The Valorization of Humanity and Diversity*

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Abstract

The valorization of humanity and diversity are ongoing global processes that pose new challenges to nationalism and the mono cultural narrative once favored in schools and universities. This paper focuses on an exploratory analysis of textbooks, indicating a growth of cosmopolitan and multicultural emphases. Students are increasingly exposed to world issues and international initiatives calling for greater global citizenship consciousness. Students are also further exposed to a depiction of their own societies as ones filled with validated diversity along many dimensions.

Key words: globalization, human rights, diversity, citizenship education

Treating migrant workers with disrespect is a violation of their human right to dignity. If a person discriminates and maintains a prejudice against migrant workers coming from poor underdeveloped countries, that person essentially gives up his right to be a member of the *international*

community. As a country, we will not be able to escape from the stigma and disgrace of being a country that does not respect human rights (Lee and Kim, 2005).

On July 14, 1997, South Africa implemented a Language in Education Policy, stipulating that schools were required to recognize all of the 11 national languages. That is, students could decide their language of instruction, and the government had to make accommodations for all students. Within the policy document, the Department of Education declares, "This approach is in line with the fact that both societal and individual multilingualism are the *global norm* today, especially on the African continent. As such, it assumes that the learning of more than one language should be general practice and principle in our society" (DOE, 1997, p. 1)[1].

In the 18th and 19th centuries the nation-state and nationalist ideology emerged and diffused throughout the world. This global development continued in the 20th century undercutting supra and sub-national entities via a compelling cultural narrative that unified state, nation, and society, as if all people naturally belonged to a territorially bounded sovereign nation-state. Dynasties and empires embraced nationalism, overlooking the disdain with which its ruling classes had historically regarded the unnamed masses under its authority. Colonial struggles were fought under the banner of nationalism, with the right to self-determination adding up to the right to belong to the union of nation-states. Schooling the masses became a mandatory nation-state project, the litmus test to attain external and internal legitimacy. Constructing the virtuous national citizen became an overriding aim of school systems throughout the world. This aim was to be realized via a curriculum that was unapologetically nationalist, emphasizing the importance of the national language, the relevance of national heroes, and the distinctiveness of national society and culture. These interrelated political and educational developments were national in character but internationally validated. Processes of forming the national character and constructing the virtuous national citizen were facilitated by international standards, international

conferences, and international expertise. The role of the international shaping the national is especially evident in the 20th century where more conferences with more experts made more explicit standards both for proper national state identity and education as a project for nation-building.

More recently, two global dynamics challenge the primacy of the nation-state and nationalism as the most legitimate way of organizing people and society. These global dynamics appeared shortly after World War II, but have become more visible in the last few decades, especially in regards to their educational manifestations. We refer to these global dynamics as the valorization of humanity and diversity. Their educational manifestations may be thought of as cosmopolitanism on the one hand and multiculturalism on the other. The valorization of humanity revitalizes the supra national and takes the form of universalistic standards affirming human rights often articulated via international organizations. From the valorization of humanity perspective the world shifts from nation-state centric blueprints to models of a world society characterized by a common humanity and a global eco system where world principles and policies need to be activated to solve world problems. In and of itself the valorization of humanity need not imply the valorization of diversity. Common humanity could be celebrated without recognizing and validating differences between and within nation-states. Common humanity could function as a cultural frame similar to medieval Christianity, emphasizing the universalistic and ignoring the local. But the contemporary frame includes a strong "glocalization" thrust (Robertson, 1992): a valorization of diversity perspective emerges and revitalizes sub-national differences, questioning the homogenizing thrust of monocultural nationalisms. From the valorization of diversity perspective the political incorporation of all sorts of marginalized groups should involve inclusion into the mainstream of society while respecting differences. The terms of inclusion or the price of admission into the national mainstream should not require shedding sub-national identity pegs. From a valorization of diversity perspective between nation differences should also be respected, less as a matter of national sovereignty and more as an issue of validating cultural

differences. Taken as a whole, what is valorized is both common humanity and diverse peoples bearing human rights.

These global dynamics pose a special challenge for school systems and their citizenship educational curricula. The rise of the valorization of humanity and diversity is expected to manifest itself in two general ways: a) there should be an increase in curricular emphases that focus on the wider world, global issues, and international organizations and b) there should be an increase in curricular emphases on sub-national groups such as women, children, ethnic groups, indigenous peoples, or immigrants. The first shift reorients curriculum from a narrower national to a broader transnational focus. The second shift takes what had in earlier eras been local groups with a limited profile and treats them as sub-national collectivities with a global profile. These changing emphases should be discernable in national educational goal statements, in national curricular frameworks, and in the textbooks that are often at the core of the intended curricula. The national does not disappear but increasingly cosmopolitan and multicultural emphases emerge (Huntington, 2004).

This paper first offers a discussion of the challenges that these global dynamics pose to the cultural narrative linked to the nation-state and nationalism. Our goal is to highlight important worldwide trends and to make sense of these developments from a neo-institutionalist world society perspective. This perspective emphasizes the degree to which nation-states and national educational developments constitute enactments of changing world models or blueprints of proper and legitimate identity (Meyer et al., 1997). This perspective presupposes that nation-states function as "open systems" and are thus much influenced by external standards now often rationalized as best practices. We then focus on an extensive collection of history, social studies, and civics textbooks for junior and senior secondary school students from around the world. We examine nearly 500 textbooks for 69 countries published since 1970 to gauge whether and to what extent these textbooks increasingly emphasize humanity and diversity in valued ways. That is, we seek to determine whether schools are moving in the

direction of celebrating post-national society. By post-national society we mean one that is more attuned to world issues and international organizations, and more inclined to recognize and validate different collective identities within its fold. Lastly, we conclude by reflecting on what further research directions need to be undertaken to better understand both the changing character of national political and educational discourse regarding humanity and diversity and the implications of these changes for school curricula in the 21st century.

BEYOND MONOCULTURAL NATIONAL NARRATIVES: TOWARD HUMANITY AND DIVERSITY

The historical development of the nation-state is closely intertwined with the history of mass schooling. In country after country mass schooling emerged as the "beacon of progress" (Donald, 1985) through which the masses would be transformed into citizens. Mass schooling was the main vehicle for "forming the national character" (Tyack, 1974) and for making Frenchmen out of peasants (Weber, 1976). To be sure, the mass schooling project had its critics. Ideological opposition to extending citizenship status to a greater number of people went hand in hand with opposition to schooling the masses. Even among those 19th century progressives who favored expanded schooling there were serious objections to establishing mass schooling as a nation-state project (See John Stuart Mill, 1859). But over time a nationalist imagination, in varying degrees linked to the state, triumphed in both the political and the educational spheres. All sorts of entities were to imagine themselves as nation-states characterized by broader principles that favored policies of incorporation that reached across classes, ethnic groups, genders, religions, etc. (Bendix, 1964). These principles and the policies they informed traveled across the world as abstract "best practices" reflected in national constitutions and in national political discourse and organization (Anderson, 1991). Waves of nationalism swept

throughout the global landscape, in what has been called the "era of nationalism." The overarching idea was that national solidarities would take precedence over supra and sub-national bases of solidarity. The ultimate imperative that followed from the nationalist idea was that all should be prepared to give up their lives for their country. National heroes would inhabit the modern pantheon; national martyrs would fill the national sepulcher.

Waves of national educational development co-varied with waves of nationalism. From the mundane establishment of national educational ministries and compulsory school laws to the celebration of the nation-state in schools and in national society, national educational developments anchored modern nationalism. Visions of a vibrant national political community called for national citizenship education, designed to create a homogenous group of citizens that would patriotically identify with a distinctive national polity (Moreau, 2004; Fitzgerald, 1979). Throughout the schools rugged Americanization, rugged French Republicanism, and rugged Nipponification were pervasive in curriculum and instruction. History was overwhelmingly national history; civic education emphasized the virtues of national citizenship, with the duties of citizens often more emphasized than their rights. And, when rights were stressed, these were depicted in a national idiom that did not much recognize transnational standards or an international community. Contrast these earlier developments with the current invocations of "international community" and "global norms" cited at the beginning of this paper.

To be sure, one could identify growing commonalities in the rights enshrined in national political constitutions (Boli, 1976) and in the ways in which the citizen was envisioned in curriculum (Meyer, et. al., 1992). But these commonalities emphasized national political citizenship and civic education to produce national citizens. What gave rise to these commonalities were world models that privileged national citizenship and a nationalist civic education. The globalization of these models meant that all sorts of peoples could imagine themselves as national states with citizenship promoting school systems. Progressive experts from earlier established nation-states were eager to advise the aspiring nation-states on how to construct school

systems that would foster national political cohesion and socioeconomic progress. The right to self-determination, a rallying cry in the struggles against colonialism, framed self-determination in nationalist terms that enjoyed international legitimacy. Neither supra national humanity nor sub national diversity enjoyed the same leverage on popular imagination as did the nation-state and nationalist ideology.

However, the human disasters of World War II raised fundamental questions about excessive nationalism and unchecked state power. The formation of the United Nations and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights posed a challenge to the exclusive emphasis on the nation-state and national citizenship education. The idea that there could be "crimes against humanity" that could be investigated by international commissions and prosecuted in world courts boosted the status of common humanity in the wider world (Borgwardt, 2005). Though many a human right in the universal declaration had earlier been a national citizenship right, the human rights frame suggested that these were rights that national states needed to recognize, not rights established by these national states. The right to an elementary education, a core social right in most national constitutions, was now a transnational human right (Article 26, Universal Declaration of Human Rights), no longer contingent on national positive law. The emergent human rights frame influences not just discussion of this or that right but of rights in general: where do rights come from, what are these rights, and who is entitled to these rights? And, of course, what should schools be teaching about these rights?

By emphasizing common humanity as the ground for human rights, the human rights frame revitalized a natural law tradition that had been undercut by the rise of state authority and an inter-state system (on the rise of state authority and positive law see Huntington, 1968). Not surprisingly, this revitalization threatens to subdue or at least moderate state authority. This revitalization should be evident in both political discourse and in the educational realm. Even where state authority is firmly entrenched, more recent discussions of rights of citizens veer from a positive to a natural law frame (see the case of South Korea in Moon, 2008). The rise of a distinctive

human rights education movement is further evidence of the growing importance of the common humanity frame (Suarez, 2007; Suarez and Ramirez, 2007). Human rights emphases in general grew in school textbooks that are later described in this paper (Meyer, Bromley, and Ramirez, 2008). Specific references to the Holocaust as a human rights violation also surface in these textbooks (Bromley and Russell, 2009). And ironically, one also finds an increase in UNESCO affiliated schools, internationally oriented and human rights affirming in character, throughout the world (Suarez et. al., 2009).

The kinds of rights emphasized include standard citizenship rights but also ones not earlier anticipated. These include rights extended to women (Wotipka and Ramirez, 2008a; Ramirez and McKeneany, 1997), to indigenous groups (Cole, 2005, 2006; Tsutsui, 2009), to the disabled, and more broadly to the environment (Frank, et. al., 2000a; Schofer and Hironaka, 2005). The rights revolution has drawn increased scholarly attention (Stacey, 2008; Skrentny, 2002) and has lead to the thesis that increasingly the right to rights has emerged (Somers, 2009).

But who possesses these rights? Many rights continue to apply to individuals, and indeed, the empowered individual human person is at the center of the human rights movement (Elliot, 2007). Not only is this the case because most of the earlier established citizenship rights were individual citizenship rights, but also because the strong current emphasis on the right to dignity, in practice, applies to individuals enjoying the right to human dignity. And yet, much of current human rights discourse differs from rights discourse grounded in 19th century liberalism. The globalization of human rights is frequently discussed as a counter to the globalization of market forces (W.H. Meyer, 1996). And this discussion often stresses the right of groups that are likely to be at risk if only global market forces reign.

So, the human rights discourse applied to the rights of women and children, to minorities and indigenous peoples and to immigrants and non-dominant language users, often proceeds as if groups are at stake and group rights are the issue. These groups are indeed invoked but the rights emphasized are

often not corporatist in tone requiring collective decision-making. The right to have one's ethnicity or gender treated with respect in curriculum may lead to ethnic or women's studies courses but typically does not obligate members of the ethnic group or women to take these courses. The right to identify with one's mother tongue or sub-culture may co-vary with multilingual and multicultural perspectives in schools and universities, but again, the exercise of this right is left to individual discretion. There are indeed some collective or group rights as in the property rights of indigenous peoples (See Cole, 2006), but a comprehensive analysis of human rights instruments reveals that the individual is the most frequently cited rights bearer (Elliot & Boli, 2008).

The human rights bearing individual, however, now has rights that activate supra national and sub national groups. Common humanity underlies these rights that typically apply to individuals but necessitate a respect for a range of ethnic, linguistic, gender, and other sources of diversity and identity. Moreover, a greater focus on common humanity also gives rise to rights to clean air, bio-diversity, sustainable ecologies, and a plethora of other new rights that call for greater global consciousness and envision more engaged global citizens. Clearly this is a much more expanded vision of the individual than the "abstract individual" that was the subject of the 19th century citizenship rights developments. Beyond the familiar civil and political or even social rights, the 21st century individual is infused with broad cultural rights reflecting cosmopolitanism and multiculturalism. As a result all sorts of collective identities are activated and in turn discussed in the literature as group rights. In line with this literature, out textbook analysis seeks to identity references to collective identity or group activating rights.

In the next section we empirically address the valorization of humanity and diversity in education through a content analysis of junior and senior secondary school history, social studies, and civics textbooks. This exploratory cross-national and longitudinal analysis of a vital dimension of the intended curriculum allows us to gauge whether and to what extent changing curricular emphases are consistent with more cosmopolitan and more multicultural educational emphases. Thus, we focus on the different

kinds of issues and groups that emerge in these textbooks as a way of detecting changing patterns of citizenship education. We expect to find increases in both cosmopolitan and multicultural emphases.

DATA AND METHODS

Our unique primary source of data consists of 465 civics, history and social studies textbooks from sixty-nine countries. Approximately sixty percent of these textbooks come from the Georg Eckert Institute for International Textbook Research in Braunschweig, Germany. The Institute collects social science textbooks from countries around the world and has a library with over 150,000 social science school books from 90 countries. We focus on junior and senior secondary books (roughly, those aimed at grades 6 through 12) in history, civics, and social studies published since 1970. During a summer of research at the Eckert Institute, and with the assistance of an extremely helpful staff, the second author worked to select and code (with translators) textbooks. In a second phase of data collection aimed at obtaining books from other regions, colleagues from around the world assisted in gathering nearly 200 additional books from developing countries. Whenever possible, we obtained multiple books from a country so as to have a range of subjects and publication dates. However, in some cases we were only able to obtain one book from more difficult to access countries, usually those in the developing world. Although a single book is rarely representative of an entire country, it is important to include these cases as they contribute to creating a more accurate global picture.

Every effort was made to reduce coding error, including the challenges of translation, by checking inter-rater reliability in developing the coding scheme, searching out fully bilingual translators (most often native speakers of the textbook language pursuing a higher education degree in English), sitting with translators as they coded books to answer questions, and reviewing each coding sheet to check for inconsistencies. Moreover, we designed our

coding scheme to be simply factual in character, not calling for substantive interpretation. For example, when asking if a book discusses human rights, coders are instructed to answer "yes" only if the exact phrase (or direct translation) "human rights" is used. They would respond "no" if topics they feel might be related to human rights, such as access to schooling, are discussed but the exact phrase "human rights" is not used. This high bar for analyzing data leads to, if anything, a conservative bias to our findings. That is, we are likely to underestimate the extensiveness of emphases on humanity and diversity.

Each textbook has been coded on parameters that measure the extent to which its content valorizes diversity and humanity. We use six dichotomous indicators to capture how the book valorizes humanity: (1) Whether a book discusses global citizenship or membership in an international community; (2) Whether global conferences, such as the UN Beijing Conference on Women, are mentioned; (3) Whether roughly half of the book or more addresses international or global issues; (4) Whether at least one non-military international organization, such as the United Nations or Greenpeace, is mentioned; (5 and 6) Two final items consider whether the text discusses global issues, namely, human rights and environmental rights. Next, we capture whether a book emphasizes diversity by looking at whether the rights of a range of five sub-national groups are mentioned; specifically, children, women, minorities, indigenous groups, and immigrants. A sixth indicator of the valorization of diversity is whether a book mentions rights to language or culture. Our coding shows that these mentions are always in a positive tone; hence, that is why textbook mentions count as indicators of valorization of humanity and diversity.

A limitation of this dataset is that we have varied numbers of books per country. As a result, our textbook-level findings over-represent those countries for which we have many books, such as the USSR (26 books) or United Kingdom (23 books), relative to those that have fewer books (such as El Salvador and Guyana, which each only have 1 book). To provide a methodological check of this issue, we present results both at the book level, and at the country level using averaged scores so that countries are given equal weight.

FINDINGS & DISCUSSION

We find striking trends in increasing valorized humanity and diversity over time both at the textbook and country level. In Figure 1, we depict indicators of valorization of humanity over time from 1970 to 2008 at the textbook level. Our measures for the valorization of humanity include mention of environmental rights, human rights, international organizations, global citizenship, level of internationalization (percent of the textbook that discusses international issues), and international conferences. The graph (Figure 1) indicates a clear increase over time in the discussion of international organizations and issues, human rights and other rights, and the idea of global citizenship or membership in an international community. Examples of international organizations mentioned in the textbooks include the United Nations (UN), the World Trade Organization (WTO), and the International Court of Justice (ICJ). Mentions of international conferences include the International Conference on Women in Beijing. The discussions of international issues are portrayed in a positive tone.
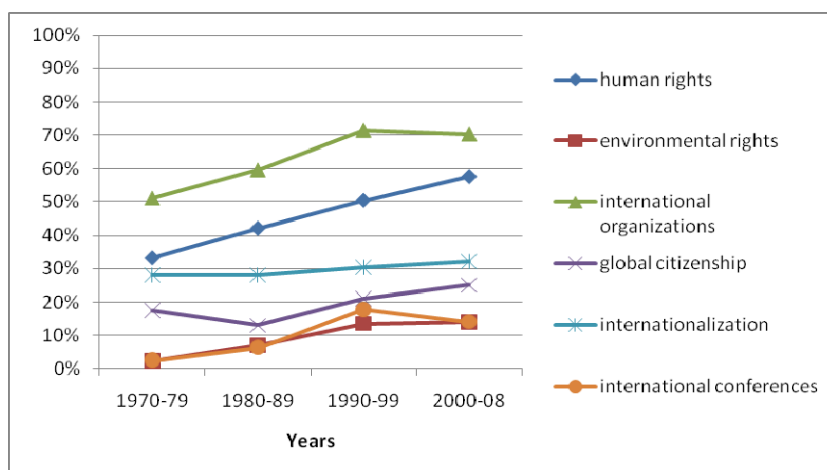

Figure 1 Valorization of Humanity (indicators mentioned as a percent of total textbooks from 1970 to 2008)

In order to account for the uneven sample of textbooks across countries in our sample, we also analyze trends in the valorization of humanity at the country level. Figure 2 shows the trend for the valorization of humanity as a percent of total countries. Reinforcing our textbook-level findings, the graph illustrates a positive increase in indicators of humanity at the country level. The trend lines are remarkably similar at the country level and textbook level for each measure, suggesting our textbook results are not unduly influenced by just a few countries.
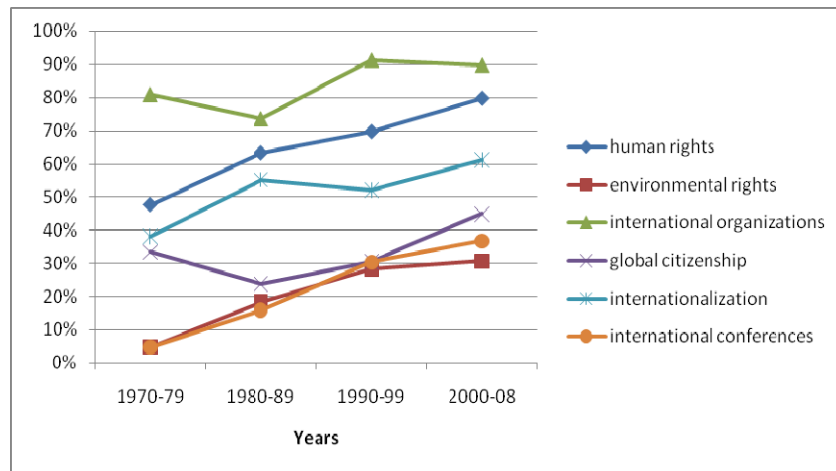

Figure 2 Valorization of Humanity (indicators mentioned as a percent of total countries from 1970 to 2008)

Figure 3 depicts valorized diversity through the mentions of group activating rights, which includes indigenous people, linguistic minorities, immigrants, minorities, children, and women. The graph (Figure 3) illustrates the percent of total textbooks in the sample that mention these group rights by decade for the 1970s, 1980s, 1990s, and 2000s.
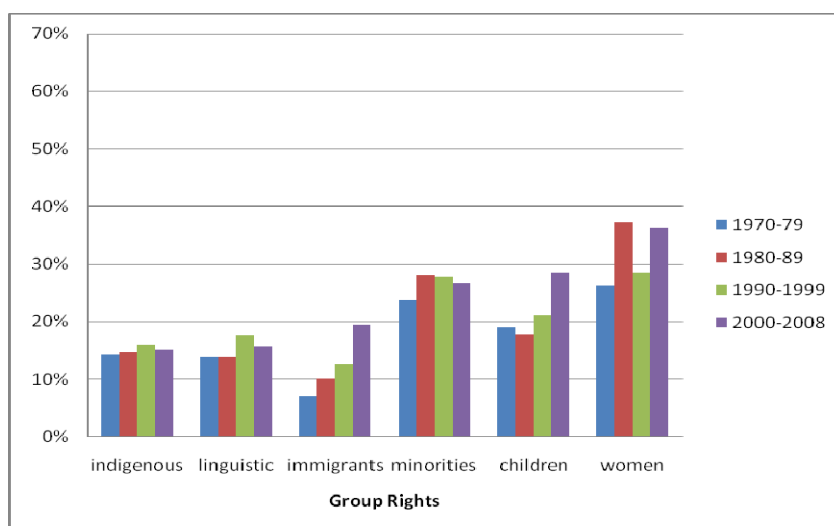
Figure 3 Valorization of Diversity (group activating rights mentioned as a percent of total textbooks from 1970 to 2008)

Generally, mention of group activating rights increases from the 1970s to 2000s with some variation over the decades. Proportionally, immigrants increase most dramatically with the percent of books discussing the rights of immigrants roughly tripling (from about 6% to 19%) in the period of our study. Children's rights and women's rights also experience a large increase; roughly 10% more books mention the rights of children and women in the 2000s than in the 1970s. The rates for indigenous peoples' rights and minority rights increase only slightly since the 1970s, suggesting perhaps that an emphasis on these rights increased prior to the 1970s, perhaps in connection with the civil rights movement period, or more broadly, with the national independence movements of earlier eras.

Interestingly, the number of books mentioning women's rights shows a dramatic spike in countries worldwide in the 1980s. When we analyzed the distribution of these mentions by country, we found that the books come from a surprisingly diverse range of countries including Turkey, Taiwan, Czechoslovakia, China and India, as well as most Western European and

North American countries. Given the cross-national nature of this trend, it is difficult to attribute the trend to specific national characteristics, such as legal developments within a particular country. We suspect one important factor contributing to this worldwide emphasis on women's rights in textbooks during the 1980s is the establishment of a U.N. Decade for Women (1976-1985) and two accompanying world conferences in 1980 and 1985 heightened attention to women's rights in many countries worldwide.

Taken together, these changes over time represent not just an increase in attention to teaching about specific groups in curricula worldwide, but a valorization of diversity through emphasizing the rights-bearing nature of sub-national groups. The emergence of rights-bearing identity groups is more complex than a battle between individual rights versus group rights. The cases of true group rights, such as land ownership of Indian tribes in the US and elsewhere, are few and far between. Instead, the common form of valorized diversity is a more diffuse group activating notion. For example, attention is called to the plight of immigrants or "guest workers" as a collectivity; but more often than not, what follows is the extension of citizenship rights to individual immigrants rather than giving immigrants collective rights to elect representatives to a labor council or governing body (Soysal 1994). Naturally, though, ensuring the provision of rights is a separate matter from effectively protecting these rights. The gap between intention and implementation is found in the wider society as well as in the classroom. Still, the intended educational and political curricula may lead to a greater awareness of implementation shortcomings. This in turn may further fuel human rights based social movements.

In some societies, such as Korea, groups are often thought of as having greater weight than the individual, relative to Western societies. Typically, this means participation in the extended family and assimilation to a common identity under the nation-state; submission to the hierarchy of authority rather than individual autonomy being an important aspect of both. Curiously, this characteristic is not orthogonal to the valorization of diversity, as we see the persistence of these traditional group affiliations alongside the celebration of

multiculturalism.

We also analyze trends at the country level for the valorization of diversity. Figure 4 depicts the trend for the valorization of diversity as a percent of total countries. The graph illustrates a positive increase in indicators of diversity at the country level, which supports our textbook-level findings.
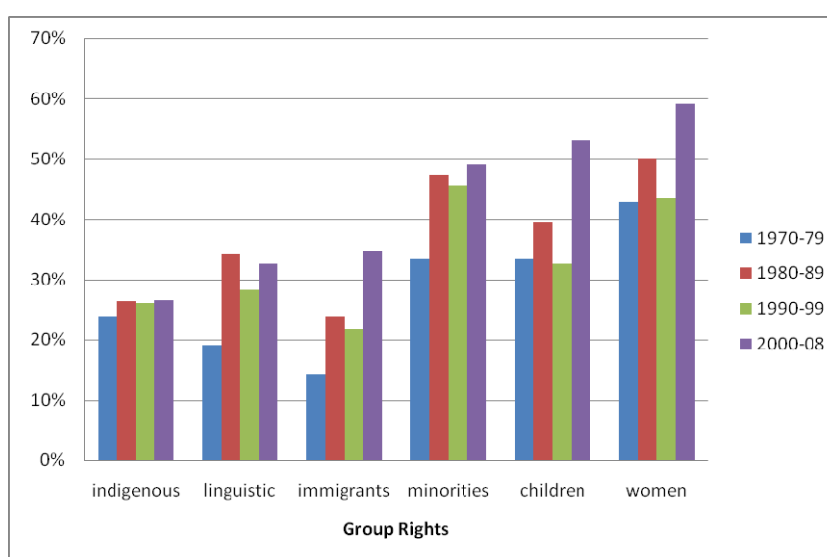

Figure 4 Valorization of Diversity (group activating rights mentioned as a percent of total countries from 1970 to 2008)

Importantly, Figures 2 and 4 both show that the permeation of valorized humanity and diversity into each nation-state is more extensive than indicated by the textbook data. For example, approximately 15% of textbooks discuss indigenous rights, but when averaged by country we find roughly 25% of nation-states have a book that mentions indigenous rights. Some of this difference between our country and textbook level results can likely be attributed to our sampling strategy. We include history, civics, and social studies texts, but it is plausible that national history books are less likely to emphasize notions of diversity and common humanity than civics or social

studies books, and more likely to have a chronological discussion of national events. However, even within national history texts there is wide variation in the extent to which a country depicts its evolution as connected to, or independent from, other countries and global influences.

Comparing the figures, one finds that the trends at the textbook level closely mirror the country level. For example, where the trends are more pronounced at the textbook level, they are also more accentuated at the country level; and where the trends are more modest at one level, they are also more modest at the other level. Higher percentages of the indicators are found at the country level, because a country with one textbook that includes mention of group rights or international issues is given equal weight as a country that may have many textbooks discussing these issues.

FUTURE RESEARCH DIRECTIONS

We focus specifically on the valorization of diversity and humanity in high school textbooks, but the phenomena we describe extends far beyond schooling and reveals itself in both the changing character of the state and society. High schools, however, constitute a very important area of political socialization and textbooks increasingly are a core technology through which political visions and values are communicated. This is the underlying rationale for this study. In what follows though, we briefly identify some research avenues that explore changes in human rights emphases in national constitutions and state structures and in national society as well as the wider world.

Focusing on national constitutions, Beck, Drori, and Meyer (2009) find human rights language not evident in earlier studies of national constitutions (Boli, 1976). Expanded language rights, for instance, are evident in the revised post-apartheid Constitution of South Africa that identifies 11 official languages: Afrikaans, English, isiNdebele, isiXhosa, isiZulu, Sepedi, Sesotho, Setswana, siSwati, Tshivenda and Xitsonga. One could also examine whether constitutions explicitly reference international organizations or treaties to

consider whether unbounded notions of humanity enter national ideology. For example, Article 6, Section V of the 2002 Constitution from Bolivia states: "The fundamental rights guaranteed to individuals will be interpreted and applied according to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, as well as international conventions and covenants ratified by the Bolivian government." Numerous other countries, such as Argentina, Yemen, Belize, Portugal and Tanzania, explicitly mention "human rights" in their constitutions.[2]

Taking another approach and examining state structures, Drori and Meyer (2007) track names of government ministries and find an increase in ministries with the word "minority" in the title. The data in Figure 5 show an increase both in OECD and non-OECD countries, with a marked increase post-1948 for the latter and a constant leveling off of the former. This finding is consistent with a literature that highlights the rise of ethnic minorities in countries that used to proudly proclaim themselves mono cultural (See Tsutsui for the case of Japan, 2009). It bears emphasizing that in our study of textbooks, minorities and other collective identities are positively displayed. The same positive spirit underlies the establishment of these ministries.
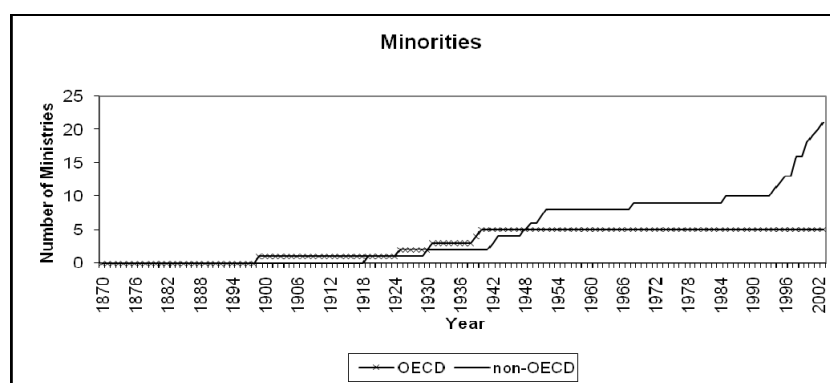

Figure 5 Number of Ministries with "minority" in the title in OECD and non-OECD countries from 1870 to 2002 (Source: Drori and Meyer 2007)

Conceptions of diversity and humanity exist not just in official government bodies, but also in general societal trends. Aside from the many attitudinal

surveys (e.g., the World Values Survey) looking at relevant items such as sentiment towards immigrants or the United Nations, changes could be tracked in newspapers, organizations, and education systems. For example, there is a recent spate in university degree programs related both to humanity and diversity (for human rights, see Suarez & Bromley, 2009; for ethnic women's, and African American studies in the US, see Olzak and Kangas (2008) ; for women's studies worldwide, see Wotipka & Ramirez, 2008b).

As a rough example of the type of data that could be gathered, we used factiva.com to generate counts of the word "multiculturalism" or "multicultural" in newspapers from four countries. Table 1 shows a general increase in articles containing the word multicultural in English language newspapers from the USA, Canada, UK and Korea.

Table 1 Mentions of the word "multicultural" in newspapers from four countries, 1988-2008

Newspaper	Country	Year		
		1988	1998	2008
New York Times	USA	23	193	170
The Globe and Mail	Canada	211	188	240
The Guardian	UK	2	62	359
The Korea Herald	English	n/a	6	90

Data on the founding processes, aims and activities of international organizations paired with surveys and interviews could provide particularly rich data for understanding the mechanisms through which ideas of multiculturalism spread around the world. For example, a non-profit organization, the European Multicultural Foundation (EMF) in the United Kingdom aims to promote tolerance and understanding between all cultures in Europe. An intergovernmental organization, the Global Alliance on Cultural Diversity, was officially launched in 2002 by UNESCO's Arts and Cultural Enterprise Division. Its mission is to: "Forge partnerships between public, private and not-for-profit sectors that promote and develop small and medium sized cultural enterprises in developing countries and countries in transition, targeting areas such as music, multimedia, cinema, book/

publishing, crafts and design; promote human creativity and preserve cultural diversity through the strengthening of cultural industries in developing countries and the enforcement of copyright." While the initial interest in multicultural education may have been primarily American (See Banks, 2004) multiculturalism and multicultural education are now clearly global themes.

Finally, discourse analysis of academic journals and conferences has often proven to be a fruitful course of study. Our exploratory survey of the number of academic education journals in the Education Resources Information Center (ERIC) database containing the word "multicultural" shows an increase over time, with a particular spike in the 1990s (Figure 6). The current levels though lower than in the mid 1990s clearly exceed the pre 1990 levels.
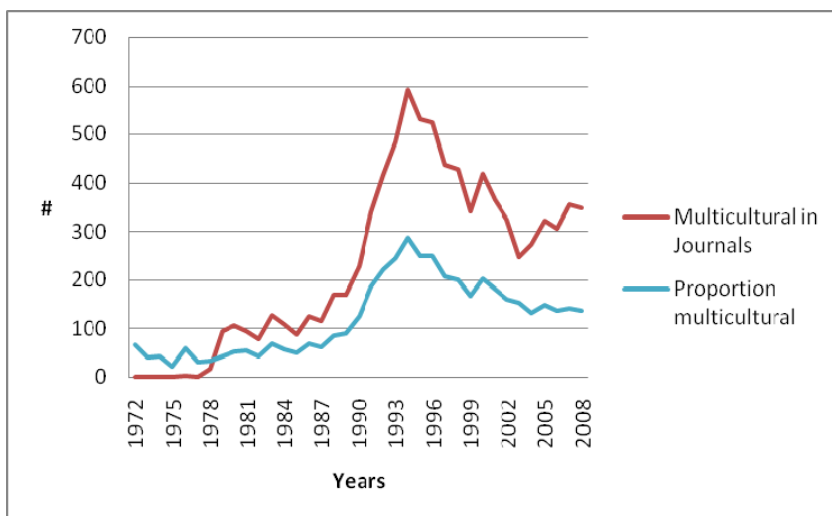

Figure 6 Mentions of the word "multiculturalism" in education journals from the Education Resources Information Center (ERIC) database from 1972 to 2008

The material we present here is intended to show examples of the types of data available for further empirical work related to the valorization of

diversity and humanity. Some of this research is underway, but there are many more potential avenues to explore.

CONCLUSION

The valorization of humanity and diversity are ongoing global processes that pose a challenge to nationalism and the mono cultural narrative once favored in schools and universities. Our exploratory analysis of textbooks shows a growth of cosmopolitan and multicultural emphases. Students are increasingly exposed to world issues and international initiatives calling for greater global citizenship consciousness. Students are also further exposed to a depiction of their own societies as ones filled with validated diversity along many dimensions.

Past waves of nationalism overwhelmed local loyalties and sub-national solidarities. The era of nationalism also kept visions of common humanity in check. The price of entry into the national political mainstream was adherence to the mono cultural narrative, in principle, if not in practice. There simply was not much room for respecting differences in a world which so strongly linked progress to the nation-state and its imperatives. The patriotic school house did not foster respect for differences between or within countries. Schools and universities were indeed laboratories of nationalism.

The shifts in the intended curricula reflected in the textbooks that students increasingly face suggest a world beyond nationalism. This is a world within which national borders are porous and often imagined as barriers to progress. This is a world of universalistic standards, international conferences, and transnational social movements. Within this world the model nation-state acknowledges and respects differences within its fold, significantly lowering the price of admission to its political mainstream. Within this world, the model nation-state presents itself to other nation-states (and to a broad spectrum of other entities) as a nation-state attuned to a common humanity that serves as the rationale for respecting differences between nation-states.

In short, this is a world in which humanity and diversity are increasingly valorized elements in national educational systems.

Notes

[1] See Department of Education, Language in Education Policy: http://www. education.gov.za/Documents/policies/policies.asp

[2] See www.hrusa.org/workshops/HREWorkshops/usa/HRConstitutions.doc for a complete list of countries in 2005. Accessed on June 11, 2009.

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