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A tale of two worlds: the interstate system and world society in social science textbooks, 1950–2011

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ABSTRACT

There is a great and longstanding divide in visions of the international arena. Some assert that states are the most relevant actors in international politics, and others emphasise the importance of non-state actors as vehicles through which shared ideas and identities are enacted. Typically, cross-national scholarship adopts one of these positions and seeks to support the attendant theoretical claims; our approach is entirely different. We treat these varied conceptions of the international arena not as antecedent explanatory frameworks, but rather as outcomes to be explained in their own right. To this end, we draw on data consisting of 539 high-school social science textbooks (history, civics, social studies, and geography) from 73 countries published between 1950 and 2011, coded to shed light on how the international arena is discussed in national education systems. We use multilevel modelling to determine how characteristics of textbooks and countries are linked to different visions of the international arena. Stronger national emphases in books promote a vision of the interstate system, as does a country's level of democracy. Emphases on world society emerge particularly in recent decades and in books and countries most exposed to educational and social globalisation. Our findings provide initial support for arguments that world society and the interstate system are distinct, leading to multiple forms of inequality in the international arena.

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World society; interstate system; textbooks; civic education; globalisation

A prominent and long-standing line of research in international politics depicts the world as consisting mainly of countries operating in an anarchic system dominated by the most powerful states (e.g., Morgenthau 1948; Waltz 1959; Tilly 1992; Mearsheimer 2001; Bull 2012). More recently, new strands of work emphasise the growing importance of non-state actors (e.g., Adler and Haas 1992; Meyer et al. 1997; Keck and Sikkink 1998; Wendt 1999). In this latter view, the global arena has elements of a 'world society' populated not only by states, but also by non-governmental organisations, advocacy networks, voluntary associations, and interest groups of all shapes and sizes. World society relies on and promotes direct involvement of a range of actors in global affairs (e.g., individuals and associations), whereas a view of the world as an interstate system governed by international politics privileges the nation-state and its structures.

The rise of attention to non-state actors, world society, and global culture was not just an intellectual fad; it reflected the restructuring of the entire international system, especially after World War II. In the latter half of the twentieth century state-centred models of nationalism and colonialism

were undercut as legitimate sources of order in the international system. From above, the United Nations system emerged, and, from below, individuals, sub-national groups, and non-state actors were empowered by a diffuse rights revolution (Ignatieff 2007; Skrentny 2009). Robertson (1995) has eloquently described the simultaneous shifting of authority to actors above and below the state ‘globalisation.’ As the nation-state’s role shifted, possibilities for international participation opened to new actors; indeed, individuals became re-envisioned as ‘someone who can, may and should act globally’ and non-governmental organisations covering a rather stunning array of trans-national social and cultural issues emerged rapidly (Boli and Thomas 1999, 34).

We address this core point: A world society has grown rapidly since the middle of the twentieth century, but just as countries have different positions in the international political system, they have variable relationships to the global social system. We examine differences in countries’ affiliation with the interstate system and world society by examining how their education system portrays the international system. We could study the issue of whether nation-states have more affinity with statist and societal dimensions of global affairs in several other ways, such as using survey data about attitudes towards political and social dimensions of the international system, through other forms of discourse (e.g., in the media or speeches or policy documents), or by measuring activities like international organising and travel, or numbers of international non-governmental organisations. But education is a valuable context because of its role in political socialisation. Schooling serves to form and transmit models of national and international society, and textbooks – the data we use here – are important lenses through which such models are formed and communicated to students. Textbooks represent what youth ‘ought’ to learn about their respective national identities and histories, their rights and responsibilities as citizens, and their countries’ place in the world. So we study the extent to which countries intend for their youth to view the international system as more or less dominated by nation-state structures or elements of a world society.

The emergence of mass schooling is intricately tied to the creation of modern nation-states (Ramirez and Boli 1987; Meyer, Ramirez, and Soysal 1992). Historically, governments the world over turned to education as one of the primary institutions for constructing national identities and socialising loyal citizens. Studies of educational systems, particularly aspects of civic education and political socialisation, have been important topics in political science since the discipline’s infancy (Orr 2004). At the same time, there is a shortfall of empirical research on education in political science journals (Galston 2001; Orr 2004), and even less research linking education and international or comparative politics. To our knowledge, our study is one of the first to empirically examine political socialisation at the world level. It provides insight into how masses of young people around the world are intended to understand the international system.

Our data consist of 539 high-school social science textbooks (history, civics, social studies, and geography) from 73 countries, coded to shed light on how the international arena is discussed. We first use factor analysis to reveal whether there are empirically distinct depictions of the international arena in official textbooks. We find there are indeed two clear ways the world is portrayed in textbooks, one more statist and the other more societal. We then use multilevel regression analysis to determine the characteristics of textbooks and countries that are associated with these more statist and more societal visions of the world.

In what follows, we discuss a definition of the interstate system and world society in more detail. We then derive hypotheses predicting the properties of textbooks and countries that are associated with these distinct dimensions of the global system. After describing the data and methods used to evaluate these hypotheses, we report our findings, consider their implications, and offer avenues for future research.

Background

Prior to World War II, states were the primary actors on the world stage; prior to World War I, even intergovernmental organisations were rare. Many argue that the global system has become less state-

centric over time, especially during the postwar era. The interstate system has expanded to include not only newly decolonised states (Strang 1991) but also individuals with rights and standing independent of state membership (Soysal 1994) and a host non-governmental organisations representing a plethora of interests, issues, and identities (Boli and Thomas 1999; Schofer and Fourcade-Gourinchas 2001). Simultaneously, social and cultural issues are taking on an increasingly transnational character. There has been a dramatic expansion in the scope and scale of social and cultural domains thought to have international or global reach. Environmental protection, for example, is now a concern for all sorts of actors worldwide (Meyer et al. 1997), as are human rights (Donnelly 1993, 2013). Many arenas that were once thought of as particularistic are now discussed in global terms; issues of diversity, for example, have entered the realm of international politics (Kymlicka 2007).

These changes have transpired hand in hand with changes to the national state. Some argue that as a result of globalisation the nation-state is in decline (Van Creveld 1999). States are no longer the sole locus of authority and guarantor of rights. State boundaries have become increasingly porous. And formerly robust national polities are transformed into prosaic administrative organisations (Sassen 2006). Others argue that states are changing although not declining (Slaughter 2005). They remain the paramount actors on the world state, but they are now densely enmeshed in a growing web of transnational regimes (Krasner 1983; Adler and Haas 1992). Although these regimes serve as venues for states to assert their interests, they also shape the policies, preferences, and practices of member states (Torfason and Ingram 2010). In these conceptions, ‘the state [i]s an actor that, although obviously influenced by the society surrounding it, also shapes social and political processes’ (Evans, Rueschemeyer, and Skocpol 1985, vii). The distinction we seek to make between world society and the interstate system has been alluded to in these theoretical literatures, although it is rarely analysed empirically.¹

More directly, Bull and Watson (1984), emphasise a difference between the international system composed of autonomous nation-states and international society comprising other kinds of political communities. Similarly, Buzan (1993, 336–337; see also Buzan 2004) draws a conceptual line

between ‘international society,’ which is about the nature of relations among states (or whatever political units compose the international system), and ‘world society,’ which takes individuals, nonstate organizations, and ultimately the global population as a whole as the focus of global societal identities and arrangements.

These efforts underlie our own delineation between the more statist and more societal dimensions of the global arena.

We also draw inspiration from the Stanford School, which views the world as a cultural, associational, and institutional system in which social actors – individuals, nation-states, and the organisations they create – are embedded (Meyer et al. 1997; Jepperson 2002). This system comprises the basic structural models, cognitive templates, and normative prescriptions that define these actors and guide their action. Scholars in this tradition have shown that institutions and outcomes in a variety of domains often converge around common models, despite widespread differences and rampant inequalities among societies. Education systems and the content of formal knowledge in the curricula have been a main focus for showing how global institutional and cultural forces shape national polities (Meyer, Kamens, and Benavot 1992; Frank and Gabler 2006; Meyer, Bromley, and Ramirez 2010). A series of studies document that terms like ‘globalisation’ and ‘global citizenship’ appear with growing frequency in textbooks and curricula around the world (Frank et al. 2000; Buckner and Russell 2013).

Thus, the interstate system is the domain of autonomous nation-states, and world society consists of non-state, groups, issues, and agendas. The architecture of the interstate system consists of direct interstate linkages (e.g., ambassadorial exchanges) and other state-to-state interactions through processes such as colonisation and war. In this vision of the international system, independent and often competing nation-states operate in an anarchic environment. World society, in contrast, encompasses a panoply of non-state actors – women, children, immigrants, indigenous peoples, and

‘minority’ groups, to name a few – that have achieved standing in global affairs (Boli-Bennett and Meyer 1978; Soysal 1995; Berkovitch 1999; Schissler and Soysal 2005; Cole 2011). Primordial identities rooted in language and religion are also present, and indeed are given renewed strength by the relativising forces of globalisation (Robertson 1992). More abstractly, globalisation has amplified social issues and problems that transcend national boundaries, such as health (Inoue and Drori 2006) and the environment (Frank, Hironaka, and Schofer 2000).

In order to gain a sense of the varied ways countries aim for students to think about the world it is useful to consider briefly how these two spheres, the statist and societal elements of the world, look in textbooks. Consider, for example, *Milestones in History and Government*, a Kenyan history and civics textbook published in 2004. This book portrays the international arena in terms of horizontal relations among autonomous nation-states and vertical relations between countries and their colonies. It has nine chapters, all of which discuss events tied to formal political processes (often involving military action) at both the national and international level. Relevant chapters include ‘European invasion of Africa and the process of colonisation’ and ‘Colonial administration,’ with descriptions of British administration in Kenya, Nigeria, and Zimbabwe and French administration in Senegal. [Figure 1](#) shows a typical illustration in this book, a map of areas previously under European colonial influence in Africa. The accompanying discourse describes the economic, political, strategic, and social factors leading to the scramble for colonies on the continent. Parallel discussions, from the colonizers’ perspective, are found in many European textbooks, along with detailed discussions of the rise and fall of various monarchies, relationships among royal families, larger interstate wars, and the making and breaking of treaties and alliances. In these cases, the world is depicted primarily as an arena for conflict, competition, and cooperation among states.

In contrast, a social studies textbook from Guyana, published in 2005, emphasises global issues that exist outside the scope of any single nation-state. For example, the book discusses AIDS as a borderless health problem. Alongside an image of a United Nations poster with the caption ‘Fight the roots of HIV/AIDS,’ a series of questions prompt students to consider the effect disease on national economic development and ways to stop its spread. The text also describes problems that women and children face globally, with pages dedicated to the UN Declaration of the Rights of the Child and organisations worldwide that fight gender discrimination ([Figure 2\(a\)](#)). Although the book continues to cover the structure and function of the national government, it also gives attention to universal challenges like environmental damage ([Figure 2\(b\)](#)). Similar discussions and distinctions recur in textbooks around the world.

Arguments

We consider two central arguments, positing that (1) national political characteristics will be associated with emphases on an interstate system and (2) levels of globalisation will be associated with emphases on world society. For clarity, we focus here on the relationships we expect to be most salient (i.e., between political characteristics and emphases on an interstate system, and then between globalisation and emphases on world society). But later in the paper we present and discuss additional findings (i.e., associations between political characteristics and world society, and globalisation and the interstate system).

National political features

We expect that national political characteristics – both aspirational depictions of the nation-state as portrayed in textbooks and measures of the actual political system – will be associated with how textbooks depict the international system. Bounded, autonomous national polities are a necessary precursor for the construction of an interstate system; the interstate system emerges directly out of imaging a system of distinct nation-states. These formally equivalent, independent polities are

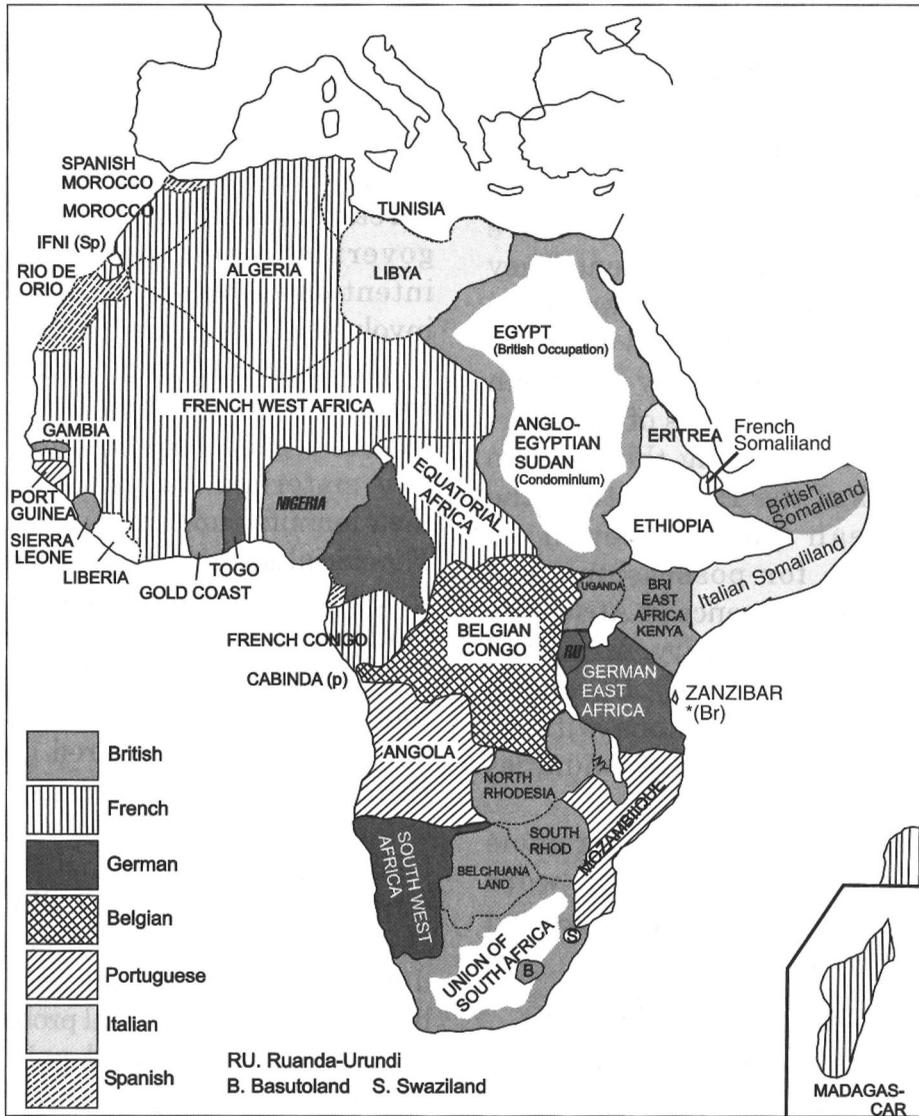


Figure 1. Interstate emphases in a Kenyan Textbook.

assumed to consist of both a national political structure and a national society or ‘imagined community’ (Anderson 2006). We suspect that textbooks emphasising a strong national state and national society are more likely to depict the international arena as an interstate system. In contrast, strong national emphases may undercut emphases on a world society that is neither constituted by nation-states nor circumscribed by the psychological limits of the imagined national community. In sum:

Hypothesis 1 (National Polity and the Interstate System): Higher national emphasis in textbooks are associated with higher emphasis on an interstate system.

We also expect that the nature of a country’s political system – in particular, the degree to which it is democratic – will shape its presentation of the international arena. Autocratic regimes are often ‘pariah’ states that are only weakly integrated into the interstate system. Indeed, these regimes may

(a)

GENDER ISSUES

The early 1960's saw the birth of the Women's Liberation Movement in the United States of America. This movement brought to the fore what was considered to be certain inequalities women suffered when compared with their male counterparts. Major among them was the issue of receiving lower wages than men for doing similar jobs. Women were also less represented in certain occupations such as medicine, law and politics. Serious questions were raised concerning the traditional views held of women – that a woman's place was in the home, that they were inferior and subservient to men, that they were capable only of doing certain jobs such as nursing or that they were physically weaker than men.

Since the 1960's a number of women's groups and organisations have been formed throughout the world to further the cause of women. This has led

to greater educational opportunities for women and their increased presence as wage earners in all fields of endeavour. They have proven to be as good or even better than men in many fields, they are capable of being financially independent and they need no longer be confined to the home.

However, there are some who still question whether it is not more fitting for a woman's place to be in the home, as the letter below indicates.



(b)

RECYCLING

Environmentalists the world over have recognised that modern civilisation has brought the global environment to the brink of destruction. In the quest for economic growth, man has polluted the land, sea and air; natural resources and forests have been reduced to alarming proportions. In an effort to increase living standards, man has brought planet earth to the brink of total ruin and destruction. Recycling must be considered as one of the most viable options of reversing this trend of environmental degradation.



Figure 2. World society emphases in a Guyanian Textbook. (a) Gender issues worldwide and (b) global environmental concerns.

actively shun global politics when instructing students, particularly since the global system ‘justifies democratic governance and delegitimizes autocracy’ (Torfason and Ingram 2010, 356). Democracies are more strongly embedded than non-democracies in the organisational structures of the interstate system (Mansfield and Pevehouse 2008), which may render them more likely to emphasise the more state-centric dimensions of globalism in their textbooks.

There is less reason to think that variation in regime types will directly influence textbook representations of world society. For one thing, although citizens in democratic countries might have greater freedom to participate in world society, net of this participation (which we measure and discuss in the next section on globalisation) national political processes seem less related to a world culture or world society. Moreover, the effect of democracy on the density of a country's associational linkages to world society has diminished over time, such that by the 1970s there is no significant relationship (Paxton 2002). If citizens in democratic countries are equally likely to participate in world society as their counterparts in autocratic countries, then official representations of world society in textbooks may not differ across regime types either. Lastly, prior studies have found little to no relationship between democracy and other types of global emphases (e.g., human rights or global citizenship) in textbooks (Meyer, Bromley, and Ramirez 2010; Buckner and Russell 2013). We posit:

Hypothesis 2 (Democracy and the Interstate System): Higher levels of democracy are associated with higher emphasis on an interstate system.

Globalisation

The expansion of world society is intricately linked to the postwar processes of social and cultural globalisation. Textbooks and countries that are influenced by globalisation may orient national politics and education systems outward, and thereby become more likely to emphasise world society in textbooks. At the textbook level, this process might occur directly through international influences on curricula. For example, professional educators are often hired as external consultants, educational associations promulgate global best practices, and multinational publishing companies are often involved in publishing textbooks in several countries at once.

Textbooks might also come to emphasise world society more indirectly via broad global transformations of education systems. Since World War II, social science curricula worldwide tend to replace traditional state-centric history courses with social studies and civics courses (see Wong 1991; Benavot and Amadio 2005, and the studies reported in Benavot and Braslavsky 2006; for the corresponding trend in higher education, see Frank and Gabler 2006). UNESCO, for example, has actively promoted a global shift away from national history and towards civics and social studies (Wong 1991). Modern curricular fashions explicitly advocate a more social and cultural version of history (Schissler and Soysal 2005; Meyer 2006; Rosenmund 2006; Dierkes 2010), which enters school systems through the rise of subjects like social studies and civics and decline of traditional history classes. Thus:

Hypothesis 3 (Educational Globalization and World Society): Higher levels of educational globalization are associated with higher emphasis on world society.

In addition to the direct influence of educational globalisation, countries' broader worldwide connections may also matter. Prior world polity studies suggest that many national characteristics are shaped by higher levels of membership in international non-governmental organisations (see, e.g., Koo and Ramirez 2009 for national human rights institutions; Suárez, Ramirez, and Koo 2009 for human rights programmes in secondary schools; Frank, Hironaka, and Schofer 2000 for environmental policies; Olzak 2006 for ethnic mobilisation). Critical interpretations of this argument might view these global influences as a kind of dependency or hegemony, although our data do not directly allow for this kind of assessment. Nonetheless, economic development, which we include as a control, may be an indicator of susceptibility to global influence or a form of modernisation that overlaps with particular perceptions of the international arena. We hypothesise that:

Hypothesis 4 (Social Globalization and World Society): Higher levels of social globalization via memberships in international non-governmental organizations are associated with higher emphasis on world society.

Data and methods

Cross-nationally, textbooks are a particularly valuable source of data for several reasons. First, they are one of the most-used classroom technologies worldwide (Torney-Purta et al. 2001). Second, they play a comparable role across countries. Maintaining a supervisory role over textbook content is a central way for governments to maintain control over the narration of their national origins and the kinds of knowledge to which youth are exposed. Textbooks do not simply convey facts; they reduce and distil complex histories into canonised knowledge that has a legitimate, authoritative character (Lässig 2009; Schissler 2009). Third, they are carefully monitored by governments and citizens. Even today, textbooks continue to be a key site for control over the definition of citizenship. For instance, in 2007 more than 100,000 protesters took to the streets in Okinawa, Japan to protest a government mandate ordering textbook producers to remove sections describing how military officers instructed soldiers to commit mass suicide rather than be captured during World War II. As bearers of 'official truths' about the nation, 'textbooks provide "battlegrounds" on which questions of interpretive power and cultural authority and, ultimately, the right to define and pass on legitimate knowledge are negotiated and fought for' (Lässig 2009, 4).

Data collection

Our data consist of 539 secondary school textbooks from 73 countries between 1950 and 2011, as listed in [Appendix A](#). Textbooks are broadly distributed across countries, such that no country makes up more than 5% of the sample. The data were collected as part of a multi-year study of changes in textbook content over time based at Stanford University. Studies related to the project have analysed shifts in textbook content over time in a range of topics, including human rights (Meyer, Bromley, and Ramirez 2010), environmentalism (Bromley, Meyer, and Ramirez 2011b), and globalisation (Buckner and Russell 2013). Our analysis extends these prior studies by providing a more direct and all-encompassing analysis of how the international arena is presented 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. This collection includes more than 70,000 history, social sciences, and geography textbooks from 158 countries worldwide, primarily from the post-World War II era. Additional textbooks were coded from the collections housed at Stanford University 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.²

The difficulty of acquiring textbooks cross-nationally limits our study in a number of ways. It is not feasible to obtain a representative, random sample from all countries. In most countries there is little information about textbooks used decades ago. We do not claim to generalise to countries or time periods not represented in the dataset. Nevertheless, the trends we find in the data are striking and, at a minimum, they indicate promising directions for future research. Although our sample has drawbacks, it includes textbooks from all regions of the world, is the most complete source available on cross-national changes in the content of education over time and has been widely used in social science research (e.g., Bromley, Meyer, and Ramirez 2011a; Buckner and Russell 2013). No other data source on political socialisation that we have encountered provides comparable scope and depth of coverage.

Coding procedures followed a standardised protocol developed by a research group at Stanford University. All coders were trained in order to ensure inter-rater reliability, and attempts were made to use native speaking coders whenever possible. The coding protocol contained questions that captured emphases on the statist and societal dimensions of globalisation, such as whether health or education were discussed in global or international terms, or whether democratisation and (de-)colonisation were discussed. Relevant excerpts of the coding document are provided in [Appendix B](#); the entire protocol is available upon request.

Method

Before conducting a regression analysis of the textbook- and country-level characteristics associated with particular depictions of the global system, we first determined whether our indicators represent two distinct latent concepts, world society and the interstate system. To this end, we conducted a factor analysis to reveal latent dimensions in the data and to identify which items in the textbooks relate to which underlying factors. Our factor analysis of the tetrachoric correlation matrix of the 13 items reveals that two central latent variables underpin the items, one interstate dimension and one world society dimension.³ A check of the internal consistency of each factor was also satisfactory; a standard threshold is 0.70 or higher and the Kuder–Richardson coefficient of reliability for the interstate factor is 0.75 and for the world society factor it is 0.80.

Because textbooks are nested within countries in our data and we have hypotheses at both the textbook and country level, we employ a two-level model that accounts for the variation at both the country level and the textbook level. A multilevel 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). We include a random-intercept to control for the combined effects of all omitted time-invariant country-level variables.⁴

Our model is given by:

$$y_{ijk} = \beta_1 + \beta_2 x_{2ij} + \beta_3 x_{3j} + v_j + e_i,$$

where i = Textbook, j = Country, k = Factor score (interstate or world society), y_{ij} = The score that textbook i in country j receives on each factor k , β_2 = A vector of textbook-specific variables, including: year of publication, pages, grade category and subject, β_3 = A vector of country-specific variables, including: GDP, democracy score, and INGO linkages, v_j = Country errors, which are assumed to be normally distributed, e_i = Textbook-specific errors.

Dependent variables

Our two outcome variables, factor scores that measure textbook emphases on world society and the interstate system, were constructed from 13 questions on the coding document about the international arena. These 13 items capture an array of global topics such as colonisation, democratisation, and interstate conflicts, as well discussions of health, the environment, and minorities framed in international terms. Using factor analyses, we identified two latent dimensions in these items, and constructed two continuous outcome variables that measure a textbook's emphasis on world society and the interstate system. A complete list of the individual items, their prevalence in the sample, and the extent to which each item loads on the two factors are included in Table 1.⁵ The least prevalent item is a discussion of children's issues in international terms, present in just 15% of the sample; the most common item, democratisation, is addressed in 58% of textbooks in the sample.

The rotated factor loadings can be interpreted as the correlation between an item and each latent factor. Four items (dummy variables indicating whether a textbook mentions [de-]colonisation, totalitarianism, interstate conflict, and democratisation) load onto a distinct latent variable we term 'interstate system,' and these items do not load onto the other factor. The other nine items load onto a distinctive 'world society' factor. The factor analysis provides evidence in support of Hypothesis 1; namely, that textbooks present distinct depictions of the interstate system and world society. We use regression scoring to calculate a textbook's score on each of the latent dimensions of how the international arena is depicted and then employ regression models to test the relationship between these outcomes and country and textbook-level factors. The world society factor has a range of -0.22 to 1.28 with a mean of 0.17 and standard deviation of 0.32 . The interstate factor has a range of -0.23 to 1.18 with a mean of 0.52 and a standard deviation of 0.41 .

Table 1. Mean and rotated factor loadings for international items ($n = 539$).

Items	Mean	Rotated factor loadings	
		Interstate	World society
Authoritarianism	0.45	0.87	0.08
Conflict	0.51	0.79	0.10
Democratisation	0.58	0.74	0.19
(De-)Colonisation	0.56	0.71	0.15
Health	0.19	0.05	0.84
Children	0.15	0.08	0.81
Education	0.23	0.23	0.73
Environment	0.18	-0.14	0.68
Minorities	0.31	0.40	0.66
Religion	0.30	0.43	0.65
Women	0.19	0.22	0.65
Language	0.16	0.17	0.64
Immigrants	0.37	0.39	0.60

Notes: All items are dichotomous. The Eigen values are 5.50 for the world society factor and 2.05 for the interstate factor. The shaded areas in Table 1 highlighted the items that are associated with each factor.

Independent and control variables

Our models include variables that describe the properties of both textbooks and countries. We begin with a measure for the year a book was published, and reconstructed into decade indicators to reveal any non-linear trends. In Hypothesis 1, we speculated that emphases on the national polity will promote depictions of the interstate system. To test this argument we draw on two measures of national emphases in textbooks: (a) whether the national military is discussed and (b) whether national independence (or the nation's founding story) is discussed. To test Hypothesis 2, we include a country-level indicator of political democracy from the Polity IV database that ranges from -10 (strongly autocratic) to $+10$ (strongly democratic) (Marshall and Jaggers 2010).

In Hypotheses 3 and 4, we offered predictions for the effects of educational and social globalisation. We capture educational globalisation through two textbook-level indicators: the first indicates whether there is evidence of non-national involvement in producing the book; the second records whether the book is a traditional history textbook (versus social studies, civics, and geography textbooks). We suspect that history curricula will tend to emphasise older, 'statist' visions of the global arena. At the country level, we measure social globalisation through the standard world polity indicator – linkages to international non-governmental organisations (INGOs) as reported in the Union of International Associations' *Yearbook of International Organizations*. World society embeddedness is strongly correlated with both democracy and development (Boli, Loya, and Loftin 1999; Paxton 2002; Beckfield 2003). In our dataset, INGO ties correlate with democracy at 0.66 and with per capita GDP at 0.73. In order to disentangle the effects of these variables, and to isolate the world-cultural effects of INGO ties, we residualised our measure of INGO linkages. First, we regressed INGO linkages on our measures of democracy and (logged) gross domestic product (GDP) per capita (described in the next paragraph). Using predicted values obtained from this regression analysis, we then calculate the residual INGO linkages. This procedure effectively purges INGO linkages of the variation associated with economic development and democracy. In the analyses that follow, we use the residualised INGO score in place of the 'standard' raw linkage measure.

Lastly, as a country-level control we retain a measure of GDP per capita (logged) throughout the analyses drawn from the World Bank's World Development Indicators (2008). At the textbook level we also use controls for grade, book length (number of pages logged), the proportion of the book that addresses international issues, and whether the economy is discussed (following the idea that global politics and economic interests are often intertwined). Table 2 presents the descriptive statistics for our dependent and independent variables.

Table 2. Descriptive statistics ($n = 539$).

Variable	Mean	Std. dev.	Min	Max
<i>Dependent variables</i>				
World society factor	0.17	0.32	-0.22	1.28
Interstate factor	0.52	0.41	-0.23	1.18
<i>Textbook level variables</i>				
Published 1990–1999	0.19	0.39	0	1
Published 2000–2011	0.27	0.45	0	1
Number of pages (logged)	5.34	0.49	3.58	6.75
Amt. International	1.60	1.08	0	3
Discusses economy	0.87	0.33	0	1
Discusses national military	0.75	0.92	0	3
Discusses national independence	0.92	0.96	0	3
History textbook	0.42	0.49	0	1
Int'l. involvement in textbook Production	0.15	0.36	0	1
<i>Country level variables</i>				
Democracy score	3.70	7.39	-9	10
GDP/capita (log)	8.23	1.53	4.48	10.69
INGO linkages (residualised)	0.12	9.29	-33.97	21.62

Findings

We begin with a look at descriptive trends in the items making up our two factors – interstate and world society – over time. These trends are shown in Figure 3(a) and (b), respectively. Interstate issues of democratisation, (de-)colonisation, interstate armed conflict, and authoritarianism are discussed in roughly 40–60% of textbooks, and these proportions remain remarkably stable over the entire postwar era. In stark contrast, world society emphases – international discussions of immigrants, minorities, religion, environment, health, women, children, education, and language – are discussed in only 15–45% at the *end* of the period. Despite the sharp increase in world society emphases since the 1950s, they remain less prevalent than discussions of the interstate system. In short, world society emphases are increasing over time, as predicted, but overall emphases remain below that of the interstate system.

Factor analyses (described in more detail in the methods section) revealed that these 13 international items reflect two underlying dimensions, which we call the interstate system and world

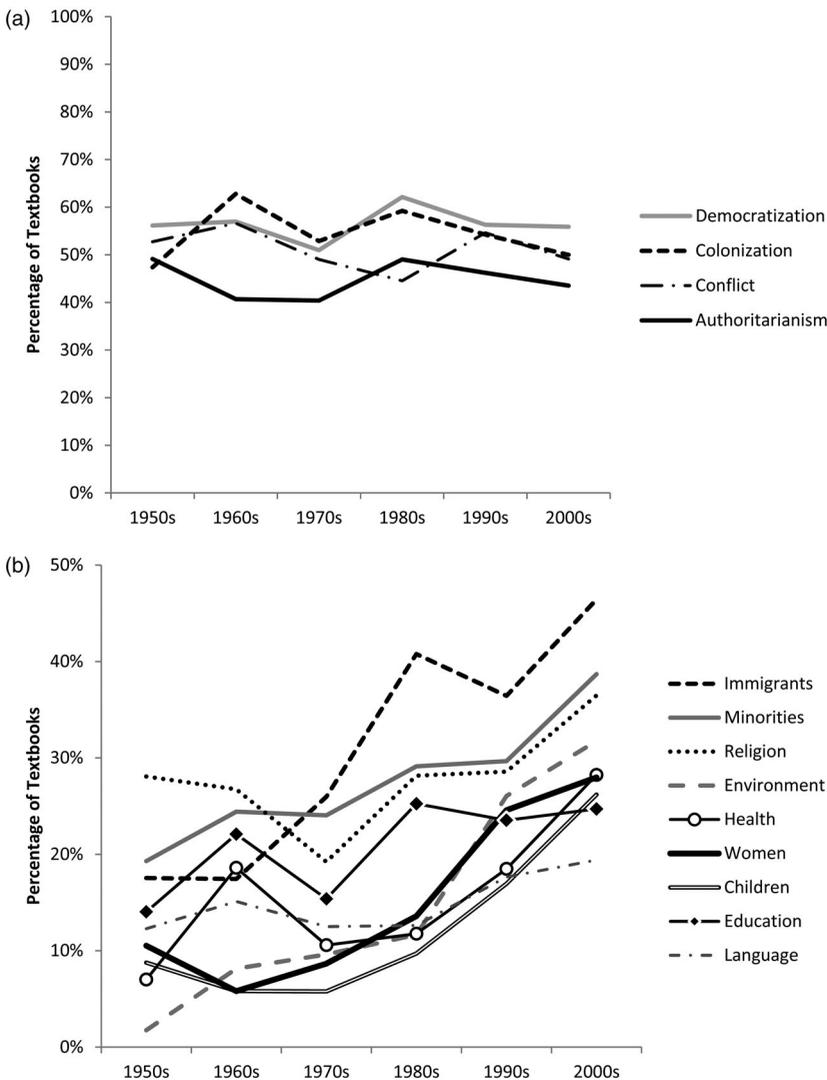


Figure 3. (a) Trends in interstate indicators over time. (b) Trends in world society indicators over time.



Figure 4. Trends in world society and interstate factors over time.

society. Figure 4 plots trends in these dimensions, expressed as percentage changes from baseline factor scores in the 1950s. When measured as two continuous factors, emphases on the interstate system are relatively stable over time, while emphases on world society increase sharply. To check the robustness of our factors, we re-ran the analyses using a number of sub-samples (textbooks published pre-1990, textbooks published post-1990, and textbooks published post-2000) and found that the interstate and world society items consistently loaded onto different underlying factors. Thus, although time trends likely account for part of the difference between these two factors, time is not the only dimension creating a distinction between emphases on world society and the interstate system.

Table 3 shows the results of our multilevel regression for our two dependent variables, the interstate system index and the world society index. Models 1 through 5 analyse the interstate system factor, and Models 6 through 9 analyse the world society factor. Following standard practice in multilevel modelling, we begin by modelling variables at the lower (textbook) level before moving to the higher (country) level. Thus, the baseline models include a set of indicators for time, plus textbook-level control variables. A control for grade level (upper high school relative to lower high school and middle school) was never significant and is excluded from the models. Next we enter textbook-level variables of substantive interest, followed by a country-level control for GDP per capita (logged) and then substantive country-level measures. As an exploratory exercise we also consider interactions between publication date and substantive country variables to examine arguments that the relationship between the international system and national participation in global civil society or democracy, as suggested in prior research (Paxton 2002).

We start with baseline analyses looking at the association between a set of textbook controls and depictions of the interstate system (Model 1) and world society (Model 6).⁶ Significant associations between publication date and particular depictions of the world disappear once appropriate explanatory variables are added in later models. Longer books discuss the interstate system more; this association is also positive but less robust for world society emphases. Books published more recently are also longer, on average. So, in part, we are seeing the expansion of textbooks to include multiple depictions of the international arena, rather than the replacement of one form with another. Textbooks, in other words, can – and do – expand to incorporate new emphases, while retaining existing ones. Not surprisingly, books that have more international coverage in general are also more likely to

Table 3. Multilevel mixed-effects linear regression models analysing the effect of country- and textbook- variable on the interstate system and world society factor scores, 1950–2011.

	Interstate system factor					World society factor			
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)
1990s (1 = yes)	-.000 (.043)	.018 (.037)	-.016 (.038)	-.011 (.038)	-.034 (.038)	.079* (.034)	.078* (.033)	.034 (.036)	.030 (.037)
2000s (1 = yes)	-.040 (.039)	.012 (.033)	-.033 (.035)	-.101* (.047)	-.053 (.043)	.166*** (.030)	.152*** (.030)	.071 (.039)	.067 (.041)
Pages (log)	.177*** (.037)	.132*** (.032)	.120*** (.033)	.119*** (.032)	.079** (.030)	.025 (.028)	.047 (.028)	.033 (.029)	.039 (.029)
Amount intl (0–3)	.064*** (.016)	.078*** (.014)	.078*** (.013)	.079*** (.013)	.054*** (.012)	.086*** (.012)	.090*** (.012)	.087*** (.012)	.083*** (.012)
Economy mentioned (1 = yes)	.274*** (.048)	.182*** (.042)	.181*** (.042)	.185*** (.042)	.177*** (.038)	.061 (.038)	.068 (.038)	.073 (.037)	.085* (.038)
Discusses natl military (0–3)		.122*** (.019)	.119*** (.019)	.116*** (.019)	.065*** (.018)				-.017 (.018)
Discusses natl Independence (0–3)		.118*** (.019)	.122*** (.019)	.121*** (.018)	.088*** (.017)				-.023 (.017)
Non-national involvement (1 = yes)					.004 (.038)		.078* (.037)	.107** (.037)	.101** (.037)
History textbook (1 = yes)					.322*** (.029)		-.090*** (.026)	-.082** (.026)	-.051 (.029)
GDP/capita (log)			-.019 (.015)	-.023 (.015)	-.018 (.015)			.030** (.011)	.020 (.013)
Democracy score			.011*** (.003)	.010*** (.003)	.012*** (.003)				.002 (.003)
DemocracyX2000s				.012* (.005)					
INGO linkages					.004 (.002)			.005* (.002)	.004* (.002)
Constant	-.755*** (.190)	-.678*** (.165)	-.477** (.180)	-.437* (.178)	-.285 (.168)	-.215 (.146)	-.319* (.147)	-.465** (.149)	-.399* (.156)
Level 1 (Textbook) Variance	-2.017*** (.173)	-2.100*** (.170)	-2.300*** (.210)	-2.357*** (.222)	-2.303*** (.191)	-2.530*** (.255)	-2.524*** (.258)	-2.770*** (.350)	-2.894*** (.426)
Level 2 (Country) Variance	-1.034*** (.032)	-1.186*** (.033)	-1.188*** (.033)	-1.189*** (.033)	-1.298*** (.033)	-1.266*** (.033)	-1.281*** (.033)	-1.283*** (.033)	-1.285*** (.033)

Standard errors in parentheses. *N* (textbooks) = 539, *n* (countries) = 73.**p* < .05.***p* < .01.****p* < .001.

discuss the interstate system and world society. And, as expected, books that discuss the economy are more likely to portray the world as an interstate system. Interestingly, in some models books that discuss the economy are also emphasise a world society more than books that do not discuss the economy, suggesting that economic discussions are tied to increased internationalism in general rather than just an interstate focus.

Model 2 adds two substantive textbook-level characteristics to examine associations between features of the national polity and a more statist vision of the world. We find that textbooks emphasising nationalism via discussions of the military or independence tend to frame international discussions in distinctly statist terms, in support of Hypothesis 1. For instance, the earlier Kenyan textbook that describes colonisation in Africa also has chapters with a heavily national political focus, entitled 'Political developments and the struggle for Independence in Kenya (1919–1963),' 'The formation, structure and functions of the government of Kenya,' and 'Lives and contributions of Kenyan leaders.'

In Model 3 we add country characteristics, including a control for economic development (that has no statistical association) and a measure of regime type.⁷ As democracy increases, interstate emphases correspondingly increase. This finding is consistent with Hypothesis 2 and likely reflects democracies' greater involvement in the interstate system. Delving deeper, in Model 4 we examine an interaction between democracy and books published 2000–2010 to examine our argument that a 'pariah' effect exists discussions of the interstate system.⁸ We find support in the positive and significant effect of an interaction between democracy and books published post-2000. Books published recently in more democratic countries have even greater emphasis on the interstate system. For books with a democracy score of zero, emphases on the interstate system are declining over time, as shown by the negative coefficient for the 2000s dummy variable in Model 4. The interaction also indicates that emphases on the interstate system are declining over time for a subset of undemocratic countries, but it is not necessarily the case that these countries discuss world society instead. Rather, it is more likely that they withdraw from the international system broadly. Given that more than half the world's countries are now classified as democratic, and considering the extreme delegitimisation of autocratic forms of government following the collapse of global communism, it seems plausible that the shrinking number of nondemocratic 'holdouts' would opt not to discuss global political affairs in their textbooks.

An important consideration is that emphases on the national state and regime type could be tied to greater internationalism in general; that is, the measures would be significantly associated with discussions of both an interstate system and world society. We examine this possibility in Model 9 and find a stark contrast between the two outcomes. Features of the national polity are not associated with depictions of world society; they are specifically tied to depictions of an interstate world. Opposite to the positive association between national emphases and an interstate system, discussions of the national military and national independence in textbooks have a negative (but insignificant) relationship with discussions of world society. Level of democracy is unrelated to world society emphases; all regime types emphasise world society equally in their education systems. Presumably, as world society is by definition less focused on government, features of the national state do less well at predicting this outcome. Although countries have variable affinity to world society, as we show next, this variation comes from different sources than those shaping portrayals of the interstate system.

We proposed that books and countries with higher levels of educational and cultural globalisation would have higher emphases on world society (Hypotheses 3 and 4) and find general support for these arguments. Model 7 shows that books with evidence of international involvement in their creation or dissemination (covering an array of forms from having a publisher located outside the country to evidence of non-national authors or consultants) discuss world society more. Plausibly, a mechanism for the expansion of international discussions is the involvement of international education professionals and organisations. Social studies, civics, and geography books also discuss world society more than traditional history texts. The world-level shift away from high-school history and towards civics and social studies documented in other research contributes to the rise of world

society. History remains a more traditional discipline, arising from older notions of the nation-state and focusing on nation-states rather than people or social issues (Frank et al. 2000). Echoing the text-book-level findings, Model 8 shows that country-level social globalisation also has a positive association with portrayals of world society. Countries with a more globally engaged citizenry, through memberships in INGOs, also emphasise world society more in their education systems. Plausibly, the causality runs in both directions over a long period of time; as students that have been educated about world society mature they may join INGOs at higher rates than others, and in countries where more citizens are members in INGOs, education systems are likely to include discussions of world society.⁹

Lastly, we consider the effects of these globalisation measures on discussions of the interstate system (Model 5). International involvement in publishing is unrelated to the interstate system factor, whereas it had a positive and significant association with discussions of world society. History textbooks are significantly more likely to discuss the interstate system, whereas they were significantly less likely to emphasise world society. This finding reinforces existing research indicating that history focuses on a traditional depiction of state and society, whereas newer subjects like social studies and civics tend to move beyond formal state structures. At the country level, although INGO memberships have a positive and significant association with discussions of world society, they are unrelated to emphases on the interstate system.

Discussion and conclusion

This study has illuminated how millions of young people around the world are taught to think of the international arena. Until the 1990s the world was portrayed as primarily the domain of nation-states – going to war, colonising, democratising, and the like. Today these interstate emphases remain strong, but they have been joined by nearly equally prevalent discussions of a supranational world society. World society, which we measure as the discussion of a variety of social groups and issues in international terms, is distinct from the interstate system. The multivariate analyses show that educational and social globalisation drive much of the increase of depictions of world society in textbooks. Emphases on the interstate system remain relatively stable, but attention to this arena is highest in democratic countries and when textbooks convey a strong sense of the national polity.

It is instructive to consider what the results might look like if alternative depictions of the world had emerged. It is entirely plausible for there not to have been sharp distinction between interstate and world society indicators. The factor analysis could have revealed only a single latent factor representing, perhaps, generic ‘international’ emphases in textbooks – or many smaller factors. Instead, the analyses indicate a clear boundary between state-centric and societal emphases. It is also possible, given debates about whether the state is in decline, that world society could have replaced interstate emphases. But this is not what we observe. World society is not supplanting the nation-state system, but rather is emerging alongside the interstate system as a distinct and differentiated phenomenon. A particular state’s role in the international system of states remains a stable focus of social studies curricula; in recent decades, however, textbooks also devote increased attention to the societal dimensions of globalisation.

These findings do not indicate that the interstate system is becoming less important in formal education. As shown in the earlier descriptive analysis, the raw proportion of books discuss the interstate system is higher than emphases on world society early on, and this proportion remains stable. Rather, the findings suggest a layering process, in which emphases on a world society are added on to existing textbook content related to the interstate system. We find that world society is indeed growing, but the interstate system is not shrinking (Evans, Rueschemeyer, and Skocpol 1985).

At the same time, the rise of world society and its ongoing distinctiveness from the interstate system in textbook emphases shows the ascendancy of non-traditional (i.e., non-state) issues and actors in the international arena. An array of environmental, social, organisational, and identity-based topics now framed in international terms have become part of canonised knowledge in education

systems around the world. Although nation-states continue to be important actors on the world stage, they are no longer the only legitimate players. What is more, nation-states themselves reinforce the legitimacy of world society by authorising such emphases in textbooks. It is an interesting twist that the very actors who were thought have the most to lose from the rise of world society are now the ones conferring authority on these newer international issues and actors. Governments strengthen and perpetuate the status of world society through socialising future generations. By allowing for growing world societal emphases in textbooks, nation-states help to promote and legitimate world society. But countries with greater emphasis on their national society, government, and military continue to emphasise an older vision of the international arena as dominated by interstate relations, and focus somewhat less on world society.

Theories of international relations and of world society have yet to address adequately the ongoing distinctiveness and relationship between the interstate system and world society. Going forward, scholars of global affairs should take greater care to delineate between the interstate and world societal realms. It is well known that a strong core-periphery structure exists in traditional political economy theories, and in practice. But our research suggests that an additional, highly distinct form of global order is emerging alongside (not replacing) this existing structure. Controlling for traditional core-periphery forms of stratification such as wealth and level of democracy, countries that have higher levels of educational and social globalisation place more emphasis on teaching their youth about world society. Our findings suggest that as international political socialisation unfolds into the future, a reinforcing pattern may emerge whereby more globalised countries teach their youth to participate in world society via national school systems, thereby widening the gap between countries that are core to the global social system and those that are peripheral. A new form of global stratification rooted in ties to an emerging world society is on the rise.

Notes

1. In a rare exception, in a study of human rights organizations Tsutsui and Wotipka (2004, 589) attempted 'to sort out the different roles of inter-governmental and nongovernmental organizations in global political processes. Global human rights ideas pose a threat to governmental actors because they tend to constrain state behavior in domestic political affairs. Nongovernmental actors, on the other hand, are less concerned about state sovereignty.' IGOs, in other words, represent the interests of states and operate within the interstate system, whereas INGOs represent societal interests and operate within global civil society. Subsequently, in a related study of treaty ratification the authors used countries' memberships in international governmental organizations international nongovernmental organizations (IGOs) to measure 'the impact of governments' desire to look legitimate in intergovernmental arenas' and linkages to INGOs to measure 'the influence of global civil society' (Wotipka and Tsutsui 2008, 742).
2. At Stanford, textbooks were gathered from the Hanna collection at the Hoover Institute, which houses approximately 1000 textbooks from around the world. Textbooks were also culled from the Cubberley Education Library's collection and the Stanford Teachers Education Program Library (STEP).
3. Following standard exploratory factor analysis methodology, we first examined the data without limiting the number of factors and found that four had an Eigenvalue higher than the rule-of-thumb cutoff of 1.0, but two of these were substantially higher than the others. The two largest factors explained approximately 30% of the variation each, versus roughly 10% for the next two highest factors. Thus, we re-ran the analysis limiting the number of factors to two. We examined the loadings and subsequent regression models using both correlated and uncorrelated factors. There are no substantive differences between the results (unsurprising, as the correlation between the two versions of each outcome was over 0.90). We use the uncorrelated factors for ease of interpretation, and constructed the outcomes using regression scoring.
4. Multi-level regression usually requires group-mean centring of data to eliminate the possibility of group effects; however, because of the small size of books in each country and for ease of interpretation, we choose not to do this in our models. Instead, we control for important national characteristics.
5. The coding protocol was developed mainly to examine changes in rights emphases over time rather than to focus on the question we address here. Thus, although there are many other items that could address our issue, the ones selected here are the best available from the data that exists. Given the extensive resources required to gather such a dataset, it is not plausible to gather additional textbook level indicators.

6. We also examined a linear indicator for year as well as indicators for each decade (i.e., 1960s, '70s, '80s, '90s, and 2000s, with the 1950s as the reference category). Our substantive conclusions remained unchanged in these analyses.
7. We examined many other country-level characteristics, all of which were insignificant. These included secondary education enrolments, human rights violations, civil and international war, Western status, aid per capita, ethno-linguistic fractionalization, trade openness, foreign direct investment, and government expenditures as a percentage of GDP. Results from these analyses are available upon request.
8. Drawing on arguments that democratic countries may emphasize world society earlier on but with diminishing force over time (Paxton 2002), we also examined an interaction between democracy and time period for the world society outcome. We find no evidence of a diminishing relationship between world society and democracy over time, the relevant coefficients and the interaction are insignificant.
9. To parallel the time–democracy interaction for our inter-state outcome, we also examined a time-INGO membership interaction for the world society outcome but found no significant results.

Disclosure statement

No potential conflict of interest was reported by the authors.

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Appendix A. List of books by country (*N* countries = 73, *n* books = 539)

Country	No. of books	Per cent of sample
Algeria	10	1.86
Argentina	4	0.74
Armenia	4	0.74
Austria	8	1.48
Belgium	24	4.45
Bolivia	8	1.48
Brazil	12	2.23
Bulgaria	12	2.23
Cameroon	7	1.30
Canada	10	1.86
Chile	12	2.23
China	15	2.78
Colombia	16	2.97
Croatia	8	1.48
Czech Republic	4	0.74
Czechoslovakia	5	0.93
Denmark	11	2.04
Djibouti	1	0.19
Egypt	6	1.11
Ethiopia	2	0.37
Finland	11	2.04
France	8	1.48
Gabon	3	0.56
Germany	5	0.93
Germany West	12	2.23
Ghana	6	1.11
Greece	6	1.11
Guatemala	1	0.19

(Continued)

Continued.

Country	No. of books	Per cent of sample
Ireland	9	1.67
Israel	11	2.04
Italy	8	1.48
Ivory Coast	4	0.74
Jamaica	2	0.37
Japan	13	2.41
Jordan	2	0.37
Kenya	2	0.37
Kuwait	2	0.37
Lebanon	3	0.56
Liberia	1	0.19
Macedonia	5	0.93
Madagascar	5	0.93
Malawi	9	1.67
Mauritania	3	0.56
Mexico	4	0.74
Morocco	8	1.48
Namibia	2	0.37
Netherlands	12	2.23
Nigeria	4	0.74
Norway	13	2.41
Panama	2	0.37
Peru	13	2.41
Poland	10	1.86
Portugal	11	2.04
Romania	8	1.48
Russia	9	1.67
Rwanda	5	0.93
Sierra Leone	6	1.11
Slovak Republic	3	0.56
South Africa	21	3.90
Spain	10	1.86
Sudan	6	1.11
Sweden	6	1.11
Switzerland	11	2.04
Syria	6	1.11
Tanzania	3	0.56
Togo	1	0.19
Tunisia	11	2.04
Turkey	9	1.67
USSR	7	1.30
Uganda	1	0.19
United Kingdom	10	1.86
United States	13	2.41
Zimbabwe	4	0.74
Total	539	100.00

Appendix B. Excerpts from Coding Protocol

Directions: Please fill in the best option for each question. In questions where you are asked to select all that apply, you may select more than one option.

Section 1: Background Data for RAs

source (where did we get this book). Note to RAs: please add more codes as needed.

- *gei* (or GEI code) = George Eckert Institute
- *step* = STEP library in CERAS
- *green* = Rauner Collection in Special Collections of Green Library
- *hoover* = Hanna Collection in Hoover Library
- *own* = we have hard copy of this book
- *syw* = Suk-ying coded in Asia
- *ill* = Inter-Library Loan, please note University

newid3: Country code (for project person to fill in) =

Section 2: Biographical Data

1.*coder*: Person coding (your name) =

2.*date*: Date coded =

3.*title*: Textbook title in English:

4.*date*: Copyright date:

5.*reprint*: Last reprint date (if applicable):

6.*textauth*: Name of the first listed textbook author:

7.*pubname*: Publisher:

8.*pubplace*: Place of publication:

9.*country*: Country name (country where book is used) =

10.*region*: World Region

- 1 = Latin America and Caribbean
- 2 = East Asia and Pacific
- 3 = North America and Western Europe
- 4 = Central and East Europe
- 5 = South, West and Central Asia
- 6 = Sub-Saharan Africa
- 7 = Middle East and North Africa

11.*lang*: Language of textbook =

12.*gradecat*: Grade level (or best approximation)

- 1 = Middle School (grades 5–7)
- 2 = Lower High School (grades 8–10)
- 3 = Upper High School (grades 11–13)

13.*pages*: Number of pages in book (i.e., last printed page number listed) =

14.*subject*: Official Subject in which the book is used (*select all that apply*)

- 1 = Social studies
- 2 = Civics or Government
- 3 = History
- 4 = Religion
- 5 = Moral Education
- 6 = Geography
- 7 = Other/Unknown (write in best guess)
- _____

17.*intlbook*: Is there any indication of **non-national involvement** in the writing of the textbook (e.g., international consultant author, non-national university, international publisher, international organisation)?

- 0 = No
- 1 = Yes. If yes, list: _____

Section 4: Content Coverage

22. Political and Economic Topics. *Use the following codes to fill in the table below. Note: These topics do not refer to any particular historical period. Please indicate any example of the topics below. For example, please mark 1 for Totalitarianism/Authoritarianism if the textbooks discusses for at least a paragraph political systems that are anti-democratic, or regimes with highly concentrated power that repress dissent.*

(A) *topcov*: Is this topic discussed in at least a paragraph?

- 0 = No
- 1 = Yes

Political and economic topics	(A)
• Totalitarianism/Authoritarianism	
• Democratisation	
• Colonisation and Decolonisation	

Section 6: Social and Cultural Issues

23. Use the following codes to fill in the table below.

(A) *isscov*: Is this issue discussed in at least a paragraph?

- 0 = No
- 1 = Yes

(B) *isscale*: Does any part of the discussion about this topic extend to other countries and/or internationally and/or globally (e.g., global environmental damage, an Irish book discussing religion in France)?

- 0 = No
- 1 = Yes

Social and cultural issues	(A)	(B)
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Environmental protection or damage • Health • Education • Language • Religion 		

Section 7: Diversity in Society

24: Diversity in Society. Use the following codes to fill in the table below.

(A) *groupcov*: Is this group discussed in at least a paragraph?

- 0 = No
- 1 = Yes

(B) *groupscale*: Does any part of the discussion about this group extend to other countries and/or internationally and/or globally (e.g., a French textbook discussing children in the UK or China)?

- 0 = No
- 1 = Yes

Groups	(A)	(B)
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Children, youth • Women • Immigrants and refugees • Other minorities (e.g., racial, religious, ethnic, etc) 		

Section 10: Nation-Centrism

This section seeks to measure aspects of life that are depicted as being shared among all citizens of a country, the things that citizens are supposed to have in common and that make their nationality a unique and country-wide identity. It aims to assess both the areas of life (e.g., cultural, political, legal, economic, military) that are depicted as 'national', i.e. as being shared across the country, and the extent to which national, shared characteristics are emphasized in the book.

44.natl: Does the book celebrate a distinctive **national** state or **national** society and culture?

- 0 = No
- 1 = Yes

45.natlmn: (A) Use the following scale to measure the amount each aspect of national life is emphasised. Use the following codes to fill in the table below.

- 0 = No mention
- 1 = Brief mention (paragraph or section)
- 2 = Chapter heading or many sections
- 3 = Over half of the chapters

National ... (A)

National Military (service, strength of military, important 'national' battles, military heroes/leaders)

National Independence/The country's founding story, how it became a country.

52. *percintl*: Approximate percentage of text that addresses international (non-national) issues.

- 0 = none of text addresses international issues
- 1 = 1–25%
- 2 = 26–50%
- 3 = 51–100%

Section 14: Conflict and Post-Conflict

This section aims to capture how conflicts are viewed within textbooks. Conflict is defined as violent conflict between one or more parties (i.e., state or non-state) that results in death or severe injuries. If the book does not contain these types of discussions, skip to the next section. When coding the types and causes of conflict, only code for the conflict(s) that are most discussed in the book. Use the following codes to fill in the table below.

58. (A) How many conflicts of this type are discussed in more than a paragraph? (e.g., 1, 2, 3)

Type (A)

Internal Conflict/War (e.g., U.S. Civil War, French Revolution)

Genocide (e.g., Holocaust, Rwanda, Bosnia)

Interstate (e.g., WWII, Iraq-Iran War)
