

# A Culture Map of Education Toward Collaborative Peacebuilding: A Textbook Analysis Across Ten Countries

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## Abstract

This study aims to clarify the characteristics of peace education in ten countries (Japan, Korea, Cambodia, Indonesia, Myanmar, Bangladesh, Rwanda, the USA, Chile, and Bolivia) by capturing these characteristics using international relationship theories and agency for direct peace building at the national/international level (international institution-led, national government-led, citizen-led). The method is a content analysis of high school social studies textbooks, mainly civic education, sociology, and history, by capturing how high school social studies textbooks portray the current state of national/international war/conflict and explain how and why they occur, how to solve or prevent it, and who does it. As a result, we found five types: A. pacifism and national government/ and international institution-led, including Cambodia, Korea, and Myanmar; B. pacifism and national government-led, including Bangladesh; C. pacifism and national government-led/ international institution-led/ citizen-led, including Bolivia, Chile, Japan; D. just war theory and national government-led/ international institution-led, including Rwanda and Indonesia; and Type E. realism/national government-led, including the USA. We believe that these types should be considered in efforts to promote peaceful dialogue among citizens by enhancing their understanding of each other's educational backgrounds regarding direct violence.

**Keywords:** peace education, culture map, pacifism, realism, just war theory, agency of international peacebuilding

## Introduction

As global population mobility increases, citizen coexistence is becoming increasingly important. Individuals must commit to local communities and acknowledge the necessity of human collaboration in the face of crises such as pandemics and the fear of nuclear war. Every citizen must enhance their ability to foster peace from everyday interactions to the international arena. However, the methods and approaches to achieving peace differ from one nation to another because of various historical, economic, political, social, and cultural factors. Consequently, peacemaking education varies by country.

The greatest barriers to resolving violence and conflict between individuals and organizations are psychological, which can be overcome by knowing one's own cognitive biases and thinking

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from the perspective of the other party (Ohbuchi, 2015). Thus, we posit that a mutual understanding of these characteristics through peace education can promote effective dialogue and collaborative relationships among citizens globally. One interesting case that we would like to introduce is an activity in which a junior high school in Japan conducted a questionnaire survey of foreigners visiting Japan as part of their peace studies. The question was, “If your child were to go to war, what would you do?” Among the responses were statements such as, “I would be very sad, but I would tell them to come home with a successful outcome” and “I would be proud of my child for standing up to an abusive ruler,” which were either unexpected or shocking to the students. Such responses were completely incomprehensible to them, but knowing that such opposite values existed led their peace education efforts to shift from one-sided anti-war and anti-nuclear appeals to a serious study of how to create a world without violence, along with people who hold different views of peace from them.

From an academic perspective and based on the above actual learning experience, we recognized the importance of knowing the different social awareness of peace and violence toward collaborative peacebuilding.

Following the concepts of comprehensive peace education (Reardon, 1988), the negative and positive peace and violence triangle (Galtung, 1969, 1990), and the culture of peace (The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization [UNESCO] General Conference, 1995), education toward negative peace without direct violence has been transformed into education toward positive peace without structural violence in society and the cultural violence that supports it. Based on this shift, peace education curriculum theory, curriculum development, and practical research are evolving to encompass a wide range of personal and social issues, such as happiness in daily life, religion, multiculturalism, domestic violence, gender freedom, and environmental education. Consequently, peace education has become diversified (Harris, 2004).

In response to this comprehensive paradigm of peace education, Murakami cautions against the overextension of peace education and emphasizes that the core of peace education is the prevention of war (2009). Focusing on war and conflict as direct violence at the national/international level, this study aimed to clarify the characteristics of peace education in ten countries. In particular, we focus on high school textbooks, mostly in social studies and citizenship, in countries that do not offer these subjects, and we analyze history textbooks.

### **Research on textbooks focusing on direct violence**

Research on textbooks focusing on direct violence at the national and international levels, including conflict and peacebuilding, has evolved significantly over the years.

Fuchs (2011) summarizes the trends in historical and social studies textbook research in terms of two dichotomies: “normativity versus a scientific approach; and content analysis versus impact research” (p. 26). The first, “normativity versus a scientific approach,” refers to the type of analysis researchers use to analyze textbooks based on norms. Although normative interventions in textbooks are important as an initiative to end conflict in post-conflict and victimized countries, we apply a scientific approach to respond to contemporary issues in accordance with the academic principles of peace education. The second, “content analysis versus impact research,” suggests that we should move away from the traditional content

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analysis of history textbooks (i.e., the portrayal of specific historical phenomena such as war and imperialism) and begin to analyze them using approaches from discourse theory, media studies, social sciences, and cultural studies, and to reflectively analyze textbooks as educational media. The present research is positioned within this trend in that it studies the content of textbooks from the perspective of peace education as a cultural aspect.

Research on social studies textbooks focusing on direct violence in peace education shows textbooks often inadequately explore structural dimensions of violence and interconnections between individual actions and society. An analysis of Grade 9 textbooks in Colombia and South Africa found that while they addressed conflict resolution and peacebuilding, they inadequately explored these broader issues (Rodríguez-Gómez et al., 2016). These studies highlight the challenges of peace education in schools and seek improvement through textbook renovation. While exploring peace education in textbooks can provide insight into improving programmes for domestic citizens, comparative research providing international understanding is needed to develop peace education programmes that enable world citizens to overcome differences in how peacebuilding is viewed worldwide. For international comparative analyses, Russell and Tiplic (2014) identified trends in peace education across countries from the perspective of human rights-based education. Using data from 528 secondary social studies textbooks from 71 countries from 1966 to 2008, they found textbooks from conflict-affected nations are less likely than recent textbooks from democratic countries to emphasize rights-based discourse. Their findings have implications for curricular reform and rights-based education in conflict-affected countries.

Russell and Tiplic's (2014) broad, international comparative study allows us to grasp trends in peace education and provide insight into how peace education should be promoted globally.

This study was conducted with the same objective of clarifying the characteristics of peace education around the world, with a particular focus on direct violence at the national and international levels.

## **Theoretical Framework**

To clarify peace education characteristics across countries, we use an international relations approach and peacebuilding agencies at national and international levels as our framework. We do not evaluate approaches based on indicators of "good," "bad," "superior," or "inferior." The results aim to promote dialogue among students toward mutual understanding; therefore, we consider each peace education's characteristics value-neutral, as educational cultures nurtured historically and politically.

We draw on three major international relations approaches—pacifism, just war theory, and realism—to analyze how countries conceptualize and respond to direct violence. Pacifism advocates nonviolent conflict resolution and rejection of war, whereas realism emphasizes power dynamics and national interests (Jackson, 2021; Parkin, 2018; Moses, 2018). Just war theory provides a framework for determining when war is morally justifiable and how it should be conducted ethically (Ellner, 2023; Pattison, 2020). Some scholars argue these views can be complementary. Ellner (2023) suggests that just war theory and pacifism are "equally necessary and complementary approaches to living with the possibilities of the human condition." These approaches can be divided into further types (Jackson, 2021; Moses, 2021; Matsumoto, 2020).

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However, we used these three approaches as benchmarks to capture how textbooks express ideas on war-related policies.

To promote dialogue for peace, we will examine how textbooks describe who leads peacebuilding efforts—whether national governments, international organizations, or citizens. A collaborative approach involving citizens, states, and international organizations is crucial for peacebuilding, as it complements each sector's strengths and addresses weaknesses (Norman & Mikhael, 2023). However, peacebuilding agencies' policies differ across countries, influenced by their historical and socio-political contexts. Understanding these differences enables citizens to begin dialogue with other nations toward realistic peacebuilding efforts.

### Research targets

This study investigated 10 countries for their influence on peace education as a nation's ethos regarding war and impact on citizen participation in peacebuilding. We examined: 1) ranking of negative and positive peace conditions (ongoing domestic and international conflicts and tensions with neighbors) (Tables 1 and 2), and 2) history and politics related to direct violence (e.g., colonial or imperial experience, war of independence, participation in World War II) (Table 3). Additionally, we ensured geographic diversity (the Americas, Africa, and Asia. Europe and Oceania were not included).

Table 1.  
*Negative Peace Conditions*

	Japan	Korea	Cambodia	Indonesia	Myanmar	Bangladesh	Rwanda	USA	Chile	Bolivia
Global Peace Index 2023										
Country Rank	9	43	73	53	145	88	88	131	58	78
Ongoing Domestic and International Conflict Domain	1.403	1.805	1.742	1.758	2.778	1.997	1.967	1.994	1.403	1.417
Societal Safety and Security Domain	1.272	1.485	2.176	2.104	3.211	2.435	2.407	2.438	2.332	2.555
Militarization Domain	1.333	2.182	1.88	1.457	1.921	1.465	1.504	3.081	1.776	1.873

Source: Institute for Economics & Peace. (2023). Global peace index 2023

Table 2.  
*Positive Peace Condition*

	Japan	Korea	Cambodia	Indonesia	Myanmar	Bangladesh	Rwanda	USA	Chile	Bolivia
Country Rank										
Positive Peace Index	12	19	116	87	128	134	115	24	32	93
Overall Score	1.47	1.69	3.63	3.22	3.72	3.81	3.61	1.95	2.15	3.28

Well-Functioning Government	1.35	2.09	3.71	2.99	3.93	3.38	3.12	1.69	1.68	3.53
High Levels of Human Capital	1.07	1.09	2.98	3.2	3.19	3.38	3.62	1.67	2.8	2.97
Good Relations with Neighbors	1.72	2.04	3.75	2.73	4.3	3.82	3.94	1.81	2.04	3.3

Source: Institute for Economics & Peace. (2022). Positive Peace Report 2022

Table 3.

*History and politics related to direct violence*

Japan	Korea	Cambodia	Indonesia	Myanmar	Bangladesh	Rwanda	USA	Chile	Bolivia
World War II, colonial occupation	Colonial rule, Civil War, the world's only divided nation (armistice), conscription	Colonial rule, Independence war, genocide, democratization	Colonial rule, Independence war, ethnic and religious conflict, democratization, terrorism	Colonial rule, independence, military regimes, democratic movements, coups d'etat	Colonial rule, Independence war, democratization	Colonial rule, independence, genocide, democratization	Colonial power, World War II, Cold War, Vietnam War, intervention in other countries' wars	Colonial rule, Independence war, military dictatorship, human rights abuses, neoliberal policies, student and civic movements	Colonial rule, Independence war, socialist ideology

Source: Authors

The high school social studies textbooks analyzed in this study were either civic education or sociology textbooks. Where these subjects were not offered, history textbooks were used instead. Depending on the country, the subject may be covered by a single textbook published by the government or by multiple textbooks. Where multiple textbooks existed, the most widely used textbook in the region planned for future qualitative research was selected (see Table 4).

Table 4.

*Selected Subject, Textbook Check, and Selection System*

Subject & Curriculum	Check system	Selection system	Textbooks analyzed in this article
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Japan	Public, Curriculum 2018	MEXT Textbook Authorization System.	For public schools: the municipality or prefecture board of education. For national and private schools: the principal.	Yatabe, (2022). <i>New Public</i> 711. Daiichi Gakushu Shuppankai
Korea	Integrated Society (Social Studies), Revised curriculum 2015	Ministry of Education Textbook Authorization System.	Each high school has selection rights.	Jung-hwa et al., (2018). <i>Integrated Society</i> , Cheonjae Publisher.
Indonesia	Civic Education Sociology, Curriculum 2013 (revised 2018)	National Materials Committee for Civic Expert Committee Review Permit Sociology, Civics Center of Curriculum and Books, Ministry of Education, Culture, Research and Technology.	Selection by subject units in each school.	Nuryadi & Tolib, (2017). <i>Civic and Pancasila Education</i> Grade 10, 11, 12, Ministry of Education and Culture. <i>Sociology</i> , (2017) Grade 10, 11, 12, ESIS.
Cambodia	Social studies (History, Geography, Moral-Civics, Home Economics), Curriculum 2015	National writing/author committees (by subject) of the ministry, ministry print.	Only one national textbook.	Ministry of Education, Youth, and Sport, <i>Social Studies</i> (2010) Grade 10, <i>Moral-Civics</i> , <i>Moral-Civics</i> , and <i>History</i> (2011) Grade 11, <i>History</i> (2011) Grade 12
Myanmar	Moral and Civics subject, 2020-2021 AY Curriculum for Grade 10; 2021-2022 AY Curriculum for Grade 11	Published by private publishing companies after being approved by MOE.	Only one national textbook.	Ministry of Education, Myanmar. <i>Moral and Civics</i> , Grade 10, (2020) Mandalay Region Printers & Publishers Group of Companies, Grade 11(2021) Excellent Printers Group Company Limited
Bangladesh	Humanities: Sociology Part 1, National Curriculum 2012	Approved by NCTB, Bangladesh.	Each teacher can select the textbooks.	Patowari, P., Sarkar, J. M. B. H., & Akand, R. A. <i>History of the Modern World, Part 2.</i>

				Dhaka: Hasan Book House. <i>Sociology</i> (2023) Dhaka: Ashrafia Boighor
Rwanda	History Curriculum 2019	Curriculum and Pedagogical Material Production Department (CPMD) with contribution by local and international organizations.	Only one national textbook.	Rwanda Education Board, (2017). <i>History</i> S 4, 5, 6, , Fountain Publishers Rwanda Ltd.
USA	Sociology/Social Studies	There is no certification system by the Department of Education, and many publishers publish a wide variety of textbooks with the participation of experts.	Varies from state to state. In most cases, the state board of education prepares the textbook list, and the school district or school selects the textbooks.	Shepard, J. M. (2014). <i>Sociology &amp; you</i> , McGraw-Hill
Chile	Citizenship Education, “Bases curriculares 3° y 4° medio” issued in 2019 History, Geography and Social sciences, “Bases curriculares 7° básico a 2° medio” issued in 2015	Textbook drafts elaborated by private institutions through a tender system should undergo the screening of their contents by the Ministry of Education.	The Ministry of Education selects one national textbook for each subject and grade level through a tender system.	Olate Galindo et al. (2021). <i>Texto del Estudiante de Historia</i> , (2021). Geografía y Ciencias Sociales 2° Año de Educación Media. SM S. A. And Ministerio de Educación
Bolivia	Ministry of Education, (2023). <i>Productive community secondary school, social sciences area, worldviews area, philosophy and psychology, values area</i> ,	There is no certification system by the Federal Ministry of Education. At the discretion of the faculty, materials that fulfill the curriculum are to be used.	only one National textbook.	Ministry of Education, (2023). <i>Productive community secondary school, social sciences area, worldviews area, philosophy and psychology, values area, spirituality and religions</i> .

	<i>spirituality and religions.</i>			
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## Methodology

The primary aim of this study is to identify how peace education is culturally framed in social studies textbooks across different countries. To visualize these cultural orientations, we created a comparative map based on two key dimensions: the international relations approaches used to conceptualize conflict resolution and the peacebuilding agencies presented as responsible actors. This visualization is intended to support classroom dialogue by helping students reflect on how different societies approach peace and conflict (Reardon, 1988; Boulding, 2000).

We employed qualitative comparative thematic content analysis suitable for interpreting meaning across culturally embedded texts. Content analysis, as defined by Krippendorff (2018), is “a research technique for making replicable and valid inferences from texts (or other meaningful matter) to the contexts of their use” (p. 24). This approach allows for systematic interpretation of textbook narratives within their broader educational and sociopolitical frameworks (Pingel, 2010).

## Data Collection and Coding Framework

Textbook passages were systematically coded using an Excel matrix. The coding framework was organized around three analytical dimensions, informed by peace education theory and international relations approaches:

### 1) *Forms of Direct Violence*

Drawing on Galtung's (1969) typology of violence, we identified terms like war, conflict, terrorism, and genocide using international definitions. Each term was analyzed for evaluative framing and contextual justification.

### 2) *Reasons and Mechanisms*

Explanations for violence emergence were extracted, including historical grievances, political ideologies, economic disparities, and power asymmetries. This dimension reflects structural and cultural understandings of violence (Galtung, 1969).

### 3) *Resolving approaches and Peacebuilding Agency*

This dimension examined textbook framing of violence resolution using three international relations approaches;

Pacifism (nonviolence, disarmament, education), Just War Theory (ethical justification for armed conflict), and Realism (power politics, deterrence, national interest). We coded peacebuilding agencies as international organizations, national governments, or citizens. Visual

and pedagogical elements, such as maps, illustrations, historical episodes, and student activities, were documented to assess alignment with peace education principles.

### Analytical Procedure

Thematic categories were deduced from peace education theory and refined through iterative coding. After coding, we conducted a cross-national comparison to identify patterns in violence and peacebuilding representation. These patterns informed constructing a visual map (Table 7) positioning countries by their dominant international relations approach and emphasis on peacebuilding agency.

### Results

This section summarizes textbook analysis results, with detailed information by country. All countries investigated mentioned world wars, independence wars, genocides, and other wars in their textbooks. Japanese textbooks mention almost all wars and conflicts, while Cambodia and Bangladesh do not mention recent international conflicts (Table 5). The descriptions are mostly negative, but some countries report positive results, such as national sovereignty and human rights protection.

Table 5

*International/National War Descriptions*

	Form: International Violence mentioned	Description: Negative/justification	Reasons/mechanism
Japan	Recent wars and conflicts in many countries, World War II	Negative, No Justification	Conflicts due to racial, ethnic and religious differences, acquisition of resources, search for independence, or intervention by other countries.
Korea	Korean War, World War, conflicts in other countries	Negative, No Justification	Natural resources
Myanmar	World War, conflicts	Negative	No mention
Cambodia	World War, Genocides in one's own country and other countries	Negative, No Justification	Religious education without the practice of tolerance, mutual understanding, and mutual respect, science without religion
Indonesia	Invasion by Dutch, World War, Terror	Negative, Justification for National Sovereignty	Development of military weapons, seeking National Sovereignty
Bangladesh	War against Pakistan, World War	Negative, Justification for National Sovereignty	Seeking National Sovereignty

Rwanda	World War, Genocide in other countries, international conflicts	Negative, Justification for National Sovereignty	National sovereignty, technology progress, revolution
USA	Genocide: the Holocaust War: Iraq, World War 2	Positive, Justification	Technology progress and revolution
Chile	Independence wars, civil revolutions, World War 2, territorial conflicts, foreign interventions	Mostly negative, Justification for National Sovereignty	Ideological conflicts, territory control/ national sovereignty
Bolivia	The War of Independence, the Revolution, and the World Wars	Negative, Justification for national sovereignty, revolution	National sovereignty, revolution

For international relationship approach, seven countries adopted pacifism, two employed just war theory, and one adopted realism. For agency type in international peacebuilding, four countries show three combinations of national government-, international institutions-, and citizenship-led peacebuilding; three countries show two combinations of national government- and international institutions-led peacebuilding; and two exhibit only national government-led type (Table 6).

Table 6.  
*Type of Pacifism and Peacebuilding Agency*

Solution/prevention	International Relationship Approach: Pacifism(P)-Just War Theory (J)- Realistic(R)	Agency of peacebuilding: National government-led(N) International institutions-led (I) Citizenship-led(C)
Japan	P Transformation of Pacifism: Expansion of Self-Defense Forces' Activities	N I C Role of citizens first, then the government with international agency
Korea	P Strong insistence on nonviolent resolution	N I Government, the UN Encourage the students to think about The UN and government role in world peace
Myanmar	P Strong insistence on nonviolent resolution	N The UN
Cambodia	P Non-violence resolution, but difficult in some case	N I The UN and religious groups
Indonesia	J Military means for military threats	N I Government with the UN, Citizen participation with respect to anti-terrorism
Bangladesh	P Nonviolent means and avoidance technology for violence	N National government
Rwanda	J Importance of military power for conflict avoidance and resolution	N I The UN but limited function

USA	R	War can bring about social change	N	National government
Chile	P	Resistance against violent resolution, but justification for some types of war	N I C	The UN, National government, and Active learning to let the students develop their own thoughts on war
Bolivia	P	Horrible risk of a Third World War	N I C	The UN and National government, questions to make the students think about their actions for the next World War

From the above, Table 7 shows each countries' peace education culture on direct violence at national and international level .

Table 7.

*A Culture map of education for direct peace at the international level*

International relationship approach	Pacifism	Just War Theory	Realism
Peacebuilding Agency International Institution + National government-led	Ⓐ Cambodia Myanmar Korea	Ⓓ Indonesia Rwanda	
National government-led	Ⓑ Bangladesh		Ⓔ USA
International Institution/National government-led+ Citizen-led	Ⓒ Chile Bolivia Japan		

## Japan

The civic education textbook (New Public) maps recent wars and conflicts worldwide after the Cold War, including ethnic independence movements, civil wars like Afghanistan, Military action by British and US Forces Against Terrorism, and the Russian invasion of Ukraine. It explains war's death and displacement, showing photos of the Somali Civil War (people viewing machine guns on a truck) and Rwandan Civil War (people near supplies in a burnt field) (p. 104). It applies social scientific explanations of war mechanisms and complications, explaining that diversity isn't the direct cause of conflict; rather, majority groups within nations and external interventions tend to complicate conflicts. Two pages cover disarmament (especially nuclear) as an effort toward peace, with a map showing nuclear weapon states, countries possessing nuclear weapons, and warhead numbers. It presents nuclear disarmament efforts and citizens' activities, including a photo of high school peace ambassadors delivering nuclear abolition petitions at UN European Headquarters (pp. 96–97). For Japan's role, it explains Japan's pacifist stance (Renunciation of war, non-preservation of war potential, denial of belligerency), showing photos of atomic-bombed buildings in Hiroshima and Nagasaki (p. 92). It also describes defense policy changes challenging this pacifist policy, including expanded self-defense forces, changed constitutional interpretation, and the Okinawa base issue.

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Discussing the roles of international organizations, law, and government cooperation in resolving conflicts, textbooks highlight limitations. They emphasize NGOs and citizens' significant roles in understanding, thinking, and acting with experiential training: "We must cooperate with nations, international institutions, organizations like the UN, NGOs, corporations, and above all, we, the citizens of Japan, must work together." "We must not only seek personal happiness but also contribute to a society where people worldwide live in peace and prosperity. In democratic politics, each of us acting for peace is the driving force to avoid war and build peace" (p. 95). Citizen-led peacebuilding is shown with photos of activities, like volunteer doctors in conflict areas (p. 90, 104), women at the Nobel Peace Prize ceremony for the International Campaign to Abolish Nuclear Weapons (p. 97), and Japanese people examining a refugee woman's eyesight in a project with Japanese companies and the UNHCR (p. 105). These descriptions show Japanese peacebuilding education as Type C: pacifism/national government, international institution, and citizen-led peacebuilding approach.

## Korea

The social study textbook (*Integrated Society*) focuses on the Korean War, particularly the ongoing division between North and South Korea, addressing conflicts arising from direct violence between nations and efforts to overcome them through peaceful unification. For example, it presents the following excerpt: "Let's present a plan to realize active peace and go beyond the current passive peace between South Korea and North Korea. The Korean government and private organizations had been providing humanitarian aid to North Korea, including food, fertilizer, medical facilities, and medicine, up until 2008. However, the killing of a tourist at Mt. Geumgang in 2008 and the 2010 shelling of Yeonpyeong Island led the aid efforts to be stopped (picture: the devastation of civilian homes on Yeonpyeong Island destroyed by shelling). The Korean Red Cross recently announced its intention to provide formula for North Korea as a humanitarian aid, but this was rejected by the North Korean authorities (picture: relief supplies for North Korea, including infant milk and nutritional supplements, stored in a warehouse in wooden crates marked with large Red Cross symbols, by Yonhap News, 11 February 2015)." (p. 261)

The textbook also describes World War 2 negatively and touches upon recent wars in other countries from an anti-war perspective, logically explaining the mechanisms of these wars and their adverse effects on other countries (e.g., the natural resource matter between Russia and Ukraine) (p. 282).

The textbook goes on to strongly emphasize peaceful unification for securing direct peace, as described herein: "Korea has hosted big international conferences such as the G20 Summit and Nuclear Security Summit. The goal of these efforts was to enhance Korea's international status and strengthen its national competence. Based on these endeavors, we should strive to promote peace in the international community." (p. 267). The textbook provides the following question for students to explore how direct peace is a governmental and international institution's matter and how cultural peace is an individual matter: "How can we contribute to peace in the international community? (1) Through KOICA and UN peacekeeping activities (photo of children at a daycare center in Bangladesh and KOICA staff smiling and waving during an art therapy session.); (2) Through support for developing countries via the South Korean government and other public institutions (photo of a KOICA staff explaining the undercarriage

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parts of a car for a university student of Mongolia); (3) promoting efforts to solve famine in the Third World.” (pp. 266–267). Meanwhile, another question attempts to support students in developing their own opinions about direct violence at the international level, as shown in the following quote: “Write an essay about your own solution to the conflicts concerning resources, referring to the materials. To solve conflicts concerning resources and achieve sustainable development, efforts by every member of the global society are needed. Pursuing common interests through economic cooperation, along with mutual understanding and efforts, is necessary when states share resources.” (p. 283).

The findings allowed us to define the Korean textbook's peace education culture as Type A, which considers pacifism and describes national government- and international institution-led peacebuilding.

## Myanmar

The textbook (Moral and Citizenship) introduces international conflicts in Europe, Asia, and Africa during World Wars I and II negatively. It states, “The main victims of these conflicts are ordinary people” (Grade 11, p. 38). The factors and mechanisms of international conflicts are not detailed. The text suggests resolving international problems nationally through diplomacy and the UN: “If we want to create peace and long-term sustainability, the United Nations needs to develop projects on various issues” (Grade 11, p. 39). It emphasizes nonviolent solutions: “Diplomacy is an entire process by which countries maintain their foreign relations, through mediation, negotiation, human rights protection, economic development, humanitarian aid, and environmental protection” (Grade 11, p. 44). UN Secretary General Tanto is introduced as someone who could bring peace and resolve conflicts through mediation and negotiations, citing his words: “Any conflict should not close the door to dialogue. By opening the door to dialogue, it is possible to find ways that both sides can benefit from and accept satisfactorily,” said Mr. Tanto every chance he got” (Grade 11, p. 43).

The Myanmar textbook strongly demonstrates pacifism but does not address citizens' contributions to international peace, only asking them to respect national laws and resolve conflicts in their family and community by finding mutually beneficial solutions and discussing peaceful coexistence skills. Only one question asks students how they would solve international conflicts as leaders. The peacebuilding images at the national level include a pigeon drawing (p. 36), a UN peace symbol, and Mr. Tanto's portrait (p. 47). The peacebuilding image at international and national levels does not directly connect to students' lives. We thus classify the Myanmar textbook as type A (the pacifism/national government-led and international institution-led peacebuilding approach).

## Cambodia

The Moral-Civics textbooks for all grades comprise three chapters: human values, culture of peace, and participation in community development. The chapter on peace culture (Grade 12) describes the horrors of direct international violence, such as World War II. Explanations of peace, non-violence, and human rights promotion are mainly in the Cambodian context. Genocide is explained as “the international murder or genocide of an entire ethnic group, race, or religion” and is described as the most serious crime: “Genocidal acts bring enormous

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catastrophes and tragedies such as destroying assets, materials, infrastructure, culture, and religion, killing millions of human lives, punishing children, prisoners or the target groups of people cruelly, discriminating against any ethnic group, race, or religion, raping the woman prisoners, starving and forcing people to overwork, violating human rights and international laws, depriving people of their freedom, and other acts of committing countless crimes against humanity" (Moral-Civics, Grade 12, p. 130), with examples: "the genocide in Armenia by the Kurds in 1915. The Serbs initiated a genocide in Kosovo in 1990. In 1994, the genocide by the Hutus against the Tutsi in Rwanda killed a million people" (pp. 129–130). Pictures show many skulls on the left page and people in a meeting hall on the right (p. 128), depicting Cambodians killed by the Khmer Rouge and the condemnation of genocide by the international court. Efforts for world peace are exemplified by international courts for genocide; the UN for peace culture; tolerance at family, community, and society levels; tolerance of religious groups; and religious education for peace. Cambodian textbooks show idealistic pacifism, viewing war as evil, advocating peaceful solutions, and emphasizing peace through international organizations.

Questions designed to prompt students to consider peacebuilding are limited to assignments such as: "In your opinion, what should be done and how should it be done to prevent genocide?" (Grade 12 textbook, p. 131) and "Write an essay explaining the theme 'Science without religion is destructive'" (Grade 11 textbook, p. 97). From above, we define peace education in Cambodia as type A (the pacifism/national government-led and international institution-led approach).

## Indonesia

Sociology textbooks depict World War II and the Independence War with historical facts, without emotional valence. Atomic bombs are introduced as one way to stop war according to a researcher (Simmel): "The bombing incident ended the conflict at that time. Simmel's view is certainly not absolute but depends on the condition of the conflict itself" (Sociology, Grade 11, p. 148). In civic education textbooks, international violence is addressed as a threat to Indonesia, with examples of Japanese conquest, Dutch colonization after World War II, and terrorism presented negatively: "This act of terror is a form of terrorist activity that threatens the safety of a nation by spreading fear and leaving victims without humanity. The target of an armed terror act can be anyone, making it difficult to predict and handle it using normal methods" (Civic and Pancasila Education, Grade 10, p. 182). Advanced weapons such as chemical and nuclear weapons are presented as a threat to the Indonesian national army, and the importance of military power, supported by technology, is emphasized based on the Independence War against the Dutch army, partial independence, and domestic conflicts (Civic Education Grade 10, p. 180–182). For peacekeeping, Indonesia's collaboration with the UN is described as "directly involved in the UN Security Council peace mission by sending Garuda Troops to conflict-affected countries such as Congo, Vietnam, Cambodia, and Bosnia. In 2007, Indonesia was designated a non-permanent member of the UN Security Council" (Civic Education Grade 11, p. 128). Accompanying this text is a photo of an Indonesian army member in the peacekeeping force teaching a computer, with a child and woman looking at the screen and smiling (p. 149).

The textbooks demonstrate a just war theory, highlighting threats to national dignity from other nations' force and the military's role in countering foreign aggression and responding to overseas conflicts through deployment. Military aggression toward Indonesia is regarded as a

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military matter, but students are encouraged to support efforts against international terrorists: "Q1. What negative impacts will Indonesians experience if the ISIS movement develops in Indonesia? Q2. What is your assessment of the government's efforts to prevent the growth of the ISIS movement in Indonesia? Q3. Write down your recommendations to the Indonesian government and society to prevent the ISIS movement." From these statements, we define peace education in Indonesia as type D (the just war theory/national government- and international institution-led peacebuilding approach).

## **Bangladesh**

The history textbook (Second Paper) justifies the 1971 war against Pakistan for liberation from domination and oppression, describing it as leading to freedom while praising victims (Civics and Good Governance, p. 127-128). It portrays "endangered humanity," showing soldiers marching (p. 66), mass graves, European political leaders, and resting troops (p. 74) during the First World War, along with destruction (p. 135) and mushroom clouds of Hiroshima and Nagasaki atomic blasts during World War II (p. 143). World War II is portrayed as an anti-fascist victory, but its brutality is described: "The fundamental lesson of World War II was the horror and fatal consequences of nuclear bombing, threatening all of humankind with destruction" (History of Modern World, p. 209). The textbook emphasizes technology's dangers to avoid nuclear bombs: "The experience teaches us that we have to leave these weapons behind and contribute to technological development for a sustainable world and human welfare for peace" (p. 210). The textbook states, "Bangladesh's foreign policy toward peace promotion is characterized by an equal, friendly attitude toward all peoples, nations, and religions, emphasizing national sovereignty, peaceful coexistence, and regional cooperation" (Civics and Good Governance, pp. 436–437). Regarding the United Nations and world peace, the story metaphorically depicts a conflict between neighbors, showing how both sides suffer losses, but it contains no description of concrete cooperative relationships in the modern era. The role of citizens in peace is described as "good citizenship is fostered through awareness of rights, voting and democratic access, culture, and respect for the law" (p.210), with no depiction of participation in peacebuilding within international relations: Bangladesh's peace education can be considered Type B (pacifism/state-led peacebuilding).

## **Rwanda**

The history textbook discusses both the merits and demerits of war and conflict (destruction, technological progress, revolution, and independence); for example, "World War 2 contributed to rapid scientific innovations and technological development. This has resulted in the production of sophisticated weapons of mass destruction" (History Grade 6, p. 245).

The mechanisms of wars and conflicts are explained using conflict theories, with a 25-page chapter applying these theories to understand the genocide in Rwanda and other wars and conflicts in other countries. Regarding the recent tendency of international war and conflict in the world, it captures the influence of religion: "Much of the increase in the number of conflicts during 2014–16 stemmed from the spread of the Islamic State (IS), which often transformed active conflicts and led them to be recorded as new conflicts in UCDP data" (History, Grade 6, p. 418).

First, the textbook identifies four main causes of conflict: structural factors, political factors, economic factors, and cultural factors (*History*, Grade 6, pp. 412–413). Next, the book theoretically divides genocide into three stages from its inception to genocide, explaining the mechanism of occurrence and the national and international responses that should be taken at each stage, interweaving them with the case of Rwanda. There are many photos of refugees from the genocide in Rwanda (Pictures of countless lines of refugees carrying their luggage on their heads, p 25, p. 34), but they explain the genocide theoretically using diagrams of the basic theory of conflicts and the history of conflicts and the prevention of future violence in various ways. For example, after explaining conflicts by mapping relevant factors and relations (p. 424), the textbook applies the mapping to show the structure of the problem using a diagram of land conflict pillars in Rwanda (p. 425). It also analyzes prevention and solution methods using theories such as intervention, negotiation, and mediation. It explains that contributing to genocide prevention and resolution led by international organizations with military power in other countries is also important, introducing former UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan. It shows a large photo of two Rwandan soldiers wearing blue helmets with large UN letters on them as they intervene under the UN, looking around with guns in their hands with serious expressions on their faces (p. 63)

Nonviolent resolution is mentioned as “important,” but it points out the limitations of such solutions and emphasizes the need to fully examine the background and reasons for conflicts: “However, in resettling conflicts, there are still different challenges to handle. Most of them are the lack of conflict resolving mechanisms and programmes in local communities, which can hinder the prevention and resolution of conflict in the community. At the international level, as a challenge there is the unwillingness of the United Nations Organization to develop such mechanisms and programmes” (*History* Grade 6, p. 410). While it emphasizes that security at the domestic level is the role of the government, it notes individual efforts to ensure national security through local police. Moreover, it contains assignments and questions to develop students’ ability to discuss war and conflict in Africa and globally by studying conflict theory and conflict resolution theory; however, addressing violence at the international level is not mentioned as a matter of citizens.

Based on this, we classify peace education in Rwanda as type D (the just war theory/national government- and international institution-led approach).

## USA

One of the sociology textbook's most distinctive features is that it discusses international wars and revolutions as means of social change. With regard to revolution, it is mentioned that they often involve violent action, but this is not in a negative context.

War is defined as "organized, armed conflict that occurs within a society or between nations." There is no mention of a solution, and the reasons why wars occur are also not explained. Using the Iraq War at the beginning of the 21st century as an example, the textbook states that "War can bring about social change in many ways." It described that the United States ended half a century of authoritarian rule and achieved a new constitution and democratic reforms by removing Saddam Hussein. However, the conflict between different political groups within Iraq exacerbated the Iraq War. It attributes the social instability that followed the war to the struggle between the various political forces fighting for control of the new government. The textbook

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includes a photograph that shows how terrorism has become an everyday occurrence in Iraq since the war (p. 459). The photograph explains that in some areas, there have been tensions between factions within the postwar Iraqi government. The textbook then asks students, "How did war change society in Iraq?" This question reflects the textbook's focus on war in that it questions the connection between war and social change.

The following two points are found in the textbook's view of war as positive—or at least necessary—using sociologist Robert Nisbet's explanation. First, war "can bring about social change through diffusion, discovery, and invention" by "break[ing] down barriers between societies" and "bringing people from different societies together." Moreover, war "leads to the adoption of new ways of thinking, feeling, and behaving" (p. 459).

Another view is that war "promotes invention and discovery." Examples given are the "atomic bomb, synthetic rubber, and antibiotics." These advanced technologies are said to have "contributed to a cultural revolution after the war," where "American culture, both during and after World War II, was imported by societies all over the world."

Given these positive descriptions of war and the lack of discussion regarding international institutions and citizens' roles in peacebuilding, the United States belongs to Type E (realism/national government-led).

## Chile

The textbook analysis covers the citizenship education textbook for 3rd/4th grade high school (cited as "ce") and the history, geography, and social studies textbook for 2nd grade high school (cited as "hgss"). The description of interstate wars begins with independence wars and civil revolutions aimed at building civil society in the 18th and 19th centuries (ce, p. 11), followed by extensive coverage of World War II (hgss, pp. 38–53). Others include conflicts over territorial control and between states and citizens over political systems (ce, p. 67). While Independence Wars and Civil Revolutions are portrayed as liberation from oppression, World War II is described as "a sad legacy of violence" (hgss, p. 38) and "horror on a grand scale" (hgss, p. 46). The "genocide, forced displacement, and bombing of civilians" are explained with photographs. The WW2 section included photographs, drawings, and maps to help students understand conflicts between nations, war situation changes, and war devastation (hgss, pp. 38–53). Regarding war outbreak reasons, Independence Wars and Civil Revolutions are portrayed as national concept transitions (ce, p. 11), while WW2 is explained through ideological conflicts (hgss, pp. 42–43). Students must explain factors leading to millions of deaths in WW2, categorizing military, civilian, and concentration camp deaths (hgss, p. 47). While war resolution methods are seldom referenced, the textbooks mention the UN and Universal Declaration of Human Rights as postwar developments. Under the UN, the world began coordinated actions on various issues (hgss, p. 38), and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights was established to prevent WW2's suffering from recurring (ce, p. 54). They assert the state's essential role in protecting human rights and correcting social disparities (ce, pp. 56, 144). They argue that "conflicts in a healthy democracy are resolved through dialogue between institutions and citizens" (ce, p. 146), emphasizing dialogue-based conflict resolution. The textbooks encourage students to view war as a personal concern and develop their thoughts about war's reality and causes. However, they do not address how citizens could contribute to avoiding or resolving wars or conflicts.

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As described above, peace education in Chile is categorized as Type C, that is, the pacifism/national government-, international institution-, and citizen-led peacebuilding approach.

## **Bolivia**

The textbooks primarily describe wars of independence and mention the legitimacy of wars in terms of positive results, such as the need to gain independence and sovereignty. However, they emphasize the serious damage of the Chaco War, “Paraguay mobilized 150,000 men, 2,500 prisoners of war, and 40,000 dead. Bolivia, on the other hand, mobilized 200,000 men and suffered between 25,000 and 30,000 prisoners of war and 50,000 dead” (Grade 6, p. 238). It also describes the horrible results of World War II and the atomic bombing: “World War II was the greatest catastrophe mankind has ever experienced, as it took the lives of a staggering 60 million people” (Grade 6, p. 238).

The mechanisms and sequence of events and outcomes of the two world wars are explained in detail, visually presented in two large illustrations. For World War I, the book is titled "Results and Impact of World War I" and includes five descriptions of three battle photos with a chronological explanation of international relationships. World War II is illustrated with a large map of the world centered on the Americas, titled "Causes of the outbreak of World War II," as well as a picture of an expressionless German-looking soldier and a semi-circle illustrating how the war spread from the center, to the middle, and to the outer layers: “(center) As a result of the Treaty of Versailles, Germany was plunged into an economic crisis, which led to the development of Nazism. (German level),” “(middle) polarization between fascism and socialism (fascism → Germany, Italy socialism → USSR),” “(outer layer) Conflict between capitalist powers over colonies in Asia and Africa (World level).” Other photos include those of countless tank units, the attack on Pearl Harbor, and two soldiers walking through a burnt-out urban area. In particular, the importance of peace is emphasized while showing the causes of violence related to decolonization.

It then describes the establishment of the United Nations "to avoid global confrontation" and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights by the UN "to develop friendly relations among nations" as major international moves to maintain peace and security after the world wars.

Regarding civic engagements for international peacebuilding, some activities were found: “How can we prevent such a conflict with our sister country, such a conflagration, from happening again?” (Grade 4, p. 288), “Reflect on Einstein’s writings, write down your interpretations in a notebook, and discuss them with the class: I don’t know what World War III will be like, but World War IV will be fought with stones and spears” (Grade 6, p. 240).

As described above, peace education in Chile is categorized as Type C (the pacifism/national government-, international institution-, and citizen-led peacebuilding approach).

## **Discussion**

This study identified five types of peace education culture in various countries based on a comparison of international relations approaches (pacifism, just war theory, and realism) and agency in peacebuilding. This framework is intended not only to classify the educational cultures of different countries but also to serve as an analytical lens for understanding differences in peace perspectives rooted in cultural backgrounds and historical experiences and to identify possibilities for dialogue and collaboration. Below, we examine the social contexts underlying the characteristics of peace education cultures in each country and discuss how this classification can be utilized in school education, considering background information.

### **Type A (pacifism/national government- and international institution-led), including Cambodia, Korea, and Myanmar**

In this type, there is strong cooperation between the government and international organizations such as the United Nations, with an emphasis on non-violence and diplomacy, and little emphasis on citizen participation in peacebuilding at the international level. In Cambodia, institutional support from international organizations and state-led peacebuilding has progressed since the 1991 Paris Peace Accords, with only limited recognition of the role of civil society (Lizée, 2000). In Myanmar, peace education was introduced during the transition to democracy through collaboration between international organizations and the government, but the involvement of teachers and citizens in the education system and content has been limited (Lopes Cardozo & Maber, 2019). In South Korea, the government has taken the lead in resolving tensions with North Korea and cooperating with the United Nations, and national-led unification education has had a significant influence on education policies (Jung, 2024).

### **Type B (pacifism/national government-led), including Bangladesh**

Despite Bangladesh's longstanding cooperation with the United Nations, dating back to its post-independence engagement and continuing through its active role in peacekeeping and multilateral diplomacy, the absence of the United Nations as a central peacebuilding actor in national textbooks may reflect a strategic emphasis on state-led narratives of agency and identity formation, as argued by Kabir and Chowdhury (2021) in their analysis of educational discourse and global citizenship tensions.

### **Type C (pacifism/national government-, international institution-, and citizen-led), including Bolivia, Chile, and Japan**

In this type, the state and international institutions provide institutional frameworks, while citizens' educational practices and social movements contribute to the formation of peace education. In Chile, after the transition from military rule to democracy, the education system was reorganized under neoliberal reforms, and state-led education policies and international evaluation systems were introduced. Bellei & Munoz (2021) show that education policy is being implemented as a mixed model of "market-oriented, evaluation-oriented, and bureaucratic," but at the same time, civil society-led education reform movements are active, and peace education is rooted as a civic ideal based on "social justice and respect for human rights." In Bolivia, "decolonization" and "respect for ethnic and cultural diversity" are socially promoted, and the "Bolivarian Alliance for the Americas (ALBA-TCP)" has a strong influence on domestic politics. As a result, both citizen participation and international solidarity toward "peace" in the form of "decolonization" and "respect for indigenous cultures" are influencing education (Lopes

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Cardozo & Strauss, 2013, pp. 203–215). In Japan, non-military diplomacy based on Article 9 of the Constitution continues internationally, and education emphasizes citizen-driven peacebuilding. Takemoto (2023) demonstrates that the “coevolution of citizen practice and constitutional ideals” shapes educational culture, with peace-oriented education being implemented through collaboration between the state and citizens (p. 71).

#### **Type D (just war theory/national government- and international institution-led), including Rwanda and Indonesia**

In this type, the legitimacy of the use of force is reflected in educational content in a manner led by the state and international institutions. In Indonesia, the value of national defense is embedded in the entire education system, reflecting the anti-communist ideology and national integration principles that emerged after the Cold War. Sukmajati (2022) points out that the curriculum emphasizes the legitimacy of military force as a response to hypothetical enemy countries and terrorism and that the maintenance of national order and territorial integrity are justified educationally. In Rwanda, government and international agency-led education policies are being implemented toward post-genocide peacebuilding. Shao (2019) emphasizes that “restoration of justice” and “ethical judgments on intervention” are important in education and that critical examination of non-intervention by the international community forms a structure that promotes ethical judgments on “action for justice” (pp. 24–26).

#### **Type E (realism/national government-led), including the USA**

In the United States, hegemonic diplomacy and national security strategies since the Cold War have permeated educational content. Lascurettes (2016) shows that realism centered on national interests and military power is mainstream in American international relations theory and that “just wars” and “national interest-centered history education” are justified in education. This is rooted in a political culture that positions the state as the maintainer of international order.

#### **Implication for peace education practice**

Such awareness enables the introduction of dialogic understanding through comparison in educational settings. For example, by comparing and examining excerpts from national textbooks and education policies using the Type A-E classification, students can deepen their critical thinking and cultural understanding through the question, “Why is this taught this way in this country?” Melo Júnior et al. (2024) demonstrate that intercultural educational dialogue fosters not only the exploration of shared values but also an attitude of respecting background differences.

Furthermore, by comparing the presence or absence of citizen roles across types, students can explore their own potential from the perspective of “how I could contribute to peacebuilding if I had received this country's education.” While such questions do not immediately form agency, as Andreotti (2011) indicates, they serve as the starting point for a gradual process of “reconfiguring one's self-positioning and imagining possibilities for action” through education. Furthermore, this study proposes utilizing the very methodology of creating this peace education culture map as a role-play or case study. Conventional role-plays and case studies have aimed to develop conflict resolution techniques and collaborative attitudes (McKay-Semmler, 2022). However, when differences in cognitive frameworks based on distinct

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peace education cultures exist, dialogue cannot be established through techniques alone. The peace education framework proposed in this study aims to incorporate comparative analysis and cognitive framework expansion not only into the “precondition-building” phase of dialogue but also into the “steps of dialogue” themselves.

Specifically, before introducing role-play or case studies, the peace education cultures of each country are compared by type, and the underlying political and historical contexts, along with differences in concepts of violence and peace, are theoretically organized. At this stage, students reflect on how their own cognitive frameworks were formed, preparing them to understand differences with others' frameworks (Nicoson et al., 2024).

Next, in designing role-plays and case studies, the focus moves beyond mere role-acting to incorporate questions like: “How do characters from different types of peace education cultures propose solutions to a common challenge?” “Why do these proposals clash?”, and “What background understanding is needed for dialogue to progress?” By doing so, students experientially understand perceptual gaps in dialogue. Through background understanding, the quality of dialogue improves, shifting the process from a clash of positions to one where individuals with differing stances gradually deepen their understanding while exploring possibilities for collaboration. Andreotti (2011) states that “agency formation” in education involves reconfiguring one's self-positioning and imagining possibilities for action. The framework of this study provides a theoretical foundation supporting this initial stage.

Furthermore, the typology of Culture Maps and their contextual understanding function as a reference framework for identifying “shared values” and “shared challenges” within dialogue. Students can cultivate an attitude of exploring the premises upon which opinions are formed in dialogue with others holding different peace perspectives, rather than merely exchanging views (Melo Júnior et al., 2024).

## Conclusion

This study depicted peace education characteristics as a culture map through typology combining international relations approaches and peacebuilding agencies. It examined why methods of peacebuilding and agency nature differ by country. This outcome provides a response to the junior high school students' peace learning episode introduced initially. The students believed, "If it were me, I wouldn't send my child to the battlefield" and "Any parent would think that way." They were shocked when foreigners responded, "I'm proud of it." Conventional peace education might not have addressed such value confrontations adequately. However, this research framework enables guiding students to explore "Why do such ideas arise?" and "What lies behind them?"

Variations in peacebuilding values arise from complex backgrounds, including national history, political systems, sociocultural contexts, and military structures. Recognizing these differences is crucial for overcoming psychological barriers such as shock, doubt, and discomfort (Brantmeier, 2010). This study introduces a method for peace education that employs comparative analysis and theoretical frameworks to comprehend these differences and foster dialogue. This educational approach goes beyond merely eliciting emotional responses like empathy, which is often the focus of peace education (Hantzopoulos, 2021). Instead, it serves as training to enhance self-awareness and expand cognitive frameworks, facilitating dialogue and

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collaboration. Nonetheless, the study has its limitations. For instance, presenting cultural maps assumes national-level classification, which may inadvertently reinforce stereotypes. The use of textbooks varies among schools and teachers, with publishers highlighting different aspects. The time allocated to textbooks and the emphasis on content are shaped by the examination system. The worldviews of younger generations and regional and individual value differences are significant. Even with the same curricula and textbooks, their effectiveness can differ among recipients. The peace education culture depicted in textbooks might not reflect a nation's actual military stance. Extracurricular factors, such as conscription or defense budgets, also shape students' perceptions of peace. Future research should aim to elucidate the diversity in teachers' peace education practices and students' interpretations, and develop peace education that treats the gap between textbooks, teachers, and students as a learning opportunity.

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