GLOBALIZATION AND CIVIC EDUCATION:
WORLDWIDE EMERGENCE AND LOCAL ADAPTATION OF A NEW CIVICS

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In today's world of increasing international migration and globalization, the questions of what it means to be a national citizen and how schools should teach about national identity are increasingly problematic. Historically, schooling was a tool for the construction of imagined national communities where citizens in the same territory were conceptualized as a homogenous group participating in, and loyal to, an ethnoculturally distinct polity (Anderson 1991). Classic citizenship courses transmitted a shared national culture, history, and pride (FitzGerald 1979; Moreau 2004). Today, however, civic education is expected to create empowered individuals that respect diversity and human equality in a globally inter-connected world. As globalization proceeds, the challenge of reconciling these new goals with civic education's traditional purpose of promoting a cohesive national identity is of growing concern to countries worldwide.

Initial evidence indicates that the traditional model of civic education is changing. A number of studies show the growing importance of human rights education, which place rights in a universalistic rather than national frame (e.g. Suárez 2007; Tarrow 1992) and multicultural education, which focuses on diversity in society rather than national cohesiveness (e.g. Banks 2004). Others advocate for greater attention to global issues, including but not limited to human rights and diversity (e.g. Boulding 1988). Additional related research indicates increasing emphasis on notions of individual empowerment through discussions of social movements, rights discourse, and student-centered pedagogies like critical thinking (e.g. Mintrop 2003).

Despite the increasing salience of understanding changes to civic education due to globalization, we know surprising little about the extent of such shifts or its causes (see, for example, discussion in the Spencer Foundation's 2011 strategic initiative on "The New Civics"). My project seeks to explain and describe the rise of new civic values in education systems through a broad global analysis complemented by in-depth case studies of two countries. I focus specifically on

change over time in four main outcomes drawn from the existing literature; increasing emphases on (a) human rights, (b) multiculturalism and diversity, (c) global topics, and (d) individual empowerment. Using these outcomes, I analyze parallel sources of data, primarily the content of social science textbooks[1], over three units of analysis to address a series of sequentially-developed questions. First, at the global level, I ask, "What worldwide changes in civic education are observed over time and what explains these changes?" Second, using a cross-national comparison of the US and Canada I ask, "Given global trends, what aspects of civic education remain distinctively national?" and, related, "What are the mechanisms by which global influences shape national curricula?" Third, at the sub-national level using a comparison of US states and Canadian provinces, I ask, "Is there increasing within-country variation in the meaning of citizenship over time due to the direct pressures of globalization on sub-national units?" I also examine mechanisms of change at the sub-national level.

The theoretical lens driving this project is rooted in a sociological approach to the study of globalization, often called world culture theory. This perspective argues that a growing connectedness between countries and the creation of global institutions[2] in the period since World War II has led to the emergence of a world culture (Meyer et al. 1997). World culture increasingly valorizes individuals through the language of human rights and diversity and de-emphasizes the nation-state as a discrete, homogenous polity. Studies in this vein show that world cultural influences shape national practices related to human rights (Suarez 2007), indigenous groups (Cole 2005), the environmental movement (Schofer and Hironaka 2005), and higher education (Schofer

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[1] Textbooks are central to efforts to impart particular views of citizenship because they define legitimate knowledge and desirable social attributes, and also communicate preferred concepts of identity. They are a valuable source of data due to their role as a vehicle for disseminating and reinforcing dominant cultural norms (de Castell, Luke and Luke 1989). Further, they offer one of the few ways to track change in the intended content of civic education for many countries over a long period of time. Typical cross-national measurements of enrollment do not speak to the issue of civic education, and existing measures of achievement in civic education from Torney-Purta et al (2001) are available only since the late 1990s.
[2] I define institutions broadly as the national and international "symbolic and behavioral systems containing representational, constitutive, and normative rules together with regulatory mechanisms that define a common meaning system and give rise to distinctive actors and action routines" (Scott 1994, p. 68).

and Meyer 2005). This framework predicts that the tension between old and new purposes of civic education is likely to be particularly extreme in countries such as the US and Canada that are deeply involved in globalization, a core conceptual advantage for my analysis. Moreover, using this lens helps to explain similar changes in a wide range of countries over time.

PART I. GLOBAL TRENDS

To address the question of the content of worldwide change over time in civic education, I draw on a unique dataset that includes 521 civic education textbooks from 74 countries and territories published over the period from 1970-2008. Under my direction the textbooks were analyzed using a questionnaire designed to capture dimensions relevant to the arguments above. For example, the coding document contains questions such as whether a book discusses human rights and international non-governmental organizations. To measure the extent to which active citizenship is encouraged, the protocol asks questions such as whether students are given examples of activities to get involved in their community (e.g. volunteering or writing letters to elected officials). Following standard content analysis procedures (e.g. Krippendorf 2004), the coding protocol was developed iteratively by reviewing a range of books, designing questions, testing for inter-rater reliability, and revising. This method for data collection and analysis is described in detail in existing work (Bromley et al Forthcoming; Bromley et al 2011; Bromley 2011; Meyer et al 2010). To analyze the data I use hierarchical linear modeling to show how the properties of textbooks and countries are associated with changes in civic education content.

In the publications that stem from this work I find increased emphases on human rights (Meyer et al 2010), student-centered pedagogies (Bromley et al Forthcoming), global issues like the environment (Bromley et al 2011) and, to a lesser extent, diversity (Bromley 2011). Net of other characteristics, countries and textbooks that are more linked to social and cultural globalization are also more likely to emphasize the new aspects of civic education captured by these four outcomes. Figure 1 provides an illustration of these findings. There is an increase over time in the relevant content of social science textbooks over a broad range of countries. This work provides evidence

that changes in civic education are partly explained by the emergence of a world culture celebrating human equality and empowerment (Meyer et al 1997).

Figure 1. Change Over Time in Emphases in Social Science Textbooks (n=521)
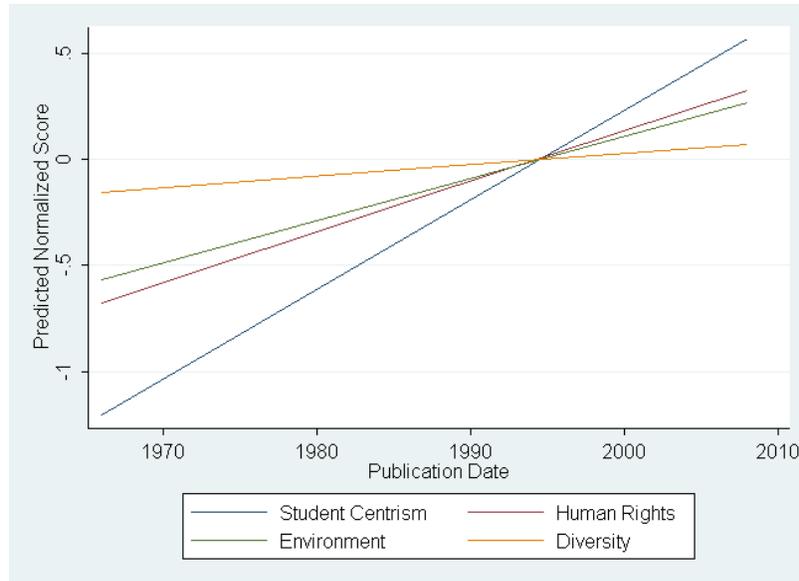
Notes: Number of countries is 74. The four outcomes are standardized to facilitate comparison.

PART II. CROSS-NATIONAL COMPARISON OF THE US AND CANADA

A key question that emerges from this global research is, "What, if anything, remains nationally distinct about civic education?" To address this issue I am currently undertaking an extensive data collection project on the intended curricula in the US and Canada going back to 1850. This data collection is being funded through a Spencer Small Grant and internal monies from the University of Utah. It will include information about textbook content analyses parallel to Part I, as well as archival materials at the federal and state/provincial level, such as curricular reports, national and state/provincial standards, publications by relevant national professional associations (such as the National Council for the Social Studies), and related meeting minutes. These new data, which form the basis of Parts II and III of my study, are an extension of the completed dissertation work described above and data collection is expected to be complete mid-2012. A subsequent

postdoctoral period will be primarily used to provide sufficient time to analyze new data and synthesize results into a book and related articles.

The US and Canada were selected first because they are highly globalized on similar dimensions (e.g. they have among the highest migration rates in the developed world), and increased globalization is expected to exacerbate the tension between old and new emphases in civic education. A US-Canada comparison along civic and political lines is particularly compelling for a number of other reasons, as evidenced by a tradition of study by prominent scholars (e.g. Lipset 1990). Culturally and linguistically, it is often difficult to distinguish between Canadians and Americans, and the two countries are deeply connected through long-standing flows of people, goods, and services. Despite significant similarities, these neighbors diverge dramatically in certain fundamental beliefs about the civic knowledge, skills, and values that young people should learn. The US particularly promotes individualism, voluntarism, and entrepreneurial activity. Canada is often characterized by stronger internationalism, support for social welfare programs, legal protection of cultural diversity, and tolerance for 'deviant' behaviors like homosexuality and drug use (Kaufman 2009). Further, as relatively new nation-states with a shared past, it is possible to study the evolution of civic education from its infancy, allowing for an unusually complete picture of development and divergence. This part of the study will explain how two similar countries that generally follow global patterns in civic education have nonetheless evolved to have a number of striking differences in conceptions of contemporary civic engagement.

Consistent with the worldwide trends outlined in Part I, I predict increasing emphases over time in both the US and Canada on four dimensions – human rights, diversity, global issues, and individual empowerment. I expect, however, that the meaning and/or extent to which these concepts are emphasized will vary between countries due to a strong path dependence rooted in each country's birth. From the start, the US enshrined a separation of civic activity, especially religious association, from the state, and attempted to limit the power of central government. In contrast, much early civic and associational activity in Canada was tied to the state, particularly through the quasi-official activities of the Church of England. In addition, from the start Canada

provided formal legal protection of linguistic and religious rights for French-speaking citizens, initially due to the need to form a formal alliance to ward off US military incursion. The institutions created for French-speakers expanded over time to include protections for all sorts of minority groups (Kymlicka 1995) and provided an initial foundation for the creation of a relatively more interventionist federal government. As a result, when it comes to equality, corporatist notions of minority group protections are expected to be higher in Canada than in the US. Americans are more likely to incorporate diversity in the form of individual equality. Related, emphasis on government intervention in all sorts of social and cultural issues, such as health care, is expected to be higher in Canada, whereas the US will likely place greater emphasis on individual action and empowerment to solve social problems. As a corollary of greater emphasis on diversity in Canada, notions of a cohesive national identity are expected to be weaker than in the US. Instead, Canada is likely to place greater emphases on conceptions of multilevel citizenship, both in terms of sub-national loyalties and supra-national affiliations—first to the British Empire and later in terms of an international community. Taken together, these variations create strikingly different models of civic engagement, education, and national identity.

To provide one example of possible difference along the diversity dimension, consider the following story that appears in multiple textbooks currently in use across Canada. It describes a controversial Supreme Court case where a religious practice, carrying a Sikh ceremonial dagger, came into conflict with safety regulations in a Montreal high school (shown in Figure 2). The Court ruled that a ban on kirpans in the public schools is a violation of religious freedom. The incorporation of diversity as an element of national identity is not depicted as entirely unproblematic or conflict-free in Canada. But the central lessons for students are that religious freedom means the preservation of unique cultural rights for minority groups and this is a central value of Canadian society.

Figure 2: Upholding religious rights of minority groups

FIGURE 10–8 Gurbaj was 17 when the Supreme Court made its ruling. In the meantime, he had transferred to a private school for his education. Do you think his family should be compensated for the cost of his private schooling? Explain.

Religious Freedom in a Multicultural Society

In 2001, when he was 12, Gurbaj Singh Multani's ceremonial dagger, his kirpan, fell out of its cloth holder in the schoolyard. The school board in Montréal banned Gurbaj from bringing his kirpan to school because it was considered a weapon. Gurbaj argued that it was not a weapon but a religious symbol, which he as an orthodox Sikh was required to wear at all times. After numerous court cases, the Supreme Court of Canada ruled unanimously that the ban on kirpans was a violation of Gurbaj's religious freedom as guaranteed by the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms. "Religious tolerance is a very important value of Canadian society," wrote Justice Louise Charron. The decision, however, does allow school boards to impose restrictions on how kirpans can be worn to protect the safety of students.

Source: Social Studies 11. Cranny 2010, p. 332

It is difficult to imagine similar emphasis in mainstream American textbooks. In the US, discussions of diversity are generally expected to take the form of individual equality under the law rather than special protection for cultural groups. For example, a widely-used Grade 8 Social Studies textbook, *The American Vision: Modern Times*, has an entire chapter on the civil rights movement. A typical passage states, "The Civil Rights Act of 1964 outlawed discrimination based on race, gender, religion, or national origin and gave equal access to public facilities. Another monumental civil rights law, the Voting Rights Act of 1965, protected African Americans' voting rights" (Glencoe-McGraw Hill 2006).

In addition to their independent conceptual merit, these case studies help address two weaknesses of Part I. In the global analyses the mechanisms by which conceptions of citizenship change remain murky. In some cases changes in curricula may be driven by a desire to adhere to international standards or perform well on international tests, while in other instances changes may be driven more by local and national debates and politics. Through archival research, I can trace the process of when and how significant changes in civic education emphases emerge in the US and Canada, and thereby determine how international influences shape and interact with national

institutions. Second, my global textbook research is limited to the last few decades, but conceptually I speculate that a globalized vision of civic education emerges after World War II. It is not plausible to collect pre-World War II textbook data systematically for a large number of countries, as textbook collections tend to only have these historical data for a few cases. But for the US and Canada I can assess the timing of changes in civic education to test these world cultural arguments.

PART III. SUB-NATIONAL VARIATION WITHIN THE US AND CANADA

Studies of globalization often argue that national borders are undercut by pressures from both above and below, a process Robertson (1992) terms 'glocalization.' Yet a paradox of much globalization research is that by using nation-states as the unit of analysis it reifies the very boundaries it claims are weakening (Beck & Sznaider 2006). As national borders become less relevant for structuring society due to the effects of globalization, changes in civic education may be increasingly uneven within a country. Extending the theory of world culture from countries to local regions, I argue that some sub-national areas may be more influenced by globalization than others, perhaps due to fewer connections to the external world or a historical legacy that is more resistant to change. The key contribution of Part III is to analyze whether globalization has homogenous or heterogeneous effects within nation-states.

To ensure the feasibility of this part of the project I limit its scope to three key areas within each country: California, New York, and Texas in the US and British Columbia (BC), Ontario, and Quebec in Canada. These areas are among the most influential textbook markets in their respective countries and vary on key substantive dimensions.[3] Most importantly, these units are conceptualized not solely as political entities, but as representative of sub-cultures within the US and Canada to varying degrees. Comparative research on the US and Canada often points to deep social and cultural divisions within each country (e.g. Grabb and Curtis 2010). In my study, Texas and Quebec

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[3] The study could be expanded to include other regions in the future (e.g. Florida, the mid-West), but the current design covers key areas in each country and is a reasonable scope for the postdoctoral period. In the US, for instance, Apple (1993) estimates that California and Texas control 20-30% of the textbook market.

are included for their unique histories as formerly independent nations and contemporary positions as key players in normative civic education debates in their respective national polities.[4] Their relatively strong sense of an independent cultural identity may be tied to particularly lower nationalist emphases in textbooks, but also weakened global emphases. Areas more intimately tied to path dependent processes that begin at the critical moment of decolonization (i.e. New York and Ontario) may show greater continued national emphases than those with looser ties due to later political incorporation and/or geographic separation from the national polity (i.e. California and BC). These latecomers that do not have a strong independent cultural identity may focus more on globalized content areas of civics, such as multiculturalism and universal norms like human rights, than other regions. Further, we should particularly expect changes in the subnational areas most influenced by social and cultural globalization through linkages such as numbers of international nonprofits or percent of the population that is foreign-born. To examine these arguments I again focus mainly on textbook analyses[5], but use supplementary data including details of the textbook adoption and revision process as well as curricular standards and frameworks.

IMPLICATIONS AND CONTRIBUTIONS

This mixed-methods project is one of the first to theorize that civic education is changing worldwide, and to provide empirical evidence of this trend. A key implication is that mass school systems are being repurposed away from their original goal of constructing a unitary national citizenry and towards a new view emphasizing human diversity, equality, and agency in a globally-

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[4] Naturally, Quebec and Texas differ on a great many dimensions and there are likely striking differences between textbooks in these two areas, but that is less central to my core arguments. The primary goal of Part III is to compare sub-units within each national polity rather than to compare across countries. So the key focus is that each area plays a unique role within its respective national polity.

[5] Specifically, I am working with research assistants to analyze five textbooks per twenty year period from 1850-2010 (i.e. five books published 1850-1870, five books published 1871-1890, etc) for three states and three provinces, resulting in a sample of 240 books. Historical textbook collections are available in the libraries of major Schools of Education (e.g. Stanford University has two collections of textbooks and, nearby, San Jose State University has a historical collection of over 1,800 curricular items). A content analysis of textbooks will be used to create a quantitative dataset for use in multivariate regression to analyze the timing and extent of emphases on the four outcomes.

interconnected world. Such changes may contribute to the creation of a more just, equitable society by promoting tolerance of diverse social groups, but it may also undermine the creation of national identity and thus contribute to fractionalization within a society.

Further, case studies of the US and Canada extend the existing research on the globalization of civic education in three ways. First, global research shows worldwide changes in civic education, but substantial cross-national and sub-national variation in the meaning of such emphases remains unexplored. A central focus of this study is to explain how globalization is related to persistent, or even increasing, differences in some aspects of civic education both between and within countries. Second, although studies indicate that shifts in civic education are occurring worldwide, little is known about how global influences enter national curricula. By tracing the process of when and how significant changes in civic education emphases emerge in the US and Canada I can determine how international influences shape and interact with national institutions. Third, my prior cross-national textbook research is limited to recent decades, but conceptually the studies speculate that a globalized vision of civics emerges after World War II. I will assess these world cultural arguments for the US and Canada by examining civic education over a longer period.

To conclude, I would like to emphasize the originality and potential significance of the proposed work. Intellectually, this project contributes to the advancement of knowledge in the fields of education and sociology in multiple ways. It is one of the first studies to theorize that notions of national citizenship are being altered by globalization and that these changes are unevenly adopted within countries; and it is also the first to examine these claims empirically. It provides a new approach to understanding the content of schooling as rooted in global trends and offers evidence of a shift in the fundamental political purposes of education. The research shows that school systems are increasingly influenced by, and are a source for the transmission of global culture. Further, my study has the potential to affect society more broadly. This research contributes to evidence-based decision-making among policymakers concerned with balancing the conflicting demands of national identity, social diversity, and global participation, particularly those charged with developing history and civic education curricula.

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