

ข้อตrangข้ามเชิงมโนภาพและการควบคุมทางเพศของสตรี ในแบบเรียนภาษาไทยภาษาพาทีและวรรณคดีลำนำ

ธิติมา สุเก้า¹

(Received: September 7, 2022; Revised: October 21, 2022; Accepted: October 25, 2022)

บทคัดย่อ

การรณรงค์ #Saveเกี้ยว แสดงให้เห็นถึงความกังวลของประชาชนที่มีต่อการนำเสนอภาพลักษณ์หญิงร้ายและบทเรียนเรื่องเพศในชุดแบบเรียนภาษาไทยภาษาพาที การศึกษานี้ต้องการทำความเข้าใจปรากฏการณ์ด้วยการศึกษากลยุทธ์ทางภาษาที่ใช้ในการนำเสนอภาพลักษณ์ที่เป็นปัญหานี้ ขั้นตอนแรกคือการใช้ syntactic triggers เช่น "X instead of Y," "although X, Y," นำเสนอโดย Jeffries (2014) และ Davies (2013) เพื่อศึกษาข้อตrangข้ามทางภาษาที่เกิดขึ้นร่วมกัน และบทบาทของข้อตrangข้ามเหล่านี้ในการสร้างจิตสำนึกร่วมของชุมชน

ข้อมูลที่ใช้มาจากการศึกษาชุดแบบเรียนภาษาไทยภาษาพาที และวรรณคดีลำนำสำหรับขั้นประถมศึกษาปีที่หก ผลการศึกษาพบข้อตrangข้ามเชิงมโนภาพ เช่น CHILD/ADULT WELL-BEHAVED/MISBEHAVED และ INDIVIDUAL/COLLECTIVE ซึ่งถูกใช้ในการสร้างความรู้สึกเป็นอันหนึ่งอันเดียวกันของชุมชน ผ่านการเน้นย้ำความสำคัญของลำดับขั้นทางลัทธิ และการสร้างแบบอย่างความเป็นปกติ นอกจากนี้ข้อตrangข้ามเชิงมโนภาพที่เชื่อมโยงกับชุมชนในอุดมคตินี้ยังมีส่วนร่วมในการควบคุมพฤติกรรมทางเพศของสตรีเช่นเดียวกัน

การใช้ข้อตrangข้ามเชิงมโนภาพข้าไปข้ามมาเป็นเครื่องมือที่มีประโยชน์ในการย้ำเตือนและทำบทเรียนที่ซับซ้อนให้เข้าใจง่ายขึ้น อย่างไรก็ได้การใช้ข้อตrangข้ามอาจเป็นการนำเสนอสถานการณ์ที่ง่ายเกินไป โดยเฉพาะเมื่อนำข้อตrangข้ามเชิงมโนภาพที่แสดงถึงความเป็นพากเพกพากเรออย่าง US/THEM มาใช้เพื่อจัดการเด็กที่มีปัญหา ยิ่งไปกว่านั้นการรณรงค์ #Saveเกี้ยว ยังได้แสดงให้เห็นถึงมุมมองที่ขัดแย้งกันระหว่างภาคประชาชนและรัฐในเรื่องการสร้างคุณลักษณะที่ดีงามของผู้หญิง ซึ่งแสดงให้เห็นว่าแบบเรียนนี้อาจไม่เหมาะสมกับคนรุ่นนี้เนื่องจากการขาดแคลนความหลากหลายและการเน้นย้ำอุดมการณ์ทางเพศหลักมากเกินไป

คำสำคัญ: การวิเคราะห์บทกรรมาเชิงวิพากษ์ ข้อตrangข้ามเชิงมโนภาพ กระบวนการขัดเกลาทางเพศสภาพแนวคิดชาตินิยม การวิเคราะห์แบบเรียน

¹ ภาควิชาภาษาอังกฤษ คณะมนุษยศาสตร์ มหาวิทยาลัยเชียงใหม่ อีเมล: thitima.s@cmu.ac.th

Conceptual Oppositions and Control of Female Sexuality in PasaPatee and Wannakadee Lamnam Thai Textbooks

Thitima Sukaew²

Abstract

The #Saveเกี้ยว petition raises public concerns about the depictions of bad girls and lessons about sexuality in PasaPatee Thai textbooks. To comprehend the phenomenon, the study aims at investigating the linguistic strategies that contribute to these problematic representations. It starts by using the syntactic triggers, namely "X instead of Y," "although X, Y," as proposed by Jeffries (2014) and Davies (2013) to examine the co-occurring linguistic oppositions and seek to explain their roles in conceptualizing an ideal community.

The data are from the sixth-grade Thai textbook series called PasaPatee and Wannakadee Lamnam. The findings reveal certain conceptual oppositions, namely CHILD/ADULT, WELL-BEHAVED/MISBEHAVED, and INDIVIDUAL/COLLECTIVE, that foster a profound sense of community by emphasizing the significance of social hierarchy and establishing a sense of normalcy. The conceptual binaries associated with this ideal community also play a part in regulating female sexual behaviors.

The recurring conceptual oppositions in the textbooks could be valuable in simplifying and reinforcing the lessons. They may, however, oversimplify some complex issues, particularly when the US/ THEM conceptual binary is used to deal with children's bad behaviors. As evidenced by #Saveเกี้ยว, the disparity between the state and public perceptions of Thai women's ideal qualities appears to suggest that the textbook series may not be entirely relevant to this generation of students due to a lack of diversity and an overemphasis on dominant gender ideologies.

Keywords: Critical Discourse Analysis, conceptual oppositions, gender socialization, nationalism, textbook analysis

² Department of English, Faculty of Humanities, Chiang Mai University E-mail: thitima.s@cmu.ac.th

1. Introduction

Following Anderson (2006), a nation is constructed discursively through language and viewed as cultural artifacts. Through socialization, particularly education and daily routine, the younger generation can learn the behavioral conventions necessary to preserve the national identity that defines the community (Wodak, 2009). Since nationality, gender, and sexuality are all linked and socially and culturally constructed, studies on gender and nationalism show that national liberation movements, political cultures, practices, and nationalist ideology all have a gender implication (Anthias & Yuval-Davis, 1989; Yuval-Davis, 1997; Mayer, 2012; Enloe, 2014; Sanders-McDonagh, 2016; Mulholland et al., 2018; Mosse, 2020).

As a tool for socialization, textbooks are saturated with what the state considers a positive evaluation of nationhood and nationalism to promote group cohesion that represents a sense of community. Due to the requirement for textbooks in formal education, all subjects and values are presented as absolute truths; hence, textbooks are essential for building social ideology (Van Dijk, 1989). The Thai state also sees the potential of textbooks to influence the behaviors of Thai citizens, according to Prince Damrong Rajanubhab (Eoseewong, 2004, p. 46). Therefore, it is necessary for the content of textbooks to align with the state policy.

This is in line with Jiamwijak's study (2018), which concludes that PasaPatee Thai textbooks include content and activities that support the 12th National Economic and Social Development Plan's Strategy 1 on capacity building and human capital development. Therefore, it is to be expected that the contents of the textbooks fulfill the state's requirements. However, some areas of the textbooks, particularly those pertaining to female sexuality, appear to require some consideration. To elaborate, the representation of certain female characters may be problematic, as evidenced by the #Saveເກີ່ຍາ petition launched during the pandemic lockdown (Yodhong, 2020).

The incident drew media attention to gender bias in a book in PasaPatee series, which described Kiew as an attractive girl who develops early. Her negative characteristics range from skipping classes to using her body as a human trophy in illegal motorcycle races. She ends up being a single teen mom and suffering from depression, whereas her

well-behaved siblings lead successful lives. To some, her punishments may be deemed reasonable, but the situations seem trivialized when presented in oppositional forms.

As a result, the #Saveເກື້ອງ petition was launched to demand justice for the story's main character, Kiew (ເກື້ອງ), arguing that her stigma and punishment are outdated, unrealistic, and unfair. It addresses the Office of the Basic Education Commission (OBEC) to investigate and correct this discrimination. The petition has received 9,689 supporters to date (Last Book in the Universe, n.d.), which emphasizes the public's interest in the issue.

The media's representation of bad women is not new. However, since textbooks are among the most influential socializing agents, the concern should be justified. This study proposes that PasaPatee and Wannakadee Lamnam textbook series can be systematically investigated by using syntactic triggers (Davies, 2013; Jeffries, 2014) to examine the process of producing good Thai citizens with acceptable sexual conduct.

2. Background and Previous Studies

2.1 Gender and Nationalism

Nationalists typically employ stereotypical ideas of masculinity, femininity, and gender relations to evoke a sense of community, which contributes to the formation of the us-them dichotomy and establishes the supremacy of their group over others (Anthias & Yuval-Davis, 1989; Yuval-Davis, 1997; McDowell, 2004; Mayer, 2012; Mulholland et al., 2018). For instance, in Ireland, the ideal qualities, or dominant ideologies, were purposefully selected and contextualized during the British invasion. For instance, Ireland was Erin, a young and weak woman who sought protection from her masculine British neighbor, while a masculine Gael was also created by the Irish nationalists to masculinize the country (McDowell, 2004). Similarly, during the British colonization, Indians were seen as inferior and weak. Indian nationalists used ancient mythology to reclaim the nation-state as their own by re-masculinizing themselves as being as powerful as or more powerful than their British colonizers and much older than either the British colonization or the empires that came before it (Vijayan, 2019).

Nation image and national identity can also be specifically correlated with female sexuality due to women's fertility. Consequently, apart from the space being feminized and represented as requiring protection, women are portrayed as the biological and cultural reproducers of the nation and the protectors of the moral code. In the nationalist discourse, female virginity or sexuality should, therefore, be protected and controlled for the sake of the nation (Anthias & Yuval-Davis, 1989; Yuval-Davis, 1997; Jeffrey, 2007; Mayor, 2012; Mosse, 2020). For instance, in Indonesia, where the concept of nationhood is becoming increasingly intertwined with the path of modern progress and family planning, the portrayal of the ideal woman who limits her fertility for the sake of the nation and is devoted to her nuclear family is promoted in public life, namely in religious sermons and in the media (Dwyer, 2012).

Thais believe that female sexuality must be strictly regulated because it is an integral part of their national identity. During the reigns of Mongkut, Chulalongkorn, and Vajiravudh, the Siwilai project was implemented to eliminate its undesirable characteristics, such as polygamy, and highlight its more desirable qualities. They place high value on women's virginity and think of Siam as a virgin space because it is the only country in Southeast Asia to escape Western invasion. This idea has endured, and it is now a respected national symbol (Harrison, 2014).

In addition, according to Jeffrey (2007), promiscuous women or prostitutes should be punished or stigmatized because they pose a threat to the nation when they violate the gendered norms of the community by engaging in sexual activity for purposes other than reproduction. In the context of nationalism, prostitutes are stigmatized and confined to the margins of society, as both a punishment and a deterrent to others. Besides, prostitution policy seeks to discipline women, to regulate women's bodies, and to ensure that they occupy the "correct" cultural roles (e.g., mothers to the nation) (p. X). According to Hantrakul (cited in Jeffrey, 2007), the definition of prostitution in the Prostitution Prohibition Act of 1960³ stressed promiscuity rather than the exchange of money (p.26). This shows how the sexuality of women

³ Prostitution is defined in the Prostitution Prohibition Act of 1960 as the "indiscriminate acceptance of sexual intercourse or acceptance of any other act or the performance of any act for the satisfaction of the sexual desire of another for hire whether the acceptor of the act and the performer of the act are of the same or different sexes" (Jeffrey, 2007, p. 26).

is intertwined with the national legacy, which is why the state needs to get involved with female sexual conduct.

2.2 Textbooks and the formation of ideal qualities

Several studies have demonstrated the significance of textbooks in fostering the development of good Thai citizens. To start with, Eoseewong (2004) investigates the construction of nationalism in Thai school and social studies textbooks for grades 1-6. The findings reveal an ideal community in which all community members are aware of their duties and responsibilities, while conflicts and differences are scarce in this community. Panpoothong (2015) analyses sets of ideas about children and Thai society that are repeatedly transmitted to students via linguistic devices, such as pronouns, modality markers, lexical choices, etc., in Thai primary school history textbooks. The outcome also reveals desirable characteristics such as obedience and national pride and the type of Thai society that is unified and harmonious. Similarly, Leksakun (2019) adopts a philosophical approach to seek out the form of the "idealized good man" using Plato's theory of forms in language-learning textbooks. The study shows that the ideal good man is made to be someone who can think logically. A number of children's characters in different situations are used as examples for Thai language learners so that they can live the way the Thai education system deems appropriate.

PasaPatee textbook series has also been explored in several studies. To start with, Thida et al. (2014) examine desirable characteristics, moral development stages, and strategies for presenting desirable characteristics in elementary Thai textbooks. The study reveals that the textbooks contain all the appropriate characteristics specified by the Basic Education Core Curriculum B.E. 2551. The use of a reward system and the portrayal of characters who are the same age as the students also qualify the series as suitable textbooks for instilling positive traits. Similarly, Nammontree's study (2018) focuses on the binary aspects of the major characters in PasaPatee series using the concepts of representations and virtuous and vicious characters. The study reveals lists of good and bad characters and suggests the importance of parental guidance in constructing positive and negative qualities. To this point, studies on textbooks have reflected dominant ideologies through the portrayal of character types, which can serve as a tool for controlling female behaviors.

Regarding the control of female sexuality, using Michel Foucault's theory "Knowledge is power," Jaithiangtham (2014) examines the discursive representation of gender and sexuality in "Wiwitthaphasa," Thai subjects for secondary school 1-3, also based on The Basic Education Core Curriculum B.E. 2551. The findings show that the textbooks are still rooted in the Victorian-era patriarchy ideology and Prime Minister Field Marshal Plaek Pibulsongkram's original policy, despite their attempts to appear modern through storyline, point of view, or paradigms. Students should conduct themselves according to their gender or gender stereotypes, and it is also imperative to avoid sexual desire at all costs. For instance, when describing a kind of dance (called ramwong) which was once used for courtship, the emphasis is shifted from sexual desire to the enjoyment, harmony, and uniqueness of the Thai language. In addition, the text emphasizes that, in Thai society, the only acceptable form of love is love for the country, and the only acceptable form of relationship is heterosexuality, not homosexuality. Moreover, people are tamed and made submissive through the normalization of daily discipline and sexual practice. All in all, Wiwitthaphasa focuses on the kind of content that agrees with the work of the Ministry of Education, which does not expect students to have a sexual relationship within the school age.

From a review of textbook studies, regardless of the approaches used, i.e., Critical Discourse Analysis (Panpothong, 2015), Plato's theory of form (Leksakun, 2019), or Foucault's theory "knowledge is power" (Jaitiangtham, 2014), most textbook research examines how a harmonious community is constructed and how the selection of ideal characteristics in textbooks depends on the state's position. However, as pointed out in the #Saveເກື້ອຍໆ movement, a textbook is not a bias-free site, and there could be some traces of gender discrimination left to explore in this area of textbook study. Therefore, the contribution of this research is to introduce syntactic triggers (Davies, 2013; Jeffries, 2014) as an approach to investigate how the state constructs an ideal community and instills appropriate gender behaviors.

3. Research Objectives

The research is based on the premise that conceptual oppositions are used to cultivate state-sanctioned sexual behaviors in Thai textbooks. In this regard, the research adheres to the Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) tradition, which examines cultural patterns of representation in terms of particular linguistic features in textual data (e.g., Fairclough, 1992,

2003; Van Dijk, 1993). For example, Davies (2013)⁴ demonstrates how the British press uses textually constructed oppositions to marginalize certain types of protestors, which results in the justification of one group of protestors over the other. This study considers that these syntactic triggers could also be applicable in a Thai context to investigate how polarized the characters are and what ideological repercussions might happen in textbooks.

4. Research Methodology

The study is a qualitative analysis. The process of analysis is divided into two levels: the micro-level, where syntactic triggers (Davies, 2013; Jeffries, 2014) are manually applied to investigate linguistic oppositions in the textbooks; and the macro-level, which looks at how the text can be influenced by larger social and cultural events.

In this study, the term opposition is used to refer to 'any textual instance where individual words, phrases, and clauses are being treated in an oppositional manner' (Davies, 2013, p.23). The focus is on two types of oppositions. One is canonical or conventional opposition, which is commonly known as antonyms, e.g., hot/cold, and is considered conventional due to its form and availability in lexical authorities, such as a thesaurus or dictionary. The other is called constructed, non-canonical, unconventional, or contextual oppositions. This type of opposition can be in lexical, phrasal, or syntactic forms and requires context to comprehend.

The data includes the sixth-grade level of PasaPatee and Wannakadee Lamnam textbook series. The study expects to learn about character representations in the textbooks and the extent to which their depictions align with the GOOD/BAD binary, among other things. The examination then focuses on the gender ideologies, if any, that underpin these illustrations. The choice of the data stems from the #Saveເຖິງ petition and the intention to experiment with the application of syntactic triggers (Davies, 2013; Jeffries, 2014) in the Thai textbooks, which are mandatory for elementary school levels. The research begins with a focus on two units dedicated to gender socialization: ເສີແລ້ວໄນກລັບຄືນ sialæo mai klaphuhn in PasaPatee, and ອຢ່າຊີ່ງສຸກກ່ອນໜ້າມໄມ່ຈຳມືດີ ya ching suk kōn ham mai ngām dī in Wannakadee

⁴ Davies (2013) also demonstrates how the constructed oppositions and syntactic frames can serve as an additional tool for Critical Discourse Analysis (p. 197–204).

Lamnam. Then the examination covers the remainder of the sixth-grade level units from both series: 16 from PasaPatee and six from Wannakadee Lamnam. The following section explains the process of this study:

Step 1: the research begins with a manual examination of the text using the syntactic triggers (Jeffries, 2014; Davies, 2013). The detailed explanation of each pattern can be found in the answer to the first research question:

Syntactic triggers	Patterns
1. Semantic triggers	X/ Y (separated by opposite semantic properties or canonical forms of oppositions) (X/Y คำตรงข้ามທີ່ເກີດຈາກລັກຂະນະຄຳທີ່ແສດງຄວາມตรงກັນຂໍາມ)
2. Transitional opposition	X turn into Y (X ກລາຍເປັນ Y)
3. Negated opposition	X not Y (X ໄນໃຈ Y)
4. Comparative opposition	more X than Y (X ມາກກວ່າY)
5. Replacive opposition	X instead of Y (X ແທນທີ່ຈະ Y)
6. Concessive opposition	X but Y, X. However, Y (X ແຕ່ Y) (X. ອຍ່າງໄຮກ້ຕາມ Y)

Step 2: the linguistic oppositions that are triggered by the syntactic triggers are aligned with a more canonical form of oppositions at the conceptual level, namely PEACE/WAR, PERSONAL/IMPERSONAL, and SMALL/LARGE. A non-canonical opposition, tea/war, can be used to explain the link between textual and conceptual oppositions:

Table 1: explanation of the tea/war relationship with associated conceptual oppositions

1. Make tea , not war " proclaimed another, over the picture of the Prime Minister with a gun in his hand and a teapot on his head (Davies, 2013, p. 112).
In this context, the opposite relation is triggered by the Negated opposition, <i>not</i> . Without it, the opposite relationship between tea and war might not be recognized. At the conceptual level, the tea/war needs to be related to a more canonical form of opposition, such as PEACE/WAR, PERSONAL/IMPERSONAL, and SMALL/LARGE.

Following Davies (2013), a plane of equivalence (PoE) is the conceptual domain in which both pairs of oppositions share elements that make them compatible as a pair of oppositions. For example, drinking tea and going to war are both types of social relationship. Every plane of equivalence (PoE) is accompanied by a plane of difference (PoD), which refers to a domain in which the pair is considered to be different. For instance, when considering the opposition between **tea** and **war**, readers could be able to refer to a more familiar pair of

opposition, PEACE/WAR, at the conceptual level. In this context, tea is a peaceful activity enjoyed during times of peace, which contrasts with the act of war. For the purposes of this comparison, one could argue that drinking tea and going to war are both STATES OF SOCIAL RELATIONS that should be considered equivalent (PoE). Then, it is crucial to determine the area in which they differ. People drink tea with their friends but wage war against their enemies. Thus, the dividing line could be DEGREES OF ANTAGONISM:

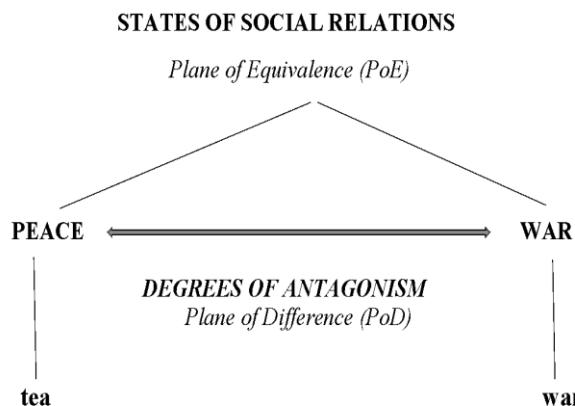


Figure 1: diagrammatic representation of relationship between the lexical items (tea/war) and canonical conceptual oppositions on which they are based

Tea and **war** are also related to PERSONAL/IMPERSONAL because drinking tea is a social activity that people do with their friends (PERSONAL) whereas war is fought with enemies (IMPERSONAL). Another viable choice is SMALL/LARGE, in which drinking tea (SMALL) is a significantly smaller activity than war (BIG). The following example illustrates the process of steps 1 and 2 using the data from this study:

Table 2: explanation of steps 1 and 2

2. ทั้งสามคนเป็นนักเรียนชั้นมัธยมศึกษาตอนต้นที่มาจากการต่างข้างแหนอ มาเข้าบ้านอยู่ด้วยกัน โดยไม่มีผู้ใหญ่ควบคุมดูแล นี่เองที่ทำให้ทั้งสามประพฤติตนเหลวไหล ชอบเที่ยวกลางคืน และไปในสถานที่ต่างๆ ที่ไม่สมควร ที่แยกว่านั้นก็คือ ทั้งสามคนหาเพื่อนผู้ชาย บางครั้งมีคนเห็นพวกเชือชวนเพื่อนผู้ชายมาค้างคืนด้วยกันในห้องเช่ามีการตั้งวงดื่มสุราและเปิดเพลงเสียงดังด้วยแต่หัวค่ำกระทั้งดึกก็ยังไม่เลิกราษฎรกรรมของพวกเขากำหนดให้ชาวบ้านที่อยู่ใกล้เคียงเอื่อมระอา เมื่อคราวหนึ่งทันต่อไปไม่ไหวจึงโทรศัพท์เรียกเจ้าหน้าที่ตำรวจให้มาจัดการ

“นี่คือเรื่องที่อาจไม่น่าฟัง แต่ก็เป็นความจริง” มีงวัญสรุปหลังจากที่เออเล่ามาเสียยีด Mayer “เรื่องราวท่านองนี้ก็เกิดขึ้นอยู่เสมอ ดังที่เราได้อ่านจากข่าวหนังสือพิมพ์รายวันอยู่เป็นประจำ เพื่อนๆ ลองคิดดู หากเรื่องแบบนี้ก็เกิดขึ้นกับพวกเรารึวะ น้องของเราระจะเป็นเรื่องที่น่าเสียใจมากแค่ไหน” (Ministry of Education, 2018, p.90)

The example serves as Mingkwan's introduction to her Supasit Sorn Ying recitation. In the first paragraph, the Comparative opposition, *X is worse than Y* (*X* ທີ່ແຍ້ກວ້ານັ້ນ *គື້ອ Y*), produces an unconventional opposition in the form of a sentence: **being sloppy, going clubbing, and going to places they are not supposed to** (ທີ່ສາມປະປຸດຕິນເຫລວໄທລວ...ໄຟສົມຄວຣ)/*meeting boys, spending the night with them, and partying all night, which disturbs others* (ທີ່ສາມຄບທາເພື່ອນຜູ້ໜາຍ...ຂາວບ້ານທີ່ອູ້ໄກລ້ເຄີຍງເອີມຮອາ). The opposition is a gradable one, showing that **having a connection with the opposite sex and disturbing others** is viewed as worse than **being sloppy, going partying, and visiting bad places**.

The Concessive opposition, *X, but Y*, also generates a non-canonical opposition between **unpleasant** and **true** ("ນີ້ *គື້ອເຮືອທີ່ຈາກໄນ່ນ່າພັງ ແຕກີເປັນຄວາມຈົງ"), which represents the undesirable behaviors described in the previous paragraph. Mingkwan expects that her friends will find the lesson unpleasant and hard to believe. Then she encourages them to imagine how upsetting it would be if anything similar were to happen to 'us or our siblings.' This act of imagination also accentuates the contrast with reality, which is supplemented by references to what is happening all the time, and on the news.*

The US/THEM binary is constructed by the Semantic trigger, *we, us/they, them* (ພວກເຂົາ/ພວກເຮົາ). Mingkwan uses the pronouns, *they* and *them*, in her description of the bad students. The elaboration that these students are from other districts and live here without parental supervision appears to alienate them even more from Mingkwan's group, considering the proximity that they are from different districts, and a sense of normalcy, due to their unconventional living conditions, without parental supervision (ທີ່ສາມຄນ...ມາຈາກຕ່າງອຳເກອ...ໄຟມີຜູ້ໃຫຍ່ຄວບຄຸມດູແລ).

In light of this US/THEM conceptual opposition, Mingkwan implies that in our good circle (US), we are unfamiliar with and do not engage in sexual activities (NORMAL), in contrast to how the three bad students behave (THEM, ABNORMAL). In summary, Mingkwan identifies her group (US) with WELL-BEHAVED and NORMAL, but the three bad girls are identified as THEM, ABNORMAL, and MISBEHAVED.

Step 3: The last step is an attempt to relate the results of the textual investigation at the micro level to the phenomenon of gender and nationalism at the macro level. The study aims at answering the following research questions:

RQ 1: How do oppositions create a sense of community in the textbooks?

RQ 2: In what way does the kind of community constructed by the conceptual oppositions contribute to the regulation of female sexuality?

5. Findings

The section begins with the answer to the first research question. The selected examples are provided with an explanation of how oppositions are constructed by syntactic triggers (Jeffries, 2014; Davies, 2013).

5.1 How do oppositions create a sense of community in the textbooks?

The conceptual oppositions can foster a sense of community by sustaining and highlighting the social order. This could be achieved by establishing a sense of normalcy inside the US/THEM binary by using CHILD/ADULT and WELL-BEHAVED/MISBEHAVED, along with other associated conceptual oppositions. To start with, Kiew's negative qualities are elaborated within these conceptual binaries:

5.1.1 Children who misbehave

Table 3: summary of the representation of Kiew in relation to the WELL-BEHAVED/MISBEHAVED

Kiew's description	Explanation of oppositions
3. ตอนกลางวัน เกี้ยวหนึ่งเรียนไปเพื่อตามศูนย์การค้ากลางตึกหนึ่งออกจากบ้านไปเพื่อผับ	Semantic opposition, <i>day/night</i> (ตอนกลางวัน/ตอนกลางคืน) the opposition: the opposition is a double negative, as Kiew consistently acts inappropriately. The benefit of <i>day/night</i> in this context is that it is used inclusively to highlight Kiew's negative behaviors or to point out that she misbehaves all the time: <i>cutting school to go to the mall during the day</i> (เกี้ยวหนึ่งเรียนไปเพื่อตามศูนย์การค้า) and <i>sneaking out of home to going clubbing at night</i> (หนีออกจากบ้านไปเพื่อผับ). The <i>day/night</i> is also accompanied by the expectation of appropriate or good spaces for good students: being at <i>school</i> during the <i>day</i> and at <i>home</i> during the <i>night</i> . Kiew is, therefore, considered a bad student when she is not in either of these good places.
4. หนุ่มๆในซอย สามารถหอกเอินเกี้ยวด้วยถ้อยคำที่คึกคักนอง لامปามไม่ให้เกียรติแทนที่จะกร๊ะและเดินหนี เกี้ยวกลับสนุกที่จะเต็มใจตอบกลับ ด้วยคำพูดในลักษณะเดียวกัน	Replacive opposition, <i>X instead of Y</i> (<i>X</i> แทนที่ <i>Y</i>): when using Replacive opposition, the writer suggests a more acceptable response to the boy's rude flirt and disrespectful behavior (ถ้อยคำที่คึกคักนอง لامปามไม่ให้เกียรติ) which is <i>being angry and walking away</i> (กร๊ะและเดินหนี), <i>instead of</i> <i>enjoying it and responding to it in the same disrespectful manner</i> (สนุกที่จะเต็มใจตอบกลับ ด้วยคำพูดในลักษณะเดียวกัน). Hence, the constructed

	opposition signals Kiew's abnormal and inappropriate response to the opposite sex.
5. หน้าเข้าเกี้ยวก์เข้าไปร่วมกับแกงมอเตอร์ไซค์ ที่ประพฤติตัวผิดกฎหมาย ปิดถนนแข่งรถโดยไม่สนใจว่าใครจะเดือดร้อนหรือไม่ ที่สำคัญ เกี้ยวสนุกที่จะเออตัวเองเป็นรางวัลเมื่อชีวิต ซึ่งผู้ชายคนไหนก็ได้ที่ชนะเดิมพันจะเอาไปยำ	<p><u>Comparative opposition</u>, <i>X is worse than Y</i> (X หน้าเข้าฯ Y), <i>X. Most importantly, Y</i> (<i>X. ที่สำคัญ Y</i>): the Comparative opposition triggers a varying degree of bad behaviors. In this context, rudely flirting back to men in the previous example is bad but joining a motorcycle gang that illegally organizing a race on the public street and not caring whether they bother others or not (ไปร่วมกับแกงมอเตอร์ไซค์...ไม่สนใจว่าใครจะเดือดร้อนหรือไม่), is even worse.</p> <p>Another Comparative opposition, <i>X most importantly Y</i>, constructs another opposition concerning a higher degree of bad behavior. In this context, the fact that Kiew enjoys using her body as a human trophy and having sex with any men that won the race (เกี้ยวสนุกที่จะเออตัวเองเป็นรางวัลเมื่อชีวิต...ยำ) is <i>worse than joining the motorcycle gang and bothering others</i>. All in all, being promiscuous appears to represent the worst of her bad behaviors.</p>
6. ผลการเรียนของเกี้ยวตกต่ำสอบไม่ผ่าน ประกอบกับไม่มีจิตใจเรียนต่อ เพราะเกี้ยวกำลังหลงใหลเพื่อนชายมากหน้าห้ายตา สุดท้ายเกี้ยวต้องออกจากโรงเรียน ขณะที่พี่น้องทั้งสองคน ประพฤติตัวอยู่ในโ渥าท ผลการเรียนก้าวหน้าเป็นลำดับ	<p><u>Concessive opposition</u>, <i>X while Y</i> (<i>X ขณะที่ Y</i>) + <u>Semantic trigger</u>, <i>dropping grades and failing exams</i> (<u>ผลการเรียนตกต่ำ สอบไม่ผ่าน</u>) / <i>doing well academically</i> (<u>ผลการเรียนก้าวหน้าเป็นลำดับ</u>): Kiew's obsession with men has led to her academic failure. Eventually, she must drop out of school. The effect of her bad behaviors is presented in contrast to her obedient siblings, who are academically successful. In this context, the academic achievement of her siblings indicates positive and appropriate behavior for a good student, as oppose to Kiew's destructive behaviors.</p>
7. ป้านวลและลุงพจน์ น้ำตาແบบเป็นสายเลือด เมื่อรู้ว่าลูกสาวสุดที่รัก ฉลองคำนำหน้านางสาว ด้วยการตั้งห้องลูกไม่มีพ่อ เกี้ยวมาสำนึกรู้ว่าไม่ได้เมื่อสายเลือดแล้ว ความรู้สึกผิดชอบช้ำดี ประดังเข้ามา หนังสือไม่ได้เรียนอนาคตไม่มี วัยที่ควรจะได้อย่างค่อยเป็นค่อยไปเรียนรู้โลกไปอย่างมีความสุข และมีคุณภาพ	<p><u>Replacive opposition</u>, <i>X instead of Y</i> (<i>X แต่กับมี Y</i>): the Replacive opposition triggers an opposition between good and bad students' way of life. The good one is that they should gradually learn about life happily and effectively (ได้อย่างค่อยเป็นค่อยไปเรียนรู้โลกไปอย่างมีความสุข และมีคุณภาพ), but what happens to bad student like Kiew is that she has a burden which is the baby (มีภาระ ต้องมานั่งเลี้ยงลูกอ่อน).</p> <p>Along with the modality, should (ควรจะ), her consequence is mentioned alongside the normal and expected way to live life as a student. This opposition is introduced by the effects of her actions, both on herself and on her parents. For example, Aunt Nuan and Uncle Poj (Kiew's</p>

แม่กลับมีภาระ ต้องมานั่งเลี้ยงลูกอ่อน เข้าตำราชิงสุกก่อนห้าม	parents) are devastated when finding out that Kiew is pregnant when she's just 15 and does not even know who the father is. Kiew's eventually comes to her senses when it is too late (ป้านวลดังลุงพจน์ น้ำตาແຫບເປັນສາຍເລືອດ...ເກື້ອມາສຳນິກໄດ້ເມື່ອສາຍເສີຍແລ້ວ).
8. แม้พ่อแม่จะให้อภัย ค่อยกลออบโยนและให้กำลังใจ แต่เกี่ยวอ่อนแอก dein กว่า จะลูกขึ้นมาต่อสู้ชีวิต สุดท้ายเกียวกเป็นโรคซึมเศร้า ไม่สนใจดีคุณรอบข้าง ปล่อยชีวิตล่องลอยไปตามยถากรรม	<u>Concessive opposition</u> . Even though X, Y (<u>แม้ X แต่ Y</u>). + <u>Semantic trigger</u> , <u>getting back on her feet</u> (ลุกขึ้นมาต่อสู้ชีวิต)/ <u>giving up on her life</u> (ปล่อยชีวิตไปตามยถากรรม): the opposition is between parents comforting and emotionally supporting Kiew (พ่อแม่จะให้อภัย...ให้กำลังใจ) and Kiew being too weak to turn her life around (เกี่ยวอ่อนแอก...ต่อสู้ชีวิต). It entails the parents' attempts to help their daughter while Kiew is too weak mentally. The semantic trigger highlights another opposition, <u>getting back on one's feet/ giving up on life</u> , which is also an inclusive one to highlight Kiew's poor state of mind. Her ending is further explained with Kiew's being depressed, ignoring others, and letting life pass her by (สุดท้ายเกียวกเป็นโรคซึมเศร้า...ตามยถากรรม). Her ending is an implication of Kiew isolating herself from the society, regardless of her parents' effort to help her.

(Office of the Basic Education Commission, Ministry of Education, 2019, p. 214-215)

From the table, Kiew's actions, associated with WELL-BEHAVED/MISBEHAVED, are represented alongside CHILD/ADULT, NORMAL/ABNORMAL, CAUSE/EFFECT, REWARD/PUNISHMENT, and INDIVIDUAL/COLLECTIVE. The CHILD/ADULT represents the significance of being a good student and acting your age, especially regarding sexual relations. The narrator summarizes Kiew's situation with ชิงสุกก่อนห้าม (ching suk kogn ham), which emphasizes Kiew's mistake when she prematurely engages in sexual activity, or not at the appropriate time.

Kiew's violation of the CHILD/ADULT conceptual dichotomy (ABNORMAL) is described in the form of CAUSE/EFFECT in that the table describes her behaviors as causes in examples 3-5. Then, the consequences of her actions are elaborated with REWARD/PUNISHMENT, and INDIVIDUAL/COLLECTIVE. In examples 7-8, the underlined REWARD/PUNISHMENT points out a varying degree of her punishment for being promiscuous, namely dropping out, being a single mom, and being depressed (PUNISHMENT), while her obedient siblings succeed academically (REWARD).

The punishment is also associated with INDIVIDUAL, represented by Kiew's mental illness and lack of a chance to live life like a normal student (mentioned in 7) and COLLECTIVE when Kiew gives up on her life and isolates herself from society in 8. The reference to her parents' devastation and the motorcycle race that disturbs others also indicates how actions and consequences are linked to family and society (COLLECTIVE).

In example 2, Wannakadee Lamnam appears to adopt a similar approach to elaborate on the violation of the CHILD/ADULT binary. For instance, bad behaviors are also associated with US/THEM, NORMAL/ABNORMAL, and WELL-BEHAVED/MISBEHAVED. Nonetheless, the abnormality can be beneficial when good children take on the role of adults.

5.1.2 Well-behaving children with adult qualities

In association with KNOWLEDGE GIVER/RECEIVER and NORMAL/ABNORMAL, Kiew's story is narrated by what appears to be an authoritative third person (ADULT, KNOWLEDGE GIVER). On the other hand, in this unit, the narrators are sixth-grade students named Charlie and Mingkwan. The linguistic oppositions reveal that for children to be knowledge givers (CHILD, KNOWLEDGE GIVER), they need to be represented with adult qualities (referring to being more mature than their peers and knowledgeable in a certain area). Hence, the oppositions are used to associate them with ABNORMAL within the CHILD/ADULT binary.

In *yā ching suk kōn hām mai ngām dī*, Charlie starts the chapter by introducing three literature experts: a renowned literature reviewer, Kru Chanchai (a literature teacher), and Phomklae (a fictional boy who teaches literature) (KNOWLEDGE GIVER). In this context, Charlie sees himself as a child (KNOWLEDGE RECEIVER) learning from these adults. Then, through the reviewer's impressive remark, "writing a letter is an art form" (Ministry of Education, 2018, p. 88), Charlie starts to associate himself with the adults (CHILD/ADULT).

Table 4: summary of Charlie's description of his passion for writing in relation to the CHILD/ADULT

Association of Charlie with CHILD/ADULT	Explanation of oppositions
9. ນ່າເສີຍດາຍເຫຼືອເກີນ ທີ່ທຸກ ວັນນີ້ ດາວໂຫຼນໄໝ/ນິຍມເຂີຍນ	<u>Negated opposition</u> , $X \text{ not } Y (X \text{ ໄຟ/ } Y)$: the opposition, writing a letter (ເຂີຍຈົດໝາຍ) and calling people on the phone (ຕິດຕໍ່ອັນທາງໂທຮັກທີ່ມີອື່ອ),

<p>จดหมายกันแล้ว พากเขามักก ติดต่อกันทางโทรศัพท์มีอีก มากกว่าจะเขียนอะไรฯ ยาวๆ อย่างนี้</p>	<p>constructed with Negated opposition, <i>not</i>. It is mentioned alongside <u>Comparative opposition</u>, <i>X more than Y</i> (<i>X</i> มากกว่า <i>Y</i>) to emphasize that people prefer making a phone call to writing something this long.</p> <p><u>Semantic trigger</u>, <i>they/ (us)</i> (พากเข้า/ (เรา)): The use of pronoun, <i>they</i>, signals the sense of US/ THEM in which Charlie sees himself as a part of people who love writing letters (US) while other prefers making a phone call (THEM). Since the reviewers say that “Writing is an art form,” sharing this interest with him could align him with US and ADULT regardless of his young age.</p>
<p>10. ฉันเกริ่นมาเสียยีดยาฯ เพื่อ^ร แสดงให้เรอเห็นว่า จดหมาย^ร ของฉันนี้ใกล้ความเป็น^ร ศิลปะเข้ามาทุกทีแล้ว ฉันรู้สึก^ร มีความสุขทุกครั้งที่ได้เขียนถึง^ร เรอ หั้งๆที่ก่อนหน้านี้ฉันเล่น^ร เกมส์คอมพิวเตอร์อย่างหนัก^ร เล่นวันละหลายชั่วโมงโดยไม่รู้^ร เบื้อ แต่พอถึงตอนนี้ ฉันก็เขียน^ร จดหมายอย่างເອງຈິງເອງຈັງ^ร ເໜືອນກັນ</p>	<p><u>Transitional opposition</u>, <i>X is becoming Y</i> (<i>X</i> ใกล้ <i>Y</i> เข้ามาทุกที): the Transitional opposition triggers a change from Charlies’ letter, my letter (จดหมายของฉัน) into an art form (ความเป็นศิลปะ). Referring to the reviewer’s remark, “Writing a letter is an art form,” the unconventional opposition associates Charlie, a child writing a letter (CHILD) with an art form, implying an act of adult (ADULT).</p> <p><u>Semantic trigger</u>, <i>X used to Y (before)</i> (ก่อนหน้านี้ <i>X</i> พอดี^ร ตอนนี้ <i>Y</i>) + <u>Concessive oppositions</u>, <i>X but Y (X แต่ Y)</i>: the Semantic trigger in, <i>I used to play computer game excessively</i> (ก่อนหน้านี้ฉันเล่นเกมส์คอมพิวเตอร์อย่างหนัก), signals his past habit which is associated with children’s activity. A Concessive Opposition, <i>but</i>, triggers an opposition between playing a video game and writing a letter to signal his changes that he used to play a video games extensively, but now he also writes letters extensively (เขียนจดหมายอย่างເອງຈິງເອງຈັງ). The distinction between playing a computer game (kids’ activity) and writing a letter (adult’s activity), indicates his transition from being a child (CHILD) into an adult (ADULT).</p>
<p>11. ฉันไม่สรุปหรอกนะว่า^ร ระหว่างการเล่นเกมส์^ร คอมพิวเตอร์กับการเขียน^ร จดหมาย ฉันชอบอย่างไห^ร มากกว่า ก็อย่างที่คุณครูเคย^ร บอกพวกร่ว่า ทุกสิ่งทุกอย่าง^ร ในโลกนี้มีทั้งคุณและโทษ^ร แล้วแต่ว่าเราจะเลือกใช้มัน^ร อย่างไร</p>	<p><u>Comparative opposition</u>, <i>X more than Y</i> (<i>X</i> มากกว่า <i>Y</i>): to Charlie, the unconventional opposition, playing a computer game/ writing a letter, is an inclusive one in that he will not decide which one he refers. This aligns him with both CHILD/ ADULT binary.</p> <p><u>Semantic trigger</u>, <i>benefit/ drawback</i> (ค, ณ / ท, ช): In this context, he references Kru Chanchai (ADULT) who says that all have both benefits and drawbacks, it is up to us how we decide to use them. Charlie (a student) in this context is associated with CHILD/ KNOWLEDGE RECEIVER while Kru Chanchai (a teacher) is with ADULT/KNOWLEDGE GIVER.</p>

<p>12. ຂັນຄວາຈະຢູ່ຕີເຮືອງ ຂ້າງ ຕັນໄວ້ເພີ່ງເທົ່ານີ້ກ່ອນ ເຂົ້ານໄປເຈີ່ນນາຈັນທັກຈະຮູ້ສຶກວ່າຕ້າວອັນເປັນນັກເທັນເຂົ້າໄປປຸກທີ່ແລ້ວມະປາງບອກວ່າ ຍິ່ງເຂົ້ານການພາຫາຂອງຈັນກີ່ຍິ່ງອາວຸໄສຂຶ້ນທຸກທີ່ ຈັນກີ່ໄມ້ຮູ້ເໝືອນກັນວ່າເປັນເພຣະວະໄຮ ແຕ່ທູ້ຄູ້ອຍິ່ງເຂົ້ານຈັນກີ່ຍິ່ງສຸກຖຸກຮັ້ງໄປ</p>	<p><u>Comparative opposition</u>, <i>the more X, more Y</i> (ຍິ່ງ X ຍິ່ງ Y) + <u>Transitional opposition</u>, <i>X is becoming Y</i> (ຮູ້ສຶກວ່າ X ເປັນ Y ເຂົ້າໄປທຸກທີ່ແລ້ວ): Charlie's association with adults is created by the Transitional opposition, the more I write, the more I feel like a preacher, along with when Maprang, Charlie's friend, points out that <i>the more he writes, the more his writing style is more mature</i>. Therefore, in this context, Charlie (CHILD) is associated with ADULT through the act of writing (PoE).</p>
---	---

(Office of the Basic Education Commission, Ministry of Education, 2018, p. 88-89)

Charlie's association with CHILD/ADULT should be explained with the **Plane of Difference (PoD)** and the **plane of equivalence (PoE)**. Charlie is different from the adults he mentions at the beginning due to his AGE and **LEVEL OF LITERATURE COMPETENCY (PoD)**. On the other hand, the table shows Charlie's transition from being a child to an adult through **THE LOVE OF LETTER WRITING (PoE)**. When he recalls the lesson he learns from Kru Chanchai (ADULT, KNOWLEDGE GIVER), he resumes the role of a student again (CHILD, KNOWLEDGE RECEIVER). The fact that Charlie is different from other children appears to associate him with the notion of abnormality, NORMAL/ABNORMAL as well.

Another student that is associated with ADULT is Mingkwan. She is aligned with an adult, not only because of her role as the presenter (KNOWLEDGE GIVER), but also due to her comparability to Kru Chanchai (ADULT, KNOWLEDGE GIVER). Despite the fact that she is a young student (PoD), Mingkwan is compared to Kru Chanchai (PoE), both physically (when friends comment that she looks like Kru Chanchai) and through her literature presentation (following friends' remarks that she could be a teacher in the future).

All in all, the conceptual oppositions can be used to create a community in which people coexist peacefully with clear social expectations. Instead of using good role models for students to follow, both textbooks adopt a negative identification approach by providing bad examples, namely Kiew and the three bad girls, to show students what not to do. On the other hand, abnormality can be advantageous in maintaining social hierarchy, such as when Charlie and Mingkwan are aligned with ADULT in the CHILD/ADULT binary because they are knowledge providers. The following section answers the second research question.

RQ 2: In what way does the kind of community constructed by the conceptual oppositions contribute to the regulation of female sexuality?

The relationship between female sexuality and the construction of national identity is evident in the poem mentioned at the beginning of *sialæo mai klapkhuñ* (13), including the Supasit Sorn Ying which is mentioned at the end of the same unit and is also the main lesson of *yā ching suk kōn hām mai ngām dī* (14).

Table 5: poems revealing an association between female sexuality and the national identity

13. ບທນີ້ມຸ່ງສອນໃຈ	ความເປັນໄທຢແດນສຍາມ	Translation: the purpose of this unit is to teach about the national identity of Thailand. If you exhibit self-control and preserve your virginity, you will be praised and admired.
14. ຈງຮັກນວລສຈວນຈາມຫ້າມໃຈໄວ້ ອຍ່າຫລງໄລດຈຳຄຳທີ່ພ່ອ້າສອນ	ຄິດເຖິງໜ້າບົດາ ແລມາຮດ ອ່າຍ່າຮັບອັນເຮົວນັກມັກໄມ້ດີ ເມື່ອສຸກອມຫອມຫວນຈຶ່ງຄວຮລ່ານ ອູ້ກັບຕັ້ນອ່າໄຫ້ພຣາກໄປຈາກທີ່ ອ່າຍ່າຊີ່ງສຸກກ່ອນທ່ານໄມ່ຈ່າມດີ ເມື່ອບຸ້ມືຈົງຈະມາຍ່າປຣາມກົດ	Translation: you must practice self-restraint and uphold your virginity. Remember what you have learnt. Think about your parents. It is unwise to hurry. This is comparable to how fruits only fall when they are ripe. Do not engage in sexual activity too soon. Do not worry because you will have the chance to do it when the time is right.

The table 5 illustrates the significance of female sexuality to the national identity. In 13, the poem makes a connection between Thailand and Thainess with women's virginity, implicating the influence of women's behavior on the nation's identity. Similarly, example 14 highlights the importance of abstinence or the necessity to wait for the right moment, particularly when it comes to engaging in sexual activity. Both poems are also embedded with the REWARD/PUNISHMENT and INDIVIDUAL/COLLECTIVE in that the reward for preserving one's virginity is not for personal gain, but to be praised and admired by others in 13 and to save her parents' face or protect the family's reputation in 14.

From the table, the link between female sexuality and national identity is shown at the macro level, where Thainess and female virginity are intertwined, and at the micro level, where the harmony in the family, maintained by women's self-restraint, symbolizes the harmony of the nation. The table 6 summarizes the patterns of bad behaviors

associated with CHILD/ADULT, WELL-BEHAVED/MISBAHAVED, and REWARD/PUNISHMENT conceptual oppositions that could explain the need to regulate female sexuality for the sake of the nation:

Table 6: summaries the three incidents from *ya ching suk kōn hām mai ngām dī* and *sialæo mai klapkhūn*

Topic	Three students (<i>ya ching suk kōn hām mai ngām dī</i>)	Kiew (<i>sialæo mai klapkhūn</i>)	Nam-Oi (<i>sialæo mai klapkhūn</i>)
15. Roles of adults	1. Lack of parental supervision 2. Kru Chanchai and reviewer as knowledge giver 3. Charlie and Mingkwan, the narrators with adult's qualities	Parents failing with Kiew, but succeed with their other two children	1. Parents and teachers trying to warn Nam-Oi using Kiew as an example 2. Nam-oi's father trying to deal with her stubbornness but fails. 3. Aunt Yai solving the problem successfully
16. Allocation of spaces	Coming from different district + renting a house together without parents' supervision	Shopping malls + out at night with boys	Private space with boyfriends, but at least still at school
17. Negative behaviors	-Misbehaving, clubbing, + going to bad places -Poor academic performance	-Illegal Motorcycle race with boys + disturbing others -Poor academic performance	-Distancing herself from friends to make out with her boyfriend in private space -Poor academic performance
18. Higher level of negative behaviors	spending the night with boys + disturbing others when partying at home - Having Multiple partners	Having sex for fun + using body as a human trophy - Having Multiple partners	Asking parents for permission to spend the night with boyfriend, but parents prohibit -Having one boyfriend
19. Effects/ punishment	Neighbors being fed up with them + calling the cop to handle the situation	Taking care of (real) baby alone + having mental illness and isolating herself from the society	Taking care of (robot) baby alone while boyfriend still going out with friends

According to Yuval-Davis (1997), women primarily participate in national processes as biological producers of the national population and as reproducers of national culture and moral codes. The answer to the second research question is organized accordingly.

5.2.1 Women as a biological producer of the nation

The association of women with the national womb may necessitate the regulation of their behaviors, particularly those involving the opposite sex. As previously mentioned, family units (representing COLLECTIVE in INDIVIDUAL/COLLECTIVE BINARY) are regarded as a symbolic representation of the nation. Therefore, the disruption that occurs within the family can also represent the nation's problems. As a result, the consequences of a person's actions are related to society or social circle. Thus, the WELL-BEHAVED/MISBEHAVED conceptual opposition appears to be related to US/THEM and INDIVIDUAL/COLLECTION.

5.2.1.1 Significance of space (PUBLIC/PRIVATE)

The evaluation of female sexuality can be represented through space. In 16 and 17, the bad characters are in the places that could be considered inappropriate for students, i.e., going to the mall during the day and going clubbing at night. Even though Nam-oi is still at school, the fact that she intentionally isolates herself from her circle of friends to make out with her boyfriend in private space is also considered unacceptable.

The negative connotation of private space appears to be associated with the notion of self-control and social order. In ສີລ້າວ ມາ ກລັບຂຸ່ນ, the narrator uses the term, ສັກນທີ່ບໍຣຍາກາສເປັນໃຈ sathanthi thi banyakat penchai, which refers to as an area that encourages people to engage in sexual activity. Following the narrative voice:

ກາຣໄປສັກນທີ່ບໍຣຍາກາສເປັນໃຈ ທໍາໄທຄົນເຮັດໄປຕາມອາຮມົນໜ້ວງປີໄດ້ໂດຍປຣາຈາກກາຣຍັ້ງຄົດ ເພຣະໄມ່ຕ້ອງເກຣຈິໂຄຣ ພຣີອາຍິໂຄຣ ແລ້ວເຮື່ອງເຄວ້າຍໂດຍທີ່ຜູ້ໜູ້ງເປັນຝ່າຍເສີຍຫາຍຕ້ອງເກີດຂຶ້ນ ເມື່ອເກີດຂຶ້ນໄດ້ຄົຮັງໜຶ່ງແລ້ວ ມີຫົວໜ້າທີ່ຈະໄມ່ມີຄົຮັງຕ່ອໄປ ບາງຮາຍອາຈົມືລືປ່າງກະຈາຍໄປທ່ວ່າ ສຸດທ້າຍເຮື່ອງ ຄອຈະຈົບແບບເກື້ອງ

Translation: People in such an atmosphere can lose all self-control as they are not compelled to worry about what others may think or feel ashamed of their actions. This can result in devastating consequences, particularly for girls. Once it happens, it will definitely happen again. There might even be some sex clips that go viral. Eventually, they might end up like Kiew.

(Ministry of Education, 2019, p. 216)

The narrative voice establishes a clear link between the space, sexual experiences, and Kiew's ending. Private places are, therefore, viewed as negative and dangerous due to the presumption that individuals lack good judgment and consideration for others when in this kind of places. Therefore, a public space is preferred in this context. It is also related to COLLECTIVE in the COLLECTIVE/INDIVIDUAL dichotomy because being in the company of others or a member of a society can encourage people to exercise self-control.

5.2.1.2 Significance of consequences (REWARD/ PUNISHMENT)

In the textbooks, both positive and negative effects seem to be connected to the sense of community. Table 5 illustrates how the act of preserving virginity (INDIVIDUAL) can have an influence on the family (COLLECTIVE). Besides, Mingkwan's evaluation of promiscuous activities in example 2 is expressed through the negative evaluation of THEM within the US/THEM binary. Kiew's actions in 17 and the actions of the three bad girls in 18 also involve how they disrespect the society.

The notion of punishment also involves some form of social exclusion, notably for sexual code violators. In table 6, compared with Kiew, Nam-oi is represented as a lesser degree of bad example in almost every way. However, even though Nam-Oi only has a boyfriend and is still a virgin, being involved with the opposite sex seems to justify all the adults' concerns and her punishment in 19. In the textbook, social exclusion appears to be the ultimate punishment. In both Kiew's and Nam-oi's situations, they are left alone to take care of their baby, the metaphoric punishment for violating CHILD/ADULT expectations, and they can no longer be a part of the society. It should be worth mentioning that Nam-Oi's boyfriend can still go to the movie with friends, and Kiew's sexual partners do not have to be responsible for any of their actions.

Of all the sixth grade series, unit 7, ກວ່າແຜ່ນດິນຈະກລບໜ້າ *kwa- phændin cha klop na-* is the only unit that portrays the father negatively when he engages in a bribery (Ministry of Education, 2019, p. 97-105). The father's sentence in this unit is comparable to Kiew's in that he is imprisoned, while the rest of the family must change their last names and relocate. Hence, humiliation and social rejection appear to be the ultimate punishments after all.

5.2.2 Female as reproducers of the moral codes

The answer to the first research question elaborates on the necessity of the ADULT/CHILD binary in maintaining the social hierarchy. In this section, the focus is on women's roles in monitoring female sexuality and passing on the nation's moral lessons. For example, In *ya ching suk kōn ham mai ngām dī*, Kru Chanchai plays an extra role in gender socialization. Even though she teaches literature, she is merely an observer in all other lessons in the sixth grade series since the activity is initiated by students. However, she takes part in Mingkwan's presentation, focusing on instilling appropriate female qualities, by summarizing the lesson, answering difficult questions, describing the key concept, and pointing out the connection between the Supasit Sorn Ying and Mingkwan's story about the three bad students.

In the case of Nam-oi in example 15, her father fails to deal with her out-of-control behaviors, specifically when she asks to spend a night with her boyfriend. However, Aunt Yai, the older sister of Nam-oi's mother, successfully teaches her the lesson. Similarly, in all the sixth-grade lessons, the adults barely make mistakes and usually serve as knowledge providers. Likewise, in unit 7, it is the mother who is responsible for imparting moral lessons to her children and also persuades her husband to stop accepting the bribe and reject all the benefits that come from the bribery. Thus, female adults play a special role in the socialization of gender norms and morality.

6. Discussion

This study demonstrates how the syntactic triggers could uncover linguistic strategies used in the reproduction of power structures and the legitimization of control over female sexuality in textbooks. In accordance with Anderson's Imagined Communities (2006), the findings reveal the way in which the conceptual oppositions, namely CHILD/ADULT, WELL-BEHAVED/MISBEHAVED, and INDIVIDUAL/COLLECTIVE, contribute to the construction of an ideal community by simplifying a complex social structure and emphasizing the value of social responsibility; children should be obedient while adults provide protection and knowledge. Additionally, in line with Yuval-Davis (1997), the construction of this community in the textbooks has a gender subtext that underlines the necessity to regulate female sexuality.

In this context, the textual and conceptual oppositions can be useful in textbooks because they are cognitively primitive. This is supported by how a young child can recognize the opposite pairs of big, long, heavy, up, and out (Cruse, 2011). As a result, the fact that linguistic opposites are often used in textbooks should help students understand difficult lessons. Nonetheless, the use of oppositions in the data seems to oversimplify some circumstances when the bad girls are all the same: they face the same stigma and receive the same punishment regardless of their individual acts. For example, the assumption that Nam-oi will end up like Kiew when she only has a boyfriend or that a night spent at the beach can trigger sexual desires that lead to teen pregnancy seems to be an insult to students in this generation who might already have been exposed to a greater amount of information about sexuality. This point is consistent with Panpoothong's (2015) assertion that it might be difficult for the textbooks to achieve the goal of Thai primary education, which is to help Thai students understand social situations and develop life skills, due to their one-sided knowledge and lack of content to promote critical thinking.

The study is also in line with Jaithiangtham's (2014) research, which suggests that the past influences the ideal qualities of Thai women. Despite the incorporation of modern elements such as robot babies and computer games, the emphasis on Supasit Sorn Ying might be irrelevant these days. In addition, the complete avoidance of sexual relationships among adolescents appears impossible and unnecessary. The study does not promote promiscuity, but it is crucial to provide nuanced perspectives on a range of gender-based behaviors. Besides, given that both boys and girls engage in sexual activity, it seems particularly unfair that the boys are not liable for all of the consequences that Kiew and Nam-oi must endure.

Even though there has been no update regarding the #Saveเกี๊ยว, it is possible that changes will be made in light of the revision of the health education and physical education textbooks in which the stigmatization of LGBTIQ+ students as perverse was rectified and replaced with other values, specifically sexual diversity in Thainess and multiculturalism. Even though Lekkra (2021) points out that the changes are superficial and that other problematic areas remain to be investigated, this study hopes that the revision of textbook content based on public concerns will become common practice in Thai society.

7. Conclusion

The study reveals the patterns and functions of conceptual oppositions that are used in textbooks to marginalize bad students, primarily on the basis of their sexual behaviors. Consequently, the syntactic triggers (Davies, 2013; Jeffries, 2014) are also useful in the Thai context and are thought of as additional CDA toolkits for studying the relationship between language, knowledge, and established gender ideologies in Thai textbook studies.

This research aims at identifying linguistic and conceptual oppositions in textbooks. However, the benefits of syntactic triggers can extend beyond the examination of existing texts to the creation of rhetorical effects, particularly in editorial writing in which linguistic oppositions are prevalent. According to Davies (2019), the register and style of news editorials share many of the same rhetorical characteristics as a typical political speech, including the use of structural opposition. For example, the headline "VOTE MAY OR WE FACE DISASTER" in the Daily Express's 2017 general election editorial can lead voters to think that the policies of other parties will lead to failure and, by extension, that Theresa May's policies will lead to success (Davies, 2019, p. 50).

These conceptual oppositions could help students come up with creative and convincing arguments. For example, merely pointing out that May is a good candidate may not be as effective as using the CAUSE/EFFECT conceptual binary to predict or highlight the consequences of not voting for her with the SUCCESS/DIASTER conceptual dichotomy. Even though conceptual oppositions may lead to oversimplification and an unfair portrayal of bad students in this study, understanding the relationship between textual and conceptual oppositions can be helpful during the brainstorming and organization stages of writing, as long as students are aware of the gray areas between the pairs.

Symbols and Typographical Conventions

X/Y denotes an oppositional relationship between X and Y (representing words, phrases, or clauses).

Bold signifies both canonical and non-canonical linguistic oppositions, namely good/bad or tea/war.

Italic signals syntactic triggers for oppositions; for instance, the Concessive opposition in “this story is unpleasant, *but* true.”

Bold italic indicates the pair of oppositions that also serve as a semantic trigger, such as ***benefit/drawback***

CAPITAL signifies conceptual oppositions, e.g., CHILD/ADULT or WELL-BEHAVED/MISBEHAVED

References

Anderson, B. (2006). *Imagined communities: Reflections on the origin and spread of nationalism*. Verso books.

Anthias, F., & Yuval-Davis, N. (1989). *Woman-nation-state*. Springer.

Cruse, A. (2011). *Meaning in language: An introduction to semantics and pragmatics*. Oxford University Press.

Davies, M. (2013). *Oppositions and ideology in news discourse*. A&C Black.

Davies, M. (2019). Stark choices and brutal simplicity: The blunt instrument of constructed oppositions in news editorials. In *The Routledge Handbook of Language in Conflict* (pp. 44-63). Routledge.

Dwyer, L. K. (2012). Spectacular sexuality: Nationalism, development and the politics of family planning in Indonesia. In *Gender ironies of nationalism* (pp. 25-62). Routledge.

Enloe, C. (2014). *Bananas, beaches and bases: Making feminist sense of international politics*. Univ of California Press.

Eoseewong, N. (2004). *Thai, Thailand, textbooks and monuments* [ชาติไทย เมืองไทย แบบเรียน และอนุสรณ์]. Bangkok: Matichon.

Fairclough, N. (1992). *Discourse and social change* (Vol. 10). Cambridge: Polity Press.

Fairclough, N. (2003). *Analysing discourse: Textual analysis for social research*. Psychology Press.

Harrison, R. V. (Ed.). (2014). *Disturbing conventions: Decentering Thai literary cultures*. Rowman & Littlefield.

Jaithiangtham, J. (2014). Gender and sexuality discourse analysis in secondary school's Thai textbooks [การวิเคราะห์ว่าทกรรมเรื่อง “เพศ” ในหนังสือเรียนวิชาภาษาไทย ชั้นมัธยมศึกษาตอนต้น]. *Journal of Integrated Sciences*. 11(1), 58-109.

Last Book in the Universe. (n.d.). #Saveเกี้ยว time to change inappropriate textbook Content [#Saveเกี้ยว ถึงเวลาปรับเนื้อหาไม่เหมาะสมในแบบเรียนภาษาไทย]. Change.org. <https://www.change.org/p/ถึงเวลาปรับเนื้อหาไม่เหมาะสมในแบบเรียนภาษาไทย-saveเกี้ยว>

Jeffrey, L. A. (2007). *Sex and borders: Gender, national identity and prostitution policy in Thailand*. University of British Columbia Press.

Jeffries, L. (2014). *Opposition in discourse: The construction of oppositional meaning*. Bloomsbury Publishing.

Jiamwijak, R. (2018). Analysis of PasaPatee Thai textbooks: Consistency with strategy 1 on capacity building and development of human capital in the 12th national economic and social development plan [การศึกษาหนังสือเรียนภาษาไทย ภาษาพาที: ความสอดคล้องกับยุทธศาสตร์ที่ 1 การเสริมสร้างและพัฒนาศักยภาพทุนมนุษย์ ในแผนพัฒนาเศรษฐกิจและสังคมแห่งชาติ ฉบับที่ สิบสอง]. Thammasat University. Journal of Liberal Arts, Thammasat University, 18(2), 26-54.

Lekkla, N. (2021). Changes of discourse on gender and sexual diversity in sexuality education textbooks from perversion to acceptance under the concept of multiculturalism that is just a discourse [การเปลี่ยนแปลงว่าทกรรมเกี่ยวกับความหลากหลายทางเพศในแบบเรียนเพศ วิถีศึกษาจากความผิดปกติสู่การยอมรับภายใต้พหุวัฒนธรรมที่เป็นเพียงว่าทกรรม]. *Journal of Language and Culture*, 40(2), 79-95.

Leksakun, S. (2019). The form of “Good Man” in elementary Thai language textbooks [แบบของ “คนดี” ในหนังสือเรียนภาษาไทยระดับชั้นประถมศึกษา]. *Panidhana Journal*, 15(2), 363-390.

Mayer, T. (Ed.). (2012). *Gender ironies of nationalism: Sexing the nation*. Routledge.

McDowell, L. (2004). *Gender, identity and place: Understanding feminist geographies*. John Wiley & Sons.

Mosse, G. L. (2020). *Nationalism and sexuality: Middle-class morality and sexual norms in modern Europe*. University of Wisconsin Press.

Mulholland, J., Montagna, N., & Sanders-McDonagh, E. (Eds.). (2018). *Gendering nationalism: Intersections of nation, gender and sexuality*. Springer.

Nammontree, N. (2018). Representations appearing through major characters in the basic Thai textbook series PasaPatee for students from grades 1-6 of primary schools [ภาพแทนที่ปรากฏในตัวละครเอก จากหนังสือเรียนรายวิชาพื้นฐานภาษาไทย ชุดภาษาพาที ระดับชั้นประถมศึกษาปีที่ 1-6]. *Rajabhat Maha Sarakham University Journal*, 12(2), 467-480.

Office of the Basic Education Commission, Ministry of Education. (2018). *Basic Thai language textbook, language for life series: Literature rhythm for grade 6* [หนังสือเรียนรายวิชา พื้นฐานภาษาไทย ชุดวรรณคดีสำนวน ระดับชั้นประถมศึกษาปีที่ 6] (11th ed.). Business Organization of the Office of the Welfare Promotion Commission for Teachers and Educational Personnel.

Office of the Basic Education Commission, Ministry of Education. (2019). *Basic Thai language textbook, language for life series: Language saying for grade 6* [หนังสือเรียนรายวิชา พื้นฐานภาษาไทย ชุดภาษาพาที ระดับชั้นประถมศึกษาปีที่ 6] (11th ed.). Business Organization of the Office of the Welfare Promotion Commission for Teachers and Educational Personnel.

Panpoothong, N. (2015). Thai primary school history textbooks: A textually-oriented Critical Discourse Analysis [แบบเรียนประวัติศาสตร์ ภาษาถ้วยอุดมการณ์ ว่าทกรรภวิเคราะห์เชิง วิพากษ์]. *Language and Linguistics*, 34(1), 66-93.

Sanders-McDonagh, E. (2016). *Women and sex tourism landscapes*. Routledge.

Thida, P., Nilawanapa, R., & Weesapen, W. (2014). Creating desirable characteristics as found in Thai textbooks for elementary students [การสร้างคุณลักษณะอันพึงประสงค์ที่ปรากฏในหนังสือเรียนภาษาไทยระดับประถมศึกษา]. *Rajabhat Maha Sarakham University Journal*, 8(1), 63-70.

Van Dijk, T. A. (1989). Structures of discourse and structures of power, *annals of the International Communication Association*, (12)1, 18-59.

Van Dijk, T.A. (1993). Principles of critical discourse analysis. *Discourse & society*, 4(2), 249-283.

Vijayan, P. K. (2019). *Gender and Hindu nationalism: Understanding masculine hegemony*. Routledge.

Wodak, R. (2009). *Discursive construction of national identity*. Edinburgh University Press.

Yodhong, C. (2020). #Saveเกี้ยว from textbooks and imagination of good and bad women in the society [#Saveเกี้ยว จากแบบเรียนภาษาไทยและจินตนาการหญิงดี-หญิงเลวในสังคม]. <https://thematter.co/thinkers/kyo-and-thai-norm-about-being-good-girl>

Yuval-Davis, N. (1997). *Gender and nation*: SAGE publications.