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

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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

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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 #Saveเกี๊ยว 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 #Saveเกี๊ยว petition was launched to demand justice for the story's main character, Kiew (เกี๊ยว), 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 1960[2] stressed promiscuity rather than the exchange of money (p.26). This shows how the sexuality of women

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[2] 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. Panpothong (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 #Saveเกี๊ยว 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)[3] 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

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

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 #Saveเกี้ยว 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: เสียแล้วไม่กลับคืน sīalǣo mai klapkhūn in PasaPatee, and อย่าชิงสุกก่อนห่ามไม่งามดี yā ching suk kǭn hām mai ngām dī in Wannakadee 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 **คำตรงข้ามที่เกิดจากลักษณะคำที่แสดงความตรงกันข้าม)**
2. Transitional opposition	X turn into Y (X **กลายเป็น** Y)
3. Negated opposition	X not Y (X **ไม่ใช่** Y)
4. Comparative opposition	more X than Y (X **มากกว่า**Y)
5. Replacive opposition	X instead of Y (X **แทนที่จะ** Y)
6. Concessive opposition	X but Y, X. However, Y (X **แต่** Y) (X. **อย่างไรก็ตาม** 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, *not*. 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*:

STATES OF SOCIAL RELATIONS

Plane of Equivalence (PoE)

PEACE ⟸══════════⟹ WAR

DEGREES OF ANTAGONISM
Plane of Difference (PoD)

tea   war

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. ทั้งสามคนเป็นนักเรียนชั้นมัธยมศึกษาตอนต้นที่มาจากต่างอำเภอ มาเช่าบ้านอยู่ด้วยกัน โดยไม่มีผู้ใหญ่ควบคุมดูแล นี่เองที่ทำให้ทั้งสามประพฤติตนเหลวไหล ชอบเที่ยวกลางคืน และไปในสถานที่ต่างๆที่ไม่สมควร ที่แย่กว่านั้นก็คือ ทั้งสามคบหาเพื่อนผู้ชาย บางครั้งมีคนเห็น*พวกเธอ*ชวนเพื่อนผู้ชายมาค้างคืนด้วยกันในห้องเช่ามีการตั้งวงดื่มสุราและเปิด เพลงเสียงดังตั้งแต่หัวค่ำกระทั่งดึกก็ยังไม่เลิกรา*พฤติกรรมของพวกเขา*ทำให้ชาวบ้านที่อยู่ใกล้เคียงเอือมระอา เมื่อใคร คนหนึ่งทนต่อไปไม่ไหวจึงโทรศัพท์เรียกเจ้าหน้าที่ตำรวจให้มาจัดการ

"นี่คือ**เรื่องที่อาจไม่น่าฟัง** แต่ก็เป็น**ความจริง**" มิ่งขวัญสรุปหลังจากที่เธอเล่ามาเสียยืดยาว "เรื่องราวทำนองนี้เกิดขึ้นอยู่ เสมอ ดังที่เราได้อ่านจากข่าวหนังสือพิมพ์รายวันอยู่เป็นประจำ เพื่อนๆลองคิดดู หากเรื่องแบบนี้เกิดขึ้นกับพวกเราหรือ*พี่ น้องของเรา* จะเป็นเรื่องที่น่าเสียใจมากแค่ไหน" (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 ที่แย่กว่านั้นคือ Y),* produces an unconventional opposition in the form of a sentence: **being sloppy, going clubbing, and going to places they are not supposed to (ทั้งสามประพฤติตนเหลวไหล…ไม่สมควร)/meeting boys, spending the night with them, and partying all night, which disturbs others (ทั้งสามคบหาเพื่อนผู้ชาย…ชาวบ้านที่อยู่ใกล้เคียงเอือมระอา)**. 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** ("นี่คือเรื่องที่อาจไม่น่าฟัง แต่ก็เป็นความจริง"), 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* (พวกเขา/พวกเรา). 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 (ทั้งสามคน...มาจากต่างอำเภอ... ไม่มีผู้ใหญ่ควบคุมดูแล).

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 เกี๊ยวหนีโรงเรียนไปเที่ยวตามศูนย์การค้า กลางดึกก็หนีออกจากบ้านไปเที่ยวผับ*	<u>Semantic opposition,</u> *day/night (ตอนกลางวัน/ตอนกลางคืน)* the opposition: the opposition is a double negative, as Kiew consistently acts inappropriately. The benefit of ***day/night*** 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: **cutting school to go to the mall during the** *day* (เกี๊ยวหนีโรงเรียนไปเที่ยวตามศูนย์การค้า) and **sneaking out of home to going clubbing at** *night (*หนีออกจากบ้านไปเที่ยวผับ). The **day/night** is also accompanied by the expectation of appropriate or good spaces for good students: being at **school** during the **day** and at **home** during the **night**. Kiew is, therefore, considered a bad student when she is not in either of these good places.
4. **หนุ่มๆในซอย สามารถหยอกเอินเกี๊ยวด้วยถ้อยคำที่คึกคะนอง ลามปามไม่ให้เกียรติ** *แทนที่จะโกรธและเดินหนี เกี๊ยวกลับสนุกที่จะโต้ตอบกลับ ด้วยคำพูดในลักษณะเดียวกัน*	<u>Replacive opposition,</u> *X instead of Y (X แทนที่จะ Y)*: when using Replacive opposition, the writer suggests a more acceptable response to the boy's rude flirt and disrespectful behavior (ถ้อยคำที่คึกคะนอง ลามปามไม่ให้เกียรติ) which is **being angry and walking away (โกรธและเดินหนี)**, *instead of* **enjoying it and responding to it in the same disrespectful manner** (สนุกที่จะโต้ตอบกลับ ด้วยคำพูดในลักษณะเดียวกัน). Hence, the constructed opposition signals Kiew's abnormal and inappropriate response to the opposite sex.
5. *หนักเข้าเกี๊ยวก็เข้าไปร่วมกับ* แก๊งมอเตอร์ไซค์ ที่ประพฤติตัวผิดกฎหมาย ปิดถนนแข่งรถโดยไม่สนใจว่าใครจะเดือดร้อนหรือไม่ *ที่สำคัญ* เกี๊ยวสนุกที่จะเอาตัวเองเป็นรางวัลมีชีวิต ซึ่งผู้ชายคนไหนก็ได้ที่ชนะเดิมพันจะเอาไปย่ำยี	<u>Comparative opposition,</u> *X is worse than Y (X **หนักเข้า** Y), X. Most importantly, Y (X. ที่สำคัญ Y):* 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** (ไปร่วมกับแก๊งมอเตอร์ไซค์…ไม่สนใจว่าใครจะเดือดร้อนหรือไม่), is even worse. Another Comparative opposition, X *most importantly Y*, 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** (เกี๊ยวสนุกที่จะเอาตัวเองเป็นรางวัลมีชีวิต…ย่ำยี) *is worse than* **joining the motorcycle gang and**

	bothering others. All in all, being promiscuous appears to represent the worst of her bad behaviors.
6. *ผลการเรียนของเกี๊ยวตกต่ำ สอบไม่ผ่าน* ประกอบกับไม่มี จิตใจเรียนต่อ เพราะเกี๊ยวกำลัง หลงใหลเพื่อนชายมากหน้า หลายตา สุดท้ายเกี๊ยวต้องออก จากโรงเรียน *ขณะที่พี่น้องทั้ง สองคน* ประพฤติตัวอยู่ใน โอวาท *ผลการเรียนก้าวหน้า เป็นลำดับ*	<u>Concessive opposition,</u> *X while Y* (X **ขณะที่** Y) + <u>Semantic trigger,</u> *dropping grades and failing exams (ผลการเรียนตกต่ำ สอบไม่ผ่าน)/ doing well academically (ผลการเรียนก้าวหน้าเป็นลำดับ):* 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.
7. *ป้านวลและลุงพจน์ น้ำตา แทบเป็นสายเลือด เมื่อรู้ว่าลูก สาวสุดที่รัก ฉลองคำนำหน้า นางสาว ด้วยการตั้งท้องลูกไม่มี พ่อ เกี๊ยวมาสำนึกได้เมื่อสายเสีย แล้ว ความรู้สึกผิดชอบชั่วดี ประดังเข้ามา หนังสือไม่ได้เรียน อนาคตไม่มี วัยที่ควรจะได้อย่าง ค่อยเป็นค่อยไปเรียนรู้โลกไป อย่างมีความสุข และมีคุณภาพ แต่กลับมีภาระ ต้องมานั่งเลี้ยง ลูกอ่อน เข้าตำราชิงสุกก่อนห่าม*	<u>Replacive opposition,</u> *X instead of Y* (X **แต่กลับมี** Y): 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)**.

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 parents) are devastated when finding out that Kiew is pregnant when she's just tun 15 and does not even know who the father is. Kiew's eventually comes to her senses when it is too late (**ป้านวลและลุง พจน์ น้ำตาแทบเป็นสายเลือด...เกี๊ยวมาสำนึกได้เมื่อสายเสียแล้ว)**. |
| 8. *แม้พ่อแม่จะให้อภัย* คอย ปลอบโยนและให้กำลังใจ *แต่ เกี๊ยวอ่อนแอเกินกว่า*จะลุก ขึ้นมาต่อสู้ชีวิต สุดท้ายเกี๊ยวก็ เป็นโรคซึมเศร้า ไม่สนใจใยดีคน รอบข้าง ปล่อยชีวิตล่องลอยไป ตามยถากรรม | <u>Concessive opposition,</u> *Even though X, Y (**แม้** X **แต่** Y).* + <u>Semantic trigger,</u> **getting back on her feet (ลุกขึ้นมาต่อสู้ชีวิต)/giving up on her life (ปล่อย ชีวิตไปตามยถากรรม)**: the opposition is between **parents comforting and emotionally supporting Kiew (พ่อแม่จะให้อภัย...ให้กำลังใจ)** and **Kiew being too weak to turn her life around (เกี๊ยวอ่อนแอ...ต่อสู้ชีวิต)**. It entails the parents' attempts to help their daughter while Kiew is too weak mentally. The semantic trigger highlights another opposition, **getting back on one's feet/ giving up on life**, 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 |

	(สุดท้ายเกี้ยวก็เป็นโรคซึมเศร้า...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 ชิงสุกก่อนห่าม (ching suk kɔ̄ɩn hām), 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 ya ching suk kǭn ham 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. น่าเสียดายเหลือเกิน ที่ทุกวันนี้ คนเราไม่นิยม**เขียนจดหมาย**กันแล้ว *พวกเขามัก***ติดต่อกันทางโทรศัพท์มือถือ** *มากกว่าจะเขียนอะไรๆ ยาวๆ อย่างนี้*	<u>Negated opposition</u>, *X not Y (X ไม่ Y)*: the opposition, **writing a letter** (เขียนจดหมาย) and **calling people on the phone** (ติดต่อกันทางโทรศัพท์มือถือ), constructed with Negated opposition, *not*. It is mentioned alongside <u>Comparative opposition</u>, X *more than* Y (X มากกว่า Y) to emphasize that people prefer making a phone call to writing something this long. <u>Semantic trigger</u>, *they/ (us) (พวกเขา/(เรา))*: The use of pronoun, *they*, 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.
10. ฉันเกริ่นมาเสียยืดยาว เพื่อแสดงให้เธอเห็นว่า **จดหมาย**	<u>Transitional opposition</u>, *X is becoming Y (X ใกล้ Y เข้ามาทุกที)*: the Transitional opposition triggers a change from Charlies' letter, **my letter** (จดหมายของฉัน)

ของฉันนั้นใกล้ความเป็น ศิลปะเข้ามาทุกทีแล้ว ฉันรู้สึก มีความสุขทุกครั้งที่ได้เขียนถึง เธอ ทั้งๆที่*ก่อนหน้านี้ฉันเล่น* **เกมส์คอมพิวเตอร์อย่างหนัก** เล่นวันละหลายชั่วโมงโดยไม่รู้ เบื่อ แต่พอถึงตอนนี้ ฉันก็**เขียน จดหมายอย่างเอาจริงเอาจัง** เหมือนกัน	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). <u>Semantic trigger,</u> *X used to Y (before)* (ก่อนหน้านี้ X พอถึงตอนนี้ Y) + <u>Concessive oppositions,</u> *X but Y (X แต่ Y)*: the Semantic trigger in, *I used to play computer game excessively* (ก่อนหน้านี้ฉันเล่นเกมส์คอมพิวเตอร์อย่างหนัก), signals his past habit which is associated with children's activity. A Concessive Opposition, *but*, 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 (เขียนจดหมายอย่างเอาจริงเอาจัง). 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).
11. ฉันไม่สรุปหรอกนะว่า ระหว่าง**การเล่นเกมส์ คอมพิวเตอร์**กับ**การเขียน จดหมาย** ฉันชอบอย่างไหน มากกว่า ก็อย่างที่คุณครูเคย บอกพวกเราว่า ทุกสิ่งทุกอย่าง ในโลกนี้ มีทั้ง**คุณ**และ**โทษ** แล้วแต่ว่าเราจะเลือกใช้มัน อย่างไร	<u>Comparative opposition,</u> X *more than* Y (X มากกว่า Y): 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. <u>Semantic trigger,</u> *benefit/ drawback* (คุณ/โทษ): 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.
12. ฉันควรจะยุติเรื่องข้างต้น ไว้เพียงเท่านี้ก่อน เขียนไป เขียนมา**ฉัน**ชักจะรู้สึกว่าตัวเอง เป็น**นักเทศน์**เข้าไปทุกทีแล้ว มะปรางบอกว่า ยิ่งเขียน**ภาษา ของฉัน**ก็ยิ่งอาวุโสขึ้นทุกที ฉัน ก็ไม่รู้เหมือนกันว่าเป็นเพราะ อะไร แต่ที่รู้คือยิ่งเขียนฉันก็ยิ่ง สนุกทุกครั้งไป	<u>Comparative opposition,</u> *the more X, more Y* (ยิ่ง X ยิ่ง Y) + <u>Transitional opposition,</u> *X is becoming Y* (รู้สึกว่า X เป็น Y เข้าไปทุกทีแล้ว): 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 *the more* he writes, *the more* his writing style is **more mature**. Therefore, in this context, Charlie (CHILD) is associated with ADULT through the act of writing (PoE).
(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 sīalǣo mai klapkhūn (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 kǭn hām mai ngām dī (14).

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

13. บทนี้มุ่งสอนใจ ความเป็นไทยแดนสยาม รักนวลสงวนงาม เลื่องลือนามน่าชื่นชม	**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. จงรักนวลสงวนงามห้ามใจไว้ อย่าหลงไหลจำคำที่พร่ำสอน คิดถึงหน้าบิดา แลมารดร อย่ารีบร้อนเร็วนักมักไม่ดี เมื่อสุกงอมหอมหวนจึงควรหล่น อยู่กับต้นอย่าให้พรากไปจากที่ อย่าชิงสุกก่อนห่ามไม่งามดี เมื่อบุญมีคงจะมาอย่าปรารมภ์	**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 yā ching suk kǭn hām mai ngām dī and sīalǣo mai klapkhuน

Topic	Three students (yā ching suk kǭn hām mai ngām dī)	Kiew (sīalǣo mai klapkhuน)	Nam-Oi (sīalǣo mai klapkhuน)
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 sīalǣo mai klapkhūn, the narrator uses the term, สถานที่ที่บรรยากาศเป็นใจ sathānthī thī banyākat penčhai, which refers to as an area that encourages people to engage in sexual activity. Following the narrative voice:

การไปสถานที่ที่บรรยากาศเป็นใจ ทำให้คนเราหลงไปตามอารมณ์ชั่ววูบได้โดยปราศจากการยั้งคิด เพราะไม่ต้องเกรงใจใคร หรืออายใคร แล้วเรื่องเลวร้ายโดยที่ผู้หญิงเป็นฝ่ายเสียหายต้องเกิดขึ้น เมื่อเกิดขึ้นได้ครั้งหนึ่งแล้ว มีหรือที่จะไม่มีครั้งต่อไป บางรายอาจมีคลิปฉาวกระจายไปทั่ว สุดท้ายเรื่องคงจะจบแบบเกี้ยว

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, กว่าแผ่นดินจะกลบหน้า kwā phǣndin cha klop nā 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 yā ching suk kǭn hām 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 Panpothong'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

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