Perceptions of War-Peace and Ukraine-Russia in Textbooks Corresponding to Russia and Ukraine Social Studies Course

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This study examined how the perceptions of war and peace and the perceptions of both countries towards each other are handled in the textbooks corresponding to social studies course in Russia and Ukraine. The analysis of the compared textbooks in terms of targeted images is also related to the current Russia-Ukraine war. In this study designed as qualitative research, the data were obtained through descriptive analysis. The first finding of the study revealed that in the textbooks analysed in terms of the frequency of use of the concepts of war and peace and the target country-nation expression; the concept of war is more frequent than the concept of peace at all grade levels in both countries. The second finding showed that in general, the Ukrainian-Ukraine image in Russian social studies textbooks is neutral, while the Russian-Russia image in Ukrainian history textbooks is negative. Another finding of the study is that the Russian and Ukrainian social studies textbooks use various visuals that evoke the concepts of war and peace. The last finding of the study revealed that various metaphors, implicit messages, or slogan-like expressions in terms of the concept of war, peace and target country-nation were encountered in the textbooks corresponding to social studies course in Russia and Ukraine.

Introduction

War and peace are phenomena that have a lifespan equal to the existence of humanity and are not limited in time and space. Yesterday and today are similar periods in terms of war and peace. Being able to define the phenomena of war and peace conceptually well also helps to make sense of them effectively. Peace is the absence of violence, not war (Galtung, 1969,

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p. 167). Peace responds to conflict and differences with tolerance and flexibility (Schrumpf, et al., 2007, p. 164). According to the National Peace Academy, "peace is the wholeness created by establishing right connections with oneself, other people, other cultures, other lives, the world and the larger whole of which one is a part'' (Harris & Morrison, 2013, p.14).

The disruption of the peace phenomenon from the first conflict between Cain and Abel to the Crusades, interreligious struggles, Mongol invasions, two World Wars, and even up to the 21st century, where it is believed that societal peace and prosperity would increase, is in a way an indication that humanity's fundamental goals, such as securing its existence, staying strong, and displaying power, have not strayed far from their essence throughout history. War can be defined as a large-scale, physically violent conflict or collision between states and non-state political actors that can use violence or armed force in the international system (Sokullu, 2019, p.72.). Wars have repeatedly shattered the human perception of security by causing death, destruction, social and political collapse, severe economic damage, and mass migration. In the current century, war, which is changing and differentiating due to globalization, technological advances, new threats, and the economy, is once again in the form of conventional warfare, where close and hot contact is made with the enemy and the risk of loss of life and loss of ammunition is high (Canan, 2014). One of the most tangible and current manifestations of this emergence come from the conflicts between Russia and Ukraine.

It is believed that the current conflicts between Ukraine and Russia, whose history and culture bear some similarities, are based on many and multidimensional reasons; from the point of view of Russia these are Ukraine's location as one of the bridge countries between the Western NATO bloc and Russia, its Black Sea coastline, the Crimea region, its longest eastern border with Russia, its key position in the transportation of Russian natural gas, and the fact that Ukraine is the country with the most significant number of Russians living outside Russia. It is understood that Ukraine, which was one of the largest countries of the USSR period, and its geopolitical position are important for Russia. It is also important to examine this many and multidimensional reasons from the point of view of Ukraine. Ukraine which became an independent country after the dissolution of the USSR in 1991, approved the document titled Basic Directions of its Foreign Policy in 1993. In line with this document, Ukraine's prioritized foreign policy is as follows: to improve relations with NATO and the United States, to rapprochement with the EU at the political and institutional level, to establish bilateral relations with neighbouring states, strategically essential countries (Malek, 2009). Ukraine needs a strong anti-Russian actor to counterbalance the factors that have unquestionably transformed Russia into a greater power. This corresponds to the role of the West in general and the United States in particular (Dinler, 2019).

Russia's interest in Ukraine, which is turning westward, its historical ties, and its expressed security concerns about being surrounded by the NATO line and its alleged expansion to the east and the Black Sea have resulted in some military interventions by the Russian Federation. The military operation in Georgia in 2008 and the annexation of Crimea in 2014 are examples. The conflicts between Ukraine and Russia in Donbas in eastern Ukraine since 2014 should also not be noticed. The decisive factors, political moves, and conflicting interests reflected in the domestic politics of the foreign policy moves outlined, which could be increased in number, have brought the two states into confrontation more frequently, and the Minsk Protocols still need to maintain peace.

At the end the conflict turned into a conventional war on February 24, 2022, when the

Russian army invaded Ukrainian territories around 06.00 Moscow time. The UN Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights (2023) reported that from February 24, 2022, to February 5, 2023, 18,817 civilians were injured in the ongoing Russian-Ukrainian War, 7,155 of whom were killed, 32 of whom were children, 11, 662 were injured, 245 of them were children, while the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (2023) stated that as of February 2023, more than 8 million Ukrainians had been forced to leave their country and sought refuge in various European countries as refugees. Current developments in the war show that the occupation, clashes, and casualties continue; the humanitarian tragedy continues and is creating a domino effect, fuelling globalized severe crises, including a new refugee crisis, as well as access to some food and essential energy resources, both in the world and on the European continent.

Considering the different interactions of the phenomena of war, and peace with human actions throughout the history of humanity, their role in creating a wide variety of perceptions in the minds of each nation may be significant. Therefore, differentiations can also be expected in their reflections on education systems, curricula, and textbooks. As can be seen in the textbooks corresponding to social studies course in Ukraine and Russia.

When the teaching of social studies in the Russian education system is analyzed, it is seen that there are 2 hours of classes per week for the first four years including Natural and Social Sciences. In the 5-year middle school part, there is a social studies (community science) course, which is two hours a week and includes citizenship topics. There is also a two-hour social studies course in the 10th and 11th grades at the high school level, there is also a two-hour social studies course (Ercantürk, 2010, p. 57; UNESCO, 2011). Social studies courses in primary education are as follows: history is taught in grades 5-11. World history and Russian history (including the history of the USSR) are taught in the history course. Civics is taught in grades 5 and 7, and social science (social studies) in grades 6-11 (Akhan, et al., 2019). When the teaching of social studies in the Ukrainian education system is analyzed, it is seen that history course is taught as one course in primary schools and as two courses called Ukrainian History and World History in middle and high schools (Arabacı, 2019). In the Ukrainian education system courses corresponding to social studies are history, geography, health, safety, and welfare courses.

Textbooks have become one of the most powerful tools of education systems globally because they are the home of equitable access to information. This vital teaching material is organized according to the objectives of a country's national education and the relevant curriculum in line with the level and needs of the students. It forms the content of the achievements to be gained. Since it is prepared in a limited number of pages based on the program from different sources, it provides the essence of knowledge instead of unnecessary information. It saves time for teachers and students in accessing information. It helps students to organize their knowledge. At the same time, it contributes significantly to the students' individual, social, economic, and ideological development. On the other, it plays a vital role in moving away from an oral culture, which is the traditional dominant element, and in the establishment of written culture (Cemaloğlu, 2003). Because textbooks are, in a sense, a cultural mirror of the country in which they are published due to the breadth of the society they address. In this respect, they are works that paint a picture of the country (Kabapınar, 2009). The perspective on this cultural mirror may also differ from one society to another. For example, Semerci (2004) reports that textbooks are valued as much as pieces of land in Japan, and that Japanese teachers used to list textbooks among the first things to be saved during an earthquake at school.

İnan (2019) states the aims of the social studies course as guiding virtuous people, raising influential citizens, teaching the process of participating in political governance (democracy), and gaining essential historical space and social thinking skills. The careful construction of social studies textbooks is significant because it is the first bridge where official state ideologies, sometimes official state ideologies, community identity, values, and cultural heritage meet the child citizen.

The importance of concepts, which are the smallest unit of mental activities, should not be ignored for social studies to gain meaning not as a memorization course but as a reasoning course that will produce solutions by recognizing today's social problems and making use of the past (Binbaşıoğlu, 1991, p.182; Sabancı, 2008, p.67). Social studies has many learning areas that include the concepts of different social sciences. The concepts of war and peace are frequently encountered in the social studies course, which includes the concepts of different social sciences.

Citizens of almost every country in the world have perceptions of different countries and cultures. It has been determined that feelings of enmity from history, ideological prejudices, and sensations do not have a scientific basis for the development and establishment of these perceptions (Neuman, 2001). Undoubtedly, history education in schools and textbooks plays a significant role in cultivating feelings of friendship and peace among nations in the world and in the degree of love or tolerance that societies have for each other. Because "history textbooks, which are extremely complex and interdisciplinary materials, are important sources for learning the images of nations about themselves and others, and in a sense, the sum of these images" (Şimşek, 2018). Social studies textbooks, which have various learning areas and contents in which the phenomena of war and peace, on the one hand, and perceptions and images of different countries and cultures, on the other hand, can be easily encountered in secondary school, are also among these crucial resources.

When the relevant literature is examined within the scope of the research, many studies deal with the phenomena of war and peace, which have profoundly affected human history in every aspect and country-nation images from different perspectives. It is seen that the studies conducted within the scope of war and peace focus on the concepts of war and peace, views on these concepts, their status in curricula, textbooks, history and social studies textbooks, and student and teacher views on these situations (Korostelina, 2023; Güzelyurt 2022; Saba, Irshad & Shehzad 2021; Öztop, Jaganjac & Efegil 2021; Egüz 2020; Jabbar & Betawi 2019; Karadeniz & Kaya 2017; Doğan & Kılınç 2014; İnan 2013; Aktaş 2012; Korostelina, 2010; Montgomery 2006; Oruç 2006). Various studies on the perceptions and images of different countries and nations towards each other have been encountered (Zotova 2021; Hanaba 2020; Şeker & İlhan, 2020; Arabacı 2019; Şahingöz & Bilalli, 2018; Cengiz & Şimşek 2017; Kaya & Topçu 2017; Konukhov 2017; Balta & Demir 2016; Erözden 2014; Bozkuş 2014; Janmaat 2007; Safran & Ata, 1996.)

In the literature, only a few studies are comparing the concepts of war and peace, their images, and the country-nation images of these two countries towards each other in the textbooks taught within the scope of social studies courses of two countries that are currently at war. For example, Korostelina (2010) in her study has carried out a comparison of the historical narratives in the History textbooks of Ukraine and the Russian Federation. Adwan, Bar-Tal &Wexler (2014) in their study revealed how Israelis and Palestinians present their narratives related to their conflict in school textbooks. It is believed that this research will contribute to this gap in the literature and will be helpful in terms of social studies, peace

education, the development and quality of textbooks and the approaches preferred in their writing. Furthermore, the effect of the images created in their content on peacemaking or the definition of one's own identity. How the narrative of another nation is realized, the effect of the identity creation mechanics used by textbooks in countries in conflict with each other.

It is thought that the study will be original research in terms of social studies textbooks, history textbooks, image studies and concept studies by trying to understand and compare the textbooks taught within the scope of social studies of two different countries that are currently at war. In this context, answers to the following questions were sought:

(1) How are the concepts of war and peace handled in Russian social studies textbooks?

(2) How are the concepts of war and peace handled in Ukrainian history textbooks?

(3) What is the image of Ukraine and the Ukrainian nation in Russian social studies textbooks?

(4) What is the image of Russia and the Russian nation in Ukrainian history textbooks?

(5) What are the perceptions of both countries towards each other and the concepts of war and peace in their textbooks?

Method

Research Model

This study was designed as basic qualitative research. The basic qualitative research model is a research model that aims to understand the problem and reveal and describe the existing situation in line with the main and sub-problems of the research (Arıkan, 2011). The data obtained within the scope of the research carried out within the framework of the descriptive survey model are interpreted and summarized based on the predetermined research problems. The primary purpose of these studies is to present the findings obtained as a result of the analysis to the reader in an organized and interpreted manner (Yıldırım & Şimşek, 2005). In the study, the data obtained from the textbooks corresponding to the social studies taught in Russia and Ukraine were analyzed, organized, and presented interpretively.

Data Source and Data Collection

Textbooks corresponding to social studies and currently taught in Russia and Ukraine were used as documents in the study. Data for the study were collected from textbooks corresponding to social studies taught at the secondary school level in both countries during the 2022-2023 academic year. The textbooks selection was based on the level of their circulation in schools and recommendations by the Ministry of Education and Science of the Russian Federation and Ministry of Education of Russia for use in secondary schools in Russia as well as recommendations by the Ministry of Education of Ukraine for use in secondary schools in Ukraine. Access to the textbooks was provided through websites where both countries make their textbooks available in open access. The examined textbooks are for Ukraine; Ukrainian 5th-grade history textbooks: Panarin, O. & Makarevych,A. & Topol′nyts′ka,Y. & Okhrimenko, O. (2022) Vlasov,V.S. (2018), Vlasov, V.S. (2013), Ukrainian 7th grade history textbook: Vlasov,V.S. (2015) Ukrainian 8th grade history textbook: Gisem, O.V & Martynuk, O.O. (2016). The examined textbooks are for Russia;

Russia 5th grade social studies textbook: Bogolyubova, I.N. & Ivanovoy, L.F. (2013) Russian 8th-grade social studies textbook Nikitin, F. & Nikitina, T.I. (2016). Some textbooks were not found suitable for the purpose of the study were not included in the scope of the study, although they were examined. The textbooks that were not included in the study after receiving expert opinions are as follows: Ukrainian 6th grade history textbook and Russian 7th and 8th grade social studies textbooks. The textbooks were translated by two educators fluent in Russian and Ukrainian and have Turkish B2 level proficiency. Data were collected through these translations within the scope of the purposes and themes determined by the researchers who were previously trained in coding and the suggestions of the field experts regarding themes.

Since the concepts of war and peace and the perceptions of both countries towards each other are examined in the Russian and Ukrainian social studies textbooks, document analysis method was used as the data collection method in the study. Document analysis is a qualitative research method used to meticulously and systematically analyze the content of written documents (Wach & Ward, 2013).

Data Analysis

In the study, the data collected from the textbooks corresponding to social studies in Russia and Ukraine were analyzed using descriptive analysis method. Descriptive analysis, a type of analysis used in qualitative research, involves summarizing and interpreting the data obtained through various data collection techniques according to predetermined sub-problems and themes (Yıldırım & Şimşek, 2005). In the first stage of descriptive analysis, a framework is created to analyze the data from the conceptual framework of the research or research problems. With this framework, it is determined how the data will be organized and presented to the reader. Then, the data obtained are organized and the findings are defined. At the last stage, the findings are described and presented in a meaningful way by associating them within the conceptual framework.

Themes were determined by taking expert opinion in the context of the purpose of the research through the translations made by two educators whose mother tongues are Russian and Ukrainian and have B2 Level Turkish proficiency. The textbooks of both countries were cross-checked by these two educators. After the cross-checking, the themes were finalized by discussing the contradictory findings. In order to minimize bias in the analysis of the data in the textbooks examined through these themes, cross-checks were continued throughout the analysis of the data. In order to increase the comprehensibility of the data obtained through descriptive analysis, examples from the textbooks were presented in the findings section. The findings obtained through these examples are presented in relation to similar studies and interpreted.

Validity and Reliability

There are specific strategies used to ensure the validity of research, such as triangulation, participant confirmation, detailed description, confirmability, long-term interaction, expert opinion, and depth-oriented interaction. In this study, in order to ensure validity, researcher triangulation was used and the opinions of two experts were taken during the preparation of the data collection tool and data analysis process. At the same time, a detailed literature review and data analysis process were carried out to keep the research period long. In order to ensure the external validity (transferability) of the study results, purposeful sampling and detailed description are recommended (Yıldırım & Şimşek, 2005).

In this direction, the documents used in the data collection and data analysis process of the research were not changed and the literature within the scope of the research topic was examined in detail. In addition, in order to ensure the external validity of the research, the findings obtained in the research were tried to be described comprehensively. Another essential feature that should be present in research is reliability. The indicator of a research's reliability is that the research results are similar to or consistent with the results of the available research (Balcı, 2001). In this study, a detailed literature review was conducted, and the results were compared with the results of other studies. In addition, while analyzing the data, the documents were examined in their historical context, and the reliability of the research was tried to be ensured by applying expert opinions and consistency between coders. Mistakes such as handling inadequate results, themes based on closed responses, and misinterpreting data can undermine the credibility of a qualitative study endangers it. Have general knowledge of the research topic and are specialized in qualitative research methods Asking people to examine various aspects of the research is one of the precautions that can be taken regarding credibility. This method is called peer debriefing (Creswell, 2003). Mistakes such as handling inadequate results, themes based on closed responses, and misinterpreting data can undermine the credibility of a qualitative study and endangers it. Have general knowledge of the research topic and specialize in qualitative research methods. Asking people to examine various aspects of the research is one of the precautions that can be taken regarding credibility. This method is called peer debriefing (Creswell, 2003). During this study, the credibility of the research was tried to be ensured by utilizing experts in the field.

Findings

In this section, considering the documents examined within the scope of the purpose in the social studies textbooks of Russia and Ukraine, the findings related to the content identified regarding the concepts of war, peace, and country-nation images and the themes developed based on these contents are presented.

Concepts of War, Peace and, Images of Ukraine and Russia in Russian and Ukrainian Social Studies Textbooks

Table 1. Frequency of use of the concepts of War, Peace, Russia and Ukraine in Russian Ukrainian Social Studies Textbooks

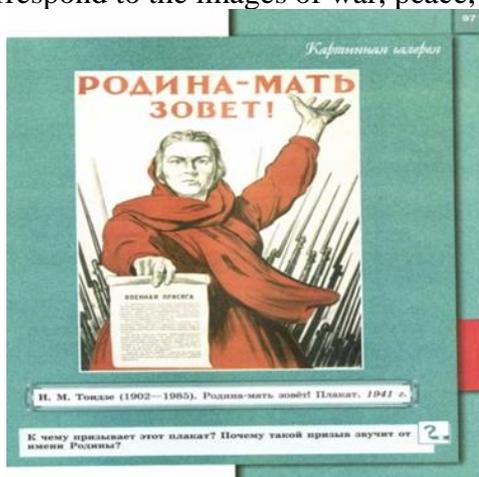| Images	Examined Textbooks						
	Russia Social Studies			Ukraine History			
	5. Grade	8. Grade	Total	5. Grade	7. Grade	8. Grade	Total
	Frequency	Frequency		Frequency	Frequency	Frequency	
War	4	16	20	18	2	3	23
Peace	-	11	11	5	-	3	8
Target Country/Nation	1	1	2	14	4	9	27

According to Table 1 in the Russian fifth and eighth-grade social studies textbooks, the concept of war was used 20 times, the concept of peace was used 11 times, and the concept of Ukraine-Ukrainian was used 2 times. In the fifth, seventh, and eighth-grade history textbooks of Ukraine, as a total, the concept of war was used 23 times, the concept of peace was used 8 times, and the expression Russia-Russian was used 27 times.

Concepts of War, Peace, and Images of Ukraine and Russia in Russian and Ukrainian Social Studies Textbooks

Table 2. Connotations of War, Peace, and Images of Ukraine and Ukrainians in Russian Social Studies Textbooks

	Russia Social Studies Course	
Images	**5. Grade**	**8. Grade**
War	Threatening, mortal danger, Militancy.	Social conflicts, Destruction, Fighting, ethnic conflicts, Bayonet, Cannon, Gun, Gun, Tank, Forced suppression, Intolerance, Killed, Armed Conflicts, Conquer, Conflicts, Hostility, Scientists are developing weapons.
Peace	Living together with other people, Multinationality.	A world without war, preventing it from turning into violence, Seeking understanding, Reconciliation.
Ukraine-Ukrainian	People who have lived together since ancient times.	One of the country's nationalities within the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

Table 2 shows that the Russian fifth and eighth-grade social studies textbooks used some connotative expressions that correspond to the images of war, peace, and Ukraine-Ukrainian.

Итак, чтобы быть патриотом, нужно любить свою Родину. В самые трудные времена, когда смертельная опасность грозила Отечеству, люди вставали на его защиту. Так было в далёком прошлом, так было и в XX веке — в годы Великой Отечественной войны. Мы никогда не забудем подвиги наших предков — патриотов, многие из которых ценой своей жизни защитили Родину.

While we examine Russian social studies textbooks, it is seen that in the Russian fifth-grade social studies textbook, there is a poster drawn by Mmoiseevich Toidze titled 'Calls for the Motherland!' and content that a patriot is a person who is ready for sacrifices and actions for the sake of his Motherland. Because the homeland should be like a mother to him. To be a true patriot, we must love our homeland. In the most difficult times, when mortal danger threatens the Motherland, people rush to its

defense. During the 2nd World War, we will never forget the sacrifices of many patriots.' that evokes the concept of war.

Figure 1. Toidze Poster: Calls for the Motherland! In Russian Fifth Grade Social Studies Textbooks that Evokes the Concept of War.

В. В. Верещагин. Апофеоз войны

Можно ли жить без войн? Жить в мире со всеми — естественное желание людей. Нет ни одного народа, который хотел бы ущемить права других, завоевать и поработить их. Ни один народ сам не начинал ни одной войны. Все войны, все конфликты начинали вожди, короли, полководцы, дипломаты, военачальники. Народам же оставляли право гибнуть в кровавых схватках. Если бы агрессивны были народы, а не политики, мы были бы лишены надежды на мир, надежды на то, что человечество избавится от вражды, а конфликты уйдут в прошлое.

Задумаемся над вопросом: можно ли исключить войну из жизни народов? Многие отвечают на него уверенно: да, можно. Но что для этого нужно?

Во-первых, всегда помнить, что мир невозможен без стремления к нему, без готовности к пониманию и со-

While we examine Russian social studies textbooks, it is seen that in the Russian eight-grade social studies textbook, an image drawn by V. V. Vereshchagin titled 'The Glorification of War' and a content titled 'Is it possible to live without war? What is needed for this? It is a natural human desire to live in peace with everyone. There is not a single person who wants to violate the rights of others, conquer, and enslave them. No nation has ever started a single war. Leaders started all wars and conflicts. The people were left with the right to die in bloody wars. If the people were the aggressors and not the politicians, we would be deprived of the hope that peace and humanity would be free from hostility and conflicts would disappear.' which evokes the concept of peace.

Figure 2. Glorification of War Image in Russian Social Studies Eighth-Grade Textbook that Evokes the Concept of Peace

Table 3. Connotations of War, and Peace in Ukrainian History Textbooks Images of Russia-Russia

	Ukraine History Course		
Images	**5. Grade**	**7. Grade**	**8. Grade**
War	To be dominated, To limit rights, To take control, Oppression, Uprising, Attack, Revolution, Turmoil, Seize, Conflict, Machine gun, Cannon, Shot, Martyrdom, Changing maps, Terror, Annexed territory, Enemy, Occupied, Occupiers, Allies, Being shot, Persecution, Fragile peace, Deaths of millions of soldiers and civilians, Terrible destruction.	Border conflicts, being conquered, put to the sword, set on fire, Captivity, Hostility, Resorting to military tricks, Victory.	To be wiped off the map, To be liquidated, To gain independence, Oppression, Persecution, Punishment, Death and imprisonment.

| Peace | Signing agreements, Multiculturalism, Respect for others, Caring for cultural, religious, and ethnic diversity, Peace through marriage, Working in peace, Building peaceful relationships, and Peaceful diplomacy. | - | Eternal Peace, Ceasefire. |
| Russia-Russian | A sovereign country under whose sovereignty and independence have been wrested by revolution, An occupier who has established a new regime in the country, A resister, A persecutor and oppressor, Who uses the territory of Ukraine as a battlefield, Who uses it for the benefit of his state, A mass murderer, One of the nations living in Ukraine and creating the ethnic and cultural diversity of the country, Who disregards the needs and nature of the society under his sovereignty. (Chernobyl) | Ukrainian lands as an inheritance, Conqueror Massacre | Pursuing a policy of Russification of Ukraine Banning and repressing the Ukrainian language, carrying out all kinds of censorship in the name of Ukraine, against its language, and trying to rule Ukraine under martial law. |

Table 3 shows that the Ukrainian fifth, seventh, and eighth-grade social studies textbooks used connotative expressions corresponding to the images of war, peace, and Russia-Russian.

While we examine Ukrainian social studies textbooks, we see that in the fifth-grade Ukrainian history textbook, an image named 'Multiculturalism' by researchers with the content; 'Is multiculturalism a value of society? You know that different communities live in Ukraine. We live here; we are citizens of our country. Citizens of Ukraine are equal in rights and obligations. Each of us expects respect from others and a dignified attitude towards ourselves. This also means caring for cultural, ethnic, and religious diversity. However, we must respect not only what divides us but also what unites us. Ukrainian history, Ukrainian language, and traditions unite us all. We are an important part of Ukrainian society that co-creates Ukrainian culture.' That evokes the concept of peace.

Figure 3. Multiculturalism Image in Ukrainian Fifth-Grade History Textbooks That Evokes the Concept of Peace

While we examine Ukrainian social studies textbooks, it is seen that in the Ukrainian fifth-grade social studies textbook, an image 'Gagauz Girls' with the content 'Why is Ukraine a multicultural country? Ukrainians, Russians, Crimean Tatars, Belarusians, Poles, Azerbaijanis, Jews, Hungarians, Moldovans, Bulgarians, Greeks, Czechs, Karaites and others live in Ukraine. Representatives of each ethnic community have their own cultural characteristics. Living in Ukraine, they create the ethnic and cultural diversity of our country. People in Ukraine belong to different religions. Orthodox Christians are the largest religious community. There are also Greek Catholics, Catholics, Muslims, Jews, Protestants, etc. in Ukraine. All of them have their traditions, and some of them build special structures for their worship -temples, synagogues, or mosques- together these communities influence Ukrainian culture and form its characteristics.' That evokes the concept of peace.

Figure 4. Gagauz Girls Image in Ukrainian Fifth-Grade History Textbooks That Evokes the Concept of Peace

Table 4. Use of Implicit Messages, Metaphors and, Slogans in Russian Social Studies Textbooks on the Concepts of War-Peace and Ukraine-Ukrainian

Images	Russia Social Studies Course	
	5. Grade	8. Grade
War (MMS)	-	'Discontent suppressed by force will continue to flare up like a poorly extinguished fire in hot weather.' The peoples do not take the decision to start a war. but by governments, led by the industrial, financial and commercial communities that make money from war.' 'Leaders have started all wars and conflicts.' 'If the peoples were the aggressors and not the politicians, we would be deprived of the hope that peace and humanity would be freed from hostility and conflicts would disappear.' 'But politicians wage wars, for example in Afghanistan and Vietnam, make history and fear nothing.'

Peace (MMS)	'Respect for other nations is the hallmark of a patriot.'	-
	'As one cannot imagine a rainbow without separate colors, so the peoples that make up the Russian Federation are like these colors.'	
	'A mother's children are precious. The Russian Federation cares for all its peoples like a mother.'	
	'We are children of different peoples, but we are one people.'	
	'Social conflicts are inevitable, and we must prevent them from turning into bloody wars and violence.'	
	'The principle of all or nothing must be abandoned for everyone.'	
	'The problem of peacekeeping is global. This problem is urgent. Its solution cannot be postponed at the great risk of the death of all humanity.'	
	'World, you heard me, world! Enough blood and death! Enough of orphans and orphaned mothers, world!'	
	'War is senseless and destructive, especially today when a weapon that can destroy both winners and losers, just and criminal.'	
	'It is clear that only crimes can demand wars. That is why war propaganda is punishable by law.'	
	'We are all neighbors; we have a common home - the Earth.'	
	'Peace is life, war is death.'	
Ukraine-Ukrainian (MMS)	'Another nation of our country.'	-

Table 4 shows that in the Russian fifth social studies textbook, there are no metaphors, implicit messages, or slogan-like expressions about the concept of war, at the same time there are some metaphors, implicit messages, or slogan-like expressions about the concept of peace and Ukraine-Ukrainian. In the eighth social studies textbook, there are no metaphors, implicit messages, or slogan-like expressions about the concept of peace and Ukraine-Ukrainian, while there are some metaphors, implicit messages, or slogan-like expressions about the concept of war.

Table 5. Use of Implicit Messages, Metaphors, and Slogans (MMS) in Ukrainian History Textbooks on the Concepts of War, Peace, and the Russia-Russian

	Ukraine History Course		
	5. Grade	7. Grade	8. Grade
Images			
War(MMS)	'Many countries have been caught in a maelstrom of turmoil.' 'Our territory has become a direct battlefield.' 'Bloody wars have been fought over it, leading to terrible destruction and the	'Many cities and villages were conquered, many people were put to the sword and set on fire, others were taken captive.'	-

Peace (MMS)	deaths of millions of soldiers and civilians.' 'Occupation is the temporary seizure by one state of the territory of another state.' 'Knyaginya Olga refused wars, peacefully solved problems with neighboring states and spread education. That is why historians called her the wisest of men.'	-	-
Russia-Russian (MMS)	'Tsarist government.' 'Bolshevik Government.' 'Soviet Authorities.' 'Leaders (Stalin and Hitler).' 'Determined the fate of many countries.' 'The occupiers tried to turn the territory of Ukraine into a supplier of food and raw materials.' 'They caused the Chernobyl Nuclear Power Plant Disaster.' 'Soviet detention centers.'	'The pretext for collecting Russian territorial inheritance' 'Moscow government'	'At the same time, the Orthodox Church, subject to the Russian tsarism, gradually became an instrument of Russification of Ukrainians.' 'Almost all Ukrainian liturgical books were destroyed, and the printers of Ukrainian monasteries were forced to print books on the Moscow model.' 'By decree of Catherine II, the government, and the dependent peasants, took away property and lands from the monasteries.' 'Russian autocracy.' 'They had military field courts that sentenced rebels to death and imprisonment.' 'They censored the Ukrainian name and language.'

Table 5 shows that in the Ukrainian fifth social studies textbook, there are some metaphors, implicit messages, or slogan-like expressions about the concept of war, peace, and Russia-Russian. In the seventh social studies textbook, there are no metaphors, implicit messages, or slogan-like expressions about the concept of peace while there are some metaphors, implicit messages, or slogan-like expressions about the concept of war and Russia-Russian. In the eight social studies textbooks, there are no metaphors, implicit messages, or slogan-like expressions about the concept of war and peace, at the same time there are some metaphors, implicit messages, or slogan-like expressions about the concept of Russia-Russian.

Discussion, Conclusion and Suggestions

The study's first finding revealed that in the textbooks examined and compared for the frequency of use of the concepts of war, peace and the target country-nation expression found more contents for the concept of war than the concept of peace at all grade levels in both countries. In addition, in the textbooks compared in terms of the images of both countries towards each other, it was determined that Ukrainian history textbooks used the target Russia-

Russian expression much more frequently than Russian social studies textbooks at all grade levels.

In relation to what these findings unearth, it is thought that peace is an ideal desired to be realized by people in every period. However, the lasting peace desired most people has yet to be realized. Apparently, it is not enough to demand peace. For this, in addition to knowing the principles of peace, war must be recognized and known, that is, learned (Veysal, 1998, p.131-144). Furthermore ıt can be said that Ukrainian history textbooks have the following approaches through the narrative of another nation in this case mostly Russia and Russian to form the national spirit of the younger generations by giving them all the culture and values of their past, a sense of honor and pride, to remind and teach them about the difficult periods of history, to develop their sense of freedom and individuality and to show the role of one nation fighting for liberation from the domination of another nation and succeeding in this war. History textbooks help to articulate positions of the state and justify current policies toward other countries by portraying other nations as allies or enemies and defining the conflicts between 'Us' and 'Them'; history textbooks help to articulate state positions and justify existing policies toward other countries (Korostelina, 2010).

The study's second finding stress that textbooks corresponding to social studies course in Russia and Ukraine used various expressions that evoke the concepts of war and peace. Also, the image of Ukraine-Ukrainians in Russian social studies textbooks was neutral in general. In contrast, the image of Russia and Russians in Ukrainian history textbooks was negative in general. Historic narratives presented in textbooks do not directly cause or initiate conflict, they can become a powerful tool of social mobilization. Depending on the dominant "official" interpretation of history, a nation can perceive itself as a forceful, dominant and rising nation, as a cooperative and tolerant neighbor, or as a victim of aggressive foreign invasions. A nation also can portray others as aggressive, uncivilized, or treacherous to justify its own policies and actions toward other (Korostelina, 2010). Through these narratives, the content about war and peace is created. Similar to the results obtained in our study, Korestelina (2010) found that history education in Ukraine positions Russia as oppressive and aggressive enemy and emphasizes the idea of victimhood as a core of national identity. History education in the Russian Federation condemns Ukrainian nationalism and proclaims commonality and unity of history and culture with Russian dominance over "younger brother, Ukraine". In states of violent conflict, each side continues to perceive/characterize the other as the enemy, keeping its own 'chosen traumas' and 'chosen victories' alive (Volkan, 1999). The formation of collective memory is based on myths such as the glorification of the nation, stories of victimization, persecution, unfair treatment, loss of territory, and constant enmity with neighbors (Trošt, 2019). This increases hostility, often when the history curriculum is based on a single text that tells its own national story to the detriment of other peoples and nations (UNESCO, 2011, p. 242).

Another finding of the study revealed that various visuals evoking the concepts of war and peace were used in the textbooks corresponding to the social studies courses of Russia and Ukraine. In the textbooks of both countries, it was observed that the visuals evoking the concept of peace were more than the concept of war. In general, the primary purpose of social studies and history teaching is to develop citizenship skills and values in the individual as a nation member and to create universal peace and international solidarity (Paykoç, 1998, p.341). Also, in another study examining the concepts of war and peace in children's picture books (Güzelyurt, 2022) found that war was embodied in the form of turmoil, occupation, danger, death, soldier, enemy, captivity, and restriction. It is seen that the expressions which evoke the concept of war in our study are also presented in a similar way. An analysis of

Figure 1: Toidze Poster: Calls For The Motherland! A propaganda poster that evoking the concept of war in The Russian Social Studies textbook, shows that during the First and Second World Wars, Russian and Soviet posters called on people to sacrifice themselves for the motherland. War propaganda posters aimed to mobilize national emotions such as loyalty and still public emotions such as sacrifice for the homeland, pride, anger, hatred, and revenge against the enemy. During the world wars, the Russian woman was depicted with the image of 'Mother' representing the country (Aktaş, 2012). In Ukrainian history textbooks, different cultural values or structures express multiculturalism as seen in the content of Figure 3: Multiculturalism and Figure 4: Gagauz Girls which evokes the concept of peace. In this sense, multiculturalism can express both a determination that modern society is not culturally uniform and a judgment that this diversity is not an obstacle to peaceful coexistence (Ensaroğlu, 2001, p.86).

The last finding of the study reveals that in the textbooks corresponding to social studies course in Russia and Ukraine use various metaphors, implicit messages, and slogans about concept of war, peace, and target country-nation. In social studies textbooks, militarism manifests itself implicitly mainly in ancillary elements. These are manifested in the message (proposition) of reading texts, visuals to enrich the text, and metaphors used (İnan, 2013). When the approaches followed in the use of metaphors, implicit messages or slogan-like expressions about concept of war analyzed in Russian social studies textbooks it is considered intention of narrative is to associate wars with politicians, autocratic governments and political elites, not with peoples, was interpreted as the intention to embrace a collective and federal perspective by associating peoples with peace and politicians with war. Considering that the living part of the state is the people who give life to it, it is evident that the root of the problem is not warlike states but violent people (Kaya & Topçu, 2017). When the approaches followed in the use of metaphors, implicit messages or slogan-like expressions about concept of peace analyzed in Russian social studies textbooks it is considered that peace has been identified as a reflection of the approaches that the Russian Federation consists of different colors like a rainbow, a rainbow without separate colors is unthinkable, like a mother, it takes care of the peoples it sees as its children, or we are the children of different peoples, but we are the same people. In a similar way Balta and Demir (2016) found that in the contemporary Russian history textbooks on the Balkan people's wars of independence, Russia was attributed qualities such as 'savior' and 'big brother of the Slavs', the Ottoman Empire was portrayed as a state that was cruel and committed atrocities, while the Balkan peoples were presented as peoples who suffered persecution and violence and as 'Slavic brothers who welcomed Russia's support' in their struggle for independence. The similarity in the findings can be interpreted as Russia's desire to give the impression of a state that protects sovereignty, acts as a big brother, ensures peace, and guarantor when it comes to Slavic peoples. The description of Ukraine as another nation of our country can also be matched with this approach. When the approaches followed in the use of metaphors, implicit messages or slogan-like expressions about concept of war analyzed Ukrainian history textbooks, similar to the finding by Erözden (2014), it is thought that the Ukrainian nation and the external threats that want to harm it tend to define the forces it is in struggle with as a struggle against the forces that invaded its lands and from whose yoke it was only possible to get rid of as a result of the struggle for freedom, and that it presents the Ukrainian nation and external threats that want to harm it as a natural motivation for independence, a source of resistance, and the inevitability of war. Regarding the use of metaphor, implicit message, or slogan-like expression analyzed about Russia and Russians in Ukrainian history textbooks it is natural for nations to refer to history when defining themselves. However, the central tendency in history writing and teaching for hundreds of years has been to use the history of the 'other' in this

definition, not one's history (Safran & Ata, 1996). As a result, it is seen that this approach is used to create an image of an honorable people who have been struggling for independence throughout history, who have fought against forces much more numerous than themselves, who have preserved their identity by resisting and to define Russia as an enemy trying to subjugate Ukraine. In parallel with this finding, another study shows that Russia is presented as an oppressive state responsible for oppressive policies against Ukrainian citizens. History textbooks describe resistance to Russia as a fundamental force for developing Ukrainian national identity. It shows that Ukrainian artists, writers, and poets had to resist Russian influence to preserve Ukrainian culture and identity (Korostelina, 2010).

It is possible to conclude that changing the national conflict-driven narratives is one of the major challenges that societies face if they are willing to embark on the road of peacemaking. These narratives fuel and maintain conflicts. Providing a more balanced and informative view that humanizes the Other is a first step to seeing the Other as a potential partner in a peace process. Even minor change in this direction is one of the indicators that signal de-escalation of the conflict (Adwan, Bar-Tal &Wexler, 2014).

The frequency and depth of comparative war and peace images and image studies of conflicting countries towards each other has a vital role in building, sustaining, and preserving peace in education systems, curricula, and textbooks, and strengthening peaceful history and social studies education. Thus, the most conflicts that erupt today can be examined from an educational perspective. The process of ending incitement, hatred, and misrepresentation of the Other in areas of sustained violent conflict is exceedingly difficult and requires deliberate and courageous effort. (Bar-Tal, 2013; Fitzduff & Stout, 2006; Zamir, 2012) Unless the words of Alexei Nikolayevich Tolstoy; 'Victory is probably straightforward for those who do not smell the gunpowder.' and the words of the Great Leader Gazi Mustafa Kemal Atatürk; 'Peace at Home, Peace in the World!' are the basis for the construction of education systems, curricula, and textbooks, the peace trenches that want to be established in people's minds may, unfortunately, be subjected to continuously arduous wars regardless of geography, just like today.

This study examined how the perceptions of war and peace, and the perceptions of both countries towards each other are handled in the textbooks corresponding to social studies course in Russia and Ukraine. When all the results obtained are evaluated, the recommendations for researchers in terms of different dimensions and equivalent studies are as follows:

- In order to create a spirit of reconciliation and understanding and for peace-based societies it is recommended that Russian social studies and Ukrainian history textbooks ought to be revised, especially in national narratives about each other.
- In order to expand our study and to determine the change over the years it is possible to compare the textbooks corresponding to the current social studies course of Russia and Ukraine with the textbooks corresponding to the previous social studies course in terms of the national narratives of textbooks.
- It is thought that prioritizing the history of civilization and culture rather than political history will produce more peaceful results in terms of peaceful history education.
- In the textbooks corresponding to the Russian and Ukrainian social studies courses, teacher and student opinions can be compared within the scope of images of war, peace and these two countries towards each other.
- The Russian and Ukrainian social studies textbooks can be compared in terms of the principles of the Cooperation Intellectuelle commission, which is recognized as the

pioneer of UNESCO (6-point principles for excluding elements that cause nations to harbor hatred and revenge against each other from history textbooks).

- Similar studies can be carried out about countries in conflict with each other, such as Russia and Ukraine, especially their secondary school social studies textbooks national narratives.

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