, their rights, and their identities in a post-national society.

Data and Methodology

Our data come from an extant dataset coded from 559 secondary school textbooks, drawn from 76 countries, spanning 1970-2008. The textbook data were collected as part of a multi-year study of changes in textbook content over time based at Stanford University.² The larger project investigates the tension between mass education as a nation-building project on one hand, and the more recent emphasis on educating rights-bearing actors in a global society, through a neo-

² "The Worldwide Rise of Human Rights Education, 1950-2005," is a project led by John Meyer in the Department of Sociology, Francisco Ramirez and Christine Min Wotipka in the School of Education at Stanford. The project is funded by the Spencer Foundation Grant (200600003).

institutional framework. Researchers associated with the project have demonstrated a wide variety of shifts in textbook content over time, including increasing emphases on: human rights, multiculturalism, environmentalism, women's rights, the Holocaust, and student-centrism. These studies consistently indicate that global trends in the post-WWII era emphasize a more inclusive vision of education and an increased focus on the individual as the source of rights. Our analysis builds on the data and methods of these prior studies, but aims to provide a more explicit examination of the portrayal of the wider world in textbook content by specifically examining whether or not a post-national world is mentioned in textbooks.

The majority of the textbooks in our sample were coded from the extensive collection housed at the Georg Eckert Institute for International Textbook Research in Braunschweig, Germany. Their collection includes more than 70,000 history, social sciences, and geography textbooks from 158 countries worldwide-- primarily from the post-World War II era.³ Additional textbooks were coded from the Stanford libraries' collections and from those of participating researchers around the world, including many older textbooks from private collections and those available from local bookstores and publishers worldwide.⁴

The difficulty of acquiring textbooks cross-nationally has constrained our sample in a number of ways. Our sample is a convenience sample based on available collections, and is not necessarily representative of all countries, or of the most widely used textbooks within countries. Further, we do not have the same number of textbooks from every country or the same countries across all

³ For more information on the George Eckert Institute, including detailed information on its collection, see: <http://www.gei.de/en/library/collection/textbook-collection.html#c3053>

⁴ At Stanford, textbooks were gathered from the Hanna collection at the Hoover Institute, which houses approximately 1,000 textbooks from around the world. Textbooks were also culled from the Cubberly Education Library's collection and the Stanford Teachers Education Program Library (STEP).

time periods. We recognize the possibility that our sample is biased towards more globally connected countries and publishers and recognize the limitations that a non-random sample presents. We do not claim to generalize to countries or time periods not represented in the dataset.⁵ However, we have done our best to avoid bias by collecting textbooks from a wide range of libraries, as well as the personal collections of an expansive network of researchers worldwide, many closely affiliated with education institutions in their home country. Moreover, our sample does contain textbooks from all regions of the world over a span of nearly four decades, and is the most complete source available on cross-national changes in textbook content over time.

Coding procedures followed a standardized protocol developed by the research group at Stanford.⁶ All coders were trained in order to ensure inter-rater reliability, and attempts were made to use native speaking coders whenever possible.

Descriptive Findings

From International to Global

We find that portrayals of globalization and global citizenship are both tightly linked to a textbook's mention of international events. In all time periods, approximately 80 percent of textbooks mention at least some international events, and this percentage has remained remarkably constant over time. However, the extent that a specific textbook mentions international events (i.e., the percent of pages mentioning events outside their borders) does seem

⁵ Details on textbook sample available from authors upon request. A list of textbooks, and data on the number of textbooks from each region, by year, is available in the online Appendix.

⁶ Coding protocol available from authors upon request.

to be increasing, from an average of approximately 30 percent in the early 1970s, to over 40 percent in 2005.

An increase in mentions of international events, however, does not necessarily suggest a move towards globally unifying constructs, as international wars and foreign nations have historically been used to emphasize distinct national identities (Anderson 1991). International or external events may be portrayed entirely from the perspective of the nation-state, whereas the image of globalization extends beyond a self-contained nation to one of a nation-state existing within a globally connected world polity. To examine the rise in references to a global framework, we also examine whether the words ‘globalization’ and ‘global citizenship’ are explicitly mentioned in textbooks.

Figure 1 shows the number of textbooks mentioning the word globalization over time. Because our sample of textbooks is not random, such that we have different numbers of textbooks from each country and different countries in each time period, we examine trends as both the proportion of our entire textbook sample, and the percent of countries in our sample that contain at least one textbook that mentions globalization. Figure 1 shows an exponential rise in the mentions of globalization in textbooks over time: while mentions were essentially non-existent in 1970 they were found in nearly 40% of textbooks in 2005.

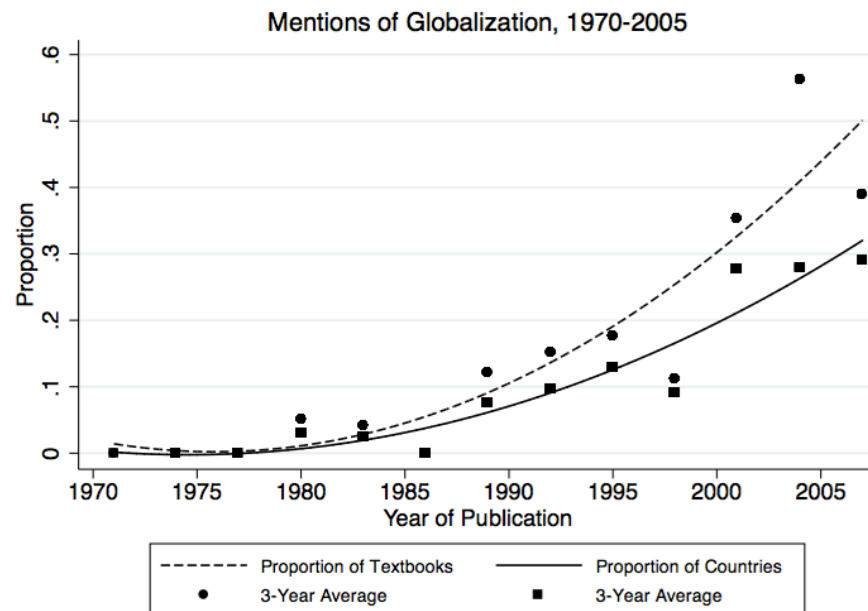


FIG 1. Mentions of Globalization

We also study qualitative examples to examine the linkages between images and ideas in textbooks, and whether portrayals of globalization are predominantly positive or negative. We find that many textbooks from culturally distinct countries around the globe are quite critical of the effects of globalization; a number of textbooks emphasize a growing global income gap and increased economic dependence on export crops as prime examples of the consequences of economic globalization. For example, a 2005 textbook from Spain introduces the idea of globalization under the heading: “The Market Imposes its Law,” and continues: “Globalization consists of the process of global integration of distinct regional economic markets, and a process of liberalization of commerce, facilitated by the spectacular growth of transportation and communication in recent years” (Matos and Orriols 2008: 19). It later emphasizes the idea of inequality, under the sub-heading: “Global market, unequal exchange,” and states that: “This

system of production and business benefit the countries of the North, who impose their own laws of international commerce, but the countries of the South suffer severely because they cannot compete on equal terms” (Matos and Orriols, 2008).⁷

To further examine how globalization is portrayed in textbooks, we examine whether a textbook included a specific mention of economic, political or socio-cultural globalization. While some textbooks mentioned all three dimensions, others emphasized only one. We found that of all mentions of a certain type of globalization in our sample, economic globalization constituted the plurality, at 45.81%, while mentions of political globalization accounted for 28.39% and socio-cultural globalization constituted approximately a fourth of all mentions. This finding supports the idea that globalization tends to be portrayed as an economic phenomenon, with political and socio-cultural dimensions also discussed, but not emphasized to the same extent.

We also find that globalization is often linked to communications technology, increased travel between countries, and the spread of Western cultural norms. The following example, shown in Figure 2 below, drawn from a 2008 Tanzanian civics textbook relates globalization to technology and Western style dress (Burkagile, 2008). The first image explains that modern technologies are brought by globalization, while the second explains that Western style dress is one of the effects of increasing socio-cultural contact. In short, textbooks are increasingly discussing globalization over time, with portrayals of both its economic and cultural dimensions.

⁷ Translated by authors from the original Spanish.

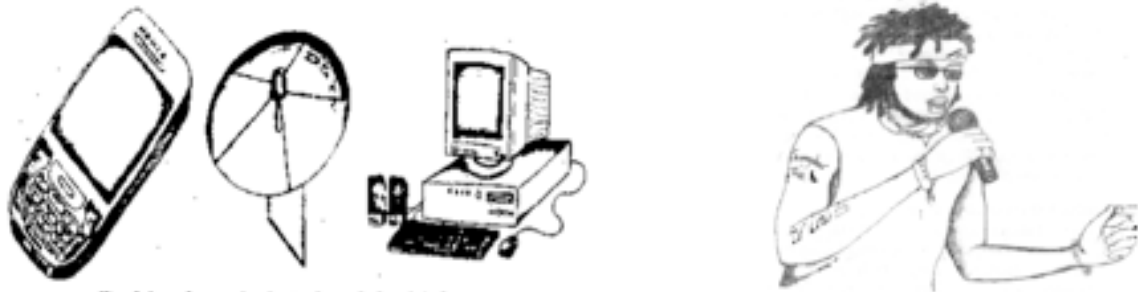


FIG 2. Images of Globalization

Notes: Both images come from Burkagile 2008, pages 66 (left) and 92 (right).

Global Citizenship

We also examine whether textbooks mention the phrase “global citizenship” in explicit terms, as the term suggests membership in a trans-national globalized world. Figure 3 below plots the percent of textbooks and countries in our sample that mention global citizenship. We see that there is an overall increase in mentions of global citizenship over time; however, countries’ incorporation of global citizenship also seems to exhibit some period effects. In the period following the Cold War, we observe a marked increase in mentions of global citizenship at both the textbook and country level. In particular, the era between the late 1980s and late-1990s exhibits a rapid increase in mentions of global citizenship. In contrast, after the year 2001, there does seem to be leveling off of mentions. We might predict that this is due to a more unified vision of the world community after the fall of the Cold War among all nations. By 2005, approximately 40% of all the textbooks in our sample mention global citizenship and roughly a fourth of all countries in our sample mention global citizenship, lower than the percentage mentioning globalization.⁸

⁸ The difference observed between textbooks and countries is driven by the small sample in each period.

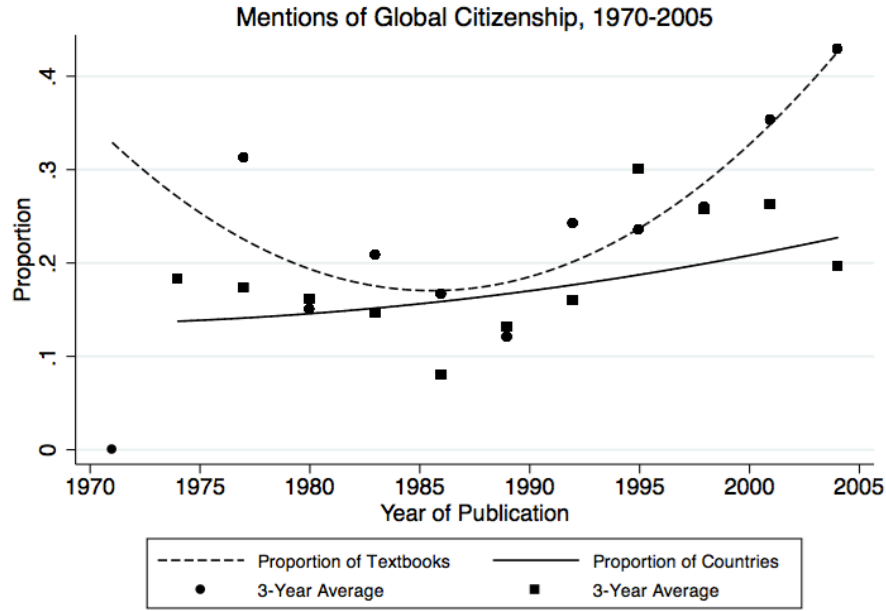


FIG 3. Mentions of Global Citizenship

In examining qualitative examples of how this concept of global citizenship is portrayed, we find there are discernable differences between traditional notions of citizenship, as derived directly from the nation-state, and global ideas of citizenship expressed in human rights terms. For instance, in a Peruvian civics books from the 1970s, citizenship is discussed as a duty and a right of those born in the country (Pinilla, 1978). Civic obligations, including political rights and duties, and patriotism to the Peruvian nation are construed as the fundamental aspect of citizenship. Importantly, the textbook portrays these rights as derived from the state. In contrast, a recent civics book from Spain discusses the concept of citizenship as existing on several levels—a local, national, and a global level. In the figure below, an individual is shown as embedded within expanding rings of citizenship, which are derived from both human rights and national laws. The book states: “we are all citizens of the world...As citizens of the world, we are protected by human rights that apply to all humanity...Human rights derive from our human

condition, not from our nationality”⁹ (Mario, 2008). In this more recent textbook from Spain, citizenship is not conceived solely in terms of the nation-state but rather is explicitly invoked in human rights terms. Although this shifting notion of citizenship could be perceived as a threat to a traditional notion of the nation-state as the source and guarantor of rights, we find that the portrayal of global citizenship is not portrayed as undermining the importance of the nation and national laws. Rather, the textbook adds the idea of a shared global community, based on a sense of universal human rights onto the classic portrayal of nation-based citizenship.



FIG 4. Image of Global Citizenship

Notes: The image caption reads: “The circles of citizenship: Local, State and World.”

Source: Mario, 2008, p. 14.

In this figure, global citizenship does not seem to be replacing ideas of national citizenship; the two seem highly compatible. To further investigate the relationship between global citizenship and national citizenship, we examined the percent of textbooks that mention three areas of national citizenship (citizenship generally, citizens’ duties, and citizens’ rights) over three time

⁹ Translated by authors from the original Spanish.

periods (1970-1985, 1986-2000 and from 2001-2008). Discussion of general citizenship issues is found in 62.7% of textbooks in the first period and 66.52% in the most recent period. Similarly, discussion of duties and responsibilities of citizenship increases from 48.31% to 55.79%, and the discussion of citizenship rights increases from 71.19% to 73.82% in the first to the most recent period. The percent changes are quite small, yet the inclusion of traditional citizenship issues is occurring along with increasing mentions of global citizenship. We find modest increases in all areas of citizenship – national and global – across the time span.

Additionally, there is an increase in the percent of textbooks that mention both global citizenship and national citizenship issues in the same book, over time. Of those books published before 1985, two thirds (66.4%) of those that mention global citizenship also mention national citizenship issues. However, by the most recent period, 89.1% of books mentioning global citizenship also mention national citizenship issues, suggesting that global citizenship is not replacing discussion of national citizenship. Taken together, these analyses suggest that both conceptions of citizenship – national and global – are highly compatible, and are increasingly found in the same textbook. We argue that conceptions of global citizenship emerge as complementary rather than replacing national citizenship, indicating a vision of *plus-national*, rather than *post-national*, citizenship.

What Factors Explain the Adoption of Global Discourses in Textbooks?

Building on our descriptive analysis, we seek to understand which textbook and nation-level factors explain the extent to which globalization and global citizenship are discussed in textbooks. We adopt the logic of neo-institutionalism that ideas diffuse as a result of their

theorization, rationalization, and institutionalization (Meyer and Ramirez, 2000). Essentially, we believe that globalization and global citizenship are increasingly incorporated into textbooks because they accord with a larger world culture that links the individual directly to the global norms and values with fewer intermediary institutions mediating individual identities.

Prior research on textbooks has hypothesized many processes that are contributing to global trends in textbook content: the standardization of educational professions worldwide; the role of consultants and non-profits in influencing textbook production; the production of textbooks by multinational publishers; and the proliferation of international documents and conferences that promote specific curricular standards (Altbach, 1991, Bromley, 2010, Suarez, 2007). The aforementioned examples have helped create an international publishing industry promoting global norms and content within curricula worldwide. We believe that all of these trans-national actors may be playing a role in influencing curricula; however, our study is not designed to investigate the mode of diffusion of these global discourses. Rather, we investigate the global content of textbooks, as well as the extent that nation-level factors affect adoption of this content. The question of mechanisms, while important, is not within the scope of our analysis.

Nonetheless, the internationalization of publishing also raises the question of how “national” textbooks actually are. In our sample, 39.2% of textbooks were published directly by national Ministries of Education, while private, for-profit publishers published 56.5% of textbooks. The rest were published by NGOs. While the majority of textbooks in our sample were not published directly by governments, we believe that the vast majority of countries worldwide do create standardized curricular guidelines that shape curricular content, and in this sense, government regulation renders textbooks “national.”

Our analysis draws on a number of studies that have examined the factors that predict the diffusion of human rights, multiculturalism, environmental rights, and child-centered pedagogies cross-nationally (Bromley et al., 2011, Meyer et al., 2010, Ramirez et al., 2007). These studies find that a book's year of publication is an important predictor, as research has shown that global cultural norms increase in salience in more recent time periods. We also anticipate that mentions of globalization and global citizenship will be strongly linked to the portrayal of international events, as both require an invocation of the external world.

A number of prior studies have also found that discussion of human rights in textbooks is strongly linked to the incorporation of other global trends, including student-centered pedagogies, and multiculturalism and discussions of the Holocaust (Bromley and Russell, 2010). We also find in our qualitative examples that notions of global citizenship tend to be framed in terms of universal human rights, while globalization is often associated with violations of human rights; therefore, we expect human rights discourse to be an important predictor of global frames of reference for both variables at the textbook level.

Previous cross-national studies have also found a worldwide decline in curricular focus on history in favor of interdisciplinary subjects of social studies and civics (Wong 1991; Benavot 2005; Benevot and Braslavsky 2006). We hypothesize that this inter-disciplinary approach is more compatible with a conception of a post-national society than is a traditional nation-centric approach often put forth in history texts. Moreover, prior studies have found that history books were less likely than social science or civics books to discuss human rights, which has been

shown to be a strong indicator of adoption of global cultural norms (Meyer, Bromley and Ramirez 2010). Thus, we anticipate that history books will be less likely than social studies or civics books to mention these global terms.

At the textbook level, we hypothesize the following:

Hypothesis 1a: *More recent textbooks will be more likely to mention globalization and global citizenship.*

Hypothesis 1b: *Textbooks with greater international emphases will be more likely to mention globalization and global citizenship.*

Hypothesis 1c: *A textbook will be more likely to mention the phrases “globalization” and “global citizenship” if the textbook also mentions human rights language.*

Hypothesis 1d: *History textbooks will be less likely to mention globalization and global citizenship.*

We also make a number of predictions about what nation-level factors will influence incorporation. Prior studies find support for the idea that international non-governmental organizations (INGOs) act as transmitters of global cultural ideals (Boli and Thomas, 1999, Wotipka and Tsutsui, 2008). Thus, we expect that nations with more linkages to carriers of global culture will place greater emphasis on globalization and global citizenship.

In addition, because extant literature frames global citizenship as based in human rights terms, we expect that countries supporting human rights will be more likely to emphasize a global and cosmopolitan notion of the citizen. We operationalize this by examining signatures and ratifications of global human rights treaties, in line with prior research (Suarez et al., 2009).

Therefore, at the cross-national level, we hypothesize the following:

Hypothesis 2a: *Nation-states with more linkages to world culture, as measured by membership in international NGOs will be more likely to emphasize ideas of globalization and global citizenship.*

Hypothesis 2b: *Nation-states that are more embedded in the human rights regime, as operationalized by ratification of human rights treaties, will be more likely to mention global citizenship in textbooks.*

Methodology

We utilize a multi-level logit model to test the relationship between country level and textbook level factors and the mentions of globalization and global citizenship. Because our two variables of interest – mentions of globalization and global citizenship – are binary variables, we model the likelihood that they appear in textbooks using a maximum likelihood, rather than standard ordinary least squares (OLS) regression.

Additionally, due to the nested nature of our data, of textbooks within countries, we employ a two-level model that accounts for the variation at both the country level and the textbook level. A multi-level hierarchical model accounts for the correlated errors at the country level, which violates assumptions necessary for ordinary least squares (OLS) regression (Raudenbush and Bryk, 2002). The random-intercept controls for the combined effects of all omitted time-invariant country-specific variables that make some countries more likely to display references to globalization and global citizenship than others.¹⁰

Our model is given by the following equation:

¹⁰ Multi-level regression usually requires group-mean centering of data to eliminate the possibility of group effects; however, because of the small size of books in each country we choose not to do this in our models. Instead, we control for a number of important national variables, including GDP, region, etc. We also chose not to group-mean center because our models much easier to interpret without group-mean centering.

$$\text{logit} \left\{ P(y_{ij} = 1 | x_{2j}, x_{3ij}) \right\} = \beta_1 + \beta_2 x_{2ij} + \beta_3 x_{3j} + v_j + \varepsilon_i, \text{ where:} \quad (1)$$

$i = \textit{Textbook}$

$j = \textit{Country}$

$P(y_{ij}) =$ The likelihood that textbook i in country j mentions globalization or global citizenship

$B_1 =$ Mean probability of likelihood across all textbooks and nations

$B_2 =$ A vector of textbook-specific variables, including: year of publication, human rights index, pages, grade category and subject.

$B_3 =$ A vector of country-specific variables, including: GDP, globalization, migration and INGO linkages

$v_j =$ Country errors, which are assumed to be normally distributed.

$e_i =$ Textbook-specific errors

We analyze our multi-level model in STATA rather than the hierarchical linear model (HLM) software in order to allow for variation over time at the country level. Our analysis in STATA represents a significant methodological improvement over a two-level model in HLM, given that the HLM software package does not allow nation level variables (L2) to vary over time in the second level.¹¹

Outcome Variables

We analyze two outcome variables: whether a textbook mentions the term “globalization” and whether the textbook mentions the term “global citizen”. Both outcome variables are coded as binary variables where a zero indicates no mention and a one indicates that the term was used in the book. Although ideally we would have used a more nuanced outcome variable measuring the extent of post-national language in a textbook (i.e. percent of pages), we were constrained by the pre-existing coding scheme, where our two outcome variables were coded only as binary variables.

¹¹ This means that in HLM, when modeling change over time, all time-varying country-level variables (e.g. GDP, democracy, human rights linkages) must be averaged across the entire time period in the dataset. Nonetheless, we also ran our models in HLM, using the mean value for each of our country level variables, and find consistent results.

The coefficients in our models can be interpreted as finding that: a one-unit change in each independent variable is associated with a change in the odds ratio of a textbook mentioning globalization or global citizenship corresponding to the reported coefficient.¹² In our tables and discussion, we present our coefficients as odds ratios for ease of interpretation.

Level 1: Textbook-Level Predictors

In our models, we group together a broad set of predictors coded directly from the textbooks. In most instances, these variables are properties of the books themselves, as in the case of level of internationalization or human rights discussion. However, in the case of year of publication, year should be interpreted as a property of the world in which a textbook was created, not a characteristic of the textbook itself. In this sense, year serves as an important predictor of the role of world cultural understandings on national textbook content because it operationalizes the understandings of the world and world culture that correspond to a given time period. Similarly, although we code history at the textbook level, it is better conceptualized as representing broad disciplinary norms, rather than specific textbook content. In our tables, however, for ease of reporting, we present all variables coded from textbooks as textbook-level predictors.

Year of Publication: We code the year that a textbook was published directly from the textbook following prior studies (see: Meyer, Bromley and Ramirez 2010). We center the data at 1973, so that a one-unit change in year represents a one-year forward progression in time from 1973.

¹² Our models report changes in odds, not probabilities. Odds are calculated as: the probability of success divided by probability of failure. Because our sample started with no mentions of globalization, quantitatively small increases in textbooks mentioning globalization may still result in substantial increases in the odds of mentioning globalization. The odds ratio can be calculated from log odds by: $e^{(\log \text{ odds})}$

Level of internationalization: Level of internationalization is coded directly from the textbooks on a scale from 0 to 5, where the numbers represent roughly a percentage of pages mentioning international events (1 = 20% and 5 = 100%), (see: Meyer, Bromley and Ramirez 2010).

Human Rights Index: The human rights index was constructed through factor analysis on 23 variables coded directly from the textbooks, and is constructed to have a mean of 0 and a standard deviation of 1. These variables used in the factor analysis include whether the textbook explicitly mentions “human rights,” or any international human rights documents, regional human rights documents, and negative human rights events (such as the Holocaust).¹³ Meyer, Bromley and Ramirez (2010) use a similar version of the human rights index in their paper on the rise of human rights in textbooks over time.

History: We also include a predictor for history textbooks in our models. Based on prior research that suggests history textbooks are less likely to mention human rights, we assume that history textbooks will also be less likely than non-history texts— namely civics and social studies books— to discuss global issues.

Level 2: Nation Level Predictors

Nation level predictors are gathered from secondary data sources; we limit our country-level predictors to specifically test whether the extent of a country’s participation in global civil society affects the way in which it incorporates global cultural trends into its textbooks.

¹³ The human rights index was creating using confirmatory factor analysis of rights variables. A Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin (KMO) test of sampling adequacy was used to validate our factor analysis; the KMO statistic was calculated to be 0.71. Any KMO statistic above 0.5 can be considered appropriate for factor analysis, although the higher the value, the more reliable it is Ferguson, Eamonn, and Tom Cox. (1993) Exploratory Factor Analysis: A Usersí Guide. *International Journal of Selection and Assessment* 1:84-94..

HR Treaties: To measure the presence of the human rights discourse at the national level, we use a measure of the number of human rights treaties that a country has signed and ratified (Hafner-Burton and Tsutsui, 2005). The index includes twelve human rights treaties. For each treaty, countries were coded as 0 if no action had been taken, one if they had signed the treaty and two if they had ratified it. We carried out both factor analysis and a simple sum to condense the variables into one index, finding consistent results with both. In this paper, we present the treaty index as a simple sum for the sake of interpretation. The index ranges from 0 to 24, and each one-unit increase represents concrete state action towards ratifying a human rights treaty.

Membership in INGOs (logged): To measure linkages to global culture, we use a measure of a country's membership in international non-governmental organizations (INGOs) for the years in our sample. The data is from the *Yearbook of International Organizations* (Yearbook of International Organizations, Various years). We log the number of INGOs in our analyses because INGO memberships are not normally distributed across countries. Several studies utilize data on INGOs as a measure of a country's level of connection to a global culture (Suarez, et al., 2009).

Control Variables

The literature on globalization, citizenship, and cross-national education also highlight a number of factors that will likely influence whether textbooks portray globalization and global citizenship. We include both textbook-level and national-level variables in our models to control for the effect of these variables in our models.

Textbook-Level Control Variables

Number of Pages (logged): The length of the textbook is coded from the textbooks. We control for page numbers because it is reasonable to assume that longer textbooks accommodate more material generally, and thus, more global discourse. Because of the wide range of pages represented in our sample and a few outliers, we log pages in our analysis.

Grade Level: The grade range to which the textbook is targeted is coded as a categorical variable from the textbooks, from 1-4, with higher numbers representing higher grades. Textbooks targeted to older students expected to be able to accommodate more complex frames of reference, and therefore, greater global discourse.

Citizenship: We also control for mentions of citizenship generally, as we expect that textbooks that are more likely to mention citizenship generally will also be more likely to mention global citizenship. We include a categorical variable, coded from the textbooks to measure whether a textbook mentions citizenship issues generally. We rely on this as a measure of a traditional notion of citizenship linked to the nation-state, where a citizen has specifically defined rights, as well as duties and obligations to fulfill (Soysal 1994). The variable is coded on of 0-5, depending on how much of the textbook mentions citizenship issues. A zero represents no mentions, while one represents 1-2 sentences, and 5 represents over half of the chapters.

Nation-Level Control Variables

GDP (logged): We use logged gross domestic product (GDP) per capita as a measure of overall economic development of a nation. The data are from the World Bank's World Development

Indicators (WDI) and are logged to reduce skew (World Bank, 2010). Prior empirical research on the rise of globalization as an academic concept has suggested that discourses of globalization are more likely to appear in countries that are better integrated into the world economy, even after controlling for the overall level of discourse and economic activity (Fiss and Hirsch, 2005).

Overall Globalization: To measure the extent to which a country is globally integrated, we rely on the KOF Index of Globalization (Dreher, 2006). The data is collected from 1970-2007, for all countries and creates weighted indices measuring each country's economic, political and socio-cultural globalization based on actual economic flows, economic restrictions, information flows, personal contact and data on cultural proximity. Prior studies have used the index to investigate the effects of economic globalization on governmental and social outcomes (Bjornskov et al., 2008, Dreher and Gaston, 2008, Dreher et al., 2008)).

International Migration: To measure a nation's exposure to international migration, we use international migrant stock as a percent of total population. The data are from the World Bank's World Development Indicators and are calculated by dividing total population by total number of international migrants within the country (World Bank, 2010). International migration implies integration into the global economy, and a number of studies suggest that international migration may be a mechanism by which the notion of a culturally and territorially bounded conception of citizenship is contested; therefore, we predict that higher levels of international migration would be positively correlated with mentions of globalization and global citizenship (Soysal 1994).

Democracy: We also expect to find a relationship between the level of democracy in a country and the discussion of globalization and global citizenship. Prior studies have shown that democratic countries are more likely to adopt human rights language into textbooks, suggesting they may also affect the inclusion of global citizenship into textbooks (Meyer, et al., 2010). To measure level of democracy, we use data from the Polity IV democracy score, which is a commonly used measure of democracy in cross-national studies. In the Policy IV data, a value of positive 10 is highly democratic and negative 10 is highly autocratic (Marshall et al., 2009).

Region: We also include a control variable for world region, which are classified using the CIA World Factbook's regional classification, an approach common in cross-national studies. We include indicator variables for each region, with West (North America, Western Europe and Australia) as the omitted category.

Table 1 reports the mean, standard deviation and number of cases for each of our predictor and control variables.

TABLE 1 HERE

Findings

We first examine predictors of mentions of globalization in textbooks. Table 2 presents our models for globalization, where the coefficients represent odds ratios. Model 1 examines only characteristics coded at textbook level, specifically: year of publication, percent of textbooks mentioning international events and the extent of the textbook's human rights discussion. We

also include controls for number of pages (logged), the grade in which a book is used, whether a book is a history book, and whether citizenship is mentioned. In this model, year is interpreted as a characteristic of the world in which the textbook was created, and history is considered a disciplinary indicator, while other variables are considered to be attributes of the textbooks. We find that the coefficients on year and percent international are positive and statistically significant at the 0.001 level. The coefficient on human rights is significant at the 0.05 level. These findings offer strong support for *Hypotheses 1a* and *1b* and moderate support for *Hypothesis 1c*. More recent textbooks are significantly more likely to mention globalization, as are more internationally oriented textbooks. While textbooks mentioning human rights are also more likely to mention globalization, the coefficient is only significant at the 0.05 level, indicating that human rights mentions is not as strong a predictor for globalization as other variables. We also find that textbooks targeted towards older students—as measured by grade category – are significantly more likely to mention globalization (significant at the 0.001 level), suggesting that it is possibly a more complex concept. Additionally, our models do suggest that history textbooks are less likely to mention globalization than other texts, as the coefficient on history is negative in all models; however, the coefficient is not statistically significant (*Hypothesis 1d*).

Model 2 then controls for a number of country level characteristics, including GDP, overall level of globalization, democracy and international migration, as well as indicator variables for region. Findings from Model 2 suggest that none of our cross-national variables are significant predictors of globalization mentions; however, we leave them in each of our subsequent models to control for possible cross-national variations.

In Models 3 and 4, we add in additional nation-level variables that we expect will be predictive of cross-national variation in mentions of globalization to test *Hypotheses 2a* and *2b*, respectively. Because the country level variables are correlated with one another, and to other control variables, we add each in individually. Model 3 examines the variable for INGO memberships, which tests *Hypothesis 2a*. Substantial literature in institutional theory suggests that global civil society organizations are a carrier of global culture, both because they employ professionals and are often mediators between inter-governmental organizations and national and local initiatives (Boli and Thomas 1999). Our study does find that the number of INGOs present in a nation is positively correlated with the likelihood of mentioning globalization, but is not statistically significant predictor.

Finally, in Model 4 we examine whether signing onto human rights treaties is associated with the likelihood of including mentions of globalization in textbooks, which tests *Hypothesis 2b*. Our intuition is that nations more integrated into the global human rights regime would be more likely to adopt norms surrounding globalization and global citizenship into textbooks. Again, we find no significant effect, as the magnitude of the coefficient is practically zero. Using the Bayesian Information Criterion (BIC),¹⁴ which is commonly used to determine model fit for logistic or maximum likelihood models, we determine that our first model, with only textbook level factors is the best model (Raftery 1995).

INSERT TABLE 2

¹⁴ Raftery, A. E. (1995) explains that a BIC is a more appropriate statistical test for model selection in situations with substantial uncertainty concerning model selection and is widely used with log-likelihood models.

Taken together, Models 2-4 suggest that cross-national differences in how countries incorporate globalization into their books is not statistically significantly related to their extent of globalization, democracy, economic development or how well a nation is connected to global cultural diffusers. However, this does not mean that there are no cross-national differences in incorporation. As an initial attempt to see if the incorporation of globalization into textbooks is truly a global trend, we plotted the proportion of textbooks mentioning globalization by decade (i.e., seventies, eighties, nineties and thousands) in each region. In Figure 5, the decade average is plotted for each region at the mid-point of the decade. Despite these relatively small regional differences, it is clear that the inclusion of globalization into textbooks is relatively consistent across all regions.

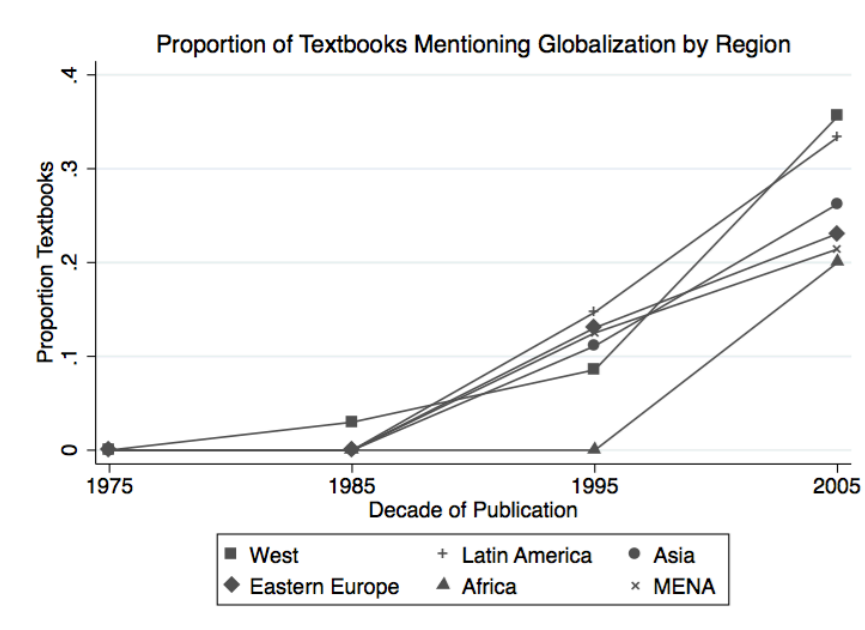


FIG 5. Proportion of Textbooks Mentioning Globalization by Region

Table 3 presents our models for global citizenship. As with our models predicting globalization, we first examine only characteristics coded directly from the textbook, in line with *Hypotheses 1a, 1b, 1c, and 1d*. We then include all predictor variables, as well as pages, grade level, and citizenship as controls. We find that textbook characteristics are again important in predicting mentions of global citizenship; however, the most significant predictors differ from those in the globalization models. Increases in the extent that textbooks mention international events and human rights issues are also strongly and significantly linked to greater likelihood of a textbook mentioning global citizenship. We find that compared to the models for globalization, the human rights index is a much stronger predictor (significant at the 0.001 level) than is internationalization, significant at an alpha of 0.01. These findings offer support for *Hypotheses 1b and 1c*, suggesting that textbook content is linked to larger world cultural trends that emphasize globally unifying themes. Similarly, as expected, history textbooks are significantly less likely to mention global citizenship than are other social studies texts, providing support for *Hypothesis 1d*.

The variable citizenship is positively but not significantly correlated to mentions of global citizenship, indicating that while the concepts are related, global citizenship is related to global discourse even when controlling for traditional notions of national citizenship.

However, in contrast to globalization, a textbook's year of publication does not seem to have a significant effect on mentions of global citizenship, independent of the other predictor variables. This finding is most likely due to the wide swings in mentions of global citizenship across decades (Figure 3) and suggests that the incorporation of global citizenship into textbooks is not

necessarily increasing as rapidly or steadily as globalization. This finding supports our initial intuition that global citizenship might be more difficult for countries to integrate into textbooks than globalization, as it requires some reconceptualization of the role of the nation in its citizens' lives. It is clear that mentions of global citizenship have increased in textbook content over time in line with global cultural trends; yet discussions of global citizenship also tend to fluctuate more, possibly due to the larger geo-political context.

Following the analytic method used to examine predictors of globalization, in Model 2 we add in nation-level control variables to examine whether there are significant cross-national differences in the likelihood of countries' mentions of global citizenship. Specifically, we include log GDP, level of overall globalization, democratization, and international migration as controls, along with indicator variables for region. No other variables are statistically significantly associated with portrayals of global citizenship; however, we continue to include them as controls to examine the effect of world societal variables on mentions of global citizenship.

Models 3-4 add in three predictor variables that test whether world society variables are predictors of mentions of global citizenship, as tests of *Hypotheses 2a and 2b*, respectively. As with globalization, we test level of INGO memberships and human rights treaties signed. We anticipate that as carriers and correlates of world society, each might be positively associated with mentions of global citizenship. Again, we find that INGOs is positively associated with global citizenship, but not statistically significant, while human rights treaties is not significant and has a magnitude very close to zero. Thus, none of our cross-national variables are significant predictors of global citizenship. We do note, however, that Latin America as a region is

significant in Model 3 and is positive, suggesting Latin American textbooks are more likely to mention global citizenship than are those from Western nations. This finding is not consistent across all models and indicates that more research is needed to examine regional variations in textbook content; this may be possible as more textbooks are coded from non-Western regions.

Using the BIC statistics to test the models, our preferred model is that with only textbook-level variables (Model 1). In this model, we find three textbook variables are statistically significant at an alpha of 0.01, and that these findings are robust across a number of models. We conclude that mentions of global citizenship are found more often in non-history textbooks, and in books that mention international events and human rights. Unlike globalization, we find that countries' incorporation of global citizenship into textbooks exhibits more regional variation and period effects, suggesting that it may be more sensitive to geo-political currents or to dominant ideas about citizenship spread through professional networks.

INSERT TABLE 3

Discussion

The results from our multi-level analysis reveal that textbook characteristics predict mentions of both outcome variables—globalization and global citizenship – but nation-level factors have few systematic effects. Since the extent to which a country is globally integrated, as measured by the globalization index, does not predict the discussion of these topics, we argue that the incorporation of globalized discourses into textbooks is not a reflection of the realities of how globally interconnected a country is, but rather reflects larger cultural discourses about the nature of the world community that exists independently of the nation-state itself. In addition, we find

that a textbook's level of internationalization and its discussion of human rights is an important predictor of both dependent variables. These findings, taken together, support our premise that mentions of globalization and global citizenship in textbooks are two manifestations of a latent world-unifying discourse linked to a post-national society.

However, we also find important differences in portrayals of globalization and global citizenship. Globalization is most likely to be found in recent textbooks with a strong international focus. In contrast, discussion of global citizenship is most prominent in non-history textbooks (i.e., social studies and civics books) that include substantial references to human rights and international events.

Interestingly, we do not find strong support for the hypothesis that membership in international non-governmental organizations (INGOs) predict mentions. While INGOs are viewed in the neo-institutional literature as an indicator of a nation-state's linkages to a supra-national global society (Boli and Thomas 1997), we argue that the presence of more international NGOs in a country may not be directly related to the discussion of globalization and global citizenship in textbooks since INGOs tend to influence curricular content around specific advocacy issues, such as human rights (Keck and Sikkink 1998). Thus, we argue that the role of networks of international consultants and the international publishing industry may play a more important role in disseminating ideas surrounding these general global topics.

Additionally, we find that the different factors predicting mentions of globalization and global citizenship in textbooks reflects their varied conceptual biographies: globalization emerged in

relation to the rise of an integrated world economy and the rise of a Western consumer culture, while global citizenship has a longer history as a trans-national human virtue (Adams 2008; Nussbaum 1998). In textbooks, we find that the discourse of globalization constitutes a new framework for discussing the world beyond a nation-state's borders – one that blends internationalization with a sense of global interconnectedness and represents a new way for nation-states to portray the world beyond their borders. In contrast, global citizenship derives from the older concept of “world citizenship” or “citizenship of the world,” defined by ancient Greek and Roman philosophers as encompassing a citizen with loyalties to humanity on a global scale beyond local and national associations (Nussbaum 1998). Today, this former ideal of “world citizen” is re-constituted in textbooks as “global citizen” within the framework of global human rights and a global world community. Understandably, these ideas are most frequently articulated within contemporary civics and social studies education, rather than in history texts.

Our analysis also finds that global citizenship is directly related to the international human rights discourse and has emerged as a consequence of the rise of a human rights regime, especially in the post-Cold War era (Soysal 1994). In contrast, globalization seems to have emerged contemporaneously with the rise of human rights discourse, but it is unclear whether the content surrounding discussions of globalization is substantively linked to human rights discourse. Previous research has found that textbooks from more recent periods are more likely to discuss human rights (Meyer, Bromley and Ramirez 2010); hence, mentions of human rights may be more likely to be associated with mentions of globalization since they are both new phenomena within the global discourse, rather than due to a substantive connection between the two concepts. However, it is also possible that discussion of human rights may be linked to human

rights violations associated with the negative consequences of globalization, at least in certain textbooks. This is an area in need of future research.

Conclusion

The idea of a globally inter-connected world, with common understandings of rights has quickly spread throughout academic and popular discourse. But what does the growth and dominance of “global” mean for the traditional realms of nation-state action? This article explores this question by examining the emergence and expansion of references to globalization and global citizenship in the content of secondary level social studies and history textbooks worldwide. We find that countries with widely varying levels of economic development and diverse cultural histories portray globalization as related to their contemporary economic and cultural life. As expected, we also find that both globalization and global citizenship increasingly appear in textbooks cross-nationally over time and are linked to international emphases in textbooks as well as the textbook’s linkages to human rights discourse. Despite these similarities, globalization is a more recent phenomenon clearly linked to time period and to an international focus in textbooks, whereas global citizenship is strongly predicted by discussion of human rights and civics and social studies curriculum.

Nonetheless, we argue that globalization and global citizenship are closely interrelated terms, as both invoke a notion of an interconnected world existing beyond the confines of the nation-state, an explicitly supra-national society. Building on prior research (see Meyer, Bromley and Ramirez. 2010; Bromley, Meyer, and Ramirez 2011a; Bromley, Meyer, and Ramirez 2011b), which has found that textbook content reflects global cultural shifts towards human rights, environmentalism, and student-centrism, we argue that the growth and diffusion of a global

frame of reference in popular and academic discourse explains the emergence of both terms in school textbooks. The global narrative has influenced national textbooks in countries across the world where globalization and global citizenship are not necessarily in conflict with the nation-state, but rather emerge within a context where the nation-state is re-imagined as a mediator of individual identities and rights within a universal framework of rights.

TABLE 1. Descriptive Variables

Variable	Mean	SD	Min	Max	N
Mentions Globalization (1 = Yes)	0.14	0.35	0.00	1.00	550
Mentions Global Citizenship (1 = Yes)	0.19	0.39	0.00	1.00	528
Publication Date	1995	9.76	1973	2008	550
Logged Number of Pages	5.36	0.51	3.22	6.78	549
Grade Category (1-4)	2.28	0.85	1.00	4.00	544
Level of Internationalization (0-5)	1.79	1.53	0.00	5.00	538
History	0.49	0.50	0.00	1.00	550
Citizenship Issues (1 = Yes)	1.67	1.59	0.00	5.00	546
HR Index	0.00	1.00	-0.64	5.47	539
Overall Globalization	62.01	16.96	24.02	93.03	302
Percent Migration	6.62	5.61	0.03	22.64	261
HR Treaty Index	16.18	6.49	0.00	24.00	550
Log GDP	8.39	1.56	4.77	10.56	300
Level of Democratization	5.84	6.09	-8.00	10.00	289
Log INGO Memberships	7.04	0.73	4.53	8.34	492
Latin America	0.13	0.33	0.00	1.00	550
Eastern Europe	0.21	0.41	0.00	1.00	550
Asia	0.17	0.38	0.00	1.00	550
Africa	0.13	0.33	0.00	1.00	550
MENA	0.06	0.23	0.00	1.00	550
West	0.31	0.46	0.00	1.00	550

Notes: The summary statistics here are derived from the complete dataset of textbook and nation-level variables, with missing data not imputed. Approximately 10 textbooks are not included in this dataset, particularly from early years, due to incomplete nation-level data.

TABLE 2. Mentions of Globalization in Textbooks (Odds Ratio Reported)								
<i>Level 1: Predictors Coded from Textbooks</i>								
	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3		Model 4	
Year Centered (1970)	0.181	***	0.193	***	0.187	***	0.195	***
	(0.032)		(0.040)		(0.041)		(0.040)	
Percent International	0.532	***	0.593	***	0.597	***	0.590	***
	(0.128)		(0.141)		(0.141)		(0.140)	
Human Rights Index	0.389	*	0.373	*	0.354	*	0.368	*
	(0.154)		(0.164)		(0.165)		(0.163)	
History	-0.779		-0.818		-0.841		-0.828	
	(0.413)		(0.444)		(0.445)		(0.442)	
<i>Level 2: National Predictors</i>								
INGO Linkages					0.412			
					(0.494)			
HR Treaties Signed							-0.022	
							(0.036)	
<i>Controls</i>								
<i>Textbook Level</i>								
Citizenship	-0.080		-0.054		-0.061		-0.052	
	(0.124)		(0.134)		(0.135)		(0.134)	
Pages (logged)	1.454	***	1.424	**	1.370	**	1.480	**
	(0.437)		(0.464)		(0.467)		(0.471)	
Grade Category	0.755	**	0.851	***	0.858	***	0.839	***
	(0.231)		(0.246)		(0.246)		(0.246)	
<i>Country Level</i>								
Log GDP			0.272		0.237		0.333	
			(0.496)		(0.497)		(0.502)	
Overall Globalization			-0.025		-0.036		-0.027	
			(0.043)		(0.045)		(0.043)	
International Migration			0.004		0.014		-0.002	
			(0.057)		(0.059)		(0.057)	
Democracy Index			0.180		0.184		0.177	
			(0.109)		(0.111)		(0.107)	
Latin America			1.018		1.321		1.050	
			(0.930)		(1.011)		(0.924)	
Eastern Europe			0.310		0.475		0.350	
			(1.052)		(1.074)		(1.046)	
Asia			0.943		1.015		0.851	
			(1.049)		(1.063)		(1.047)	
Africa			-0.943		-0.743		-0.822	
			(1.201)		(1.228)		(1.202)	
MENA			0.590		0.772		0.506	
			(1.234)		(1.250)		(1.226)	
Constant	-17.585	***	-20.481	***	-22.144	***	-20.745	***
(S.E.)	(2.935)		(4.755)		(5.247)		(4.741)	
Variance of the Constant (ln)	-0.011		0.005		0.016		-0.026	
(S.E.)	(0.322)		(0.340)		(0.332)		(0.356)	

(Table 2 continued)	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4
N	550	550	550	550
BIC	365.56	411.87	417.56	417.83

Notes: We report robust standard errors.

*** p<0.001, ** p<0.01, * p<0.05, two-tailed test

TABLE 3. Mentions of Global Citizenship in Textbooks (Odds Ratio Reported)

<i>Level 1: Predictors Coded from Textbooks</i>								
	<i>Model 1</i>		<i>Model 2</i>		<i>Model 3</i>		<i>Model 4</i>	
Year Centered (1970)	0.002		0.004		-0.005		0.004	
	(0.016)		(0.020)		(0.021)		(0.020)	
Percent International	0.267	**	0.311	**	0.314	**	0.311	**
	(0.097)		(0.099)		(0.099)		(0.099)	
Human Rights Index	0.510	***	0.457	**	0.450	**	0.457	**
	(0.147)		(0.148)		(0.148)		(0.148)	
History	-1.378	***	-1.329	***	-1.314	***	-1.327	***
	(0.329)		(0.337)		(0.336)		(0.338)	
<i>Level 2: National Predictors</i>								
INGO Linkages					0.440			
					(0.368)			
HR Treaties Signed							0.003	
							(0.030)	
<i>Controls</i>								
<i>Textbook Level</i>								
Citizenship	0.125		0.174		0.171		0.174	
	(0.093)		(0.096)		(0.096)		(0.096)	
Pages (logged)	0.389		0.412		0.370		0.408	
	(0.303)		(0.310)		(0.313)		(0.313)	
Grade Category	0.100		0.113		0.124		0.113	
	(0.166)		(0.167)		(0.167)		(0.167)	
<i>Country Level</i>								
Log GDP			0.045		-0.007		0.040	
			(0.325)		(0.327)		(0.329)	
Overall Globalization			-0.003		-0.010		-0.002	
			(0.024)		(0.025)		(0.024)	
International Migration			-0.056		-0.041		-0.055	
			(0.052)		(0.053)		(0.053)	
Democracy Index			-0.005		-0.002		-0.005	
			(0.050)		(0.050)		(0.050)	
Latin America			1.265		1.629	*	1.260	
			(0.712)		(0.784)		(0.713)	
Eastern Europe			0.849		1.058		0.854	
			(0.862)		(0.881)		(0.862)	
Asia			0.112		0.301		0.129	
			(0.815)		(0.836)		(0.832)	
Africa			0.242		0.546		0.231	
			(0.951)		(1.003)		(0.957)	
MENA			0.031		0.289		0.043	
			(0.914)		(0.936)		(0.922)	
Constant	-3.982	*	-4.614		-6.652		-4.608	
(S.E.)	(1.789)		(3.082)		(3.600)		(3.081)	
Variance of the Constant (ln)	0.125		0.039		0.030		0.038	
(S.E.)	(0.228)		(0.241)		(0.239)		(0.241)	

(Table 3 continued)	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4
N	550	550	550	550
BIC	546.750	596.04	600.88	602.34

Notes: We report robust standard errors.

*** p<0.001, ** p<0.01, * p<0.05, two-tailed test

References

- Adams, Laura. (2008) Globalization, universalism, and cultural form. *Comparative studies in society and history*, 50(03), 614-640.
- Altbach, Philip G. (1991) The Unchanging Variable: Textbooks in Comparative Perspective. In *Textbooks in American Society: Politics, Policy and Pedagogy*, edited by Philip Altbach, Gail Kelly, Hugh Petrie and Lois Weis, pp. 237-54. Albany, NY: State University of New York, Albany.
- Anderson, Benedict. (1991) *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. Verso.
- Apple, Michael W. (1989) Textbook Publishing: The Political and Economic Influences. *Theory into practice* 28:282-87.
- Apple, Michael., and Petter Aasen. (2003) *The State and the Politics of Knowledge*. New York, NY: Routledge.
- Apple, Micheal. (1984) The Political Economy of Text Publishing. *Educational Theory* 34:307-19.
- Apple, Micheal, and Linda Christian-Smith. (1991) *The Politics of the Textbook*. New York: Routledge, New York.
- Avery, Patricia, and Annette Simmons. (2001) Civic Life as Conveyed in United States Civics and History Textbooks. *International Journal of Social Studies* 15:105-30.
- Benavot, Aaron, in collaboration with Massimo Amadio. (2005) "A Global Study of Intended Instructional Time and Official School Curricula, 1980-2000. UNESCO background report." Geneva: International Bureau of Education.
- Benavot, Aaron, and Cecilia Braslavsky (eds.). (2006) *School Curricula for Global Citizenship*. Hong Kong: Comparative Education Research Center, University of Hong Kong/Springer.
- Bjornskov, Christian, Axel Dreher, and Justina A.V. Fischer. (2008) Cross-Country Determinants of Life Satisfaction: Exploring Different Determinants across Groups in Society. *Social Choice and Welfare* 30:119-73.
- Bloemraad, Irene, Anna Korteweg, and Gokce Yurdakul. (2008) Citizenship and Immigration: Multiculturalism, Assimilation, and Challenges to the Nation-State. *Annual Review of Sociology* 34:153-79.
- Boli, John, Francisco Ramirez, and John W. Meyer. (1985) Explaining the Origins and Expansion of Mass Education. *Comparative Education Review* 29:145-70.
- Boli, John, and George Thomas. (1999) *Constructing World Culture: International Nongovernmental Organizations since 1875*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.
- Boli, John, and George Thomas. (1997) World Culture in the World Polity: A Century of International Non-Governmental Organization. *American Sociological Review*:171-90.
- Bosniak, Linda. (2006) *The Citizen and the Alien*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- . (2000) Citizenship Denationalized. *Indiana Journal of Global Legal Studies* 7:447.
- Bromley, Patricia. (2010) The Rationalization of Educational Development: Scientific Activity among International Nongovernmental Organizations. *Comparative Education Review* 54:577-601.
- Bromley, Patricia, John W. Meyer, and Francisco O. Ramirez. (2011) The Worldwide Spread of Environmental Discourse in History, Civics, and Social Studies Textbooks. *Comparative Education Review*.

- Bromley, Patricia, John W. Meyer, and Francisco O. Ramirez. (2011) Student Centrism in Social Science Textbooks: 1970-2005. *Social Forces*.
- Bromley, Patricia, and Susan Garnett Russell. (2010) The Holocaust as History and Human Rights: A Cross-National Analysis of Holocaust Education in Social Science Textbooks, 1970-2008. *Prospects* 40:153-73.
- Burkagile, Godfre Rutta. (2008) *Civics for Secondary Schools*. Dar es Salaam, Tanzania: Nyambari Nyangwine Publishers.
- Davies, Lynn. (2006) Global Citizenship: Abstraction or Framework for Action? *Educational Review* 58:5-25.
- Dreher, Axel. (2006) Does Globalization Affect Growth? Evidence from a New Index of Globalization. *Applied Economics* 38:1091-110.
- Dreher, Axel, and Noel Gaston. (2008) Has Globalization Increased Inequality? *Review of International Economics* 16:516-36.
- Dreher, Axel, Jan-Egbert Sturm, and Heinrich Ursprung. (2008) The Impact of Globalization on the Composition of Government Expenditures: Evidence from Panel Data. *Public Choice* 134:263-92.
- Fiss, Peer, and Paul Hirsch. (2005) The Discourse of Globalization: Framing and Sensemaking of an Emerging Concept. *American Sociological Review* 70:29.
- Hafner-Burton, Emilie, and Kiyoteru Tsutsui. (2005) Human Rights in a Globalizing World: The Paradox of Empty Promises. *American Journal of Sociology* 110:1373-411.
- Keck, Margaret, and Kathryn Sikkink. (1998) *Activists Beyond Borders: Advocacy Networks In International Politics*. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press.
- Mario, José Antonio. (2008) *Educación Para La Ciudadanía*. Madrid: Ediciones SM.
- Marshall, Monty G., Keith Jagers, and Ted Robert Gurr. (2009) *Polity Iv Project: Political Regime Characteristics and Transitions, 1800-2007*. University of Maryland.
- Matos, J.M. Bueno, and X. Marti Orriols. (2008) *Politeia Education Ético-Cívica*. Barcelona, Spain: Vicens Vives.
- Meyer, John, and Francisco Ramirez. (2000) The World Institutionalization of Education. In *Discourse Formation in Comparative Education*, edited by Jurgen Schriewer, pp. 111-32. Frankfurt: Peter Lang Publishers.
- Meyer, John W., Patricia Bromley, and Francisco Ramirez. (2010) Human Rights in Social Science Textbooks: Cross-National Analyses, 1970-2008. *Sociology of Education* 83:24.
- Meyer, John., P. Bromley, and F.O. Ramirez. (2010) Human Rights in Social Science Textbooks: Cross-National Analyses, 1970-2008. *Sociology of Education* 83:111-34.
- Nussbaum, Martha C. (1998) *Cultivating humanity: A classical defense of reform in liberal education*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Pinilla, Antonio. (1978) *Educacion Civica*. Lima, Peru: Editorial Universo S.A.
- Raftery, Adrian E. (1995) Bayesian model selection in social research. *Sociological methodology*, 25, 111-164.
- Ramirez, Francisco, David Suarez, and John Meyer. (2007) The Worldwide Rise of Human Rights Education. *School Knowledge in Comparative and Historical Perspective*:35-52.
- Raudenbush, Stephen, and Anthony Bryk. (2002) *Hierarchical Linear Models: Applications and Data Analysis Methods*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, Inc.
- Robertson, Ronald. (1992) *Globalization: Social Theory and Global Culture*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications Ltd.
- Sassen, Saskia. (2007) *A Sociology of Globalization*. New York: Norton.

- Schissler, Hanna and Yasemin Soysal. (2005) *The Nation, Europe, and the World: Textbooks and Curricula in Transition*. New York: Berghahn Books.
- Somers, Margaret. (2008) *Genealogies of Citizenship: Markets, Statelessness, and the Right to Have Rights*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Soysal, Yasemin. (1994) *Limits of Citizenship: Migrants and Postnational Membership in Europe*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Suarez, David. (2007) Education Professionals and the Construction of Human Rights Education. *Comparative Education Review* 51:23.
- Suarez, David, Francisco Ramirez, and Jeong-Woo Koo. (2009) Globalization and the Diffusion of Innovations in Education: The Case of Unesco Associated Schools. *Sociology of Education* 82:197-216.
- Wong, Suk-Ying. (1991) "The Evolution of Social Science Instruction, 1900-86." *Sociology of Education* 64: 33-47.
- World Bank, The. (2010) World Development Indicators. World Bank Data Center
- Wotipka, Christine, and Kiyoteru Tsutsui. (2008) Global Human Rights and State Sovereignty: State Ratification of International Human Rights Treaties, 1965-2001. *Sociological Forum* 23:724-54.
- Yearbook of International Organizations. (Various years). Munich, Germany: Union of International Associations and K G Saur Verlag.