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# Professionalizing a Global Social Movement: Universities and Human Rights

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Research on the human rights movement emphasizes direct changes in nation-states, focusing on the efficacy of treaties and the role of advocacy in mitigating immediate violations. However, more than 140 universities in 59 countries established academic chairs, research centers, and programs for human rights from 1968–2000, a development that highlights the diffuse penetration of the social movement into core domains of society. We investigate this process with event history models, finding that countries embedded in the human rights regime and countries with dense civil society linkages to the human rights movement are particularly likely to develop a university human rights program. We also find that the structuration of the global human rights regime has an independent positive influence on the rate of country adoption, but national human rights violations, social unrest, and indicators of modernization or development are less salient.

The atrocities of the Second World War became an impetus for international consensus on human rights (Lauren 2003). The United Nations and other intergovernmental organizations dedicated to human rights were established in the aftermath of the Second World War, and the number of human rights instruments and monitoring bodies has increased dramatically since that time (Cole 2005; Donnelly 1986; Koo and Ramirez 2009). Human rights organizations continue to multiply globally as well, with new groups and populations throughout the world making claims for recognition and protection (Boli and Thomas 1999; Smith et al. 1997; Tsutsui and Wotipka 2004).

With the expanding number of treaties, monitoring bodies, and organizations dedicated to human rights, many studies have focused on the effectiveness of regulation and the role of advocacy in generating national policy change. Though many cross-national studies of treaties reveal loose coupling between

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policy and practice (Hathaway 2002; Neumayer 2005; Tsutsui and Hafner-Burton 2007), case studies often present evidence of a positive effect from local and international advocacy (Brysk 2000; Keck and Sikkink 1998). Moreover, the human rights movement continues to evolve in unanticipated directions and penetrate into new domains of local and national culture (Meyer et al. 1997).

Human rights has become a formal topic of study in many primary and secondary schools throughout the world, and large numbers of students are exposed to human rights and related discourses beginning at an early age (Bromley et al. 2011; Meyer et al. 2010; Soysal and Schissler 2005; Suárez 2007). Furthermore, between 1968–2000 over 140 human rights programs and research institutes emerged in universities in 59 countries, demonstrating that the salience of human rights extends to tertiary education. What explains this rapid institutionalization of human rights education, and why did human rights emerge as a relevant topic for discussion in universities?

Prior research indicates that global advocacy contributes to new laws, regulations, and structures that directly support human rights, but the institutionalization of human rights discourse also produces many secondary or indirect effects (Frank et al. 2009; Meyer 1977; Schofer and Hironaka 2005). We argue that the emergence of human rights programs in universities fits the pattern of secondary effects, and we find that programs emerge earliest in countries embedded in the human rights regime and in countries with strong civil society links to human rights international nongovernmental organizations (INGOs). We also find that the national adoption of human rights education in universities depends more on the expansion of the human rights regime itself than on domestic indicators of development, social unrest, or human rights violations.

Consequently, our study speaks to the “paradox of empty promises” from human rights treaties, highlighting the fact that many of the effects of the human rights movement are subtle yet pervasive (Hafner-Burton and Tsutsui 2005; Hafner-Burton et al. 2008). Even though treaties sometimes fail to produce direct changes in national practices, embeddedness in the human rights movement still contributes to novel developments such as human rights programs in universities. Our study also speaks to research on the broader

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effects of world society on national outcomes, demonstrating that the global environment and national ties to that environment are major driving forces for change (Boli and Thomas 1999; Frank et al. 2009; Schofer and Hironaka 2005; Schofer and Meyer 2005).

Finally, our work reinforces the value of studying universities in a global context (Frank and Gabler 2006; Gabler and Frank 2005; Kamens 2009). Research on curricular change tends to focus on a given country and university-level variation; for instance, analyses of the expansion of African American studies and women's studies in the United States (Binder 2000; Olzak and Kangas 2008; Rojas 2006, 2007). We find that characteristics of nations are relevant for explaining diffusion as well, demonstrating that some countries embrace new academic fields more readily than others. Before presenting these findings systematically, the following section discusses the emergence of human rights in universities and then provides alternative explanations for their diffusion.

### Nation-States, Universities, and Human Rights Education

University histories often follow a path-dependent pattern, and many university systems are idiosyncratic and influenced by local conditions (Altbach 1998; Clark 1996). Nevertheless, the ongoing global processes of marketization, rationalization, and democratization cut across all university boundaries. Universities have become less isolated from the business sector and the vagaries of the economy, and the "practical arts" have become common as fields of study throughout the world (Brint 2002; Clark 1998; Owen-Smith 2006; Readings 1996). Loose organizational structures have been replaced with a systematic approach to university governance as well, and mechanisms of control and oversight have become commonplace (Krucken and Meier 2006; Ramirez 2006b). The most visible example of this process is taking place in Europe due to the Bologna Accords, with universities throughout the region agreeing to adopt equivalency standards for degrees. Moving away from the notion of persistent differences, these changes lead universities throughout the world to become increasingly similar and structurally aligned (Ramirez 2006a).

Many studies also emphasize democratization and curricular convergence in tertiary education (Frank and Gabler 2006; Gabler and Frank 2005; Schofer and Meyer 2005). More people have access to higher education and are encouraged to pursue tertiary education, just as the world educational revolution brought an increasing number of children into primary and secondary schools (Meyer et al. 1977, 1992). All of these changes draw attention to the influence of the global environment on universities, but they also demonstrate that universities have an increasingly powerful influence on society. As described by Frank and Meyer (2007): "If the university is increasingly saddled

## *Universities and Human Rights*

with demands from society at large, it is obvious that society is even more besieged by the university. Over the last two centuries, and dramatically over recent decades, the university has assumed ever more authority over societal functions" (290). In contrast to the persistent imagery of universities as "ivory towers" buffered from reality, ongoing changes reveal the permeability of academia, and universities also influence a broadening array of fields. This interpenetration of university and society transforms both, and the emergence and rapid global spread of university human rights programs serves as a prime example of this process.

Human rights were never totally foreign to universities, but the emergence of centers and degree programs is a novel development. In the past, psychologists could study the trauma of human rights abuses, and anthropologists could analyze human rights practices in local cultures, yet these activities were limited or directly associated with faculty research. In many respects this pattern parallels the rise of programs such as African American studies, Chicano studies, gay and lesbian studies, and women's studies. All of these fields are relatively new, but individual faculty members studied issues relevant to these themes long before centers, departments, and academic degree programs emerged. With the specific case of human rights, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights was created immediately following the Second World War, and the International Bill of Human Rights was established in 1967 with the creation of the International Covenant for Civil and Political Rights and the International Covenant for Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights. Human rights programs began to appear in universities in subsequent years, and a few brief empirical examples clarify the diversity of human rights projects.

*University of Louvain (Belgium) Human Rights Center.*—The first human rights center was established in the law school at the University of Louvain in 1968, and its current website explicitly links its history and founding to the United Nations International Year for Human Rights (University of Louvain 2009). Drawing attention to the universal nature of human rights, the center has a mission to promote human rights at both the local and the international levels, and the center supports research and collaborates with two other Belgian universities in offering specialized legal degree programs in human rights (LL.M). Because treaties are so central to global human rights, an expanding role of human rights in law schools is a logical and straightforward development, and many law schools now offer a human rights credential.

*Columbia University (United States) Center for the Study of Human Rights (CSHR).*—The Center for the Study of Human Rights was established in 1978 as the first interdisciplinary university program on human rights in the world. The center conducts research and provides expertise for other programs and organizations through its Human Rights Advocates program. Besides these research and outreach activities, the center focuses on curriculum development

and established a master's degree program in human rights. Unlike some programs that focus narrowly on law and legal issues, the CSHR takes a very broad view of human rights and draws on expertise from multiple fields and disciplines. Rather than turning human rights into a specialization just within law, the CSHR contributes to the development of human rights as a multi-disciplinary field, and many other universities have followed this model.<sup>1</sup>

*University of Cheikh Anta Diop of Dakar (Senegal) Institute of Human Rights and Peace.*—The Institute of Human Rights and Peace was created in 1983 in the School of Legal and Political Sciences. The institute has a mission to teach, study, and document the development of human rights standards (University of Cheikh Anta Diop of Dakar 2009). To achieve its mission the institute encourages research on human rights, provides a variety of national and international seminars, and offers multiple legal degrees in human rights. The development of the center demonstrates the extent to which human discourse has expanded beyond the Western world, and the emergence of degree programs reinforces the legitimacy of human rights as university knowledge.

*University of José Simeón Cañas (El Salvador) Human Rights Institute.*—The human rights institute was created in 1985 when the country was in the midst of a civil war. The founder was a priest, Segundo Montes Mozo, who was assassinated along with five others in 1989. After the civil war ended, the institute began collaborating with local civil society organizations and took an active role in promoting the new peace accords. In 2004 the organization was awarded the French human rights prize for its work in community-based human rights education (University of José Simeón Cañas 2009). Though the institute does not have an affiliated degree program, the university program promotes linkages between civil society and academia, and the institute also played a pivotal role in establishing the legitimacy of human rights in the country.

*UNESCO Chairs program.*—The UNESCO Chairs program was established in 1992 “to advance research, training and program development in higher education,” and many of the chairs are dedicated to human rights (UNESCO 2009). For example, the UNESCO Chair on Education for Human Rights and Peace was established at Aristotle University of Thessaloniki in 1997. The chair at Aristotle University offers undergraduate and graduate courses in human rights and also community activities that include training courses, seminars, and cultural events. In addition, the chair has collaborated with the Ministry of Education and Greek teachers on a wide range of human rights education projects in schools (Papadopoulou 2005). Between 1995–2003 UNESCO contributed over \$4.7 million to chairs throughout the world, and other donors contributed an additional \$46 million (Kjaersgaard 2006). As with many human rights programs in universities, UNESCO Chairs highlight the salience of globalization and linkages to the international community.

*European master's degree program in human rights and democratization.*—The Eu-

## *Universities and Human Rights*

ropean master's degree in human rights and democratization (EMA [<http://www.emahumanrights.org/>], 2009) is a one-year, interdisciplinary graduate program established in 1997. The program currently involves 41 universities throughout Europe, and graduates go on to work for a range of organizations worldwide. For example, some alumni take jobs in intergovernmental organizations like the International Organization for Migration in Tunisia and others work for nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) such as Mine Action Service in Afghanistan and Amnesty International in Mexico (EMA Alumni Association [<http://www.emalumniassociation.org>], 2009). As with the UNESCO Chairs program, the European master's degree program serves as an umbrella, bringing many universities together for the common pursuit of human rights.

Though clearly not all human rights programs in universities are the same, we argue that an institutional commitment to human rights in academia marks a major change from the past. Human rights programs were very uncommon just 30 years ago, but now academic centers, undergraduate degree programs, and postgraduate degree programs (MA and legal LLM programs) are part of the university landscape. Moreover, many of the original programs have expanded and extended their mandates. The Autonomous University of Mexico established a permanent seminar on human rights in 1992, for instance, and in 1998 the university added a UNESCO Chair in human rights. Similarly, the human rights center at the University of Essex was founded in 1983 and established the first postgraduate degree in international human rights law (LLM) in the United Kingdom. Since 2001 the university has started to offer undergraduate degree programs in human rights as well, moving human rights directly into the core of university knowledge in the country.

### Examining the Diffusion of Human Rights among Countries

The rise and expansion of university human rights programming is significant because it indicates that human rights are becoming institutionalized in academia, but the human rights movement began as a social movement to end slavery and other injustices (Keck and Sikkink 1998; Lauren 2003; Smith et al. 1997). The emergence of human rights in universities dramatizes three novel shifts. First, as human rights become part of the academic landscape, the legitimacy of the social movement itself is enhanced and becomes transformed into a distinctive field of knowledge. Besides serving as a theory of knowledge, education is a theory of personnel, and this dualism reveals a second shift (Meyer 1977). Lawyers now can demonstrate a unique specialization in human rights, and social movement activists can add professional human rights credentials to their experience with organizing and mobilizing, indicating that human rights in academia can lead to changes in employment

patterns and status mobility. Third, the human rights movement ceases to be linked just to treaty ratification or changes in national-level policy, diffusing into the broader civil society (Ramirez, Suárez, and Meyer 2006). Human rights discourse bores into all levels of society, affecting a broad range of outcomes. But clearly not all countries have a university that promotes human rights, and three sociological approaches are useful for analyzing this global diffusion: world polity theory, social conflict, and modernization theory.

### *World Polity Theory*

World polity theory draws attention to cultural scripts that provide templates for organizational activity. This theoretical frame emphasizes the taken-for-granted aspects of organizational life, focusing on ritual enactment and the adoption of regulations that defy a standard “logic of consequences” (Meyer et al. 1997). World polity theory also emphasizes the role of embeddedness, demonstrating that some countries have many citizens and organizations that become bridges to global discourse by participating in international civil society (Boli and Thomas 1999; Tsutsui and Wotipka 2004). These carriers and “receptor sites” for global scripts are independent of national institutions, yet they influence national participation in many global activities (Frank et al. 2000, 2009; Schofer and Hironaka 2005).

Civil society linkages to the global polity could be relevant for the establishment of human rights programs at universities, and governmental ties to the human rights regime might have the same effect. Some countries sign international human rights treaties and embrace human rights standards far more frequently than others, demonstrating a normative commitment to global human rights ideals. Countries that signal their dedication to human rights by participating in the human rights regime could be more likely to develop university human rights programs than countries that are less involved in the structuration of the human rights regime. Like much of the research on institutional effects, this line of argument suggests that human rights outcomes can spill over into society even if national-level policy is ceremonial and loosely coupled to practice. Consequently, these two aspects of world polity theory lead to the following propositions:

**HYPOTHESIS 1.** Greater civil society linkages to international human rights organizations will have a positive association with the rate of adoption of a university human rights program.

**HYPOTHESIS 1A.** Greater national government embeddedness in the human rights regime will have a positive association with the rate of adoption of a university human rights program.

## *Universities and Human Rights*

Many of the hypotheses that emerge from the world polity perspective emphasize direct and indirect linkages to the broader global environment, but this research perspective also stresses changes in the global environment itself (Frank and Gabler 2006; Koo and Ramirez 2009; Schofer and Meyer 2005). As the world polity becomes increasingly populated by international organizations and structured by human rights institutions, human rights might become less controversial or problematic in universities. Viewed from this perspective, the density of a world polity that validates and legitimizes human rights could lead human rights centers in universities to become more likely:

HYPOTHESIS 1B. Greater structuration of the global human rights regime will have a positive association with the rate of adoption of university human rights programs.

## *Social Conflict*

In contrast to world polity theory, several research perspectives focus on domestic or nationally bounded conditions. Conflict and protest in a country often have direct and unambiguous effects on social change, and many policies arise from the efforts of the individuals and the groups who participate in advocacy. For instance, African American studies in the United States developed in the 1960s during a period of great social unrest, and Chicano studies and women's studies also emerged during this same period. Though local protest played an important role in which specific universities developed programs, the timing of the emergence of these programs in the history of the United States was by no means coincidental (Binder 2000; Olzak and Kangas 2008; Rojas 2006). The emergence of human rights in universities could be similar in this respect, with social protest leading to the development of human rights programs.

Though protests are an aspect of social conflict that could contribute to human rights programs in universities, human rights violations provide a more direct link. Not all countries with protests are violators of human rights, and some countries violate human rights much more extensively than others. Moreover, many countries with extensive human rights violations have struggled to insure that similar events will not occur again through programs to support historical memory. The most well-known example of this effort is with the Jewish community and the documentation of the Holocaust, but Argentina and other countries have used memorials as a model for their own educational programs and projects (Jelin 2003; Levy and Sznaider 2002; Olick and Robbins 1998). Building from the work on historical memory, human rights violations could lead to a perceived national need for a better understanding

of human rights. Presented more formally, theories based on social conflict lead to the following propositions:

HYPOTHESIS 2. Greater levels of social protest will have a positive association with the rate of adoption of a university human rights program.

HYPOTHESIS 2A. Greater levels of human rights violations will have a positive association with the rate of adoption of a university human rights program.

### *Modernization*

Social conflict theories emphasize human rights abuses and social protest as mechanisms for diffusion. Nevertheless, the role of domestic conditions can be much less obvious. For example, modernization perspectives press the importance of national development (Rostow 1960). Economic advantages might allow for experimentation or risk taking, leading to the argument that developed countries will adopt new innovations in tertiary education more than less developed countries. This argument easily can be expanded to include political institutions. Because democracies support empowerment and participatory governance, democratic countries might be more likely than less democratic ones to adopt human rights programs (Fung and Wright 2001; Inglehart and Welzel 2005). Finally, a related idea is that countries in the West might be more open to human rights in universities than those without a Western cultural heritage (Cole 2005). Although plenty of human rights traditions exist beyond the Western world, much of the focus on individual civil and political rights has roots in Western intellectual thought (Donnelly 1986; Lauren 2003). Overall, the key arguments from this line of research suggest that development, political pluralism, and civilizational history influence the willingness or ability of a country to embrace human rights reforms, leading to the following propositions:

HYPOTHESIS 3. Greater levels of economic development and democratic governance will have a positive association with the rate of adoption of a university human rights program.

HYPOTHESIS 3A. Countries with a Western cultural heritage will have a positive association with the rate of adoption of a university human rights program.

Building from these three conceptual frames, the hypotheses present viable explanations for the emergence of human rights programs in universities. In

the next section we clarify our method and our models, and we also describe the data we collected or compiled for the analyses.

## Data and Method

We utilize event history models to assess the factors that contribute to the first founding of a university human rights program in a given country from 1968 to 2000 (Allison 1984). Our exploration of the data indicates that a country's commitment to global human rights institutions is primarily explained by the covariates rather than by historical time itself (for comparable findings, see Hafner-Burton and Tsutsui [2005]; Koo and Ramirez [2009]).<sup>2</sup> Thus, the risk of a country establishing a human rights program is the same over time, contingent on covariates, and any departure from this constant rate is due to the covariates. Therefore, we estimate exponential models in which the hazard rate is constant over time, modeled only as a function of covariates:

$$\lg h(t) = \beta_0 + \beta_1 X_1 + \beta_2 X_2, \dots, \beta_j X_j,$$

where  $\lg h(t)$  is the log of the hazard rate,  $\beta_j$  are constants to be estimated (and  $\beta_0$  is the constant term in the regression model). The hazard rate is the annual rate at which countries worldwide establish their first human rights program, and we take the natural log of the hazard function to prevent it from unrealistically becoming less than zero.

### *Dependent Variable*

Even though many organizations teach human rights, the systematic cataloging of these organizations is relatively new. As a result, we utilized a variety of sources to construct our dependent variable. The first directory of human rights teaching and research institutions was created by UNESCO in 1988 and currently is in its sixth edition. Several of these printed directories were principal sources for our data set, and we also coded the Internet version of the database (UNESCO 1988, 1995, 2003, 2008). The Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights (UNHCHR) maintains an online database of human rights education and training organizations of its own, and we coded that database as well (UNHCHR 2008). Finally, we spoke with several experts and searched additional Internet databases to develop the most comprehensive list possible of human rights education organizations (Human Rights Education Associates 2006; Human Rights Internet 2008; University of Minnesota 2006).

Our initial data collection efforts produced a data set with over 1,200 human

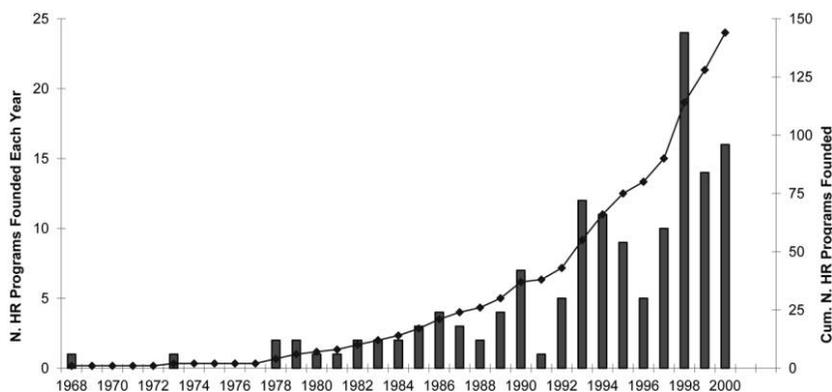


FIG. 1.—Total number of human rights programs founded per year and cumulative number of programs in existence each year ( $N = 144$ ).

rights education organizations, and we developed several criteria or decision rules for keeping organizations in the final data set. First, we truncated our data set in 2000 to eliminate potential bias. We have some data on the dependent variable for more recent years, but a substantial lag exists for incorporating information on new programs into the databases we coded.<sup>3</sup> Second, we limited the data set to university-affiliated organizations. Many NGOs have an important role in training human rights workers, but we were interested in human rights in universities. Third, because of some vagueness around what constitutes a human rights institute, we also focused our data set on programs and centers with the specific words “human rights” in them. As a result, centers for peace studies and refugee studies would be excluded from our data set. Similarly, a university degree in global studies would not be in our data set, but an undergraduate degree in human rights and a master of laws (LLM) in human rights would be included.

This effort resulted in a data set of a total of 144 university-based human rights programs for which a founding date is available.<sup>4</sup> Figure 1 illustrates the number of programs founded per year and the cumulative count of programs up to 2000. These programs were created in 57 different countries from 1968–2000, demonstrating the global breadth of human rights programs in universities. We use these 57 instances of the first founding in a country as our outcome variable, and we start our analyses in 1968, the year the first university-based human rights program was established.<sup>5</sup> Appendix table A1 presents data on our dependent variable; namely, the first university program in a given country and the year in which the program was established. The

## *Universities and Human Rights*

salient commonality that links all of these programs is their unequivocal focus on human rights. Our approach thus provides a very conservative measure of the development of university-level human rights.

### *Independent Variables*<sup>6</sup>

We measure the overall state of the global human rights regime using the total numbers of the following four indicators: (1) countries with a national human rights ombudsperson (Koo and Ramirez 2009), (2) university human rights programs, (3) UNESCO schools (Suárez et al. 2009), and (4) regional and international human rights treaties (Elliott 2008). Although these four variables are highly correlated and cannot be included in the same analysis, principal components factor analysis reveals that they load onto one underlying concept, and we use regression scoring to create a single continuous index.<sup>7</sup> Appendix table A2 presents models with each of the four measures and the controls from the main analysis, demonstrating the robustness of the indicators.

We also utilize several measures to assess the relationship between national government linkages and the global human rights movement. First, to capture government linkages, we constructed a factor index based on whether or not a country establishes a human rights office, participates in the UNESCO Associated Schools Project, and signs the seven core international human rights treaties (Koo and Ramirez 2009; Wotipka and Tsutsui 2008). These nine indicators load heavily onto one single underlying latent concept, which we interpret as government linkage to the global human rights regime.<sup>8</sup> As with the first factor, appendix table A2 presents models with each of the nine measures and the controls from the main analysis, once again demonstrating the robustness of the indicators. Finally, as a civil society indicator for linkages to the human rights regime, we include a measure of national memberships in human rights INGOs developed by other scholars from the Union of International Associations (Tsutsui and Wotipka 2004).

We incorporate two measures of social conflict into our models as well. To measure repression and human rights violations, we use a one-to-five scale utilized by Hafner-Burton and Tsutsui (2005). The measure is drawn from US Department of State annual human rights reports and Amnesty International reports. We reverse the original scale so that a value of one indicates strong protection of human rights and a five indicates systematic repression, and we use a five-year lag. To measure social protest we use a zero-to-five scale where zero indicates no known protest and a five indicates demonstrations, rallies, strikes and/or riots of over 100,000 people (Minorities at Risk 2005).<sup>9</sup>

Finally, we incorporate three measures of modernization into our models. The first measure is gross domestic product per capita. This indicator is widely

used to demonstrate varying levels of national economic development, and we draw data from the World Development Indicators Online (World Bank 2008).<sup>10</sup> To estimate the extent to which a country is democratic, we use the Polity IV measure of regime authority (Marshall 2007). Scores are calculated annually on a 21-point scale ranging from  $-10$  (strongly autocratic) to  $+10$  (strongly democratic). Finally, within the category of modernization we also include a simple dichotomous indicator for countries with a Western cultural heritage.

### *Control Variables*

In order to control for some of the variation in university systems, we incorporate two different indicators. First, we measure the extent to which the government is centralized, suggesting the level of federal control over the education system from the Polity III database compiled by Jagers and Gurr (1996). On this three-point centralization scale, countries with a unitary system receive a score of one, federal systems receive a three, and governments with an intermediate structure score a two. Second, we measure the size of the university system in a country using annual data on the gross percentage of tertiary enrollment from the World Development Indicators Online (World Bank 2008). We would expect more expanded tertiary education systems to be more likely to have human rights programs because of differentiation and the rise of the “practical arts” in universities, but expanded tertiary education systems are important for other reasons as well.

The links between higher education and economic growth are weak at best, yet education can legitimate democratic political systems and expand individual participation in civil society (Benavot 1996; Kamens 1988, 2009; Meyer et al. 2007). With expanded higher education, more groups and communities are incorporated into a polity, and these patterns often result in “high levels of political action outside the boundaries of the conventional political system” (Kamens 2009, 9). Expanded higher education thus can contribute to social movements and the expansion of NGOs, both of which could feed back into an interest in human rights at the tertiary level. All of the variables and the transformations are presented in table 1.

### *Results*

The results are presented first by conceptual frame and then as nested models (table 2).<sup>11</sup> Beginning with world polity theory, model 1 demonstrates that all of the variables have a strong positive association with adoption of a human rights program. The global structuration of the human rights regime increases

TABLE 1

*Definitions of Independent Variables, Data Sources, Data Transformations, Means, and Standard Deviations*

Variable	Description and Source	Mean (SD)
World polity: Global human rights factor	Continuous, annual measure ranging from $-1.31$ to $+1.30$ . Factor index of four variables: (1) World Density of Human Rights programs, (2) World Density of UNESCO Schools programs, (3) World Density of National Human Rights institutions, and (4) World Density of Human Rights treaties. Sources: (1) and (4) authors; (2) Suárez et al. (2009); (3) Koo and Ramirez (2009)	$-.41$ (.72)
National human rights factor	Continuous, annual measure ranging from $-1.69$ to $+2.57$ . Factor index of nine dichotomous variables—for each country in each year, whether the country has (1–7) ratified of each of the seven core human rights treaties, (8) a UNESCO school, (9) a National Human Rights institute. Sources: (1–7) direct coding by authors from Office of the UN High Commission for Human Rights; (8) Suárez et al. 2009; (9) Koo and Ramirez (2009)	.72 (1.26)
Human rights INGO memberships	Continuous measure ranging from 0 to 158 indicating total number of human rights INGOs of which citizens in a country are members. Transformed by adding .001 and taking log to correct for skewed distribution. Data collected for years 1978, 1988, and 1998. Source: Tsutsui and Wotipka (2004); Union of International Associations (1986, 1988, 1995, 2000)	30.10 (28.26)
Status competition and social conflict: Human rights violations	Ordered, annual measure on 1–5 scale; coded 1 = rare repression and 5 = systematic repression. Lagged five years. Source: Tsutsui and Hafner-Burton (2007)	3.29 (1.18)

Protest score	Ordered 0–5 scale; coded 0 = no known protest to 5 = demonstrations, rallies, strikes, and/or riots of over 100,000 people. Data are collected at five-year intervals up to 1989 and annually since 1989. Prior to 1989, scores were assigned based on the highest observed level of protest in a five-year period. Since 1989 scores were assigned using the mean level of protest in a given year	1.40 (1.11)
Modernization:		
GDP/capita (constant 1995 US\$)	Continuous, annual measure ranging from 84.72 to 45,951.91. Added .001 and transformed with log to correct for skewed distribution. Source: World Bank (2008)	5,101.49 (8,356.39)
Democratization	Continuous, annual variable ranging from –10 = strongly autocratic to +10 = strongly democratic. Source: Marshall (2007)	–.39 (7.55)
Western cultural heritage	Dichotomous, time-invariant measure for whether or not a country has a Western cultural heritage. Australia, New Zealand, Canada, the United States, and countries in Western Europe receive 1 for the measure; all other countries receive 0. Source: direct coding	.14 (.35)
Control:		
Tertiary enrollment (% gross)	Continuous, annual measure ranging from 0 to 97.30. Number of students enrolled in tertiary education as a percentage of the population in the relevant age group for that level. Added .001 and took log to correct for skewed distribution. Source: World Bank (2008)	13.18 (14.19)
Centralization of political system	An ordered, three-point scale for government centralization, with unitary (1), intermediate (2), and federal (3). Annual data to 1994. Source: Jaggers and Gurr (1996)	1.3 (.67)

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NOTE.—Ranges, means, and standard deviations are for untransformed variables. The seven core international human rights treaties are the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination (CERD); Covenant on Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights (CESCR); Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (CCPR); Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW); Convention Against Torture and Other Forms of Cruel, Inhuman, or Degrading Treatment or Punishment (CAT); Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC); Convention on the Protection of All Migrant Workers and Members of Their Families (CPMW).

*Universities and Human Rights*

TABLE 2

*Event History Models Predicting Establishment of First Human Rights Program*

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5
Tertiary enrollment (gross, log)	.424** (.163)	.658** (.201)	.750** (.160)	.680** (.207)	.382* (.210)
Centralization	.121 (.201)	.093 (.198)	.206 (.193)	.135 (.201)	.160 (.216)
Global human rights factor	1.041*** (.171)				1.094*** (.187)
Human rights INGO member- ships (log)	1.320*** (.301)				1.140*** (.331)
National human rights factor	.334* (.157)				.319* (.161)
GDP/capita (log)		-.124 (.155)		-.168 (.157)	-.037 (.163)
Democracy score		.082** (.024)		.075** (.025)	.003 (.027)
Western cultural heritage		.106 (.390)		.066 (.392)	.350 (.426)
Human rights viola- tions			.209* (.107)	.150 <sup>+</sup> (.111)	.093 (.123)
Protest score			.190 (.165)	.113 (.168)	.187 (.156)
Constant	-10.442*** (1.072)	-5.303*** (1.025)	-7.424*** (.615)	-5.723*** (1.060)	-10.133*** (1.524)

NOTE.—Standard errors are in parentheses; observations = 4,272.

<sup>+</sup>  $p < .10$ ; one-tailed tests.

\*  $p < .05$ .

\*\*  $p < .01$ .

\*\*\*  $p < .001$ .

the rate of adoption, and national embeddedness in the human rights movement produces the same result—both civil society linkages and government linkages increase the rate of adoption.

Model 2 provides the results for modernization theory. This model demonstrates that economic development has no meaningful link to the rate of adoption of a human rights program, and more Western countries also do not adopt at a faster rate. The development of human rights in universities

is not a simple function of economic development or civilizational legacy, but more democratic countries do develop programs at a higher rate. As might be expected, countries with more democratic systems of governance are more receptive to human rights in universities.

Model 3 explores the hypotheses for social conflict, revealing that human rights violations influence the adoption of human rights programs but protests do not. While programs like African American studies and women's studies appear to be linked to periods of protests and activism in the United States, human rights programs follow a different pattern. Interestingly, the size and strength of the human rights violations coefficient is strongest with a five-year lag, suggesting that the relationship is neither immediate nor directly related to the length of time since egregious violations occurred.<sup>12</sup>

The final two models bring the conceptual frames together, starting with the variables for modernization and the variables for social conflict. Model 4 demonstrates that human rights violations and democracy have a positive influence on the rate of adoption of a university program, although the magnitude and the strength of the relationships diminish. In the final, full model, the democracy and human rights violations coefficients are no longer significant, but all of the indicators for world polity theory remain positive and statistically significant.<sup>13</sup> These results reveal that the global expansion of the human rights regime, and linkages to that regime, far outweigh domestic indicators of development and social conflict. The emergence of human rights at the university level is a product of linkages to world society and embeddedness in the global human rights regime. The more that citizens in a country are involved in the work of international human rights organizations, the higher the country rate of adoption. Similarly, countries that participate in the human rights regime are more likely to have universities with human rights programs.

## Discussion

Human rights work has focused primarily on promoting international standards and protecting those who experience violations. Over the past few decades the prevention of human rights abuses through education has become a more central aspect of the human rights regime as well, yet the emergence of human rights in universities has gone virtually unnoticed. Our results indicate that close connections to the human rights movement accelerate the development of a university program, and the global structuration of the human rights regime has a similar relationship. These findings have a variety of implications for research on universities and human rights, and they also establish new lines of inquiry for the future.

To begin, the global context clearly matters for understanding change at

all levels of education (Baker and LeTendre 2005; Ramirez et al. 2006). While some universities are more buffered or protected from developments in the broader environment, trends such as marketization, rationalization, and democratization all exert considerable worldwide influence. The implication is that globalization affects academia, and university-level differences are not the only source of variation. In many respects human rights education constitutes a classic example of the “practical arts” in universities, blending many disciplines under a common pragmatic and practical banner (Brint 2002; Brint et al. 2005). We would expect country case studies to demonstrate considerable university-level variation in the establishment of human rights programs. Framing strategies, student protests, and ascriptive characteristics of faculty and students have influenced the development of African American studies and women’s studies, and similar factors could be at work with human rights education (Binder 2000; Olzak and Kangas 2008; Rojas 2006, 2007). At the very least, our results suggest that the global environment and national ties to that environment also are consequential.

Second, prior work on human rights treaties has expressed great concern that signing these documents is just ceremonial or worse—a potential shield for violations (Hathaway 2002; Neumayer 2005). However, a variety of studies suggest that institutional effects are not always direct and straightforward. For instance, civil society participation in the global environmental movement is linked to changes in nation-state behavior (Schofer and Hironaka 2005), embeddedness in the world polity contributes to the creation of rape laws and increases in rape reporting (Frank et al. 2009), and human rights treaties often empower local actors even if they do not directly mitigate violations (Hafner-Burton and Tsutsui 2005). Our results align quite well with this body of research, finding that countries that sign human rights treaties and participate in other aspects of the human rights movement also incorporate human rights as university knowledge. Moreover, civil society memberships in international human rights organizations have an independent positive association with the establishment of a university program, and the expansion of the global human rights regime produces the same result. Research on coupling between policy and practice continues to be essential, but we suggest that a broad lens with a historical frame may be as effective for assessing change as a narrow lens with an immediate, instrumental frame.

Third, many studies of human rights emphasize social movement dynamics, with the imagery of NGOs protesting and contributing to reforms in nation-state behavior (Keck and Sikkink 1998; Smith et al. 1997). Still, much like nonprofits in the United States, INGOs in all fields are facing market pressures and greater demands for accountability and effectiveness (Hwang and Powell 2009). The human rights movement is an expanding project, with organizations promoting a broadening array of values with diverse, professional

tactics (see, e.g., Brysk 2000). In the past 50 years the discourse of human rights has become increasingly commonplace and acceptable, transforming a social movement into a regime or field of legitimate actors (Donnelly 1986). The global human rights movement has become institutionalized, but the broader implications of this institutionalization are unclear.

Does the human rights movement eventually become weakened and tamed as it becomes more taken for granted? Does the emergence of human rights in universities lead to the professionalization of the movement and a decreasing reliance on contentious tactics? In most respects the emergence of human rights in universities should be considered a triumph for the movement, yet success can produce unintended consequences. Studies of social movements often find that professionalization can lead to formalization and shifts to moderate strategies (Staggenborg 1988). Furthermore, an early insight from organizational theory is that the fight for organizational survival often becomes its own goal and can lead to co-optation or mission deflection. The long-term effects of the human rights movement are thus a new frontier for research, weighing the “iron law of oligarchy” in organizations against the evolution of a global movement with a history of activism.

Our cross-national and longitudinal research also sets an agenda for new studies that address curricular content and program implementation. We document the emergence and spread of human rights programs in universities, but very little research has investigated how curricular programs differ or how those programs are implemented. While we find that domestic factors have just modest effects on the rate at which human rights programs are adopted, we recognize that local factors are likely to be salient for explaining the content of models. Comparative university case studies would be useful for contrasting the political dynamics involved in establishing programs, and studies of this nature also could help to explain how human rights studies evolves and why some programs differ with respect to degrees and course offerings (Baker et al. 2007; Binder 2000; Small 1999).

In conclusion, the intersection of education and human rights demonstrates that institutional processes have consequential ramifications. The fact that human rights can be studied in universities reveals just how deeply the movement has penetrated into local culture throughout the world. Much more than just an abstract set of international treaties that serve as “window dressing” or empty promises for the future, human rights have become central to education. We find that the causal explanation for the establishment of university human rights programs operates more at a global institutional level than at a national level through modernization or social conflict. This pattern indicates that embeddedness in the human rights regime translates into meaningful activity, but the institutionalization of human rights also raises new questions about professionalization and the long-term future of the social movement.

## Appendix A

TABLE A1

*First University Human Rights Program in a Country, by Founding Year and by Program Type*

Country	Year	Program Type	Country	Year	Program Type
Belgium	1968	Center	Algeria	1995	UNESCO Chair
Poland	1973	Center	Benin	1995	UNESCO Chair
Turkey	1978	Center	Brazil	1995	UNESCO Chair
United States	1978	Center	Latvia	1995	Center
Canada	1979	Endowed chair	South Korea	1995	UNESCO Chair
Spain	1980	Center	Morocco	1996	UNESCO Chair
Italy	1982	Center	Thailand	1996	Center
United Kingdom	1983	Law degree program	Azerbaijan	1997	UNESCO Chair
Senegal	1983	Center	Greece	1997	UNESCO Chair
Sweden	1984	Center	Ireland	1997	Center
El Salvador	1985	Center	Bulgaria	1998	UNESCO Chair
Finland	1985	Center	Denmark	1998	Center
France	1985	Center	Dominican Republic	1998	UNESCO Chair
Australia	1986	Center	Equatorial Guinea	1998	UNESCO Chair
Philippines	1986	Center	Hungary	1998	Center
South Africa	1986	Center	India	1998	UNESCO Chair
Switzerland	1987	Center	Romania	1998	UNESCO Chair

Austria	1992	Center	Ukraine	1998	UNESCO Chair
Czechoslovakia	1992	UNESCO Chair	Uzbekistan	1998	UNESCO Chair
Mexico	1992	Permanent seminar	Zimbabwe	1998	UNESCO Chair
Israel	1993	Center	Bosnia	1999	Center
Namibia	1993	Center	Norway	1999	Center
Netherlands	1993	Center	Uruguay	1999	Permanent seminar
Uganda	1993	Center	Egypt	2000	Law degree program
Belarus	1994	UNESCO Chair	Japan	2000	Center
Colombia	1994	Center	Mali	2000	Center
Ethiopia	1994	UNESCO Chair	Portugal	2000	UNESCO Chair
Germany	1994	Center	Serbia	2000	Center
Jordan	1994	UNESCO Chair	Venezuela	2000	Center
Russia	1994	UNESCO Chair			

NOTE.—Ethiopia and Serbia are excluded from the analyses due to lack of data on independent variables.

TABLE A2

*Models with Each of the Four Measures and the Controls from the Main Analysis*

	State of Global Human Rights Items and Factor					Government-Human Rights Regime Link Items and Factor									
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15
Controls:															
Tertiary enrollment (gross, log)	.848*** (.162)	.846*** (.164)	.846*** (.162)	.823*** (.160)	.844*** (.162)	.800*** (.156)	.677*** (.158)	.676*** (.157)	.753*** (.153)	.627*** (.153)	.804*** (.153)	.850*** (.162)	.739*** (.156)	.744*** (.147)	.757*** (.161)
Centralization	.104 (.197)	-.112 (.214)	.030 (.198)	.103 (.199)	.041 (.198)	.219 (.193)	.311+ (.195)	.316+ (.195)	.341* (.203)	.286+ (.205)	.376* (.202)	.159 (.192)	.171 (.192)	.278+ (.195)	.251+ (.193)
Global HR items and factors:															
UNESCO schools <sup>a</sup>	.026*** (.004)														
HR programs in universities <sup>a</sup>	.014*** (.002)														
National HR institutes <sup>a</sup>			.028*** (.004)												
International and regional HR instruments <sup>a</sup>				.006*** (.001)											
State of the world HR regime factor					1.034*** (.162)										
Government-HR regime link factor: <sup>b</sup>															
CERD						.460* (.213)									
GESCR							.858*** (.218)								
CCPR								.912*** (.220)							
CEDAW									.944*** (.178)						



## Notes

1. Personal communication with J. Paul Martin, former director of the CSHR.
2. However, our factor measuring the global state of human rights is highly collinear with time. The correlation between year and our global human rights factor is 0.97 because the items in the factor usually increase each year. An alternative strategy would be to include a variable for year as a proxy for the increasing strength of the human rights movement over time, but, instead, we use substantive measures of the movement itself. As a robustness check, we also compared exponential models to piecewise models that allowed the hazard rate to vary over time; likelihood ratio tests indicate that the piecewise models were not a significant improvement over exponential models.
3. Data lags are a common problem in cross-national research. See Boli and Thomas (1999) for a more detailed discussion and explanation.
4. For an additional 16 programs the founding date could not be identified.
5. Given that we have data on the total number of programs in a country, we considered event count models. However, only 23 countries have more than one program, and the small sample size limits further analysis.
6. As with all cross-national, longitudinal research, we encountered a range of missing values in our independent variables. We examined a number of ways of imputing missing values in our data, including mean imputation, linear interpolation over time, linear interpolation and extrapolation, and filling missing values forward and backward using the “stfill” command in Stata 10.0. Our results remained robust regardless of the imputation method, and we settled on using a combination of, first, linearly interpolating missing values of a variable in a country over time and then imputing the country mean for missing starting or ending values.
7. The factor analysis produced a single factor with an eigenvalue of 3.88; all other factors had eigenvalues of less than 1.0. The Cronbach’s alpha, a measure of interitem reliability, is 0.80; the Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin measure of sampling adequacy is 0.71.
8. The factor analysis produced a single factor with an eigenvalue of 5.07; all other factors have eigenvalues of less than 1.0. Cronbach’s alpha is .84, and the Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin measure is 0.89. We again used regression scoring to create a single, continuous index.
9. Given the difficulty of accurately measuring intergroup conflict in a nation-state over time, we tried two additional measures. Neither ethnic fractionalization nor ethnic polarization showed any significant effects.
10. As another measure of modernization, we considered expansion of the educational system by using net secondary enrollments from the World Development Indicators Online (World Bank 2008). Following Schofer and Meyer (2005) we also tried 5-, 10-, and 20-year lags for secondary enrollment, but these measures did not alter the results.
11. We present results this way in part to show that multicollinearity between variables in the conceptual frames is not a substantial concern. For example, the association between economic development and establishment of a human rights program is insignificant regardless of whether world polity variables are in the models.
12. We also tested human rights violations without a lag and found similar though slightly weakened results; a 10-year lag produced no statistically significant effects.
13. The democracy effect is also absent in a model with just controls, democracy, and world polity variables, excluding all other predictors.

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