



**AN ANALYSIS OF IDENTITIES OF CHARACTERS AND
IDEOLOGIES IN FOUR SERIES OF
ENGLISH TEXTBOOKS FOR THAI BEGINNERS:
FROM PAST TO PRESENT**

BY

MISS MINGKWAN WONGSANTATIVANICH

**A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT
OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY PROGRAM IN
ENGLISH LANGUAGE STUDIES
(INTERNATIONAL PROGRAM)
DEPARTMENT OF ENGLISH AND LINGUISTICS
FACULTY OF LIBERAL ARTS
THAMMASAT UNIVERSITY
ACADEMIC YEAR 2017
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DISSERTATION

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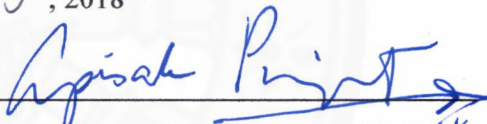
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AN ANALYSIS OF IDENTITIES OF CHARACTERS AND IDEOLOGIES
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FROM PAST TO PRESENT

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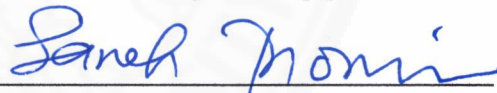
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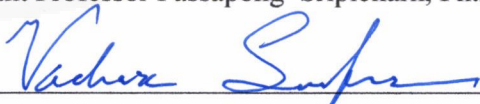
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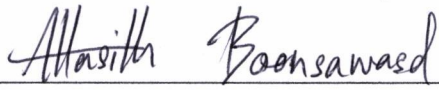
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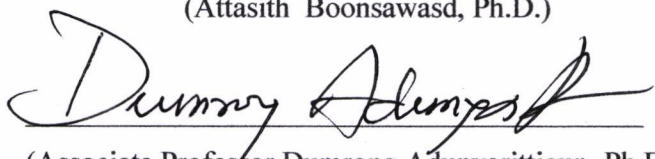
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Thesis Title	AN ANALYSIS OF IDENTITIES OF CHARACTERS AND IDEOLOGIES IN FOUR SERIES OF ENGLISH TEXTBOOKS FOR THAI BEGINNERS: FROM PAST TO PRESENT
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Degree	Doctor of Philosophy (English Language Studies)
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Thesis Advisor	Assistant Professor Saneh Thongrin, Ph.D.
Academic Years	2017

ABSTRACT

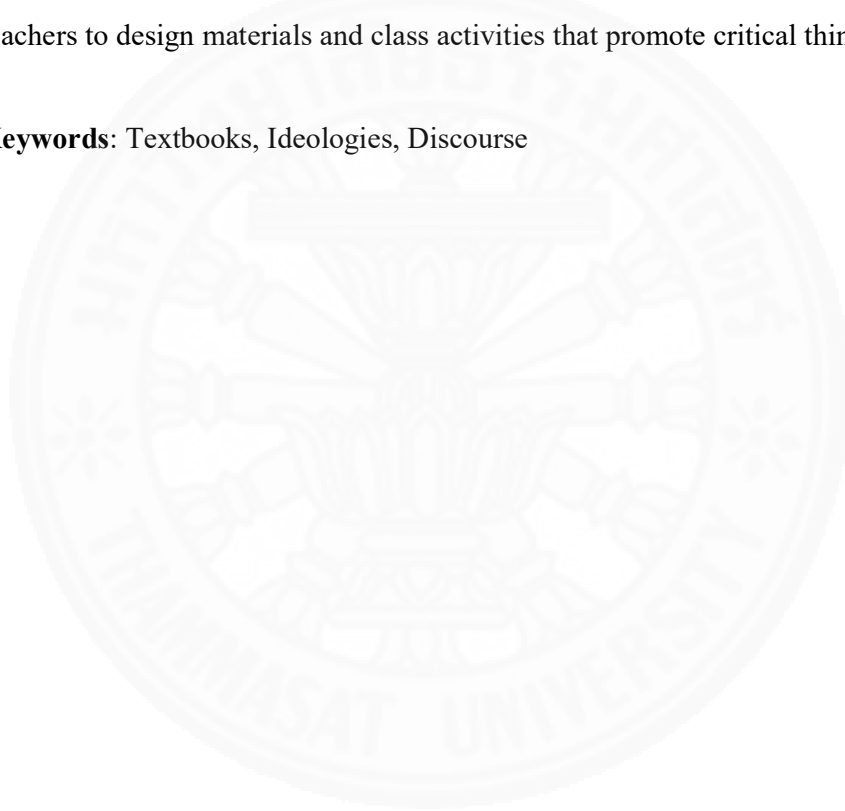
This research is a critical analysis of English textbooks designed for Thai students starting to learn English. The textbooks under examination are four different series from four different eras: the late 19th century, the 1930s, the 1980s, and the 2000s. The objectives of the research are twofold: 1) to examine the identities of the characters represented in the textbooks and 2) to examine the ideologies embedded in the content of the textbooks and how these ideologies are constructed in the Thai context. The textbooks are analyzed using the theoretical frameworks of Critical Discourse Analysis.

The findings reveal that each series of textbooks portrays the age, racial, class, and gender identities of characters. The first two series prioritize adult characters, Siamese/Thai characters, elite characters, and male characters in their representations. By contrast, child characters, foreign characters, middle-class characters, and female characters become increasingly important in the last two series. It can be quite difficult for textbooks to serve as naturalized discourses, but these textbooks seem to function as sites where the power of some groups over others is contested and negotiated. In terms of ideologies, the findings reveal that the dominant ideologies in the first, second,

third, and fourth series of textbooks are modernization, nationalism, consumerism, and globalization, respectively. Moreover, the ideology of morality is dominant in all four series. It is argued that these ideologies are discursively constructed. The four series of textbooks were controlled by the state education agencies in terms of production. Textbook production, in turn, is governed by state policy, which is tied to social conditions. As such, the ideologies serve to justify and maintain the power of the state.

This research could be useful in raising teachers' awareness about the bias of textbooks and enabling them to become more critical about what is portrayed in textbooks and be more careful in using them with students. It could also encourage teachers to design materials and class activities that promote critical thinking.

Keywords: Textbooks, Ideologies, Discourse



ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I would like to express my profound gratitude to my thesis supervisor Dr. Saneh Thongrin for her invaluable guidance, immense knowledge, patience, encouragement, and spiritual support. Without her, I would not have completed this thesis.

I would like to thank my thesis committee: Dr. Apisak Pupipat, Dr. Passapong Sripicharn, Dr. Vachara Sindhuprama, and Dr. Attasith Boonsawasd for their encouragement, support, and insightful comments.

I am also thankful to Dr. Thomas Hoy for his encouragement, support, and invaluable guidance.

I am also grateful to the lecturers and fellow students at the English Language Studies Program, the Faculty of Liberal Arts for their help, support, and encouragement. My special thanks go to Dr. Teng, Dr. JEU, Dr. Tuk, Dr. Khwan, Dr. Deun, Ajarn Nah, Ajarn Ben, Ajarn Oui, and Ajarn Nuch.

Finally, my heartfelt thanks go to my family and friends for their continuous support and encouragement throughout my years of Ph.D. study.

Miss Mingkwan Wongsantativanich

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

Symbols/Abbreviations	Terms
CDA	Critical Discourse Analysis
CLA	Critical Language Awareness
Direct Method Reader	Direct Method Reader for Thai Students
English is Fun	English is Fun: A Beginning Course for Thai Students
Projects	Projects: Play and Learn



CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

This chapter describes how this research is formulated. It is divided into these sections: English textbooks in Thailand, rationale, objectives, research questions, scope, significance, definition of key terms, textbook overview, and chapter overview.

1.1 English textbooks in Thailand

1.1.1 King Chulalongkorn's reign

Modern English education in Thailand began during the reign of King Chulalongkorn. In 1872, one year after King Chulalongkorn established a school within the Grand Palace for the Thai education of the royal family and nobility, he established an English school within the compound of the Grand Palace in order to provide English education to its royal and noble students. The students included, for example, Prince Damrong, Prince Vajiranana, and Prince Devawongse. Francis George Patterson, an Englishman, was appointed the headmaster of the school. The textbooks used in the “Thai School” were the *Munlabot* series, written by Phraya Srisunthorn Woharn, the school's headmaster. For the “English School,” no textbooks were used. Sor Plainoi (1992, p. 80) stated that the school's classrooms used the maps of Europe, a glossary written by Supreme Patriarch Jean-Baptiste Pallegoix, and a glossary written by Reverend Samuel G. McFarland. Prince Damrong was quoted as saying that the glossaries helped Patterson and his students understand each other by translating English words into Siamese and vice versa (as quoted in Pisalbut, 1969). Prince Vajiranana was also quoted as saying “The teacher couldn't speak Thai. He taught very much like a *farang* (foreigner). A *farang* book was used. Even European maps were used” (as quoted in Surasawadi, 1988, p. 70).

The school, however, did not last long, as Patterson returned to his country in 1875. King Chulalongkorn established another English school at Suan Anand in 1879 with the aim of educating royal and noble children. The headmaster of the school was Reverend Samuel G. McFarland, an American missionary. The school was

administered by a governing committee appointed by the king (Wyatt, 1994, p. 253). The teachers included Reverend Samuel G. McFarland himself, as well as his son, George Bradley McFarland. The school offered five-year English and Thai courses (Wyatt, 1994, p. 254). Wyatt (1969, pp. 108–109), however, argued that, due to the school's remote location and the hesitation of many noble parents to send their children to a school run by a missionary, the school was not popular among noble families. Instead, it was popular among Thai and Chinese commoners. No evidence has yet been found about the English textbooks used in the school. I assume from what George Bradley McFarland's wife Bertha McFarland (2014, pp. 244–245) wrote in her book, that *The English-Siamese Word-Book* by Reverend Samuel G. McFarland might have been one important resource for English instruction in the school.

As the chief officer of the Royal Household Page Guards Regiment, Prince Damrong had responsibilities for educational development during 1881–1885. King Chulalongkorn approved Prince Damrong's proposal to establish Suan Kularb School in 1881. Unlike Suan Anand School, Suan Kularb School catered to royal and noble children. The aim of the school was to train students for government service and for study abroad (Numpeth, 1987, p. 49). Osatharom (1981, p. 60) maintains that it was the first Thai school to attempt to use western teaching methodologies and examination standards. For instance, in 1884, the first annual examination in the Thai language was held at Suan Kularb School. The examination was based on the *Munlabot* series, which by that time had become the main textbooks for government public schools. In terms of English instruction, in late 1881 Suan Kularb School founded its English department, which was separate from its Thai department (Wyatt, 1969, pp. 108–109). Baboo Ramsamy Pultar from Kolkata, India was first hired as an instructor, but was replaced by Reverend J. Wastie Green in 1885 (Wyatt, 1994, p. 255). No evidence has yet been found about the English textbooks used in the school before 1891, when the new English curriculum and exam standards designed by Sir Robert L. Morant were put into effect (Wyatt, 1994, p. 258).

In 1891, Sir Robert L. Morant published *The English Course for Government Schools in Siam* at the mandate of Prince Damrong, the chief officer of the Education Department, which was founded in 1887. The book featured the new English

curriculum and examination standards designed by Morant (Wyatt, 1994, p. 258). There were six standards all together, which covered reading, dictation, Siamese-English and English-Siamese translation, grammar, and composition. The standards were important in that they standardized English teaching across schools (Numpeth, 1987, p. 68). At the end of the book, Morant recommended some books for exam preparation, including *Ladder of Knowledge Series* authored by Morant himself. Therefore, by 1891, *Ladder of Knowledge Series* must have been used in government-run public schools, including Suan Kularb School.

Morant came to Thailand in 1886 and began teaching English to young members of the royal family. In 1888, he was appointed teacher of the Crown Prince, Prince Vajirunhis. Wyatt (1969, pp. 129–130) reported that the Textbook Bureau, under the Education Department, whose duty was to compile textbooks for schools, asked Morant to write a series of English books. As a result, Morant came up with *Ladder of Knowledge Series*, popularly known as the *Bandai* series. He wrote Volume 2 of the series in 1889, Volume 1 and Volume 3 in 1890, Volume 4 in 1891, and Volume 5 in 1894. The series was first used in his tutoring of the Crown Prince, and later at Rajakumara College, a school established in 1892 for the king's sons and royal children, and Morant was the headmaster of the school. Morant's contract was terminated in December 1893 and Rajakumara College was closed in 1896, but *Ladder of Knowledge Series* lived on, becoming even more popular as time went on. According to the Curriculum of 1895, *Ladder of Knowledge Series* was compulsory for students in *prayok* ³ who chose to study English (out of two choices, English and Malay).

The Curriculum of 1895 was not the first national curriculum. The so-called first curriculum was issued in 1892 as the Education Draft Laws, which comprised three sections. According to the first section, education in elementary schools (called *munlasaman* schools) was divided into two levels, lower and upper. For English instruction, it was stated briefly in the law that if teachers could be hired, English might be taught in the upper level, yet whether such teachers could be found or not was uncertain. The third section gave an overview of the education plan, in which education was divided into three levels: elementary (called *munlasueksa*), secondary, and tertiary.

¹ *Prayok* is approximately equivalent to “standard.”

English was planned to be introduced at the secondary level. Like the first section, this section did not mention English textbooks. The following curriculum, the Curriculum of 1895, was much clearer about the provision of English education. This curriculum divided education into three levels: *prayok 1*, *prayok 2*, and *prayok 3*. As noted, English was introduced in *prayok 3* and *Ladder of Knowledge Series* was mentioned as a compulsory set of textbooks. In fact, this curriculum stated in detail that Volumes 1–2 were to be used in level 1 of *prayok 3*, Volumes 3–4 in level 2, and Volume 5 in level 3. Nonetheless, *Ladder of Knowledge Series* was not the only set of textbooks used at the time. Theeraek (2014, p. 163) reported that an inspector visited the New School, a *chaloeisak* school (a private school founded by an individual) whose teacher's salary was subsidized by the government in 1895 and found that it used an old textbook printed in Kolkata, India.

By the early 1900s, *Ladder of Knowledge Series* had already become the main series of textbooks used in government-run public schools. In a letter dated 1902, a commoner who had opened an evening English school outside Bangkok asked the government to send *Ladder of Knowledge Series* to him (Charoen, 1902). Moreover, the Curriculum of 1905 divided students into two levels: primary and secondary. English was taught in the secondary course, and *Ladder of Knowledge Series* was mentioned as a compulsory set of textbooks for the course.

It is misleading, however, to say that there were no textbooks used at that time except *Ladder of Knowledge Series*. At the end of the *English Course for Government Schools in Siam*, Morant recommended other books for use in the government English school course, including Volumes 1-4 of *Ladder of Knowledge Series*, *Words and Phrases in English and Siamese* by Mrs. Davenport, *Practical Exercises in English* by Reverend Samuel G. McFarland, and *English Grammar for Junior Classes* by T. Morrison (Morant, 1891b). In 1901, the Educational Department opened a bookstore to sell textbooks for schools and booksellers (Naikonparian, 1901). The list of textbooks sold in the bookstore included Volumes 1, 3 and 5 of *Ladder of Knowledge Series*, a series of *Longman Ship Readers*, and *Ratchadapisek*. In 1908, the report of the Ministry of Public Instruction recorded both *Ladder of Knowledge Series*

and *Dent's First English Book* as being used in some schools (Ministry of Public Instruction, 1908).

It is also misleading to say that *Ladder of Knowledge Series* was welcomed by every teacher. One section of the *Vajiranana* magazine published in 1895 featured a conversation between a nobleman and a commoner about English education in the country. The nobleman asks the commoner to recommend an English book for him. The commoner tells him that *Ladder of Knowledge Series* is the best English book of that time, especially for adults, because it includes explanations along with exercises. The nobleman agrees but also notes that some people have criticized the series; he does not explain why. He also says that some teachers even refuse to teach students who want to use the series (Anonymous, 1895, pp. 1653–1654).

1.1.2 King Vajiravudh's reign

King Vajiravudh's education policy originally aimed at educating citizens for government service. Later, however, it focused on teaching citizens to learn how to earn a living, rather than entering the bureaucratic workforce. Watson (1980, p. 105) contended that the justification for universal and compulsory education began as early as 1910, when King Chulalongkorn wrote the letter below to the Ministry of Education.

The idea that schooling is the duty of the government to find civil servants is all wrong. All citizens need to be trained in knowledge to earn their living, to become good persons. At the moment, students study in schools with the objective of being a clerk and of becoming a high ranking officer. They should realize that education in school is to cultivate in them the qualities of effective citizenship and abilities related to earning their living like people in other nations. It is therefore the responsibility of the Ministry of Education to inculcate this idea among all citizens to have them realize their duties as citizens to be able to think wisely so that they will be useful to the country. (Chulalongkorn, His Majesty King, trans. 1980)

English was emphasized in various curricula. The Curriculum of 1911 stated that English was to be taught at the secondary level. The curriculum, however,

allowed those receiving the special primary education (called *prathomphiset*) to study English with the same number of class hours as at the secondary level. This special primary education, however, was terminated in 1913 when a new curriculum was drawn up. Under the Curriculum of 1913 and the Curriculum of 1921, English was mandatory for students at the secondary level. English remained a compulsory subject for secondary students until 1925, when King Vajiravudh's reign was over.

During the reign of King Vajiravudh, additional English textbooks were approved by the Ministry of Public Instruction for use in schools. In 1912, the Ministry of Public Instruction divided such textbooks into three categories (Wisuthisuriyasakdi, Chao Phraya, 1912). The first comprised those published by the Ministry itself. The second comprised books written by others but approved by the Ministry. The third included those published by printing houses or without copyright; any school that wanted to use these textbooks had to request approval from the Ministry (Wisuthisuriyasakdi, Chao Phraya, 1912).

The list of textbooks approved by the Ministry during 1910–1925, as recorded by the Department of Curriculum and Instruction Development included: *Ladder of Knowledge Series*, *Nangsue phasa angkrit lem 1–4 (English Book Vol. 1–4)*, *Baep son an angkrit lem 1–3 (English Reader Vol. 1–3)*, *Nangsue hat phasa angkrit lem 2 (English Practice Vol. 2)*, *Munlabot angkrit lem 1 (English Primer Vol. 1)*, *The Magic Stone*, *English Primer for Siam*, and *Baeprianrew angkrit (English Rapid Reader)* (Sinchai & Rucharit, 1977). Nevertheless, the Department's record was incomplete and less than 100% reliable. Looking at the textbook list issued by the Education Department in 1912 (as cited in Osatharom, 1981, p. 390), other English textbooks were mentioned: *Blackie's Model Reader*, *Nesfield's Outline of English Grammar*, *Pitman's Commercial Reader*, *Dent's First English Book*, *Introductory Golden Steps*, and *Royal Treasury of Story and Song*. None of these textbooks was recorded by the Department. In addition, the titles of B. O. Cartwright and Luang Chetgarovat's textbooks are confusing. In the 1912 list, their book was referred to as *Baep hat an angkrit (English Reader)* a title that did not match any of their books recorded by the Department.

The data from the Department of Curriculum and Instruction Development, however, suggest to me that B. O. Cartwright, a teacher at the Royal Civil Service College, appeared to be a notable English textbook writer for a Siamese audience in the early 1910s. He wrote *Baep son an angkrit lem 1–3 (English Reader Vol. 1–3)* in 1911–1912 and co-wrote *Nangsue phasa angkrit lem 1–4 (English Book Vol. 1–4)* as well as *Nangsue hat phasa angkrit lem 2 (English Practice Vol. 2)* with Luang Chetgarovat in the same years. In 1917, Luang Chetgarovat was appointed the Director of Vajiravudh College and by that time had been given the title Phraya Borombatbamrung. Cartwright and Phraya Borombatbamrung later co-wrote another book, *Munlabot angkrit lem 1 (English Primer Vol. 1)*.

Looking again at the textbook list issued by the Education Department in 1912 (as cited in Osatharom, 1981, p. 390), it was apparent that there was a classification of textbooks. According to the list, English textbooks were divided into two groups: compulsory and non-compulsory. *Ladder of Knowledge Series*, *Blackie's Model Reader*, *Nesfield's Outline of English Grammar*, and *Pitman's Commercial Reader* were in the former group. *Nangsue phasa angkrit (English Book)*, *Dent's First English Book*, *Introductory Golden Steps*, and *Royal Treasury of Story and Song* were in the latter group. What was certain from the data was that textbook monitoring existed.

The fact that the textbooks were separated into the above two categories caused some resentment and resistance. B. O. Cartwright wrote a letter the following year addressed to the Director-General of Education in which he argued that his book was better than that of Morant and that therefore it should have been included in the compulsory group to be used in schools (Cartwright, 1913). In his own words,

I beg to draw your attention to the following matter. About two years ago, I asked H. E. the then Acting-Minister for Education whether teachers in Siamese Schools were compelled to use certain text-books or not. H. E. informed me that the teachers had perfect liberty to make their own choice of books.

I was therefore very much surprised to find in the “Witiarchan” Vol 13. Part 5 dated 1st March of the present year, a list of books not merely recommended, but actually commanded to be used.

From enquiries made, I find that the Director-General of Education is responsible for the above list. I therefore wish to be informed why a set of books called “Baap Sawm Arn Angrit” which are published by the Civil Service College and duly licensed by the Ministry of Public Instruction...are not included in that list and put as an alternative course to the corresponding vols of the “Bandai” in the compulsory section.

I may here remark that the above series of books as well as the other English text-books published by the Civil Service College are considered by competent authorities outside of the Education Department as being far superior to the out-of-date Bandai series; and are being used in nearly all schools outside the control of the Education Department in preference to the “Bandai” and far better results are being obtained in consequence. (Cartwright, 1913)

We can see from Cartwright’s letter that *Ladder of Knowledge Series* was still the most privileged textbook from the point of view of the state.

Despite resistance, the Education Department continued its classification of textbooks. According to the textbook list issued by the Education Department in 1915, English textbooks were still identified as compulsory or non-compulsory. *Ladder of Knowledge Series* was in the former group; *Baep hat an ankrit (English Reader)* and *Dent’s First English Book* were in the latter group. In 1921, the Minister of Education, Chao Phraya Thammasakmontri, issued a regulation on textbook monitoring. In his own words,

For one subject, it is possible to have many [textbooks]. They all must be approved for use in schools. Students don’t know which textbook to choose. To spend the least money and to reach their objectives, the Ministry of Education has created a textbook list for schools. The list is

divided into two sections: compulsory and non-compulsory. To reach the objective to the fullest, it is necessary to regularly monitor which textbook should be taken from the compulsory section and which one should be included in the compulsory section. (Thammasakmontri, Chao Phraya, trans. 1921)

In fact, textbook monitoring was not confined only to government schools. The Private Schools Act, which was passed in 1918, stipulated that all private schools must register with the Ministry of Public Instruction. The Act gave the Ministry authority to ban any textbook deemed to violate moral standards or incite violent behavior. Similarly, the Compulsory Education Act of 1921 stated that all schools had to follow the Ministry's regulations on textbooks (Watson, 1980, pp. 105–106).

1.1.3 From 1926 onwards

The reign of King Prajadhipok brought more freedom in selecting textbooks to be used in schools. In 1927, the Ministry of Public Instruction abolished the prescription of textbooks for use in schools and allowed schools to choose any textbooks they wanted (Padungwittayaserm, Phraya, 1927). The Ministry also abolished the fee for checking individual textbooks in order to encourage textbook production. If a textbook was approved for use in schools, it would be licensed by the Ministry free of charge. Therefore, textbooks began to proliferate. During 1926–1932, Volumes 1 and 2 of *Ladder of Knowledge Series* were reprinted, each with 4,000 copies. In addition to the series, individual textbooks were reviewed and approved by the Ministry, including: *A Complete Course in the Analysis of Language*, *Baeprian angkrit (English Lessons)*, *Sonthana totop phasa angkrit 20 bot (20 lessons in English Conversations)*, *Baep son an angkrit yang withilat (Shortcut in English Reading)*, *Taeng waiyakon lae taeng angkrit (Grammar and English Writing)*, and *Kham athibai withichai tense (Explanations on How to Use Tense)*, and *Plae lae taeng angkrit (English Translation and Writing)*.

In 1932, the People's Party overthrew the absolute monarchy in Siam. The People's Party believed that education was critical for modernization (Watson, 1980, p. 108). Watson (1980) stated that “[t]he Constitution of 1932 included several clauses

dealing specifically with education and although there have been a number of short-lived constitutions since then the 1932 clauses have remained the legal basis for the development of Thailand's education system until the 1970s" (p. 109). After the 1932 Revolution, schools had limited freedom to choose textbooks. For instance, the Primary Education Act of 1935 stipulated that school principals could choose only those textbooks approved by the Ministry of Public Instruction. If the principals wanted to use other textbooks, they had to ask for permission from the Ministry. In addition, the Private School Act of 1936 brought all private schools under the supervision of the Ministry and forced them to comply with all government regulations, including those regarding textbooks (Watson, 1980, p. 109). Furthermore, a new education plan drawn up in 1936 demanded that all textbooks be approved by the Ministry.

Education in Thailand was affected by World War II. Watson (1980, p. 112) reported that schools were damaged by bombs, and there were shortages of equipment like desks, chairs, blackboards, and chalk. There were also shortages of textbooks. The Ministry solved this problem by printing and distributing textbooks to schools as well as decreasing their price (Thanee, 1984, pp. 143–144). Within a year of the war's end, more than two million textbooks were printed, and English textbooks were imported from foreign countries (Watson, 1980, p. 112)

In the 1940s, school textbooks were printed by the Teachers Institute Printing Press. However, there was demand for new textbooks, and in 1949 the Ministry of Education appointed a committee to formulate a plan for the production of quality textbooks through open competition (Ministry of Education, 1976, p. 4). Regulations on textbook competition were announced the following year. In 1952, the Department of Educational Techniques was established to produce textbooks and educational aids (Ministry of Education, 1976, p. 17). By 1955, the government took a more liberal attitude towards textbooks. It was accepted that a series of textbooks for each subject was not desirable (Ministry of Education, 1976, p. 34). In 1956, competitions in textbook writing were organized. Experts in each field were assigned to write on their subjects of expertise and private authors were asked to submit their work for approval.

In the 1940s, the list of textbooks approved by the Ministry of Education included *Direct Method Reader for Thai Students*, *New Method Readers*, *New Method*

Composition, Baeprian wai angkrit (English Rapid Readers), English Reading and Composition for Siamese Students, and Baep hat an angkrit (English Readers). In the 1950s, *Dent's First English Book, Living English for Thai Pupils, and Oxford English Course for Thailand* were added to the list.

It was not until 1960 that English was officially included in primary education. By that time, Thai educational system had changed from a 4-6-2 system (four years of primary, six years of secondary, and two years of high school) to a 7-5 system (seven years of primary and five years of secondary school) (Pisalbut, 1969). Primary education was divided into lower and upper levels, with English instruction included in the upper level. Nonetheless, based on the Ministry of Education's prescribed textbooks for primary schools in 1961, I found that the English textbooks used in primary schools were simply taken from those that had already been used in the secondary schools for some time. For example, the Ministry ordered that *Direct Method Reader for Thai Students (Vol. 1), Dent's First English Book, and Oxford English Course for Thai Students* be on the 1961 textbook list for *prathom*² 5 students.

In 1978, the educational system in Thailand was changed again to a 6-3-3 system (six years of primary, three years of secondary, and three years of high school). As a result of the Ministry's 1977 decision to cancel foreign language teaching at the primary education level in order to promote the Thai language, the 1978 Primary School Curriculum no longer included English as a subject for primary students. This, however, led to resistance among parents, and in 1980 the Ministry announced that English would be included in the *klum prasopkanphiset*, or special experience group, in primary education, and that government schools might choose to teach English for students in *prathom* 5 and *prathom* 6 for five hours per week. Following the 1980 announcement, a new series of English textbooks, *English is Fun: A Beginning Course for Thai Students* was introduced in government schools. This series was produced by the Department of Curriculum and Instruction Development, which was under the Ministry of Education, and it was officially announced as the textbook for primary schools in 1983. In the mid-1990s, another series of textbooks, *On the Springboard*, produced by the same organization, became another choice for schools.

² *Prathom* means primary education.

Following the Basic Education Curriculum of 2001 and the Basic Education Core Curriculum of 2008, new English textbooks for government schools were produced by the Ministry of Education to keep pace with the ever-increasingly globalized era. At the same time, private publishers were granted permission to sell their own English textbooks to be used in government schools as well. Some of these textbooks were locally produced, while others were imported from world-renowned publishers, mainly from the United Kingdom and the United States, such as Oxford, Cambridge, Heinle, Pearson, and McGraw Hill. These textbooks, however, had to be approved and have their quality assured by the Bureau of Academic Affairs and Educational Standards before they could be used.

From this brief history of English language textbooks in Thailand, it can be seen that Thai students and teachers have encountered a wide variety of locally and globally produced textbooks that have been reviewed, edited, and approved by the Ministry of Education. In this regard, they have been exposed not only to the model language and cultural practices of textbook writers but also to the ideologies of the Thai government.

1.2 Rationale

Texts are considered the result of semiotic processes emerging from social agents who produce them in line with social practices and orders of discourse (Fairclough, 2003). Thus, texts are never neutral; instead, they support and reflect the points of view, beliefs, values, and actions of the text producer, and therefore offer only a partial story. Janks (2014) argues that power relations are the key role in text production; they affect how texts are designed and written, which in turn affects whether power relations are maintained or challenged. Similarly, Wodak and Meyer (2009) contend that a text is rarely the work of only one person. Rather, it is produced through the negotiation of power between individuals and institutions. As they put it, “In texts, discursive differences are negotiated; they are governed by differences in power that is in part encoded in and determined by discourse and by genre. Therefore, texts are often sites of struggle in that they show traces of differing discourses and ideologies contending and struggling for dominance” (Wodak & Meyer, 2009, p. 10).

Similar to other texts, textbooks are not produced in a vacuum. Textbooks emerge out of educational and commercial institutions. They are intended to provide readers with information about a specific subject. While textbooks portray their positions as objective, they are actually written from a subjective perspective reflected in their language and content. For instance, De Los Heros (2009) examines language ideologies toward language variation and regional varieties of Spanish in Peru's official high school textbook, finding that the textbook does not endorse language diversity, but rather portrays the superiority of standard Spanish over regional varieties of Spanish. Yasin et al. (2012) analyze images in an English-language textbook in Malaysia. The analysis reveals that the domain relegated to women is the private sphere, while men are primarily represented in the public sphere. As such, the stereotypical gender roles of women as wives and mothers are perpetuated. Asgari (2011) examines the western cultural values in English textbooks used in Iran. She concludes that the western values portrayed lead to the perpetuation of the idea of western cultural superiority. Similarly, Lee (2011) investigates English textbooks used in Korean schools and finds that those textbooks support a binary representation of Western and non-Western countries, such as equality vs. inequality, and capability vs. incapability. Evidently, what is maintained in these textbooks is the power and knowledge of those who produce the textbooks.

This research study arose out of my concern over the lack of Thai scholarly accounts on the analysis of linguistic and cultural content in English textbooks from a critical perspective. The available studies examine English textbooks mostly from a pedagogical approach (e.g. Maichan, 1986; Kongsa-ard, 1990; Chetsurakul, 1993; Saisin, 2003; Angsutam, 2005; Arsairach, 2007; Meesupsang, 2009). For example, Kongsa-ard (1990) and Chetsurakul (1993) study the communicative activities in secondary English textbooks in order to evaluate the effectiveness of such activities. Saisin (2003) and Angsutam (2005) survey teachers' and students' attitudes towards the teachability of college English textbooks for the purpose of textbook improvement. Meesupsang (2009) examines the approaches, skills, exercises, topics, grammar, vocabulary, and design and layout of a high school English textbook to illustrate how textbook evaluation can be conducted. Harwood (2010, p. 12) observes that many analyses on English language teaching materials, including textbooks, indicate a lack of attention paid to the context in which the materials are used. Harwood's observation

applies to the case of Thailand, where little progress has been made in the area of textbook analysis in context. For contextualized analyses, they focus merely on the classroom as the context, while ignoring the sociocultural context in which the classroom is situated. In addition, no studies have ever explored the historical development of English textbooks in Thailand, nor have they associated these textbooks with the official Thai state discourse, which generally defines *watthanatham* (culture) as “prosperity and flourishing, order, national unity and progress, and public good morals,” implying a sense of civilized superiority (Supab, 1998).

The lack of critical analysis on textbooks may give rise to the perpetuation of the discourse that promotes textbooks as “a source which teachers and students come to trust as a language and cultural model given the very nature of textbooks as authoritative, factual, truth-based and obligatory” (Cortez, 2008, p. 14). This is questionable, however, because any text is culturally coded, and, in fact, bias exists in all texts. Bias may go undetected if teachers and students do not know how to read textbooks critically, hence coming to trust textbooks as a point of new absolute linguistic and cultural authority. An example of bias may be the selection of some topics and the omission of others. This may enable those in authority, especially the government, to gain or maintain power by means such as eliminating, changing, or hiding facts, such as parts of history or culture. At the same time, teachers and students may be shaped in certain ideological directions—from passive acceptance of authority to revolutionary zeal—because of their adoption of distorted ideas, norms, or values.

This research study is an attempt to explore the representation of character identities and the embedded ideologies in these four series of English textbooks for Thai beginners: *Ladder of Knowledge Series*, *Direct Method Reader for Thai Students*, *English is Fun: A Beginning Course for Thai students*, and *Projects: Play and Learn*. These four series were written in four different eras: the late 19th century, the 1930s, the 1980s, and the 2000s, respectively. No prior studies have explored these four series in terms of character identities and ideologies. In fact, no studies have ever explored Thailand’s English textbooks in different eras to see the continuity of character identities and ideologies and link them with Thailand’s historical context. Therefore, it can be said that this study is a new research study in the field of English language studies in Thai academia.

It is misleading, however, to say that this study is completely new. In reality, numerous research studies on English textbooks have been conducted by non-Thai scholars that examine the representations of characters and the construction of ideologies (e.g. Salami & Ghajarieh, 2015; Camase, 2009; Xiong & Qian, 2012; Lee, 2011; Yasin et al., 2012; Wu & Liu, 2015; Cortez, 2008). However, what makes this study distinct from them is that it does not focus on only one series of English textbooks, nor does it explore only one identity of characters or one ideology. In contrast, the other studies place emphasis on only one identity (especially race or gender) or one ideology in one series of textbooks. Gray (2010)'s study might discuss ideologies in the textbooks of several periods, but his study focuses on global textbooks produced by publishers in the West. Furthermore, these mentioned studies explore contemporary textbooks, not ones from previous eras. Compared with the other studies, this study is relatively broad in nature. Although it provides a broad, rather than deep, analysis, this study is important because it sheds light on the ways representations and ideologies in English textbooks have been (re)produced within a country in which English is a foreign language. It could benefit a number of related agents—teachers, learners, educators—in that such a critical look at the textbooks to be analyzed could lend itself to more applications.

It could be argued that English textbooks are intended to teach English and that their language and content are controlled by the teaching methodology. This argument is based on the belief that textbooks are produced free of attitudes, points of views, beliefs, and biases. The production of textbooks in Thailand proves otherwise. In Thailand, the production of textbooks used in schools is controlled by the state through educational agencies. According to Kanjanasthiti (2001), the Ministry of Education is responsible for textbook production. All textbooks must be reviewed and approved. The content in the textbooks must correspond to the policies of the state. The textbook writer must write based on the criteria and scope set by the Ministry of Education. Those who review the textbook must see whether a textbook is written based on the curriculum and contains complete content. As the production of textbooks is controlled by the state, the ideologies that justify and maintain the power of the state are likely to be incorporated into the textbooks.

Nonetheless, what is important about the above-mentioned argument is that it clearly shows that ideologies are subtle and are not always easily detected. Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) is thus a useful theoretical framework for this study because one aim of CDA is to examine discourse for manifestations of ideology. As Wodak and Meyer (2009) put it, CDA is not interested in the visible ideology in culture, but rather “the more hidden and latent type of everyday beliefs which often appear disguised as conceptual metaphors and analogies” (p. 8). However, this is not to say that only CDA can help in searching for ideology. In fact, apart from CDA, multimodal discourse analysis is useful in providing grounds for analyzing visual images in textbooks, and content analysis is useful when it comes to interpretation at the content level.

1.3 Research objectives

The objectives of this research are as follows:

1. To examine the identities of the characters represented in the four series of English textbooks for Thai beginners: *Ladder of Knowledge Series*, *Direct Method Reader for Thai Students*, *English is Fun: A Beginning Course for Thai Students*, and *Projects: Play and Learn*
2. To examine the ideologies embedded in the content of the textbooks, and how these ideologies are constructed in the Thai context

1.4 Research questions

This research attempts to address the following questions:

1. What are the identities of the characters represented in the four series of English textbooks for Thai beginners: *Ladder of Knowledge Series*, *Direct Method Reader for Thai Students*, *English is Fun: A Beginning Course for Thai Students*, and *Projects: Play and Learn*?
2. What are the ideologies embedded in the content of the textbooks? How are these ideologies constructed in the Thai context?

1.5 Scope of the research

Only the above-mentioned English textbooks approved by the Thai state to be used in schools at the beginner level were studied. There was no attempt to examine

textbooks at the levels beyond the beginner level. The reason for choosing textbooks for beginners is that the ideologies embedded in these textbooks may form the core of what is reproduced in the textbooks of higher levels. It is also interesting to see the ways in which the ideologies are naturalized into the contents of such textbooks at a basic level.

In addition, this research focused on only state-produced English textbooks or English textbooks produced by those commissioned by the state. There was no attempt to examine commercial English textbooks produced by private publishing companies. There has long been a great number of textbooks produced by both the state and private publishing companies (Sinchai & Rucharit, 1977; English Language Institute, 2007). It is therefore difficult to analyze all of them within one research study. The state-produced textbooks are important subjects of analysis because, in my view, these textbooks are likely to affect students to a relatively larger extent.

1.6 Significance of the research

This research is an attempt to provide a critical analysis, focusing on the textual presentation of both language and culture in English textbooks, in order to assess how dominant linguistic and cultural ideologies are discursively reproduced and naturalized into legitimate knowledge in English textbooks in the Thai context. This research contributes to the growing field of textual analysis in which textbooks are no more viewed as realities, but as a site of meaning, construction, and negotiation.

By tracing the history of textbooks, by analyzing the social, cultural, political, and historical forces that give rise to textbook production, and by identifying some of the ideological discourses presented in the textbooks, this research will be important for revisiting the past. It is possible that unexplored evidence may emerge that may contrast, resist, or possibly change dominant discourses that have constrained people for a long time.

In terms of pedagogical significance, teachers may be affected by this research. They may come to realize that all discourses, including those in English language textbooks, are subject to ideologies and should be understood only within a particular context. They may possibly be able to detect, scrutinize, or dismantle ideologies using the critical-reading strategies in this research. By doing so, they may

be able to provide their students with stimulating ideas that prompt learning and critical thinking. For instance, teachers may be able to engage their students in discussing the reading passages in the textbooks beyond the linguistic level. One example is questioning why such passages have been chosen for them to read and scrutinizing the hidden messages in such passages.

This research may also have implications for textbook writers and publishers in determining what should be included in the textbooks to promote mutual understanding and exclude particular biases. For instance, they may create content for textbooks that exposes readers to a wide variety of events, beliefs, norms, and values that represent a variety of ideologies instead of a particular one.

1.7 Definitions of key terms

This section presents operational definitions of the key terms used in this research.

English textbook refers to a written book used for the purpose of studying English.

English textbook for Thai beginners refers to a written book used by Thai students who are starting to study English. The term “beginners” has three meanings. First, the first series was originally taught in a royal school for royal children, some of whom were older than primary students in today’s sense (i.e. some were already teenagers, not seven or eight years old, which is the age at which many start school today.). Later, the first series was used for secondary students when English became a subject in secondary school. Thus, the term “beginners” in this period is quite complex. It refers to students who are beginning to study English irrespective of their age. Second, English was not taught in primary schools when the second series, originally designed for secondary students, was written. As time passed, however, English became a subject for primary school and the second series came to be used for primary students. Thus, the term “beginners” in this period refers to both secondary and primary students. Third, English was taught in primary schools when the last two series were written. This means that the term “beginners” in these two periods refers to primary students.

Character refers to a person or an animal in a textbook's story.

Ideology refers to “representations of aspects of the world which contribute to establishing and maintaining relations of power, domination and exploitation” (Fairclough, 2003, p. 218).

Identity refers to the characteristics that determine who a character in a textbook's story is. Such characteristics in this research are based on age, race, class, and gender.

Age refers to a category that groups people in society based on the concept of being young and old. In this research, it refers to a child and an adult.

Race refers to a category that groups people in society who share the same physical characteristics, language, and customs. In this research, it refers to Siamese/Thai people and the foreign people of many nationalities.

Class refers to a category that groups people in society based on their social or economic status. In this research, it refers to the elite, the middle class, and the lower class.

Gender refers to a category that groups people in society based on their masculinity and femininity. In this research, it refers to men, boys, women, and girls.

Modernization refers to the process by which a society becomes a modern, secular, urban, industrial, and rational one.

Nationalism refers to the love for and devotion to one's nation and the desire to promote the interest of one's nation.

Consumerism refers to the belief that stresses the value of buying and consuming goods and possessing materials.

Globalization refers to the process that expands and intensifies social relations, transactions, and connections that transcend national boundaries in political, economic, cultural, and ecological terms.

Morality refers to a system of values and codes of conduct about people's behavior that is accepted by a society. In this research, morality includes obedience, industriousness, cooperation, unity, punctuality, responsibility, generosity, loyalty, trustworthiness, devotion to work, and filial piety.

1.8 Textbook overview

Ladder of Knowledge Series follows the grammar-translation approach. Volumes 2, 4, and 5 teach grammar and provide exercises that require students to translate sentences from Siamese into English and vice versa. The explanations on grammar, as well as the exercises, are in both Siamese and English. Volume 3 is different: it provides tales, stories, and conversations for reading practice. All volumes contain no visual images.

Direct Method Reader for Thai Students provides lessons that are both grammar-based and topic-based. For grammar-based lessons, grammar points are explained (sometimes in Thai) followed by the presentation of stories and conversations using the explained grammar. For topic-based lessons, stories and conversations are provided whose content is related to the topics. No exercises are provided in either kind of lessons. All lessons contain visual images.

English is Fun: A Beginning Course for Thai Students is a publication that emphasizes English daily communications through exercises. Each lesson differs a little in terms of format and content, but generally it contains conversations, grammar, vocabulary, reading and writing exercises, and games. No grammatical rules are explained explicitly but are blended into the exercises. All lessons have visual images.

Projects: Play and Learn is a publication that is project- and communication-based. It requires students to use English to interact and communicate with others to complete projects, mostly group-based. Each lesson is called a “project” and revolves around one topic. In each lesson, students learn the vocabulary, expressions, and grammar related to the topic through conversations, stories, games, songs, poems, and chants. All lessons have visual images.

1.9 Chapter overview

Chapter 2 presents the literature that provides the theoretical background for the research. Chapter 3 describes the research methodology. It also provides an example of how the content and language in the textbooks are analyzed. Chapters 4, 5, 6, and 7 provide thorough analysis of *Ladder of Knowledge Series*, *Direct Method Reader for Thai Students*, *English is Fun: A Beginning Course for Thai Students*, and *Projects: Play and Learn*, respectively. Each of these chapters illustrates the identities

of the textbook characters in terms of age, race, class, and gender. They also present the ideologies and shows how the ideologies are discursively constructed. Some excerpts and visual images important to the analysis are highlighted. Chapter 8 compares the four series of textbooks. It summarizes the results of Chapters 4–7 and then discusses some important points that emerge from the results. The contexts in which the textbooks are produced are incorporated into the discussion. The last chapter, Chapter 9, concludes the whole study in a brief statement and offers some ideas regarding the implications of this study.

1.10 Chapter summary

In this chapter, I have introduced the development of English textbooks in Thailand since the reign of King Chulalongkorn, when English education began to become institutionalized. It can be seen that up to the present time there has been a wide variety of textbooks used in schools in the country. These textbooks have been reviewed, edited, and approved by the Thai state through educational agencies, leading to the incorporation of ideologies in the textbooks to serve state purposes. Thus, this study provides a critical analysis of English textbooks used for Thai beginners from four different eras: the late 19th century, the 1930s, the 1980s, and the 2000s. The analysis involves two-fold entities—the representation of character identities and the ideologies embedded in the textbooks, with an aim to explore how dominant representations and ideologies are discursively reproduced and naturalized into legitimate knowledge in English textbooks in the Thai context.

CHAPTER 2

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

This chapter examines the relevant literature that forms the theoretical background for this research. The literature is examined in these sections: language and culture, discourse, power, and ideology, critical discourse analysis, critical language awareness, multimodal discourse analysis, textbook analysis, and defining the concepts of modernization, nationalism, consumerism, globalization, and morality.

2.1 Language and culture

Humans make sense of themselves and the world through language. The relationship among language, culture, and thought is made explicit in the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis, which posits the idea that language determines how we think and behave. The strong version of the hypothesis claims that all thoughts and behaviors are constrained by language and that some thoughts in one language cannot be understood by those speaking other languages. According to Sapir (1958),

Human beings do not live in the objective world alone, nor alone in the world of social activity as ordinary understood, but are very much at the mercy of the particular language which has become the medium of expression for their society. It is quite an illusion to imagine that one adjusts to reality essentially without the use of language and that language is merely an incidental means of solving specific problems of communication or reflection. The fact of the matter is that the “real world” is to a large extent unconsciously built upon the language habits of the group. No two languages are ever sufficiently similar to be considered as representing the same social reality. The worlds in which different societies live are distinct worlds, not merely the same world with different labels attached... We see and hear an otherwise experience very largely as we do because the language habits of our community predispose certain choices of interpretation. (p. 69)

The strong version of this hypothesis raises questions about the possibility of translating and interpreting the meanings of other cultures. This leads to the weak version of the hypothesis, which states that language tends to influence our thinking. The Sapir-Whorf hypothesis tells us that language is not neutral, but rather carries meanings, values, and knowledge.

Language is the principal means of communication. Kramsch (1998) maintains that when language is used, it is bound up with culture in multiple ways. Firstly, language expresses facts and events about the world, as well as reflecting people's attitudes and beliefs. In this sense, language expresses cultural reality. Secondly, language embodies cultural reality as people use it to create meanings that are understandable to the group to which they belong. Finally, language is a system of signs that symbolize cultural reality. Given this close connection between language and culture, it is thus generally believed that language and culture are inextricably tied together.

The concept of culture is complex. Raymond Williams (1983) traced the development of the concept and provided its definition in three senses. Culture in the first sense describes the arts and artistic activity, such as literature, sculpture, painting, music, and theatre. In the second sense, culture refers to a symbolic feature of a particular way of life. In the last sense, culture means a process of development. To understand the complex nature of culture in the contemporary scene, the ever-increasing transnational connection of global culture must be taken into consideration. Often, the meanings of cultures are given to them by drawing boundaries around them, separating them entirely from other cultural spaces. By doing so, cultures tend to be misinterpreted as being formed in isolation, ignoring the complex histories of their connection with other cultures. Therefore, as Massey (1991) argues, we must understand culture in terms of syncretism and hybridity. According to Massey, the spatial construction of culture is always in process as it is a product of the dynamic interplay between the local and global forces. As such, cultures are "constellations of temporary coherence...set within a social space which is the product of relations and interconnections from the very local to the intercontinental" (Massey, 1991, p. 25). In emphasizing the syncretism and hybridity of cultures, we must be more attentive to the geography of culture, which, as Baldwin et al. (1999) put it, "is not simply about

'locating' culture, but about understanding the connections between people and places which transcend the borders and boundaries that so often define our 'maps' of culture" (p. 179). In order to understand culture, it is necessary to explore how meaning is constructed through the signifying practices of language, a main concern of semiotics (Barker & Jane, 2016).

2.2 Discourse, ideology, and power

2.2.1 Discourse

According to Gee (2011), discourse can be differentiated into little "d" and big "D" discourse. The former refers to grammar, while the latter refers to "ways of combining and integrating language, actions, interactions, ways of thinking, believing, valuing and using various symbols, tools, and objects to enact a particular sort of socially recognizable identity" (p. 201).

Discourse also refers to "language in its contexts of use" (Flowerdew, 2013, p. 1); that is, how people actually employ language to accomplish tasks in particular contexts. This view of discourse, as Jones (2012) reports, came from scholars such as Halliday, who studied language structures by emphasizing the function of language rather than its form.

Discourse also refers to "a particular set of ideas and how they are articulated," such as the discourse of globalization or the discourse of feminism (Flowerdew, 2013, p. 1). In this case, discourse is associated with a particular social group that produces a certain kind of knowledge, and there are many different discourses used by many different people in many different ways (Jones, 2012). This view of discourse was taken from Foucault (1972), who argues that discourse is the major device people use to construct knowledge and social identities, as well as exert power over other groups of people. Discourse is about the relationship between power and knowledge. What Halliday, Foucault, and Gee show is that both the form and function of language are important in analyzing language, and that "discourses are always historical and intertextual, linked across time, place, and speakers" (Rogers, 2011, p. 7).

2.2.2 Ideology

Ideology has various meanings. One popular meaning is influenced by Marxism. According to Barker and Jane (2016), Marxist ideologies refer to ideas rooted in the material conditions of the daily life of social classes. Since these classes are not equal, some ideas become dominant because they are produced by the classes that acquire more material conditions. These ideas legitimize the ruling class and perpetuate unequal social relations. As ideologies originate as part of unequal social relations, they are seen as a distorted representation of truth.

Gramsci developed his concept of ideology from Marxists. Gramsci (1971) wanted to find out why the capitalist ruling class dominates despite the fact that there is manifestation of inequality. In other words, he wanted to find out why there is no protest from the proletariat class and, in fact, why the proletariat class continues to support the capitalist ruling class. His conclusion is that there is a coercive use of force. At the same time, hegemony exists. Hegemony shapes consent and thus establishes the legitimacy of leadership. According to Gramsci (1971),

The normal exercise of hegemony on the classical terrain of the parliamentary regime is characterized by the combination of force and consent, which balance each other reciprocally without force predominating excessively over consent. Indeed, the attempt is always to ensure that force would appear to be based on the consent of the majority expressed by the so-called organs of public opinion – newspapers and associations. (p. 80)

For Gramsci, ideologies refer to the ideas and practices that are part of everyday activities. Gramsci divided ideologies into three groups. The first group comprises common-sense ideas that are taken for granted. The second group is the philosophy of a particular social group: intellectuals, such as priests and political activists. The third group is that of a hegemonic ideology with a leading role in society. According to Gramsci, hegemony is formed through a series of alliances between social groups; thus, it must be understood in relation terms. Hegemony is unstable, for it needs

to be constantly re-won and re-negotiated by social groups. Hence, there is a possibility of counter-hegemony.

Some people view ideologies as being confined to dominant groups. According to Fairclough (1989/2001), ideology is a tool used by the dominant group to sustain power. For instance, the ideology of capitalism serves capitalists by making people believe that capitalism is a fair system. Ideologies sustain power relations because they reflect particular interests and make such interests become accepted by creating a sense of purpose among a particular group of people (Jones, 2012). At the same time, ideologies have influence in marginalizing or excluding certain people who do not share the same sense of purpose.

Others view ideologies in a more neutral way. For example, Van Dijk (1998) asserts that ideology should be seen as a set of beliefs of particular groups of people. It should not be limited to “a concept that sees ideology only as an instrument of domination” (p. 11). According to Van Dijk (1995), ideologies are systems of principles that organize social cognitions, thereby controlling the social reproduction of the groups through the minds of the group members. Ideologies are both cognitive and social. The social functions of ideologies are that they “represent group identity and interests, define group cohesion and solidarity, and organize joint actions and interactions that optimally realize group goals” (Van Dijk, 1998, p. 316). However, Van Dijk asserts that ideologies are not necessarily structured, shared, and used coherently by group members.

2.2.3 Relationship among discourse, ideology, and power

In Foucault’s (1972) view, discourse is always ideological. That is, discourse always has an agenda that serves the interests and benefits of a particular group of people over those of others. Thus, discourse is used by people to construct and support particular versions of reality so as to exercise and maintain power in particular relationships. Foucault contends that people’s beliefs, identities, and institutions are constructed, asserted, and maintained by discourse. The work of Edward Said (1978), for example, shows how writers from the West created an image of the East through language. His analysis of colonial documents shows that the ways in which writers from the West talk about the East construct Western people as superior and non-Western

people as inferior, primitive, and backward. His analysis, therefore, shows that language plays a role in shaping people's perspective of themselves and others.

Central to this aspect of discourse is the notion of power. According to Foucault (1972), power lies in the creation of discourse. It is productive, bringing about forms of behavior and events. He argues that power operates within everyday relations; it is not merely something a group of people possesses and is not simply a form of oppression. For instance, power does not lie in catching a criminal but in producing the idea of the criminal. It is the body of knowledge that makes power. There are multiple power relations dispersed throughout society that are not necessarily easily observed in action. He also argues that wherever power is exercised, there is resistance. In this sense, individuals are not passive recipients of power but negotiators in power relations. In this reasoning, discourse is powerful because it can be associated with the construction of truth. For example, those who are powerful in the power relations can use discourse to construct and guarantee truth.

Influenced by Foucault, discourse is not primarily a technical device used to communicate a message that is politically neutral; instead, discourse is linked with the social settings in which it operates. Embedded in discourse is a particular knowledge that is tied to social power. For instance, when discourse is used by the authority, it may be a subtle device of oppression. In this regard, discourse always promotes a specific ideology.

2.3 Critical discourse analysis

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) is a critical text analysis of discourse. Central to CDA is the concept of power; CDA maintains that discourse is a tool of power and that the way this tool works in relation to social structure must be explored. The main thrust of CDA is that it analyzes discourse and social structure to reveal "ways in which social structure relates to discourse patterns (in the form of power relations, ideological effects, and so forth), and in treating these relations as problematic" (Blommaert, 2005, p. 25). Thus, as Van Dijk (2001) argues, CDA essentially studies how inequality, dominance, and power abuse are (re)produced by language in the social context. In this regard, the main goal of CDA is to strive for social equity through examining discourse for manifestations of ideology. However, as Wodak and Meyer

(2009) put it, CDA is not interested in the type of ideology on the surface of culture, but rather “the more hidden and latent type of everyday beliefs which often appear disguised as conceptual metaphors and analogies” (p. 8).

There are many approaches to CDA, but what they have in common are these principles (Wodak, 1996; Pennycook, 2010):

1. CDA is interested in studying the language used by real people. In other words, it is interested in studying *parole*, not *langue*.

2. CDA investigates discourse through contexts, as discourse must be understood in context.

3. As discourse does ideological work, CDA emphasizes how ideologies operate through discourse.

4. CDA views discourse as not merely a representation of culture. Instead, discourse (re)constitutes culture.

5. CDA views that various linguistic mechanisms are used to shape discourse. These mechanisms can be analyzed, and the analysis is interpretive and explanatory.

6. CDA is not merely interested in theoretical analysis. Rather, it is socially committed, attempting to “intervene and change what is happening in particular contexts” (Pennycook, 2010, p. 80)

The Dialectical-Relational Approach by Fairclough and the Social Actor Approach by Van Leeuwen are discussed below.

2.3.1 Fairclough’s Dialectical-Relational Approach

According to Fairclough (1989/2001, p. 18), discourse is “a form of social practice” because discourse is a part of society, a social process, and a socially conditioned process. Discourse is a part of society because the ways in which people use discourse are determined by social convention and have effects socially. Discourse is also a social process because it involves an interaction between text properties and people’s knowledge of language, values, and attitudes, which people draw upon to produce and interpret texts. In addition, discourse is a socially conditioned process because it is socially generated, and its nature depends on the social relations in which it is generated. Hence, in analyzing discourse, it is essential to consider the three interrelated dimensions of discourse: 1) verbal and visual texts; 2) discursive practice;

and 3) social practice. The first dimension involves the analysis of text through linguistic features. The second dimension is the interpretation of the processes by which texts are produced and received by people. The third dimension is the explanation of the sociocultural conditions that govern these processes. This is shown in Figure 2.1.

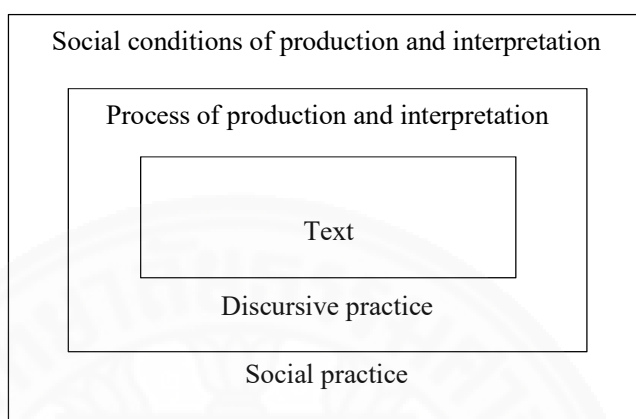


Figure 2.1 Fairclough's three-dimensional model (Fairclough, 1989/2001, p. 21)

In analyzing texts, Fairclough focuses on two types of analysis: linguistic analysis and intertextual analysis. Linguistic analysis covers phonology, grammar, vocabulary, and semantics. For phonology, Fairclough (2003) suggests analyzing patterns of intonation and rhythm in spoken language and graphological relations, such as relations between different fonts in written language. For grammar, he refers to the analysis of the “relationship between morphemes in words..., between words in phrases..., between phrases within clauses..., and between clauses in sentences” (p. 36). Vocabulary analysis involves the co-occurrence of a particular word with another word. In terms of semantics, he refers to the analysis of the meaning relations between sentences and clauses.

For the intertextual analysis, Fairclough (2003) discusses two categories: intertextuality and assumption. The intertextuality of a text is the incorporation of external texts within a text, and hence there are potentially other voices besides the voice of the author. Fairclough contends that the most common form of intertextuality is reported speech, and he differentiates four kinds of reported speech: 1) direct reporting; 2) indirect reporting; 3) free indirect reporting; and 4) narrative report of speech act. Direct reporting is the use of actual words in quotation marks with a

reporting clause. Indirect reporting is the summary of what was said with a reporting clause. Free indirect reporting is similar to the indirect reporting but without a reporting clause. Narrative report of speech act is a kind of speech act without reporting its content. As for assumption, it refers to the implicit meaning of a text. Three types of assumptions need to be explored: the assumptions about what exists, the assumptions about what is or will be the case, and the assumptions about what is good or desirable.

The analysis of discourse practice is concerned with the processes of text production and interpretation. Fairclough (2002a) maintains that the analysis should be concerned with the explanation of how participants produce and interpret texts. The analysis should also be based on the concept of interdiscursivity, which “highlights the normal heterogeneity of texts in being constituted by combinations of diverse genres and discourses” (Fairclough, 2002a, p. 73). In other words, the analysis needs to look at the ways in which diverse genres, discourses, and styles are combined in texts.

The analysis of social practice is concerned with the three levels of social organizations (Fairclough, 2002a). They are the social environment in which the discourse takes place, the social institutions that produce discourse, and the society as a whole. Fairclough argues that by analyzing these social organizations, it is possible that questions of power and ideology may arise.

2.3.2 Van Leeuwen’s Social Actor Approach

Van Leeuwen (2008) argues that discourse is modeled on social practices, which are “socially regulated ways of doing things” (p. 6). According to Van Leeuwen, a social practice contains these core elements: actors, actions, performance modes, presentation styles, times, spaces, and resources. That is, in a social practice, there is a set of actors in certain roles. Their roles can be the agents, the patients (participants to whom actions are done), or the beneficiaries. These actors perform actions, which may or may not be in a specific order. The actions are performed in a certain way and direction and are related to specific times and locations. In performing actions, the actors also present themselves through such things as dress and grooming and use specific tools and materials.

Social Actor Analysis is a way to analyze the representation of people in a discourse. Van Leeuwen (1996, 2008) argues that people are classified differently in discourse and that these classifications have different ideological effects. The people

are termed as social actors or participants who participate in a social practice mentioned above. In analyzing social actors, Van Leeuwen (1996, 2008) provides a set of linguistic categories, which are as follows:

1. Inclusion/exclusion

This category shows whether the social actor is included in or excluded from the action.

2. Activation/passivation

This category shows whether the social actor performs an action or is affected by the action.

3. Nomination/anonymization

This category shows whether or not the social actor is referred to by name.

4. Individualization/collectivization

This category shows whether the social actor is referred to as an individual by means of a singular noun or pronoun or is referred to as a part of a collective group by means of a plural noun or pronoun.

5. Generification/specification

This category shows whether the social actor is referred to generically or specifically.

6. Functionalization/classification

This category shows whether the social actor is referred to by means of a noun expressing an activity or institutional role or is referred to by a noun expressing age, sex, class, race, and so on.

7. Determination/indetermination

This category shows whether the social actor is referred to as a determined individual by using determiners.

Van Leeuwen (2008) extends his approach to analyze the visual representation of people. In analyzing the visual representation of people, he focuses on the ways people are depicted. To identify these ways, he offers five strategies: 1) exclusion; 2) roles; 3) specific and generic; 4) individuals and groups; and 5) categorization. The first one, exclusion, is the strategy of not representing people in contexts to which they belong. The second one, roles, is the strategy of depicting people based on their roles as the agents, the patients, or the beneficiaries of an action. The

third one, specific and generic, is concerned with representing people specifically or generically. The fourth one, individuals and groups, involves representing people as individuals or groups. The last one, categorization, is a matter of categorizing people based on their cultural or biological characteristics.

2.4 Multimodal discourse analysis

Kress and Van Leeuwen (1996) view meaning making as a social process that is communicated not merely through language but also through various modes, such as images, gestures, color, or movements. In this sense, discourse can be understood as a multimodal social practice. Multimodal discourse analysis views discourse as having a variety of modes of communication (Jones, 2012). Different modes work together in discourse. For instance, in written texts, there are not only words but also pictures, graphs, or charts. Both words and images work together to produce meaning for the receiver. Kress and Van Leeuwen (1996) assert that images are not merely dependent on language, but also have their own system of making meaning.

Like language, images make interpersonal meanings. Kress and Van Leeuwen (1996) and Van Leeuwen (2008) maintain that images involve two types of participants: represented participants and interactive participants. The former comprises the people, places, or things depicted in images. The latter comprises the producers and viewers of images. The meanings enacted from the relationship between these two participants are based on these three dimensions: 1) social distance; 2) social relation; and 3) social interaction. The first one, social distance, shows the closeness of the relationship between the depicted participant and the viewer. That is, a long shot alienates the viewer from those in the image, while a close-up identifies them as members of the same group. The second one, social relation, involves the angle from which the viewer sees the depicted participant. The angle can be vertical or horizontal. A vertical angle is the angle from which the depicted participants are seen compared with eye level (from above or from below); hence, the vertical angle is related to power. A horizontal angle is the angle from which they are seen frontally: straight-on, from the side, or somewhere in between; the horizontal angle, therefore, is related to involvement

with the viewer. The third one, social interaction, is related to the gaze of the depicted participant. If they look at the viewer, they address the viewer directly; that is, they demand something from the viewer.

Image-text relations are also important in enacting textual meanings. Based on Kress and Van Leeuwen (1996), composition is the first issue to consider. There are three principles of composition: 1) information value; 2) salience; and 3) framing. Information value is concerned with the placement of elements in different structures: left and right, top and bottom, and center and margin. The left and right structure is called Given-New; that is, the elements placed on the left are portrayed as Given; they are already known to the viewer. In contrast, the elements placed on the right are portrayed as New; they are not yet known or agreed upon by the viewer. Thus, elements on the right are challengeable. The top and bottom structure, on the other hand, is known as Ideal-Real: the elements placed on the top are portrayed as Ideal. This suggests that they are the idealized essence of information. On the other hand, the elements placed on the bottom are portrayed as Real, something more practical and specific. The last structure is Center-Margin. In this structure, there is one element in the center surrounded by the other elements. The elements in the center are the primary element upon which the other elements are dependent and to which they are subservient.

The second issue is salience. Salience can be indicated by many factors, such as the placement of elements in the foreground or background, color intensity, differences in sharpness, and size. The effect of salience is to attract the viewer's attention and thus to "create a hierarchy of importance among the elements, selecting some as more important, more worthy of attention than others" (Kress & Van Leeuwen, 1996, p. 212).

The third issue is framing. This connects elements. If elements are strongly framed, they are presented as separate from one another. If there is no framing, it shows group identity: that is, elements are presented as belonging together. Framing can be realized in many ways, such as by frame lines, by discontinuities of color or shape, or by empty space.

2.5 Critical language awareness

CDA has been questioned in terms of its application to pedagogy. Flowerdew (2013) asserts that CDA is more concerned with raising learners' awareness about the role of language in society rather than attempting to improve learners' language proficiency. Kress (1996) contends that CDA lacks an element of pedagogical practice; it is more as a research tool engaging in critical reading and analysis. He thus suggests that CDA needs to go beyond that and become a device for educational purposes. In a similar vein, though not directly relevant to CDA, Johnson (2013) maintains that historical-textual analysis is designed more as a macro research that focuses on large-scale sociopolitical forces, historical movements, and policy documents created at the national and other macro levels. In his view, it has less to say about how ELT textbooks are interpreted and appropriated in educational contexts by such people as teachers and students who interact daily with the textbooks and the discourses contained within them (Johnson, 2013).

As a counter-argument to CDA critiques, Critical Language Awareness (CLA), an approach developed by Fairclough (1992) and colleagues, has been employed by some scholars to prove that CDA plays an important role in pedagogy. According to Fairclough (1992), CLA is a critical conception of education and schooling. It is based on the same tools as CDA: description of formal aspects of language in texts, interpretation of interaction, and explanation of how processes of interaction relate to social action. Pennycook (2010) asserts that CLA is a version of CDA that focuses on pedagogy. The goal of CLA is to bring CDA into the classroom to be employed as a pedagogical tool.

One example of CLA work is that of Wallace (2003), who argues that reading materials lack a critical element. Hence, she develops a reading methodology that encourages an exploration and a critical reading of reading material's ideologies. More specifically, she develops a reading practice in which students are to examine reading texts critically. Rather than asking questions with right and wrong answers, students are to ask such questions as 1) Why have the texts been written?, 2) To whom are the texts addressed?, 3) What is the topic written about?, and 4) What other ways of writing about the topic are there? Another CLA work is related to the discussion on critical literacy. Janks (2014) sees critical literacy in terms of the approach of focusing

on the development of students' agency. Like Wallace, she develops critical reading strategies for students. For instance, in a chapter on texts' positioning, she has students become resistant readers who work out what the texts are saying and discuss that in relation to students' own beliefs. Questions such as "What positions is the writer constructing? What does the writer want us to think? Who benefits?" are illustrated. Flowerdew (2013) argues that the incorporation of a critical component into English language teaching is needed because English is increasingly becoming an international *lingua franca* and thus students must be equipped with a critical perspective on the world.

2.6 Textbook analysis

Traditionally, checklists of characteristics are used for analyzing textbooks (Gray, 2010). The purposes of analyzing the textbooks are to identify the strengths and weaknesses of textbooks for pedagogical purposes. There are a variety of checklists. For example, Cunningsworth (1995) provided a checklist for textbook evaluation and selection. It covers the criteria of aims and approaches, design and organization, language content, skills, topic, methodology, teachers' books, and practicality. McDonough and Shaw (1993/2003) created a framework for assessing the suitability of the materials by considering their factors of usability, generalizability, adaptability, and flexibility. Adapting the checklists from various scholars, Meesupsang (2009) evaluated a high school English textbook in Thailand based on these factors: aims, skills, topics, grammar, vocabulary, and design and layout. It was found that the textbook was an effective material for the high school level.

Content analysis is another common approach to text analysis. Content analysis covers various issues, but particularly gender and race. For instance, Xuto et al. (1995) used content analysis to study gender roles in primary school textbooks, including English language textbooks in Thailand. It was found that men and women have unequal gender roles in these books. The roles of men are that of breadwinners and community helpers, while women play the roles of housewives, child carers, and cooks. The same kind of analysis was conducted by Wu and Liu (2015). In their analysis on gender representation in primary English textbooks in China, they found that women are invisible in both texts and illustrations and that they are stereotyped as mothers and

wives. In terms of race and ethnicity, Bassani (2015) found that there was misrepresentation of ethnicity in primary-level English textbooks in Canada compared to the actual ethnic diversity in the country. Despite promoting multiculturalism, the textbooks under-represent ethnic minorities, especially Asian people. Azimova and Johnson (2012) examined the representation of Russian speakers in Russian language textbooks for university learners. Their findings indicated that the white Orthodox Christian ethnic Russians are represented, while other ethnic groups are erased. This leads to the misrepresentation of the actual diversity of speakers of Russian.

Some people use content analysis to examine textbooks from an intercultural point of view. For instance, Siddiqie (2011) looked at the proportion of intercultural content in an English language textbook in Bangladesh. Findings showed that the textbook contains a fair amount of intercultural content to raise students' awareness about the international culture. Siddiqie argued that the incorporation of intercultural content is a new trend in Bangladesh undergoing an English curriculum reform towards the intercultural approach. Similarly, Bocu and Razi (2016) investigated intercultural communicative competence in a textbook series in Turkey. Findings revealed that the series provides a variety of cultures. In addition, big-C cultural themes, such as literature and geography and little-c cultural themes, such as hobbies and lifestyles, are quite balanced. Hence, the series is a good choice to promote intercultural communicative competence.

Gray (2010) studied ELT textbooks by analyzing five key factors relating to a cultural artifact: representation, identity, production, regulation, and consumption. He argued that the transnational connection of global culture has become a focus of representation in ELT textbooks and that global textbooks are commodities to be traded. Hence, they are "carefully constructed artifacts in which discourses of feminism, multiculturalism and globalization are selectively co-opted by ELT publishers as a means of inscribing English with a range of values and associations that include individualism, egalitarianism, cosmopolitanism, mobility and affluence, in which students are increasingly addressed as consumers" (Gray, 2010, p. 3). For example, one distinctive feature is the feminizing of content. That is, overall representations of women increase, and women are increasingly shown as independent and professionally successful. Men, on the other hand, are depicted in some textbooks as playing a role in

rearing children and doing housework. This shows that women and men are represented in an egalitarian approach. Another distinctive feature is the multiculturalizing of content in which inter-racial harmony is emphasized. Gray pointed out that the African and Asian characters are no more used to show that the scenes depicted happen abroad; instead, such characters are the main focus of the unit. In addition, there is an emphasis on professional success as the world of work features throughout many textbooks. Gray argued that the world of work is repeatedly presented as a privileged means for the full realization of the self.

CDA is another approach to analyze textbooks. CDA scholars are keen to understand how discourse produces social domination and hence they examine the hegemonic ideologies in the textbooks. For instance, De Los Heros (2009) analyzed language ideologies in a Peruvian high school textbook. Despite the fact that there is a law for language diversity in Peru, the analysis revealed that the textbook does not endorse language diversity. The textbook strongly favors Spanish while relegating other languages to an inferior status. That is, Spanish is depicted as the standard language of Peru, while other languages are labeled as non-standard varieties or regional varieties of Spanish. For example, the use of lexis “barbarism” or “deformed language” is utilized frequently to characterize other languages. De Los Heros argued that the mismatch between the official curriculum and what is shown in the textbook reveals the political inconsistencies towards multiculturalism in the country.

Xiong and Qian (2012) investigated ideologies of English in a Chinese high school EFL textbook. Their study led to the conclusion that there is a selective representation of the history of English. What is absent from the textbook is the history of the spread of English outside the British Isles during British colonialism. Hence, English is constructed as a pure language that never spreads to other countries or is influenced by contact with local languages. In addition, grammatical prescriptivism dominates the grammar sections of the textbook. For example, the textbook prefers using the empty subject “it” so as to create the “end weight effect” (Xiong & Qian, 2012, p. 46). By doing so, the textbook devaluates other grammatical forms.

Lee (2011) examined high school EFL textbooks in South Korea. Findings showed that globalization is a notion found predominantly in the textbooks along four main themes: legal/illegal action, capability/incapability, equality/inequality, and

high/low quality of education. More specifically, Western people are portrayed as being respectful of the law, being capable of getting things done, living in a society that cherishes equality, and having responsibility because of their quality education. In contrast, non-Western people are presented as being law-breaking, being incapable of getting things done, living in a society whose inequality prevails, and lacking responsibility due to their poor education.

Gender and race are two issues frequently investigated by CDA researchers. In terms of gender, Yasin et al. (2012) analyzed the visual images of male and female characters in a Malaysian school textbook. Using Van Leeuwen's representational strategies of social actors, the analysis revealed that the textbook contains gender bias. Male characters are depicted in the public sphere and engaged in a broad range of activities. By contrast, female characters are relegated to the private sphere, especially the home. They are confined to indoor activities and depicted as being responsible for household chores. As such, stereotypical gender roles of women as wives and mothers are perpetuated. Salami and Ghajarieh (2015) investigated the representation of men and women in Iranian EFL textbooks. Findings reveal that the discourse of heterosexuality is endorsed in the textbooks. Other forms of sexuality are considered abnormal. In particular, LGBT people, as well as single parents, are the marginalized "Other." Salami and Ghajarieh argued that the discourse on heterosexuality promotes the patriarchal family and masculine hegemony, leading to discrimination against the marginalized groups.

As for race, Camase (2009) studied a Romanian EFL textbook. The study shows that the discourse of superiority prevails in the textbook. This discourse emerges from the fact that Romanians are over-represented while non-Romanians are under-represented. As well, Romanians are explicitly identified as having positive qualities (e.g. being honest and friendly, living in a beautiful country). By contrast, non-Romanians are presented as the Others in a remote space and time, especially in literature, and have no qualities that are praised. Camase argued that this lack of explicitness makes it hard to resist the discourse about non-Romanians. Ducar (2006) analyzed the representation of Hispanic people in Spanish heritage textbooks. The findings showed that there is a selective representation of information about Hispanics, culminating in the negative depiction of immigrants and minorities. In addition, the

textbooks promote a specific variety of Spanish, Castilian Spanish, while relegating other varieties to home contexts. Cortez (2008) examined an EFL textbook. It was found that the voices of White characters exceed those of other racial and ethnic minority characters including Asians, Blacks, and Mexicans. Non-White characters and their cultural practices often occur alongside White characters, and their cultural practices are usually depicted as exactly the same. Cortez also interviewed teachers and students about how they perceived characters and a variety of languages in the textbook. Both teachers and students recommended that more Mexican characters and cultural events be included in EFL textbooks. This would reflect the reality of their society and would make them proud of their Mexican identity.

2.7 Defining concepts: modernization, nationalism, consumerism, globalization, morality

The concepts of modernization, nationalism, consumerism, globalization, and morality are briefly stated in this section since they are related to the ideologies found in the four series of textbooks. The first concept is modernization. Modernization refers to the process of transition from traditional to modern societies. The emergence of modern society is related to industrialization. According to Inglehart (1997),

The central claim of Modernization theory is that industrialization is linked with specific processes of sociopolitical change that apply widely: though preindustrial societies vary immensely, one can meaningfully speak of a model of “modern” or “industrial” society toward which all societies tend to move if they commit themselves to industrialization. (p. 8)

Industrialization is not the only feature linked with modernization. The general features of modernization, as pointed out by Inglehart (1997), include urbanization, mass education, occupational specialization, bureaucratization, and communication development. Similarly, for McGrath and Corrin (2018), modernization is concerned with these elements: rationalism, specialization of labor, urbanization, secularism, individualization, political centralization, and bureaucracy.

On the other hand, McGrath and Corrin stated that these elements may differ from one society to another.

The second concept is nationalism. Hutchison and Smith (1994) maintained that there are many ways of defining nationalism. For example, some people think of the concept as national sentiment, while others view it as nationalist movement. Some people emphasize the political dimensions of nationalism while others stress its cultural dimensions. For Hutchison and Smith (1994), it is best to understand nationalism as the movement that bring autonomy, unity, and identity, by which they mean that people must “determine their own destiny...control their own resources...dissolve all internal divisions...[and express] their authentic identity” (p. 4).

The term “nation” also has varying definitions. For instance, Stalin (as cited in Hutchison & Smith, 1994, pp. 19–20) argued that a nation has a common language, a common territory, a common economic life, and a common psychological make-up. Giddens (as cited in Hutchison & Smith, 1994/2012, p. 34) defined a nation as a “bordered power-container,” thus equating the nation with the state. Anderson (1983) argued that nations should be understood as imagined communities because the members of a nation do not necessarily know the other members. It is only in the imagination that a sense of collectivity exists. As Anderson (1983) put it, “It is imagined because the members of even the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow-members, meet them, or even hear of them, yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communion” (p. 6).

The third concept is consumerism. Swagler (1994) noted consumerism’s multiple definitions. On the one hand, consumerism is related to supporting consumers’ interests: that is, it refers to the concept that consumers should be provided with reliable information and that policies and actions should be enacted to protect them. On the other hand, consumerism also refers to a preoccupation with the purchasing, consumption, and accumulation of products and commodities. In this sense, consumerism is viewed quite negatively. As it places emphasis on the accumulation of material possessions by individuals, it transmits the idea that the highest value in an individual’s life is material well-being while other values are ignored, including resource depletion, unequal distribution of wealth, and competitiveness in consumption.

The fourth concept is globalization. Steger (2017) maintained that globalization involves the creation and expansion of social relations and connections that go beyond boundaries and that globalization involves the intensification of social exchanges due to information and communications technologies. This leads him to define globalization as “the expansion and intensification of social relations and consciousness across world-time and world-space” (Steger, 2017, p. 17). Steger stated, however, that due to its uneven process, globalization affects people differently; hence, the definite meaning of globalization, as well as its scale, chronology, and effects, are under debate. According to Elliott and Lemert (2014), radical globalists view globalization as bringing new forms of social life. In particular, Ohmae (as cited in Elliott & Lemert, 2014, p. 388) argued that the rise of a global economy will lead to the demise of the nation-state, as the world will become borderless due to the rapid growth of the global economy, as seen in such ideas as free trade and capital flows. On the contrary, global transformationalists view the forces of globalization as leading to “an adjustment to a world that transforms previous structures, a world that shakes up distinctions between domestic and international, internal and external affairs” (Elliott & Lemert, 2014, p. 389). For global transformationalists, globalization involves an extension of social relations and activities across frontiers, as well as an intensification and multiplication of interconnectedness among peoples, organizations, and nations.

The last concept is morality. Morality refers to the set of values and principles people hold about what is good or bad and what is right or wrong. Gert and Gert (2011) stated that morality can be used either descriptively or normatively. Descriptively, it refers to the code of conduct generated by a society. By this definition, there is no universal morality. Morality can be applied only within a society. Such a society accepts morality as a guide to behavior. By contrast, normatively, morality “refers to a universal guide to behavior that, in plausible specified conditions, all rational persons would put forward for governing the behavior of all moral agents” (Gert & Gert, 2011). In this sense, morality is the code of conduct that applies to all groups of people.

The application of morality is also complex. According to Thiroux and Krasemann (2015), morality has four aspects. First, religious morality involves the relationship between human beings and supernatural beings. Second, morality and

nature involve the relationship between human beings and nature. Third, individual morality involves human beings in relationship to themselves. Fourth, social morality involves the relationship between human beings and other human beings. The most important aspect is social morality, because human beings live in social groups where many moral conflicts occur. In addition, morality can also be divided into traditional morality and reflective morality (Thiroux & Krasemann, 2015). The former is based on customs and traditions that are believed to contribute to moral societies. The members of society are thus introduced to this kind of morality without critical evaluation. As for the latter, it is critically evaluated in terms of ensuring that it has its basis in truth and that it governs people's behaviors effectively.

2.8 Chapter summary

Foucault (1972) and CDA scholars have argued that discourse is not neutral. Rather, it is tied to the social settings and conditions in which it operates. Underlying and hidden in discourse is a particular version of knowledge tied to social power. This idea about discourse and power provides the core theoretical background for this study. At the same time, the research studies on textbooks reviewed in this chapter have confirmed the biased nature of textbooks. Textbooks—as discourse—are not produced in a vacuum. They are tied to larger social, cultural, and economic elements at play in the context in which they are produced. Writers, in particular, consciously or unconsciously transmit views, attitudes, values, judgments, feelings, and practices of their own cultures and societies to the reader via texts. It is therefore unavoidable that texts function as a site where social meanings are constructed. Thus, reading texts involves, more or less, the acquisition, interpretation, or deconstruction of such meanings.

CHAPTER 3

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

This chapter discusses the methodology employed for this research. It is divided into seven sections: research approach and conceptual framework, textbook samples, data collection, research procedure, data analysis, and validity.

3.1 Research approach and conceptual framework

The approach used for this research is documentary. It involves using documents as source materials. Documents are written texts produced by people or institutions with a purpose in the course of their daily practices (Scott, 1990). In this sense, documents are not just a simple representation of facts (Flick, 2009). The aim of investigating documents is to understand the meaning, both literal and interpretative, contained in the documents (Scott, 1990).

The conceptual framework is Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA). Fairclough's (1989/2001) model for CDA was employed. Fairclough argues that texts are produced in a discursive event that is tied to a specific social context. Hence, his model consists of three interrelated dimensions of discourse: 1) texts (verbal and visual); 2) discursive practice; and 3) social practice. The first dimension involves the analysis of text through linguistic features. The second dimension is the interpretation of the processes by which texts are produced and received by people. The third dimension is the explanation of the socio-cultural conditions that govern these processes.

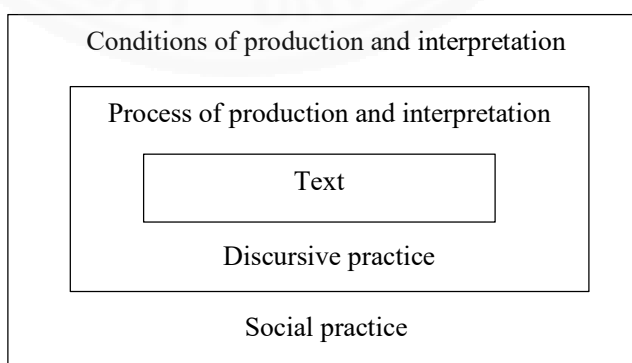


Figure 3.1 Fairclough's three-dimensional model (Fairclough, 1998/2001, p. 21)

3.2 Textbook samples

The total number of English textbooks under examination was 17. They were grouped into four series: *Ladder of Knowledge Series*, *Direct Method Reader for Thai Students*, *English is Fun: A Beginning Course for Thai Students*, and *Projects: Play and Learn*. These series were designed for Thai beginners of English. As mentioned in Chapter 1, however, the meaning of the term “beginners” differs in each era. The first series was used with relatively older students. Thus, the language in the series was more advanced than that of the other series. The third and fourth series were used in primary education. The language in these series was basic. As for the second series, it was originally used in secondary education before being changed to primary education, but the language in the series was basic.

Table 3.1 List of textbook samples

Textbook	Volume	Edition	Year of publication	Writer
<i>Ladder of Knowledge Series</i>	Volume 2	second	1904	Sir Robert L. Morant
	Volume 3	unknown	1916	
	Volume 4	first	1891	
	Volume 5	first	1903	
<i>Direct Method Reader for Thai Students</i>	Volume 1	third	1939	M.L. Manich Jumsai
	Volume 2	second	1940	
	Volume 3	eleventh	1961	
<i>English is Fun: A Beginning Course for Thai Students</i>	Volume 1	first	1982	Department of Curriculum and Instruction Development
	Volume 2	first	1982	
	Volume 3	first	1983	
	Volume 4	third	1984	
<i>Projects: Play and Learn</i>	Volume 1	second	2010	Chaliewstri Phibunchon & Sripum Akaramas
	Volume 2	first	2011	
	Volume 3	first	2012	
	Volume 4	second	2011	
	Volume 5	first	2011	
	Volume 6	first	2012	

These textbooks were selected for the following reasons. First, they were textbooks produced by representatives—either individuals or institutions—of the Thai state. That is, *Ladder of Knowledge Series* was written by Sir Robert L. Morant, who was appointed by King Chulalongkorn to tutor his son and other royal children. *Direct Method Reader for Thai Students* was written by M. L. Manich Jumsai, who worked for the Ministry of Public Instruction. *English is Fun: A Beginning Course for Thai Students* was written by a committee comprising ten people affiliated with the Department of Curriculum and Instruction Development, the Ministry of Education. *Projects: Play and Learn* was written by university lecturers who were mandated to write the English textbook on behalf of the Office of the Basic Education Commission in the Ministry of Education. Representing the state, these series of textbooks were expected to contain ideologies that might serve to benefit the ruling class.

Second, these textbooks were important. They were chosen by the Thai state to be used in government schools and were each used for a few decades. *Ladder of Knowledge Series* was first used by Morant to teach King Chulalongkorn's sons and other royal children at Rajakumara College and later used officially in Thai government schools until the reign of King Prajadhipok. Its significance also lay in the fact that it formed the basis for the content of the first English examination in the country. *Direct Method Reader for Thai Students* was used beginning several years after the Revolution of 1932 until the 1970s. It was one among many textbooks on the textbook list approved by the Thai state to be used in government schools during the period. What made it more significant than others was that it was never withdrawn from the list. *English is Fun: A Beginning Course for Thai Students* was used from the early 1980s until the early 2000s. It was the only state-produced English textbook following the primary curriculum enacted in the late 1970s. As for *Projects: Play and Learn*, it was the only state-produced English textbook in the 2000s. Furthermore, it was ranked as one of the most used textbooks in Thai schools according to a survey conducted by the English Language Institute in the Ministry of Education (English Language Institute, 2007). The first version of the series was used in the early 2000s, and the revised version has been used from the late 2000s through today. Having been used for quite a long time meant that these textbooks must have had some influence over the teachers and students.

Finally, accessibility and convenience played a role in textbook selection. I collected these textbooks from various sources: the library of Bureau of Academic Affairs and Educational Standards, the National Library, university libraries, a private library, bookshops, and teachers. The library of the Bureau of Academic Affairs and Educational Standards was the most important place to collect textbooks because it had the most complete set of textbook collection. Until the end of 2014, the library was open to the public and I could collect textbook samples from the library. From the end of 2014 through the period of writing this research, however, the library was temporarily closed for renovation, with no public access. The library, in fact, had its own website for the public to view and download its collection of books online; still, few textbooks had been uploaded to the website. Therefore, I needed to visit other libraries to search for textbooks. I also had to look for the second-hand textbooks in many bookshops. In addition, I asked friends and colleagues whether they or their relatives or colleagues had any textbooks. Through these sources, I could find all of the volumes for these four series of textbooks, while I could not for other series of textbooks. It was beyond my capability, however, to find the original edition of some textbooks.

3.3 Data collection

The data was divided into two groups: textbooks and documents. The first group of data comprised the four series of textbooks. As mentioned above, I collected these textbooks from various sources: the library of the Bureau of Academic Affairs and Educational Standards, the National Library, university libraries, private libraries, bookshops, and teachers. The second group consisted of the primary and secondary documents used for discursive and socio-cultural practice analysis. I collected the data from different sources, including archives, education curricula, governmental decrees, academic books, articles, and theses. The data was collected from different places: the library of the Bureau of Academic Affairs and Educational Standards, the National Library, the National Archives of Thailand, university libraries, and a private library.

3.4 Research procedure

As seen in Table 3.2, the research procedure involved five stages. The first stage was research foundation development. In this stage, I reviewed the relevant literature and then defined the research problems, objectives, and questions. The second stage was data collection. My data included textbook samples and primary and secondary documents. After collecting the textbooks, I read through the content and decided on the units of analysis. For other documents, I read through them and took notes when necessary. The third stage was data analysis. The analysis was concerned with analyzing character identities and ideologies based on the content, language features, and visual images. The fourth stage was data interpretation. In this stage, following Fairclough (1989/2001, 2002), I attempted to find the relationship between the textbooks' content and their socio-cultural contexts. In the last stage, I drew conclusions from the findings.

Table 3.2 Research procedure

Stage	Procedure
1. Research foundation development	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Reviewed literature ■ Defined research problems, objectives, and questions
2. Data collection	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Collected textbook samples <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Read through data • Chose units of analysis ■ Collected primary and secondary data <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Read through data • Took notes
3. Data analysis	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Analyzed the textbooks <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Read through data • Conducted analysis on the character identities and ideologies <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▸ Analyzed the content, language features, and visual images
4. Data interpretation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Offered an interpretation for the findings <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Explained the relationship between text and context ■ Validated the interpretation by peer-checking
5. Conclusion	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Concluded the findings

3.5 Data analysis

I analyzed sentences, conversations, and stories in *Ladder of Knowledge Series*. The total lessons analyzed were 250. For *Direct Method Reader for Thai Students* and *English is Fun: A Beginning Course for Thai Students*, I analyzed conversations, stories, and visual images. The total lessons analyzed were 76 for the former and 35 for the latter. In *Projects: Play and Learn*, I analyzed conversations, stories, poems, chants, songs, and visual images in 36 lessons.

My analysis consisted of three main parts: content, language features, and visual images. In terms of content, I assessed it as a whole to see what ideas were present. The ideas were categorized into themes and the meanings within the themes were analyzed. In terms of language, I examined the following features to see whether they were present in the verbal elements of textbooks and how they could be interpreted in terms of meanings: pronoun, verb, voice, modality, speech function, word choice, politeness, turn-taking, inclusion and exclusion of social events, presupposition, and intertextuality. In accordance with Fairclough (2003), intertextuality refers to the presence of other texts within a text, and presupposition refers to an assumption about the background belief and the implicit meaning of texts. In terms of visual images, the analysis involved these features: color, size, gaze, pose, distance, angle, and framing, in accordance with Kress and Van Leeuwen's (1996) and Van Leeuwen's (2008) multimodal discourse analysis. These features were examined in terms of the meanings they created. The analysis of visual images was conducted only for the last three series because *Ladder of Knowledge Series* has no visual images. In *Direct Method Reader for Thai Students* and *English is Fun: A Beginning Course for Thai Students*, most visual images serve illustrative purposes. In *Projects: Play and Learn*, most visual images function as texts and the rest serve illustrative purpose. Table 3.3 shows the questions I had while conducting the analysis.

Table 3.3 Content, language, and visual analysis

Analysis	Features	Questions during analysis
Content	Idea, theme, meaning	What ideas are represented? How are these ideas related?
Language	Pronoun	Which pronouns are used?
	Verb	What kinds of verbs are used?
	Voice	Is the agent represented?
	Modality	How is obligation expressed?
	Word choice	How are ideas represented through word choice? What words or phrases appear again and again? Is there any connotation?
	Speech function	What speech functions are used?
	Turn-taking	Who takes turn in speaking?
	Politeness	What degree of politeness is used?
	Presupposition	What can be assumed from texts?
	Intertextuality	How does this text draw on other voices and texts?
	Inclusion/Exclusion of social events	What social events are included or excluded? What social events are salient?
Visual images	Idea	What ideas are represented?
	Color	Is there any color that is salient?
	Size	Is the size of the image salient?
	Gaze	In what direction does the social actor look at?
	Pose	What kinds of pose does the social actor employ?
	Distance	How far or close is the social actor to the viewer?
	Angle	From what angle can the viewer see the social actor?
	Framing	Is there any framing?

In addition to the above analysis, the representation of social actors theorized by Van Leeuwen (1996, 2008) was also employed to answer the first research question about character identities. This Social Actor Analysis was important in revealing how the characters were represented. The analysis covered these issues: individualization/collectivization, inclusion/exclusion, nomination/anonymization,

activation/passivation, functionalization/classification, and generification/specification, as shown in Table 3.4. Furthermore, the occurrence of characters based on age, race, class, and gender was counted. For instance, the terms “son” and “daughters” vis-à-vis the terms “father” and “mother” were counted to see the proportion between the representation of child and adult characters. The characters' names in Thai vis-à-vis the characters' names in English were counted to see the proportion between the representation of Thai and foreign characters. The terms “king,” “prince,” and “master” and the term “servant” were counted to see the proportion between the representation of high- and lower-class characters. The term “boy” and the term “girl” were counted to see the proportion between the representation of male and female characters. However, the counting was done only to see the broad picture of the representation of characters. For CDA, what is more important than their frequency is the meaning behind the appearance of words/pictures. Even if a word/picture appears only once, it may be very significant.

Table 3.4 Analysis based on Van Leeuwen's (1996, 2008) Social Actor Analysis

Social Actor Analysis	Questions during analysis
Individualization/Collectivization	Is the social actor referred to individually or as a group?
Activation/Passivation	Is the social actor the actor or the affected?
Inclusion/Exclusion	Is the social actor represented or suppressed?
Nomination/Anonymization	Is the social actor named or unnamed?
Functionalization/Classification	Is the social actor functionalized or classified?
Generification/Specification	Is the social actor represented generically or specifically?

To answer the second research question about ideologies, I analyzed the content, language features, and visual images, as mentioned above. Ideologies emerged as a result of such analysis. Ideologies were determined by looking at how they matched with the features inherent in such ideologies. These features were taken from the concepts provided by scholars in Chapter 2. For instance, the ideologies of modernization, nationalism, consumerism, globalization, and morality were determined

by exploring the concepts of these ideologies and seeing whether there were any features in the textbooks matching the concepts (See Table 3.5). After the ideologies were identified, they were analyzed in the Thai context. Accounts about Thai history, educational policies, and English curricula were explored in particular in order to learn how the ideologies were tied to the context.

Table 3.5 Criteria for determining ideologies

Ideologies	Features
Modernization	Mass education, bureaucracy, secularism, industrialization, rationalization
Nationalism	Love and devotion to one's nation, the desire to promote the interest of one's nation
Consumerism	High value on material possession and consumption of goods
Globalization	Extension and intensification of connection to the global world in political, economic, cultural, and ecological terms
Morality	Values and codes of conduct about people's behavior including obedience, industriousness, cooperation, unity, punctuality, responsibility, generosity, loyalty, trustworthiness, devotion to work, and filial piety

Below is an example of how I analyzed a text.

Siri, come out here.

Show me your coat.

Show me your vest.

Show me your handkerchief.

I have no handkerchief, sir.

Take off your shoes.

Put on your shoes.

Take off your coat.

Put on your coat.

Where is your cap?

My cap is hanging on the wall, sir.

Daeng, what is Siri doing?

He is taking off his cap, and he is hanging it on the wall, sir.

Do not take off your cap: take off your shoes.

Take off your stockings.

Unbutton your coat.

Button your coat.

What is he doing?

He is buttoning his coat, sir.

Go back to your place. (Vol. 2, 1940, p. 36)

The above conversation was taken from Volume 2 of *Direct Method Reader for Thai Students*. I started by reading the content as a whole to try to understand what the conversation was about. The topic was about getting dressed, but in a deeper level it might be about power relations. Next, I looked at the language. I found that, on one hand, instructive language was used a great deal. On the other hand, there were a few declarative statements ending with “sir.” Hence, I determined who the speakers were and where the conversation was likely to occur. I also determined who controlled the conversation. The speakers tended to be a (male) teacher and a few students, and the setting tended to be in the classroom. It was the teacher who talked mostly while the students merely responded. I then thought about what this conversation reflected. That the teacher used many commands and that he controlled the conversation suggested to me that he must have high authority. That the students only answered the teachers and used “sir” at the end of their sentences suggested to me that the students must be obedient to the teacher. This showed me that the relationship between the teacher and the students was hierarchical.

3.6 Validity

Validity can be referred to as “the extent to which an account accurately represents the social phenomena to which it refers” (Hammersley, as cited in Silverman, 2011, p. 367). Triangulation is often known as a validation strategy through the use of more than one approach in dealing with a research question (Flick, 2009). Denzin

(1989) distinguishes four types of triangulation: 1) data triangulation, which refers to the collection of data from different sources, in different places, and at different times; 2) investigator triangulation, which means the use of different researchers to minimize the biases of individuals; 3) theoretical triangulation, which involves the use of multiple theoretical viewpoints to interpret data; and 4) methodological triangulation, which entails the use of multiple methods for producing data. Validity in this research was attained by investigator triangulation; I asked a teacher in the field of English to be the co-rater who evaluated my interpretation of data, which was done in a qualitative way. The co-rater looked at all excerpts chosen for the analysis, read my interpretation of the excerpts, and identified whether he agreed or disagreed with the analysis. If he disagreed, I reread and reinterpreted the excerpts. Even if he agreed, he sometimes provided comments that required me to add more analytical dimensions to my interpretation. Below is the example of how I adapted my analysis based on the comments of the co-rater. The excerpt is taken from *English is Fun: A Beginning Course for Thai Students*.

Tawee and Suwit go to school on the school bus.

Twenty students are on the bus.

Look! What's that? Six buffaloes are on the road. The bus can't go.

A farmer comes.

The farmer says, "Buffaloes! Go back to the farm!"

The buffaloes don't go. They sit on the road.

The bus driver says, "My school bus can't go. The children can't go to school!"

The children say, "That's good." (Vol. 3, 1983, p. 29)

Based on the data, I first found that the last statement of the children "That's good," merely shows that the children do not want to go to school. The co-rater, however, asked me to think of a deeper level of meaning to be found in the statement. He commented that the statement might be a symbol of how the children resist the power of the adults. Therefore, I had to take his comment into consideration. What I interpreted based on his comment was that it is the adults who determine the children's

role and duty, including going to school. Underlying the statement “That’s good” is the children’s resistance to the duty being imposed on them.

3.7 Chapter summary

This study mainly employed the conceptual framework of Fairclough (1989/2001), arguing that texts are produced in a discursive event governed by social conditions. This study examined 17 textbooks from four series from four eras, which were collected mostly from various libraries. They were selected based on: 1) representativeness of the Thai state; 2) significance and long duration of use; and 3) availability. Data analysis contained three parts: content, language, and visual analysis. Content analysis involved finding meanings and themes. Language analysis involved examining features like lexical choice, modality, and pronoun. Visual analysis involved exploring features like distance, framing, and pose. In analyzing the identities of characters, the study examined the representation strategies of social actors. In analyzing ideologies, the study explored the features in textbooks that matched the predetermined concepts of ideologies. Validity was achieved by having a co-rater review the interpretation of data.

CHAPTER 4

RESULTS

LADDER OF KNOWLEDGE SERIES

This chapter provides a thorough analysis of *Ladder of Knowledge Series* in terms of its represented characters and ideologies. Excerpts from the series are also illustrated.

4.1 Introduction

Ladder of Knowledge Series was written by Sir Robert L. Morant, a British civil servant employed by King Chulalongkorn to tutor his sons and other royal children. In 1886, Morant came to Thailand and began teaching English to the young princes. Two years later, he was appointed the teacher of the Crown Prince, Prince Vajirunhis. In 1892, he was appointed the principal of Rajakumara College established for royal children. He wrote Volume 2 of *Ladder of Knowledge Series* in 1889, Volume 1 and Volume 3 in 1890, Volume 4 in 1891, and Volume 5 in 1894. In December 1893, before he wrote Volume 5, his contract as the principal of Rajakumara College was canceled. The series was originally used in Rajakumara College and later used officially in Thai government schools until the reign of King Prajadhipok.

Ladder of Knowledge Series comprises five volumes. Volume 1 of the series contains 50 lessons on how to pronounce English consonant and vowel sounds and how to read English words and sentences. Stories are provided for reading practice. Volume 3 contains 100 lessons, which provide tales, stories, and conversations for reading practice. The tales and stories are both based on the fables of Aesop and composed by Morant. The newly composed ones cover various topics, including animals and pets, food and drinks, trees and plants, school, study, and children's leisure. The conversations center mostly on school and study. Volumes 2, 4, and 5 contain 50 lessons each. All three of these volumes are based on grammar-translation. They teach grammar and how to translate sentences from Siamese into English and vice versa using the taught grammar. The last 13 lessons of Volume 2, however, feature conversations for speaking practice and the last 19 lessons of Volume 5 feature letter-writing

exercises. Volume 5 also features questions on various subjects at the end of the volume.

In this research, I analyzed Volumes 2, 3, 4, and 5. The editions under examination are as follows. Volume 2 is the second edition, published in 1904. Volume 3 is the unknown edition published in 1916. Volume 4 is the first edition, published in 1891. Volume 5 is the first edition, published in 1903. Hence, Volumes 2, 4, and 5 were published during the reign of King Chulalongkorn, while Volume 3 was published during the reign of King Vajiravudh.

Clarification of why Volume 1 of the series was not analyzed is instructive. Like Volume 3, Volume 1 is designed for reading practice. The stories in this volume, however, differ from those of Volume 3. In the preface of the first edition of Volume 1, Morant stated: “This book is intended to be used by Siamese pupils for the purpose of learning to read English. It is not meant to be ever used for teaching translation, or the meaning of words...Before the pupil can learn translation at all, he must be able to read some amount of English at sight. Hence the need of this book for teaching merely to read English at sight without translation” (Morant, 1915, p. 13). The stories in this volume are composed based on the consonant or vowel sounds Morant wanted to teach in each lesson. Hence, some stories are incomprehensible (i.e. strange, illogical), as they are meant for pronunciation practice. For example, lesson 8 teaches how to pronounce these vowels: ar, er, ir, ur, and or. Students therefore have to practice reading the stories in Excerpts 4.1–4.2. As both stories are written to include these vowel sounds, the whole meaning of the stories are less important than the inclusion of the relevant vowel sounds. The story in Excerpt 4.2 makes sense and its characters (i.e. Fan and a male robber) can be identified, but the sentences in the story in Excerpt 4.1 are not connected in terms of meaning at all. Thus, it is impossible to identify who is “I” and “he” in the excerpt.

Excerpt 4.1

I have a big jar. A box for him. My ham-mer is lost. Give me a let-ter.
I have a big or-gan. A fur is a big tree. Sit in a car. My cat has fur. He is a doc-tor. (Vol. 1, 1915, p. 67)

Excerpt 4.2

Fan has a sil-ver mug. A robber has ta-ken it. He had a lad-der. He got in by the door. He hid the mug in his poc-ket. (Vol. 1, 1915, p. 68)

Given that the stories in Volume 1 focus on pronunciation practice, it is hard to identify the represented characters. Take Excerpt 4.3 below as an example. The identity of “I” in the excerpt is hard to tell. “I” in “I will buy ba-by a dol-ly.” may be the narrator, whereas “I” in “May I go in the wag-gon? Yes, Ro-ly, you may go.” may refer to a male character “Roly.” “I” in “May I go to see Ted-dy?” is confusing. It may refer to the narrator or to other characters like Tommy or Sally.

Excerpt 4.3

A-my is a pu-ny ba-by. To-ny is a ro-sy fel-low. To-by is a ti-ny pup-py. Bil-ly is a la-zy lad. The ba-by lay in the cot. The la-dy sat by my cat. Let ba-by lie on my lap. Let him see my Kit-ty. Let me give ba-by a kiss. I will buy ba-by a dol-ly. Let him see Bo-by on his hob-by. We will go to the sea. Will you dip in the sea? Yes, Bet-ty will dip you. You will be wet. Bet-ty will rub you. Sal-ly has a po-ny. Sal-ly sells eggs. I will pay Sal-ly. I have a pen-ny. It is in my pock-et. I will give the egg to Joe. Is Tom-my up yet? No, Tom-my is in bed. Is Tom-my ill? No, he is not ill, he is la-zy. It is his du-ty to get up. May I go to see Ted-dy? No, it is so fog-gy. No, it is so mud-dy. You will get so wet. May I go in the wag-gon? Yes, Ro-ly, you may go. Ted-dy was at the door. He ran to let Ro-ly in. He got him a cup of jel-ly. He let him see his kit-ten. He let him see his rab-bits. He let him see his lin-net. He let him get on his po-ny. (Vol. 1, 1915, pp. 87–88)

4.2 What are the identities of the characters represented in the textbooks?

Volumes 2, 4, and 5 aim for translation practice. Out of 150 lessons, 117 lessons are grammar-translation-oriented. In each lesson, one or more grammar points are explained, followed by translation exercises that instruct students to translate sentences using the explained grammar point(s). For each translation exercise, most sentences in Siamese or English are stand-alone; they are not connected with other

sentences in the same exercise in terms of meaning. Thus, it is hard to identify who is represented in these sentences, as the context is either insufficiently provided or too vague. As shown in Excerpt 4.4, these six items are provided in an exercise in lesson 7 of volume 4 that teaches students how to place a verb in a simple present-tense sentence. These six items are not connected in terms of meaning, and five of them are insufficiently contextualized. Hence, it is impossible to identify the specific people to whom “we” (items 4.4.1 and 4.4.5), “I” (item 4.4.2), “you” (item 4.4.6), and “that man” (item 4.4.4) refer. For item 4.4.3, we may guess from the context that “you” may possibly be a student because the sentence talks about studying English with a teacher, but we do not know who the speaker of this sentence is.

Excerpt 4.4

4.4.1 We often walk about in that garden.

4.4.2 I do not like bread.

4.4.3 Do you learn English with that teacher?

4.4.4 That man always beats this horse very hard.

4.4.5 We do not allow our dogs to chase cats.

4.4.6 Do you go to the palace by boat or by land? (Vol. 4, 1891a, p. 57)

Although the specific person cannot be identified clearly, these sentences show that some groups of people tend to be more represented than other groups. It is found that the groups of people who are regularly represented are student characters. As shown in Excerpt 4.5, they are represented as unspecified individuals and referred to as in the first-person or in the third-person. Based on the information about their school, their father’s work, their daily routine, or their future plans, they seem to be of the elite class. For example, the name “Suan Kularb School” in item 4.5.6 hints that the speaker is elite, as it is an elite school. As these characters do not have names, it is hard to tell who they are in terms of race. Yet, assuming from things such as the school they attend, the Siamese subject they learn, or their mention of certain places in Siam, they are likely to be Siamese. As for gender, they tend to be boys because the terms “boy,” “son,” or “brother” appear more frequently than the term “girl” in the classroom context

(See items 4.5.4–4.5.6). They are mostly represented in school, especially in the classroom, and at home. What they do most is studying and doing homework.

Excerpt 4.5

4.5.1 I forgot to take my books home last night, so I did not do my home lessons. Shall I have to do them this morning? (Vol. 5, 1903, p. 12)

4.5.2 This morning I was learning English, while my brother was learning Siamese. (Vol. 5, 1903, p. 10)

4.5.3 I went out to play in the garden after I had finished my lesson. (Vol. 5, 1903, p. 23)

4.5.4 Boys must not talk while learning their lessons. (Vol. 5, 1903, p. 20)

4.5.5 Any boy who leaves the door open, must write out two pages of grammar. (Vol. 4, 1891a, p. 105)

4.5.6 All my sons go to Suan Kularb School; they learn both English and Siamese.³ (Vol. 4, 1891a, p. 76)

4.5.7 That girl has learnt Siamese; and now she is learning English. (Vol. 4, 1891a, p. 83)

Apart from the student characters, adult characters, especially teachers and parents, are regularly represented, as shown in Excerpts 4.6–4.7. They are represented as unspecified individuals and referred to in either the first-person or the third-person. For the teachers (See Excerpt 4.6), to identify their social class is impossible as there is no hint about their lifestyle at all. Similarly, it is hard to identify their racial identity as there is no mention of the teachers' names. Although they teach Siamese students, they teach in English. What can be inferred from items 4.6.1–4.6.5 is that the teachers have high authority in the moral instruction and discipline of students. For the parents, their class and race can be seen from their daily activities, such as going to the palace, sending their children to study abroad, lending the carriage to the child, buying a new gun, or collecting tax (See items 4.7.2–4.7.6). This may imply that they are Siamese elites. As for gender, the parents tend to be male rather than female because the term

³ My translation. The original one is: บุตร [sic.] ของฉันไปโรงเรียนสวนกุหลาบทั้งสิ้น เขาเรียนทั้งภาษาไทยแล [sic.] ภาษาอังกฤษ

“father” appears more frequently than the term “mother” (See items 4.7.4–4.7.6). The teachers are mostly represented in school, especially in the classroom. Their actions include teaching, moralizing, disciplining, and punishing children. The parents are represented in various places and their actions vary depending on the places they are portrayed.

Excerpt 4.6

4.6.1 The teacher said “You have been idle to-day. I will punish you.” (Vol. 5, 1903, p. 44)

4.6.2 Why did you not borrow your sister’s books? I have often told you that you must always finish your home lessons, before you come to school. (Vol. 5, 1903, p. 13)

4.6.3 Who told you to put your books in the box?

Nobody, Sir. I thought it was my box. (Vol. 5, 1903, p. 12)

4.6.4 Don’t speak so loud: you disturb the other boys who are learning their lessons. (Vol. 5, 1903, p. 9)

4.6.5 The teacher will reward the boy who is very diligent.⁴ (Vol. 4, 1891a, p. 210)

4.6.6 He asked his teacher if school would be open on the following Thursday. (Vol. 5, 1903, p. 50)

4.6.7 Did the teacher give those boys any pencils this morning? (Vol. 4, 1891a, p. 167)

Excerpt 4.7

4.7.1 Tell your sister to go to the market; and give her money to buy some food. (Vol. 4, 1891a, p. 105)

4.7.2 Next year I will have enough money to send my son to study in Germany.⁵ (Vol. 4, 1891a, p. 266)

⁴ My translation. The original one is: ครูจะให้รางวัลแก่เด็กที่มีความเพียรมาก

⁵ My translation. The original one is: ปีหน้าฉันจะมีเงินพอส่งบุตร [sic.] ไปเรียนที่เมืองเยอรมัน

4.7.3 My son said that he would go with the letter to the Hotel and be back in half an hour, if I would lend him my carriage. (Vol. 5, 1903, p. 53)

4.7.4 Tomorrow my father will go to Padrew.⁶

Why?

He collects the opium tax every year. (Vol. 4, 1891a, p. 120)

4.7.5 Does your father go to the palace in the morning or in the afternoon?⁷ (Vol. 4, 1891a, p. 117)

4.7.6 My father bought a new gun. (Vol. 4, 1891a, p. 5)

4.7.7 Where did your mother buy that rice? (Vol. 4, 1891a, p. 14)

The series was originally designed for the sons of King Chulalongkorn and royal families. Later, it was used in such elite schools as Suan Kularb School, founded in 1881. Before 1890, seventeen out of nineteen Suan Kularb students who earned the equivalent of secondary education were from royal families (Wyatt, 1994, p. 235). Wyatt (1994, pp. 235–236) argued that King Chulalongkorn wanted to maintain the power of the royal family. Given the power of the old noble families that dominated government departments, King Chulalongkorn feared that it might be difficult for royal families to enter government service. As Wyatt (1969) put it, “Suankulap existed primarily as a vehicle to bring the younger members of the nobility to face their changing obligations to society” (p. 121). The series was classified as the royal textbooks and used in schools until the reign of King Prajadhipok. It was edited, however.

The fact that the series was written for the elites means it contains sentences in which characters are the elites, including kings, princes, government officials, and masters (See Excerpt 4.8). They are represented as unidentified individuals. The elites are referred to in either the first-person or the third-person. Based on such information as the towns in which they live or visit, they are Siamese. From the terms “king” or “prince” and the pronouns “he” or “his,” they are male. We can observe the daily

⁶ My translation. The original one is: พรุ่งนี้บิดาฉันจะไปแปลครัว ไปทำไม้ ไปเก็บภาษีขึ้นทุกปี

⁷ My translation. The original one is: บิดาท่านไปในวัง เวลาบ่ายหรือเวลาเช้า

activities typical of the elites of the time, including judging cases, commanding the army, receiving petitions, and visiting palaces.

Excerpt 4.8

4.8.1 The King sent for the man who built the gate. This man was one of them. (Vol. 5, 1903, p. 62)

4.8.2 The King asked the Minister if he would leave Bangkok that same day or the next day. (Vol. 5, 1903, p. 52)

4.8.3 He stood before the King, holding the petition in his hand. (Vol. 5, 1903, p. 58)

4.8.4 When the King went to Bangpa-in, I did not accompany him because I was ill at that time.⁸ (Vol. 4, 1891a, p. 233)

4.8.5 Were you there when the Prince decided the case? (Vol. 5, 1903, p. 62)

4.8.6 The Prince asked the soldier whether anyone had passed the gate that evening. (Vol. 5, 1903, p. 53)

4.8.7 Forty ticals are paid by my brother to the Prince every month, as rent for that house. (Vol. 5, 1903, p. 30)

4.8.8 This morning what time did the Prince wake up? He woke up at 9 o'clock and then went to bed again. He is sleeping now.⁹ (Vol. 4, 1891a, p. 215)

4.8.9 The officer said to the General – “If you will give me twenty men, I promise that I will capture that fort in half an hour.” (Vol. 5, 1903, p. 55)

4.8.10 The General asked his soldiers why they were afraid of the elephant: and told them to load their guns at once, and advance against the enemy. (Vol. 5, 1903, p. 53)

4.8.11 Three letters were sent to you yesterday by the consul. (Vol. 5, 1903, p. 31)

⁸ My translation. The original one is: เมื่อในหลวงเสด็จไปเกาะบางปะอิน ฉันไม่ได้ตามเสด็จไป เพราะในเวลานั้นฉันเจ็บ

⁹ My translation. The original one is: เมื่อเช้านี้เสด็จขึ้นบันทอน [sic.] เวลาอะไร เวลาเก้าโมงแล้วเสด็จไปบันทอน [sic.] อีก เดี่ยวนี้ก็จะกำลัษบันทอน [sic.] อยู่

4.8.12 Did the police catch that thief yesterday, or did his friends help him to get safely away? (Vol. 5, 1903, p. 34)

4.8.13 I shall not be at home to-morrow: I must go to the palace all day.
(Vol. 4, 1891a, p. 194)

4.8.14 How do you do?

Quite well thank you.

Where have you been?

I have been at the palace.

Are you going home now?

Yes, I have business at home. I must be quick.

I will take you in my carriage.

Thank you; I shall be very glad.

Which is the way to your house?

Go straight down the new road we shall soon be there. (Vol. 2, 1904, p. 105)

Since there are the elite characters, the characters who serve the elites are also represented. These characters are the servant and those who serve the elites in specific areas, including the cook, the charioteer, and the tailor. They rarely have voice, as they are mostly referred to in the third-person. In Excerpt 4.9, we can see that the actions they perform are serving the elites. The relationship between the elites and their servants is portrayed in a top-down manner. It is the elites who discuss how to supervise their servants and instruct them to perform duties. Imperative sentences are often used in order to show the authority of the elites. We see the servant's voice in item 4.9.9, as it is a reported speech, but it reflects their inferior status.

Excerpt 4.9

4.9.1 What is the wage you give to your servants each month?¹⁰ (Vol. 4, 1891a, p. 63)

¹⁰ My translation. The original one is: ท่านให้เงินเดือนคนใช้ของท่านเดือนละเท่าไร

4.9.2 Do you give to your servants the same wages that I give to mine?

(Vol. 5, 1903, p. 100)

4.9.3 I am going to the palace right now. Tell the charioteer to prepare the carriage quickly.¹¹ (Vol. 4, 1891a, p. 251)

4.9.4 The tailor has made my coat much too short: tell him to come and measure me again, to-morrow afternoon. (Vol. 5, 1903, p. 9)

4.9.5 Tell the servant to bring me a cup. (Vol. 2, 1904, p. 39)

4.9.6 Wait here; I will tell the servant to call the cook. (Vol. 2, 1904, p. 151)

4.9.7 Tell the servant that I am very hungry.¹² (Vol. 2, 1904, p. 55)

4.9.8 Ring the bell, and tell the servant to bring me tea now. Quick.¹³ (Vol. 2, 1904, p. 58)

4.9.9 The servant cried out – “I ought not to be flogged, for I did not steal the money.” (Vol. 5, 1903, p. 55)

Volume 3 is different from Volumes 2, 4, and 5. This volume focuses on reading practice; hence, it features tales, stories, and conversations. Some tales and stories are adapted from Aesop’s fables to teach moral lessons; others are newly written by Morant. The original ones cover various topics, including animals and pets, food and drinks, trees and plants, school, study, and children’s leisure. As for the conversations, they are mostly about school and study. The main characters in these tales, stories, and conversations are animals, children, and adults (especially teachers and parents).

There are two groups of animal characters. The first group consists of “ordinary” animals that cannot think or talk like humans. These animals are portrayed as a generic group (e.g. the wolf, the tiger, the parrot) and talked about in terms of habitat, physical characteristics, and eating habits. In contrast, the second group consists of anthropomorphic animals. They are portrayed as individual characters that do particular actions that usually lead to particular outcomes, and the outcomes provide a

¹¹ My translation. The original one is: ฉันจะไปในวังเดี๋ยวนี้ บอกสารดีให้ผู้ทรงเรีวฯ

¹² My translation. The original one is: บอกคนใช้ว่าฉันหิวเข้า [sic.] นึก

¹³ My translation. The original one is: สันกระดิ่งนั้น, แล้วบอกคนใช้เอาน้ำชามาเดี๋ยวนี้ เรีวฯ

moral lesson for the reader. Excerpt 4.10 illustrates a tale based on the Aesop's fable *the Hungry Dog and the Shadow*, whose main character is a dog that can think and talk. In the story, the dog wants a new piece of meat despite having one in its mouth. Its greed finally makes the dog lose its meat. This tale teaches the reader not to be greedy. What is distinct from the excerpt is that the dog is gendered. It is represented as male. Other animals in other excerpts are the same.

Excerpt 4.10

A dog was carrying in his mouth a piece of meat, and presently he walked on a small bridge over a stream, and he saw the reflection of himself in the water. The dog thought it was another dog, carrying a large piece of meat; so he was greedy and wanted to get it. He jumped into the water to fight the other dog and he opened his mouth to bite him, and so lost his own piece of meat. And then he cried "Ah, what a foolish dog I am: for I have lost what I once had, because I was greedy and tried to get what was not mine." (Vol. 3, 1916, p. 51)

The child and adult characters are both Siamese and foreign. Most of the child characters are named. Siamese children have Siamese names. Foreign children have foreign names. As for the adults, they are mostly referred to as the child's parents or teachers. There is no mention of the family background of these characters, yet we may identify the family background from the context in some stories. It was revealed that these characters are likely to come from elite families. For instance, Excerpt 4.11 features two Siamese children discussing time. The first child forgets his watch at home, so he asks the second child what time it is. The fact that the children have watches tells us that their families must be wealthy enough to afford the watches that might not be "necessary" for Siamese people in the era the series was written. Since one of the children talks about walking from the palace, we can also assume that both children are from elite families. Similarly, Excerpt 4.12 is about a child offering to help his father drag the corn in the field to the barn. When he finishes his work, he gets money from his father, and he uses the money to buy himself a toy and his dog a bone. This may hint that the father of the child may be a landlord. Excerpt 4.13 illustrates a story of two

children, who are accompanied by their aunt, choosing toys in a toy shop. The two children can choose one toy they like the most, suggesting that their family must have enough money to buy several toys for them and that it is unlikely that they come from a lower-class background.

Excerpt 4.11

In: Good morning! Can you tell me what time it is? I have left my watch at home.

To: Yes, it is now seven o'clock.

In: I must go home then. I promised my mother I would reach home by a quarter past seven.

To: You will not be there in time, I am sure: it is too far. I think you will not reach home till half past seven.

In's mother: Now, In, why are you late? I told you to come home by a quarter past seven: and now it is a quarter to eight. I must punish you.

In: I am very sorry, mother. I did not take my watch, so I did not know the time. I walked very fast from the palace when To told me it was seven o'clock. (Vol. 3, 1916, p. 104)

Excerpt 4.12

One day in summer Ted said to his father, "Father, may I help you to get in the corn?"

His father said "Yes, Ted you may help me, if you can; but I think you are too small; how can you help me?"

Ted answered "I can help you, father, I am sure; I will put my dog Fido into my little cart, and he can drag the corn to the barn."

Then Ted called his dog and said to him; "Now Fido, good dog, we will do some work to-day; and then this evening you shall have a big bone to eat."

Then Ted put Fido in the cart; and filled the cart with corn; and took it to the barn many times. They worked very hard till the evening.

When Ted's father saw that they had dragged plenty of corn to the barn, he gave Ted some money.

And Ted went to the shop, bought a top for himself, and a bone for Fido.
(Vol. 3, 1916, pp. 14–15)

Excerpt 4.13

Kate's aunt took Kate and her brother John to a shop yesterday, to buy some toys.

Aunt said, "Now, Kate, what would you like?"

"Oh, I want that beautiful doll please, aunt," said Kate.

And John cried out, "Oh, I want that boat!"

But his aunt said, "Wait a minute, John, and look around the shop at all the toys; and be sure that you like that boat best of all."

Then John saw a ball, and he said "Oh, I want that: please buy it, aunt."

"Yes, I will," said aunt.

"Oh, no, wait a minute!" cried John, "I want that box of soldiers."

Aunt and Kate laughed at him: for he did not know what toy to have: he liked so many.

At last, he said "Oh, I want that kite: please give it [*sic.*] me, aunt, and then I will shut my eyes and go out of the shop."

So aunt bought the kite for John, and the beautiful doll for Kate and they went home. (Vol. 3, 1916, p. 23)

What can also be seen from the above excerpts is the adult's authority. In Excerpts 4.11–4.12, the child characters address their parents with the formal terms "mother" and "father." Excerpt 4.11 also shows that the boy "In" can only answer his mother's question about why he cannot keep the promise he made to her. It is his mother who decides that he will be punished, and he cannot negotiate. The sentence "I must punish you" suggests the mother's role in disciplining her child. Excerpt 4.12 is similar. Although the boy "Ted" is the one asking the question to his father first, the question is about getting permission. His question is very polite; it starts with "May I...?" In

Excerpt 4.13, both children “Kate” and “John” can choose the toys they want under the condition set by their aunt.

The adult’s authority is also seen in Excerpt 4.14. Clearly, it is the teacher who controls the whole conversation. The students must follow the teacher. They may be able to tell the teacher that they do not understand something in the lesson, but they do not have chance to explain further, let alone argue. In addition, the authority of the teacher can be seen in the ways the teacher speaks; he uses a lot of commands.

Excerpt 4.14

Teacher: How far did you read yesterday?

Pupil: We finished page 12.

Teacher: Then begin to-day [*sic.*] at the top of page 13. Dang, you read first. Read five lines, and take care. You read slowly and pronounce distinctly.

Pupil: I do not understand the meaning of that sentence.

Teacher: Keeo, help him to translate it. It is quite easy; you have learnt all the words before.

Pupil: I don’t know what this word “careless” means.

Teacher: Look it out in the dictionary, all of you. Whoever finds it first read out what the dictionary says.

Teacher: Read the sentence again. Keeo, correct the mistake which Dang made just now. Chim, you are not attending. Now shut your book; go and sit down and write out in Siamese what you have just read in the reading book. (Vol. 3, 1916, p. 77)

In terms of gender, there are more male than female characters. That is probably because students at the time were mostly boys and men. Moreover, the male characters are represented in a wide variety of domains, such as in the field, in school, at a shop, in the playground, or at home. By contrast, the female characters are represented mostly at home, and they never appear in such domains as the field or the school. In addition, they are represented as weaker and are often rescued by the male characters when troubles happen. This can be seen in Excerpts 4.15–4.16.

In Excerpt 4.15, we can see that the teacher uses the term “boys” to address the students. This shows that only boys are portrayed as students in the classroom. Girls are completely ignored. The term “master” also tells us that the teacher is male. Similarly, in the first sentence and the last two sentences of Excerpt 4.16, we can see only the use of the term “boy(s).” In addition, we can see that the excerpt depicts the female image as weak and the male image as strong. This can be seen from the excerpt’s story, which is about a drowning girl being “saved” by a strong man. Even animal characters are represented as male, as mentioned earlier. When a story discusses an animal, it is referred to as either “it” or “he” (as shown in Excerpt 4.17). There is only one exception in a story about a female crow that pretends to be an eagle. In another story, when a female animal appears, it is identified as “the mother eagle” (Vol. 3, 1916, p. 29).

Excerpt 4.15

One day at our school, the master said to us, “Boys, you must not be idle: you must attend closely to your books. If any of you sees any pupil idle, and not looking at his book, let him tell me at once, and I will punish the idle boy.”

I thought to myself, “Ah I will look at Dang. I know he is often idle. I will tell the master of him, and so I will get Dang punished. That will be fun, for he often teases me.”

After a time I saw Dang look away from his book. I went at once and told the master I had seen Dang idle, and not looking at his book.

The master said to me, “Oh! Now, tell me, Keoo, are you sure Dang was not looking at his book?”

“Yes sir, quite sure: for I saw him.”

“Oh, really, then you were not looking at your book yourself! You must therefore be punished yourself.” All the boys laughed very much when they heard this, and I never did this trick again. (Vol. 3, 1916, p. 83)

Excerpt 4.16

When you are a big boy, you must learn to swim: and then if you fall into the sea or the river, you will not drown.

One day a girl was walking by a pond; and she went too near to look at a fish, and fell in.

No one was near to see her, and she cried out loud.

A man in the road heard her, and ran to the pond. When he saw the girl in the water, he did not wait to take off his coat, but jumped into the water and pulled her out.

If that man had not heard her cry, the girl would have been drowned, I am sure.

All boys and girls should learn to swim, while they are young.

If you practise a little every day in the water, and you are not afraid, you will be able to swim in a very few days.

In the English schools, all the boys must learn to swim. If a boy cannot swim, he may not play in boats at all. (Vol. 3, 1916, p. 22)

Excerpt 4.17

Look at that big bee on that flower: he is getting the sweet stuff out of the flower to make honey ... (Vol. 3, 1916, p. 58)

Apart from the above-mentioned characters (animals, children, and adults), some stories in this volume represent both Siamese people and foreign people as a generic group of people who are different from each other, using the pronouns “we” and “they” to demarcate them. For example, Excerpt 4.18 is a story about teak wood. We can guess from the term “teak” that the speaker must be Siamese. In the story, Siamese are referred to as “we” and the Burmese as “they.” This is a way to make foreigners the Others. In a similar vein, in Excerpt 4.19, “we” refers to Siamese. English, Chinese, Indian, and Sri Lankans are made the Others by being identified as “they.”

Excerpt 4.18

Do you see that high tree in the wood?

It is a teak tree; its roots are very deep in the earth.

The teak tree is very useful; the wood is very strong; men use it to make ships, to build houses, and to make carts and many other things.

White ants do not eat teak wood, and it does not rot quickly, like other wood; so we use it very much.

Every tree has root, a trunk, branches and leaves.

In Europe there are no teak trees; that is why we send so much teak wood every year from Siam to Europe, in ships.

Siam has very fine wood indeed, and there are large forests in the North of Siam, where men cut down the teak trees and send the logs down to Bangkok.

In Burmah [*sic.*], they also use elephants to help the men lift the heavy logs and carry them about, and arrange them, in the right places at the saw-mill. (Vol. 3, 1916, p. 30)

Excerpt 4.19

Tea is made from the leaf of a tree.

We get tea from China, Assam, and India.

When the English drink tea, they put milk and sugar with [*sic.*] it.

The tea leaf is black when we buy it, because it was put on the fire to dry, after it was picked.

Tea does not grow in Europe; so they send it in big ships to Europe, from India, Ceylon, and other countries.

Many people cannot drink much tea, because they cannot sleep well after drinking tea.

If you are very sleepy, and have much work to do, and so you do not want to go to sleep for some time, you should drink some tea or coffee: then you will not be so sleepy.

In China, the people drink very little cold water, but they drink tea all day long; wherever a Chinaman goes, the servant always takes tea for his master to drink. (Vol. 3, 1916, p. 45)

4.3 What are the embedded ideologies? How are these ideologies constructed in the Thai context?

4.3.1 Modernization

The ideology of modernization is dominant in the series. This ideology is conveyed through a network of discourse. First, the series promotes studying in school. Looking at Excerpt 4.20 below, the message is very clear: school is the only place that can educate children. Staying home cannot help any child become an educated person. As such, the series tries to instill in the minds of children that going to school is their duty. Children who go to school will learn many things, becoming educated, while those who do not go to school will have an aimless life. At the same time, the series seems to send a message to the public who do not understand the purpose of school that schools are established for the benefit of the public itself.

Modality is a main feature used to convey this message. “Have to,” “must,” “should,” and “shall,” for example, are used to suggest that going to school is a duty or an appropriate activity (See items 4.20.1–4.20.3). Conditional sentences are also used to persuade the reader to see the benefits of going to school or the consequences of not going to school. As seen in items 4.20.4–4.20.6, “if” tells the condition, and the main clause tells the results. The results of going to school include the ability to read. By contrast, the results of not going to school include punishment and the inability to acquire the English language.

Excerpt 4.20

4.20.1 You have to go to school every day.¹⁴ (Vol. 2, 1904, p. 34)

¹⁴ My translation. The original one is: ท่านต้องไปโรงเรียนทุกวัน

4.20.2 Your son is already ten years old. You should send him to school. If he stays home, he will play with his servants.¹⁵ (Vol. 4, 1891a, p. 79)

4.20.3 I shall send my child to school next month.

All my children go to school every day.

Do they learn English?

Yes, they learn English in the morning and Siamese in the afternoon.

How much do you pay each month?

I pay five ticals for each boy.

They must go every day. The teacher will not let them miss even one day.

I want all my children to read and write well in Siamese and English.

(Vol. 2, 1904, p. 108)

4.20.4 If you come to school every day, I will teach you to read.¹⁶ (Vol. 2, 1904, p. 65)

4.20.5 I shall not be able to speak English if I do not go to school. (Vol. 4, 1891a, p. 206)

4.20.6 Yesterday that boy did not come to school. What did he do at home all day?¹⁷

He did nothing. He slept from the afternoon until the evening.¹⁸

If I meet him again, I will beat him. He is very lazy.¹⁹ (Vol. 4, 1891a, p. 195)

Apart from going to school, the series contains sentences about sending children abroad. In item 4.21.1, it is specified that the child will be sent abroad for further study, but in items 4.21.2–4.21.4, there is no mention of why the children will be sent abroad. Despite not mentioning the purposes, these sentences might be able to persuade the reader to see the value of going abroad. What is distinct is that only sons,

¹⁵ My translation. The original one is: บุตรชายของท่านอายุได้สิบขวบแล้ว ท่านควรจะส่งเขาไปเรียนหนังสือ ถ้าอยู่บ้านเขาก็เล่นกับม้าวันยังค่ำ

¹⁶ My translation. The original one is: ถ้าท่านมาโรงเรียนทุกวัน ฉันจะช่วยสอนท่านให้อ่านหนังสือ

¹⁷ My translation. The original one is: เมื่อวานนี้เด็กคนนั้นไม่ได้มาโรงเรียน เขาทำอะไรที่บ้านทั้งวัน

¹⁸ My translation. The original one is: ไม่ได้ทำอะไร ภา [sic.] บ่ายก่อนนอนหลับไปจนเย็น

¹⁹ My translation. The original one is: ถ้าฉันพบเขาอีกสักที ฉันจะเขี้น เข็เก็ยจริง ๆ

not daughters, are mentioned in these sentences. This shows that the privilege of going abroad is reserved for sons.

Excerpt 4.21

4.21.1 Next year I will have enough money to send my son to study in Germany.²⁰ (Vol. 4, 1891a, p. 266)

4.21.2 The prince will send his son to England, in three years' time. (Vol. 4, 1891a, p. 113)

4.21.3 My son will go to Europe next year. (Vol. 4, 1891a, p. 30)

4.21.4 I sent my son to France last year. (Vol. 4, 1891a, p. 31)

4.21.5 Will you send your son to Singapore next year? (Vol. 4, 1891a, p. 30)

Second, apart from promoting school and going abroad, we see the inclusion of multi-disciplinary knowledge in the series. This knowledge is about history, geography, current affairs, scientific discovery and invention, and mathematics and economics. Put simply, it is the knowledge learned in modern school following the Western model of education. Being equipped with such knowledge can help prepare students for the social and economic changes in Siamese society that may affect their lives one way or another as a result of modernizing forces.

The inclusion of multi-disciplinary knowledge is evident in Volume 5, which contains a section called “Miscellaneous Questions” that follows the last lesson of the volume. In this section, there are ten questions in English covering many subjects, including mathematics, history, geography, political science, economics, and science. Students are required to write answers to the questions. A few questions are shown in Excerpt 4.22.

Excerpt 4.22

4.22.1 (Question 6c) Explain the importance, either Commercial [*sic.*] or Political [*sic.*] or both, of the following places: Hongkong [*sic.*], Aden,

²⁰ My translation. The original one is: ปีหน้าฉันจะมีเงินพอส่งบุตร [*sic.*] ไปเรียนที่เมืองเยอรมัน

Honolulu, Cape of Good Hope, Constantinople, Singapore, the Suez Canal. (Vol. 5, 1903, p. 144)

4.22.2 (Question 4a) For what purpose is the money required which we pay when we buy stamps to put on our letters? (Vol. 5, 1903, p. 142)

4.22.3 (Question 10a) Give a clear written explanation, with neat diagrams of the following: the process of distilling water. (Vol. 5, 1903, p. 147)

Such modern knowledge is also present when students do translation practice in Volumes 4 and 5. As shown in Excerpt 4.23, ideas about banking, engineering and invention, and science are introduced through vocabulary words, including bank, engineer, train, steamship, buildings, and solar eclipse. This is to expose students to the concept of modernization. Even healthcare is introduced (See items 4.23.6–4.23.8). That is, students are taught to take a bath regularly as a way to form healthy habits and prevent some diseases, which is part of modern knowledge about hygiene and health. It is notable that certain words deriving from western concepts are merely transliterated into Siamese, probably because the concepts might have been new to the Siamese during the time the book was written. For example, the words “bank” in item 4.23.1 and “engineer” in item 4.23.2 are not translated as *thanakan* and *wisawakon*, respectively, as used in Thailand today. They are merely transliterated.

Excerpt 4.23

4.23.1 Why do you call your servant? He is exchanging money at the bank.²¹ (Vol. 4, 1891a, p. 237)

4.23.2 I am a soldier, but I will become an engineer next month.²² (Vol. 4, 1891a, p. 266)

4.23.3 Did you go by train or steamship? I went by steamship for the first time and by train for the second time.²³ (Vol. 4, 1891a, p. 231)

²¹ My translation. The original one is: ท่านเรียกบ่าวทำไม เขากำลึงไปแลกเงินอยู่ที่แบงก์

²² My translation. The original one is: เดี่ยวนี้ฉันเป็นทหาร แต่เดือนหน้า [sic.] ฉันจะเป็นเอนจิเนียร์ [sic.]

²³ My translation. The original one is: ท่านไปรถไฟหรือเรือไฟ ครั้งทีหนึ่งฉันไปเรือไฟและครั้งที่สองไปรถไฟ

4.23.4 In Bangkok, the rich people often construct buildings.²⁴ (Vol. 4, 1891a, p. 245)

4.23.5 In a few days, there will be a solar eclipse.²⁵ (Vol. 4, 1891a, p. 266)

4.23.6 In summer, people have to take a bath often.²⁶ (Vol. 4, 1891a, p. 245)

4.23.7 In winter, if people are idle and do not take a bath, they will often be ill.²⁷ (Vol. 4, 1891a, p. 245)

4.23.8 If humans want happiness, they have to take a bath.²⁸ (Vol. 4, 1891a, p. 237)

Volume 3 contains stories that integrate modern knowledge and technology as well. For instance, Excerpt 4.24 is a story that promotes the use of steam engines in agriculture instead of people or animals. The word “very” is used to emphasize the usefulness of steam engines. The grammatical structure “more...than” and the opposite terms “quickly vs. slow” are also used to sharply contrast the effectiveness of the steam engines and the animals. As such, it can be said that modern inventions are advertised as necessary for a changing society.

Excerpt 4.24

Do you see that ox in the field? How strong he is!

My plough is so heavy, that I must have two oxen.

Three horses are not strong enough to pull my big wagon: please lend me two more.

You must take great care of them if I lend them to you.

In Europe, when the field is very large, they do not use horses or oxen to draw the plough, it is too slow.

²⁴ My translation. The original one is: ในบางทอกรมคนมั่งมีปลูกตึกขึ้นเนืองๆ

²⁵ My translation. The original one is: อีกสองสามวันจะมีสุริยคาธ [sic.]

²⁶ My translation. The original one is: น้ำ [sic.] ร้อนคนต้องอาบน้ำบ่อยๆ

²⁷ My translation. The original one is: น้ำ [sic.] หนาว ถ้าคนเกียจคร้าน ไม่อาบน้ำ มักจะเจ็บ

²⁸ My translation. The original one is: ถ้ามนุษย์ทั้งหลายอยากจะได้มีความสุข [sic.] สบาย ก็ต้องอาบน้ำ

They have two large steam engines, one on each side of the field; and these draw the plough across the field, and back again very quickly; and two steam engines can plough more ground in one day, than two horses and a man could plough in a week!

Steam engines are very useful; we use them more and more every year to do hard work for us, instead of using the strength of man or animals. (Vol. 3, 1916, p. 40)

Excerpt 4.25 is a conversation that promotes western medical treatment and the efficacy of hospitalization. In the conversation, two Siamese people discuss seeing the doctor and going to the hospital. When talking about the hospital, the words “comfortable,” “nice,” “clean,” “excellent,” and “useful” are used to persuade the reader to think of the hospital in a positive way. Also, from the sentence “Why don’t you call the doctor?”, the reader is persuaded to believe that seeing the doctor is a widely accepted practice when people become ill (though in reality it is not). As for the sentence “Did you have an English doctor?”, the reader is persuaded to believe in the effectiveness of Western medical treatment.

Excerpt 4.25

Kow: Good morning! How do you do?

Young: Quite well, thank you! I hope you are better to-day [*sic.*]; I heard you were ill.

Kow: Yes, I have fever [*sic.*]; but I am a little better to-day [*sic.*].

Young: Why don’t you call the Doctor [*sic.*]?

Kow: The doctor came to see me yesterday: and he gave me some medicine: he says I shall probably be well in two or three days.

Young: Did you have an English Doctor [*sic.*]?

Kow: Yes, I sent my brother to fetch the new doctor at the hospital in Bangkok.

Young: My father was very ill last month: he had dysentery: so he went to stay at the new Government [*sic.*] hospital, for our house is so small.

- Kow: Did he like the hospital? Was he comfortable there?
- Young: Oh yes, very comfortable. Plenty of rooms: nice clean house: excellent food: and doctors come every day. The hospitals are very useful indeed. (Vol. 3, 1916, p. 102)

Third, the series also contains lessons on letter writing. In the last 19 lessons of Volume 5, students are required to practice writing letters on various topics, such as business negotiations, product ordering, notification of school commencement day, notification of a family member's cremation day, notification of a case investigation, an invitation for dinner, a report on study progress, and so on. This kind of letter-writing exercise was necessary for training students to do secretarial or administrative work in the government workforce, which was a major aim of King Chulalongkorn's education reform (Mulasil, 1986, p. 44). In addition, in Volumes 4 and 5, certain aspects of the work of government officials are featured, such as catching a thief, judging a case, collecting tax, and giving orders (See Excerpt 4.26). This might be useful in providing some overview of the governmental work to students.

Excerpt 4.26

- 4.26.1 All these men are drunk: take them away to prison.²⁹ (Vol. 4, 1891a, p. 76)
- 4.26.2 My father is going to Paedrew tomorrow. Why? He goes there to collect the opium tax every year.³⁰ (Vol. 4, 1891a, p. 120)
- 4.26.3 Did the police catch that thief yesterday, or did his friends help him to get safely away? (Vol. 5, 1903, p. 34)
- 4.26.4 This year the Education Department has established two new schools.³¹ (Vol. 5, 1903, p. 37)
- 4.26.5 Were you there when the Prince decided the case? (Vol. 5, 1903, p. 64).

²⁹ My translation. The original one is: คนเหล่านี้เมาเมา [sic.] เอาตัวเขาไปใส่ตารางเสีซทุกคน

³⁰ My translation. The original one is: พงู้งนี้บิิดาจันจะไปเป็ดรื้อว ไปทำไม ไปเก็บภาษีฝิ่นทุกปี

³¹ My translation. The original one is: ปีนี้กรมศึกษาธิการตั้งโรงเรียนใหม่สองโรงแล้ว

4.26.6 These soldiers always guard the gate at night. (Vol. 4, 1891a, p. 30)

4.26.7 The Governor's orders were carried out by the inhabitants very quickly. (Vol. 5, 1903, p. 64)

Finally, in the series, English clearly occupies a privileged position. What is repeatedly stated in the series is that learning English is vital. English is a language skill one must acquire. One needs to be able to use (e.g. speak, read) it well. The words “be able to” and “can” are used primarily to show the ability of using English. In items 4.27.1–4.27.3, that one can use English well is something the speaker expects. Not only “can” but other modals as well are used to stress the importance of English, as seen in items 4.27.4–4.27.5. In addition, English is associated with intelligence. Those who can use English well are deemed clever, as seen in items 4.27.6–4.27.7.

Excerpt 4.27

4.27.1 I am very glad. You can read in English.³² (Vol. 2, 1904, p. 85)

4.27.2 When will this boy be able to speak English?³³ (Vol. 4, 1891a, p. 210)

4.27.3 Can't you speak English yet? No. But I hope to be able to speak English in a few years. (Vol. 5, 1903, p. 15)

4.27.4 Every day, in the morning and in the evening, you have to read some English books.³⁴ (Vol. 2, 1904, p. 59)

4.27.5 If I were you, I should learn English. (Vol. 5, 1903, p. 74)

4.27.6 That man is clever: he speaks English well.³⁵ (Vol. 4, 1891a, p. 73)

4.27.7 Boys, who are clever at school, generally learn English quickly. (Vol. 4, 1891a, p. 94)

³² My translation. The original one is: ฉันดีใจมากด้วย ท่านอ่านอังกฤษได้แล้ว

³³ My translation. The original one is: เมื่อไรเด็กคนนี้จะพูดอังกฤษได้

³⁴ My translation. The original one is: ในเวลาเช้าแล [sic.] เย็น ท่านต้องอ่านหนังสืออังกฤษบ้างทุกวัน

³⁵ My translation. The original one is: คนนั้นฉลาดแท้ๆ เขาพูดอังกฤษได้ดี

Not only the English language but also English culture are introduced in the series. As mentioned above, the students who studied English at that time were the elites. Some were trained to work in the bureaucracy, while others prepared themselves for study abroad. Thus, introducing English culture to these students was important, as it was a way to prepare them for contact with foreigners in real-life situations. Yet the English culture mentioned in the series is limited to the two topics of diet and sports, as shown in Excerpt 4.28. This is probably because these topics are concrete and therefore easy to understand.

Excerpt 4.28

4.28.1 I drink coffee every day. (Vol. 4, 1891a, p. 44)

4.28.2 We eat rice in the morning and bread in the evening. (Vol. 4, 1891a, p. 27)

4.28.3 We eat bread and jam in the morning, and rice in the evening.³⁶ (Vol.2, 1904, p. 91)

4.28.4 At 8 a.m. foreigners eat bread and eggs and drink coffee. At noon and in the evening, they eat meat and bread.³⁷ (Vol. 4, 1891a, p. 245)

4.28.5 I am very sad that you did not come to school because we play tennis together every day.³⁸ (Vol. 4, 1891a, p. 275)

4.28.6 This is the field where we will play football.³⁹ (Vol. 4, 1891a, p. 271)

4.28.7 Yesterday I went to play cricket at the teachers' training school.⁴⁰ (Vol. 4, 1891a, p. 230)

During the reign of King Chulalongkorn, Siam was surrounded by the two imperialist powers of Britain and France. Both competed in colonizing other countries, and Siam was vulnerable to colonial rule. This vulnerability made the king realize the

³⁶ My translation. The original one is: เรากินขนมปังกับแยมทุกเวลาเช้า แล [sic.] กินเช้า [sic.] ทุกเวลาเย็น

³⁷ My translation. The original one is: เวลาเช้าสองโมง ฝรั่งเขากินขนมปัง กาแฟ แล [sic.] ไข่วัน เวลาเย็นแล [sic.] กลางวัน กินเนื้อกับขนมปัง

³⁸ My translation. The original one is: ฉันมีความเสียใจมากที่เธอไม่มาโรงเรียน เพราะเราเล่นเทนนิส [sic.] กันทุกวัน

³⁹ My translation. The original one is: สนามนี้เอ็ง [sic.] และที่เราจะมาเล่นฟุตบอล

⁴⁰ My translation. The original one is: เมื่อวานนี้ฉันไปเล่นคริกเก็ตที่โรงเรียนฝึกหัดอาจารย์ [sic.]

necessity of modernizing the country to preserve its sovereignty. Thus, the king carried out reforms based on Western models.

Education reform was an important task undertaken during the reign of King Chulalongkorn. He first founded schools for the royalty and nobility and later expanded education to the general public. The first government-supported, modern-style school was established in the monastery in 1884, and during 1885–1892, the government monastery schools rose in number. Nonetheless, Wyatt (1969) argued that a desire for modern education was still lacking. For example, some schools had to be closed because there were no students. Also, there were rumors that “schools were merely a disguised form of military conscription” (Wyatt, 1969, p. 118). As he put it,

An important element in this situation must have been the inability of many families and young men to translate modern education into values meaningful in terms of their own lives...The demand for modern education seems to have been strongest among those most bureaucratically oriented, among the families of government officials, and among the large, economically oriented Chinese minority. (Wyatt, 1969, p. 119)

One of King Chulalongkorn’s education policies was to send students to study abroad. He saw that education in the country was not good enough, and that studying a foreign language in its native country could facilitate students’ language acquisition (Mulasil, 2011, p. 200). He sent students first to Singapore and later to England and other European countries. The first group of students he sent to Europe (England, France, Denmark, and Russia) consisted of his own sons. The second group consisted of commoners who received the king’s and government’s scholarships. Mulasil (2011, p. 202) argued that King Chulalongkorn wanted these students, including his sons, to study abroad so as to understand foreigners’ thoughts and ideas as well as to use what they had learned from overseas to help develop the country.

For King Chulalongkorn, knowledge of English culture as well as the English language was vital in a time of rapid change for Siam. He believed that gaining knowledge of Europe would be beneficial to Siam and not detrimental to Siam’s independence (Numpeth, 1987, p. 47). His contributions to the growth of English

teaching were various. For instance, he founded two Palace English Schools, in 1872 and 1879. In 1882, he set up Suan Kularb School, which later gained an English department. He set up the Rajakumara College in 1892 to prepare his sons for study abroad. In 1896, he founded King's College to train students for study abroad and government service and founded the King's Scholarship. In terms of curriculum, the third section in the Education Draft Laws, issued in 1892 by the Ministry of Public Instruction, included English in *prayok 2* of the secondary course (Mulasil, 2011, p. 177). The Curriculum of 1895 included English in *prayok 3*, which Mulasil (2011, p. 194) claimed to be equivalent to the tertiary level. In 1905 and 1909, the curriculum was modified, and English was introduced into the secondary course. From these examples, we can see that English had become an important subject. Theeraek (2014, p. 4), however, maintains that English teaching was a matter of class; it was confined to the elites, while commoners were discouraged from studying English, as they could not afford the tuition fee required by the government and made deliberately unaffordable.

4.3.2 Morality and discipline

Morality and discipline are also emphasized in the series. School discipline in particular is emphasized to a great extent. It is shown in Excerpt 4.29 that there are many classroom rules that students must follow: not talking in class, not making noise, keeping books in the right place, keeping the classroom clean, finishing the assignment on time, concentrating on the assignment, and so on. The excerpt also demonstrates that it is the teachers who formulate these rules and any student who breaks the rules will face punishment. Students' voices may be heard (as shown in items 4.29.7–4.29.8), but the students by no means speak out in a plea for mercy. Instead, they accept the punishment bestowed to them without resistance. Therefore, the unequal power between teachers and students is portrayed. The teachers have absolute authority, while the students must be obedient and follow orders.

Modality is a main means of teaching discipline. "Must", especially, is used to emphasize that it is an obligation of students to follow class rules. As important as modality is, the use of instructive language illustrates the authority of the teachers. Items 4.29.7–4.29.8 are interesting in this respect. The conjunction "because" is used

in both items to reason why the speaker is punished. This shows that punishment is justified by the speaker him/herself as an appropriate tool for discipline.

Excerpt 4.29

4.29.1 Boys must not talk while learning their lessons. (Vol. 5, 1903, p. 20)

4.29.2 Any boy, who leaves the door open, must write out two pages of grammar. (Vol. 4, 1891a, p. 105)

4.29.3 You are writing this lesson badly; you must write it all again tomorrow. (Vol. 4, 1891a, p. 84)

4.29.4 Look at your book. Don't look at me.⁴¹ (Vol. 2, 1904, p. 59)

4.29.5 Don't speak so loud: you disturb the other boys who are learning their lessons. (Vol. 5, 1903, p. 9)

4.29.6 You must sit behind that boy.

It is very hot to-day; let me sit near the window.

Drive the dog outside the door.

Put your books on the top of that box.

Sweep this room clean and make it tidy.

Put these boxes under the table.

Now let the boys come in and learn their lessons.

When you have finished your lessons, you must always put all your books away in your box.

If you forget, you will have to write two pages of your grammar. (Vol. 2, 1904, p. 113)

4.29.7 I had to copy my lesson twice yesterday, because I made so many mistakes. (Vol. 4, 1891a, p. 217)

4.29.8 I have to sit here three hours: because I talked this morning in lesson time. (Vol. 4, 1891a, p. 217)

⁴¹ My translation. The original one is: ดูหนังสือของท่าน อย่างองดูที่ฉัน

Apart from school discipline and obedience to the teachers, what is also emphasized in the series seems to be these two virtues: diligence and good work habits. Other virtues include generosity, responsibility, and punctuality. Moreover, students are taught not to gamble, which is considered a vice in Buddhism. In the reign of King Chulalongkorn, a law prohibited people from gambling. Another interesting point to note is that it is not only the students but also the teachers using the series in their class who are targeted. In item 4.30.12, we can see that the teachers are warned not to misbehave so as to be good role models for their students.

A variety of linguistic features are used, especially modality. For example, items 4.30.1–4.30.3 use “will” to show the rewards a diligent student will receive and the consequences (e.g. not getting rich) a lazy student will receive. Items 4.30.4–4.30.5 and 4.30.10 show the possible consequences of one’s deed by using “if” clauses, such as going back home faster if one is diligent or losing money if one gambles. Instructive language can be seen in item 4.30.11. By saying “Stop...”, the message is direct: gambling is prohibited. Items 4.30.6–4.30.7 use different conjunctions to explain why certain behaviors are acceptable while others are not allowed. For instance, “so” in item 4.30.7 explains that the speaker cannot go out because he/she needs to study. As such, it stresses the value of responsibility. For item 4.30.9, a question beginning with “Why don’t...” is used to instruct the interlocutor indirectly to be punctual.

Excerpt 4.30

4.30.1 Boys, who are idle, will never get rich. (Vol. 4, 1891a, p. 101)

4.30.2 Students who do not persevere will not learn fast.⁴² (Vol. 4, 1891a, p. 242)

4.30.3 The teacher will reward the boy who is very diligent.⁴³ (Vol. 4, 1891a, p. 210)

4.30.4 If you are very diligent, you can go home at four o’clock. (Vol. 2, 1904, p. 89)

⁴² My translation. The original one is: นักเรียนที่ไม่มีความเพียร จะเรียนไม่รู้เร็ว

⁴³ My translation. The original one is: ครูจะให้รางวัลแก่เด็กผู้มีความเพียรมาก

4.30.5 If the men worked hard, the work would soon be finished. (Vol. 5, 1903, p. 71)

4.30.6 This boy prefers working to playing because he is a good boy.⁴⁴
(Vol. 4, 1891a, p. 239)

4.30.7 I have not learned all my lessons yet so I cannot come out with you now. (Vol. 4, 1891a, p. 194)

4.30.8 A generous man is loved by everybody, but selfish persons are disliked even by their friends. (Vol. 5, 1903, p. 30)

4.30.9 Sometimes you come late. Sometimes you come early. Why don't you ever look at the clock?⁴⁵ (Vol. 4, 1891a, p. 67)

4.30.10 I shall take away all your money if I see you in the gambling house again. (Vol. 4, 1891a, p. 113)

4.30.11 That child is gambling. Stop him.⁴⁶ (Vol. 4, 1891a, p. 253)

4.30.12 Any teacher who wants to be a good teacher will have to behave himself. Otherwise, he will not be able to teach his disciples how to behave.⁴⁷ (Vol. 4, 1891a, p. 236)

The below excerpt, 4.31, from Volume 3, is an example to show that the voices of animals play an important role in conveying morals to students. This is to make the moral teaching less discernible and therefore potentially more effective. In the excerpt, a boy is talking to many kinds of animals. Each animal tells the boy about its daily work, and the boy is happy to know that each animal is useful. The boy criticizes the peacock upon hearing that the peacock does not work at all. The boy also threatens that if the peacock does not work, it will not be fed. Then the peacock asks whether the boy works or not. Not knowing how to answer, the boy feels ashamed and runs away. The message of the story is clear: life without work is useless.

⁴⁴ My translation. The original one is: เด็กนี้ชอบทำการมากกว่าเล่น เพราะว่าเขาเป็นเด็กดี

⁴⁵ My translation. The original one is: บางทีท่านมาสาย บางทีมาแต่เช้า ทำไมท่านไม่ดูนาฬิกาเสมอ

⁴⁶ My translation. The original one is: เด็กนั้นเล่นเบี้ย ห้ามเสีย

⁴⁷ My translation. The original one is: ถ้าครูใดอยากเป็นครูดี ก็จะต้องประพฤติตนให้เรียบร้อย ถ้ามิฉะนั้น [sic.] จะสอนลูกศิษย์ให้ประพฤติผิดไม่ได้

Excerpt 4.31

The horse has just come home from the plough. He has worked hard all day: we must give him some corn and hay to eat.

The cow has come from the field, to give us some milk. She cannot do any other work.

But she may eat grass all day because she gives us milk for her grass. "Thank you very much, madam cow, for the good milk."

Boy: "Now piggie, what do you do for all the food we give you to eat every day?"

Pig: "I eat to get fat: I am getting fatter every day; next month you will kill me, and eat me. Don't waste my time, talking to me. I must eat."

Boy: "Doggie, doggie, you lie here all day; what work do you do for your food?"

Dog: "I take care of the house; I bark when anyone comes to the door: so no thief can come in. That is how I work for my food."

Boy: I know what the sheep and lambs do for us: they give us their wool to make our clothes, and we eat their flesh too.

The hen lays eggs, and takes care of her little chicks; and the old cock, who is on the wall, helps here to find food: and he wakes us, too, in the morning.

Boy: "Ah! Mr. Peacock, what work do you do?"

Peacock: "I walk up and down in the garden; and I open my tail to let everyone see how handsome I am!"

Boy: "Oh how vain you are, Mr. Peacock! But what work do you do?"

Peacock: "What work? I do not do any work. I am too handsome."

Boy: "But, if you do no work, my father will not give you any food, and will not let you stay here."

Peacock: "Oh, little boy, and what work do you do? Why does your father feed you?"

When he heard this, the little boy had nothing to say: he was ashamed and ran away home. (Vol. 3, 1916, p. 47)

Morality was one of the subjects taught in all curricula issued during the reign of King Chulalongkorn. In this regard, education was not merely about gaining literary knowledge. To instill morals in students was also important. The subject of morality aimed to help students develop faith in Buddhism, have good manners, and develop good habits and character. For instance, the first Education Draft Law of 1892 stated briefly that students were to be taught about Buddhist virtues. The Curriculum of 1905 included more details about what to teach. For the primary syllabus, students were to be taught the five Buddhist precepts and such Buddhist dharma as loving-kindness, gratitude, honesty, loyalty, and mindfulness. In addition, students' behaviors had to be monitored by their teachers and corrected if found lacking. In the secondary syllabus, students were to be taught the five precepts and the five dharma (loving-kindness, right means of livelihood, self-restraint from sensual lust, honesty, and mindfulness) in detail. Like primary students, if secondary students were found to misbehave, they had to be punished. In addition, teachers had to note such misbehavior in the students' records.

4.4 Chapter summary

In this chapter, I have argued that *Ladder of Knowledge Series* prioritizes characters of the elite class over the characters of other social classes. When lower-class characters are represented, they have passive roles. Overall, the series portrays more Siamese characters than foreign ones. Foreigners are usually portrayed as a collective group without individual identities. Male and female characters are not portrayed equally. Indeed, this is a male-dominated series of textbooks. As for the adult and child relationship, it is hierarchical. In terms of ideology, *Ladder of Knowledge Series* is designed not only to teach English but also to introduce students to the concept of modernization to prepare them as subjects and shapers of social and economic change. The series also serves the interests of the Siamese ruling class by teaching students how to act as the new generation of rulers and elites. Moreover, the series moralizes and disciplines students for the purpose of national unity.

CHAPTER 5

RESULTS

DIRECT METHOD READERS FOR THAI STUDENTS

This chapter provides a thorough analysis of the series *Direct Method Reader for Thai Students* in terms of its represented characters and ideologies. Excerpts and visual images from the series are also illustrated.

5.1 Introduction

Direct Method Reader for Thai Students (hereafter *Direct Method Reader*) was written by M.L. Manich Jumsai, who worked for the Ministry of Public Instruction (later known as the Ministry of Education). M.L. Manich Jumsai was sent by the Thai government to study in Cambridge, England from 1925–1934 (Na Pomphet, 2007, p. 68). Volume 1 of the series was first published in 1936 and Volume 2 in 1937 (Sinchai & Rucharit, 1977, p. 147). The former was used in *mathayom*⁴⁸ 1 class and the latter in *mathayom* 2 class. I could not find the year Volume 3 was first published, but it is recorded that Volume 3 was used in *mathayom* 3 class in 1949 (Ministry of Education, 1949). In 1960, compulsory education was extended from 4 years to 7 years. In line with that, two new primary curricula were enacted: the curriculum for lower primary education (*prathom*⁴⁹ 1-4) and the curriculum for upper primary education (*prathom* 5-7). The latter required that students study English as a compulsory subject. According to the 1961 textbook list released by the Ministry of Education, Volume 1 of the series was first used with students in *prathom* 5. After that, the series became one of the English textbooks for primary students, while secondary students were assigned new English textbooks. The series was in use at the primary level until the 1970s.

Direct Method Reader comprises three volumes. The volumes under examination have different editions. The first volume is the third edition, published in 1939 and the second volume is the second edition, published in 1940. The third volume was the eleventh edition, published in 1961. The first and second volumes contain 25

⁴⁸ *Mathayom* means secondary education.

⁴⁹ *Prathom* means primary education.

lessons each, and the third volume comprises 26 lessons. In Volume 1, the English alphabet is featured before the first lesson begins. The first lesson introduces basic classroom expressions, and the rest of the lessons are either grammar-based or topic-based. The grammar points include articles, pronouns, verbs, adjectives, and simple present tense; the topics are time, counting, days and months, color, money, and the king of Thailand. As in Volume 1, some lessons in Volume 2 are grammar-based and others are topic-based. The grammar points include nouns, pronouns, adverbs, modals, simple past tense, and simple future tense, while the topics are family, meals, seasons, clothes, directions, cities, taking a bath, and the past and present kings of Thailand. There are several children's songs in English at the end of both Volumes 1 and 2. As for Volume 3, no grammar explanation is provided. Most lessons feature reading passages in which grammar is blended; the rest are conversations.

According to Surasawadi (1988, pp. 73–75), the grammar-translation method was the main teaching method in Thailand during the 1930s and the 1950s. This method focuses on grammar and the translation of one language into another. The writer of the series, however, did not adopt this method. Rather, he adopted the natural method of teaching: no translation, inductive grammar, and oral training. He stated in the preface of Volume 1 that it was wrong to teach students by having them “read and translate” (Jumsai, 1939, p. C). The right method for him was to “talk to students, point at the real objects,...look at the real things, see the illustrations, and interpret the meaning” (Jumsai, 1939, p. C). By doing so, he argued, the students would learn how to listen to and speak English.

5.2 What are the identities of the characters represented in the textbooks?

There are both fictional and non-fictional characters in the series. Child characters are the main fictional characters. Among them, Chab, a boy character, appears most frequently throughout the series. Chab is of the elite class. The boy is a son of a nobleman who works for the government. His grandfather is also a nobleman of higher rank. He and his siblings go to prestigious single-sex public schools. His house is large. The servants in his house do the housework, such as cooking and gardening. On vacation they visit Hua Hin, a famous seaside town two hours away from

Bangkok, and stay in a hotel. Such an elite way of life can be seen in Excerpts 5.1–5.4 below.

Excerpt 5.1

Chab has a father. His father lives in Bangkok. His name is Luang⁵⁰ Anek. He is an officer...Chab has a brother and two sisters. Chab is a big boy. His brothers and sisters are still small. His brother's name is Manat. His sisters are Anong and Pranom. They are brothers and sisters. They go to school every day. Chab also goes to school every day...They all live in a house at Rong Muang Road. There are ten people in this house: Chab and his brother and sisters, his parents (father and mother), Phya [*sic.*]⁵¹ and Khun-ying⁵² Rabieb, and two servants. (Vol. 2, 1940, pp. 2–3)

Excerpt 5.2

The children (boys and girls) are playing on the lawn. The servants are at the back of the house. They work in the kitchen. There are many trees in the garden. The servants are working in the kitchen. *Ta*⁵³ Inn is boiling rice. *Nang*⁵⁴ Mee is cooking. She is the cook. She cooks for the family. (Vol. 2, 1940, p. 10)

Excerpt 5.3

We live in Bangkok. In Bangkok there are many big schools. I go to Debsirindra School⁵⁵. My brother also goes to Debsirindra School. We go to school on foot, because the school is near our house. My sisters do not go to Debsirindra School, because this school is for boys only. They go to

⁵⁰ *Luang* is a title conferred on a nobleman or a government official.

⁵¹ *Phya* [*sic.*] is a title conferred on a nobleman or a government official. The status of *phya* is higher than that of *luang*.

⁵² *Khun-ying* is a title conferred on the wife of a nobleman or a government official.

⁵³ *Ta* refers to an old man in this context. It can also mean a maternal grandfather or a boy in other contexts.

⁵⁴ *Nang* is a female title equivalent to “Mrs.” in English.

⁵⁵ Debsirindra School, an all-boys school, was established during the reign of King Chulalongkorn.

Rajini School⁵⁶. Rajini School is very far from our house. They go by motor car. Sometimes they go by tram. (Vol. 2, 1940, pp. 12–13)

Excerpt 5.4

During the hot season last year, we did not stay at home. We went away...We went to Hua Lam Phong. Hua Lam Phong is a big railway station...We arrived at Hua Hin in the evening. We stayed at a hotel...It was a fine holiday to stay at Hua Hin...We stayed at Hua Hin two weeks. Afterwards we came back to Bangkok. We did not like to go away from Hua Hin. We did not like to leave Hua Hin. But we had to go back home. (Vol. 2, 1940, pp. 105–111)

Chab and his family members, except for his mother, are named. By being named, they are represented as specific individuals, making them real to the reader. As can be seen from Excerpt 5.1 mentioned earlier, Chab's parents and siblings are classified through relational identification in that they are his parents or siblings. Chab's father, grandfather, and grandmother are named with functional honorifics: Luang Anek and Phya and Khun-ying Rabieb. Even though the role of the elite changed after the 1932 Revolution (Phongpaichit & Baker, 2005, p. 164), the series's content revolved around the elite, probably because they were the main beneficiaries of education.

Apart from Chab and his siblings, there are other child characters. Some of them are named, while others are anonymized. Their names are Thai given names, including Daeng, Lek, Sawat, Sawai, Saeng, and Siri. Those without names are mainly classified in terms of gender (as a boy or girl). There is no mention of their social status. Judging, however, from the fact that they are Chab's and his siblings' classmates, they might be from an elite background.

Chab, as well as his siblings and classmates, is portrayed mostly in school and at home. They are portrayed in school while engaged in classroom activities, such

⁵⁶ Rajini School, an all-girls school, was established during the reign of King Chulalongkorn by Queen Saovabha Phongsri of the King.

as reading, writing, and answering the teacher's questions. When at home, they do daily activities, such as eating and getting dressed. When interacting with the adult characters, they are portrayed in an inferior position. The adults control the conversations. They ask questions while the children merely answer. They give commands while the children merely follow the commands. This is clearly seen in Excerpt 5.5, in which the teacher controls the conversation and the students pay high respect to the teacher by ending their sentences with "sir." Visually, when children and adults are represented in the same picture, they are portrayed with different angles. For instance, there is a picture of Chab's mother sitting on a sofa and Chab's sister on the floor; they are talking to each other (See Figure 5.1). We can see the face (though not clearly and in a long shot) of the mother, but only the back of the child. This suggests that the child is in an inferior position and that she is not an important entity.

Excerpt 5.5

Teacher: Sawai, come here! Whose book is this?

Sawai: This is my book, sir. It is mine.

Teacher: (asking Sawat) Whose book is this?

Sawat: It is Sawai's book, sir. It is his book. It is his.

Teacher: These are my books. Whose books are they?

Sawat: They are your books, sir. They are yours. (Vol. 2, 1940, p. 61)



Figure 5.1 Mother and child

The adult characters vary in terms of class, but the characters of the elite class are better portrayed as individuals than are the characters of other social classes. As mentioned above, Chab's father, grandfather, and grandmother are named with functional honorifics. Apart from Chab's (grand)parents, Thai kings and queens are featured in every volume of the series. All of them are real people who existed in Thai

history. They are mostly portrayed in the battlefield, fighting the foreigners. They are named and individualized.

Other important adult characters are the teachers and the soldiers. Some of the teachers, such as those teaching Chab and his classmates, are made individual characters with names, but some are referred to as a collective group (“the teachers”). Despite not being mentioned in terms of social status, the fact that these teachers direct the class and command that the students follow their instructions makes them high-status, if not elite. As for the soldiers, they are not named, but they are individualized, as can be seen in Excerpt 5.6. They are portrayed in the series as defending the country and fighting the enemy through the use of these verbs: fire, shoot, defend, and fight.

Excerpt 5.6

This is a soldier.

He has a gun in his hand.

He fires his gun.

He shoots the enemy.

He defends his country.

He fights the enemy on land.

Soldiers serve in the army. (Vol. 2, 1940, pp. 101–102)

There is little room for the adult characters from lower classes to be portrayed as individuals. The two servants in Chab’s family have individual names and roles; the male servant’s name is Inn, and the female servant’s name is Mee. Both work in the kitchen. Apart from them, no character from a non-elite social class is portrayed as an individual entity. In fact, people like farmers are presented as a collective group. An example is shown in Excerpt 5.7.

Excerpt 5.7

The farmers are in the fields with their buffaloes. They grow much rice.

(Vol. 2, 1940, p. 99)

In terms of race, all the above-mentioned characters are Thai. There are relatively few foreign characters. Mostly, these foreign characters are classified in terms of race. They include Burmese, English, Cambodians, Malays, Indians, Vietnamese, Japanese, and Chinese. Among them, the Burmese are portrayed most often. These foreigners are presented as a collective group, not as real, individual characters but as a part of a narrative that leaves their identities unrecognized or marginalized. There are a few exceptions in the lessons about Thai and Burmese battles in which the Burmese general or prince is named and individualized.

With this exception, we rarely see the interactions between Thai and foreign characters. Foreigners are separate characters in separate stories. In stories that represent both Thai and foreign characters, the pronouns “we” and “they” tend to be used to differentiate them. The differentiation is also seen in the visual images of foreign characters: foreigners are portrayed wearing their national costumes. They stand on their country’s map, isolated from other groups of people. They are seen in a small frame in a long shot; hence, their facial expression cannot be seen clearly. As a result, they are distanced and otherized, as shown in Figure 5.2.

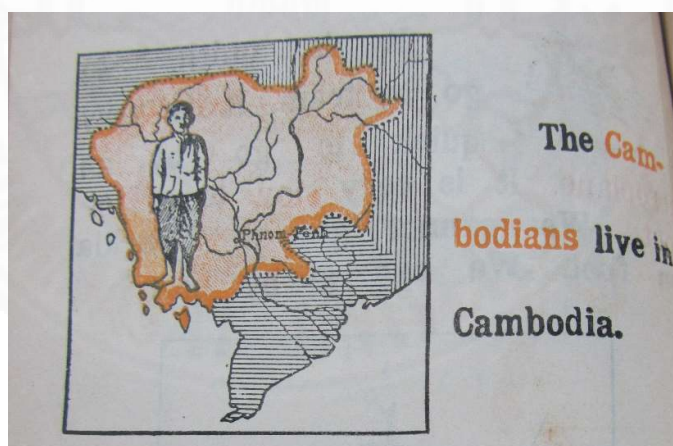


Figure 5.2 Foreigner

In terms of gender, female characters are outnumbered by male characters. For example, more boys than girls are represented in the classroom. In some stories, only boys are presented, as seen in Excerpt 5.8. On the other hand, there are no stories that present only girls in the classroom. Moreover, when both boys and girls are presented in a story, the writing pattern is that boys are generally mentioned before

girls. As seen in Excerpt 5.9, the term “man” comes before “woman” and the term “boy” comes before “girl.” In Excerpt 5.10, we also see that the terms “boys” or “boy” are prioritized because the terms “girls” or “girl” are merely put in brackets.

Excerpt 5.8

There are many boys in my class-room [*sic.*]. All of them learn English. All of them are in Matayom [*sic.*] III. Some of them are clever. Some of them are stupid. None of them are girls. (Vol. 3, 1961, p. 118)

Excerpt 5.9

This is a man.

This is a woman.

This is a boy.

This is a girl.

This is a pen.

This is a cap.

This is a hat.

The boy has a pen.

The girl has a pen too.

The boy is the brother.

The girl is the sister.

The man is the father.

The woman is the mother. (Vol. 1, 1939, pp. 19–20)

Excerpt 5.10

I am a boy (girl).

You are a boy (girl).

He is a boy.

She is a girl.

We are boys (girls).

They are boys (girls).

The boys are in the room.

The boy is in the room.

The teacher is in the room.

The hat is in the room too.

The hat and the table are in the room.

This is a class-room [*sic.*].

The teacher is in the class-room [*sic.*].

The boys are in the class-room [*sic.*] too. (Vol. 1, 1939, pp. 24–25)

The stories about Chab and his family are similar. Excerpt 5.11 is an example of “male” family members being mentioned before “female” ones. In addition, the domain where female characters are represented is rather limited. Chab’s mother, specifically, is represented only in the house and the market, where she has dinner with family and does some food shopping (See Excerpts 5.12–5.13). Notably, in Excerpt 5.14, Chab’s father takes his daughter and the daughter’s friend to the cinema, but he will not take his wife with him. Excerpt 5.15, similarly, shows that Chab’s father takes all children except one to a resort town on vacation. There is no mention of his wife at all, but we can assume that she must be home taking care of the child who is left behind. Moreover, unlike her husband, Chab’s mother has no name and hence no identity as a person. She exists merely as a mother. As such, the role of woman as mother is perpetuated.

Excerpt 5.11

They all live in a house at Rong Muang Road. There are ten people in this house: Chab and his brother and sisters, his parents (father and mother), Phya [*sic.*] and Khun-ying Rabieb, and two servants. (Vol. 2, 1940, p. 3)

Excerpt 5.12

(There is a picture of Chab and his father, mother and siblings dining together in their house.)

Where do you have dinner? I have dinner in the dining room. I have dinner with my parents, my brothers and sisters. (Vol. 2, 1940, pp. 24–25)

Excerpt 5.13

We shall go to school every day except Sundays. My father will go to the office tomorrow also. My mother will go out tomorrow. She will go to the market. She will buy fruit and rice for us... (Vol. 2, 1940, pp. 40–41)

Excerpt 5.14

Will your father go to the cinema this evening? Yes, but my mother will not go with him. He wants to go with Anong and Sawat... (Vol. 2, 1940, p. 42)

Excerpt 5.15

During the hot season last year, we did not stay at home. We went away. My father took me with him. My brother and my sister went with us also. But Anong did not go. She stayed at home. She was too small to go with us. (Vol. 2, 1940, p. 105)

Interestingly, it is worth pointing out that Thai queens and noblewomen are the only female characters portrayed differently. That is, they are praised as national heroines for their fight for Thai sovereignty. In this way, they are also represented in the domain where male characters dominate: the battlefield. Yet, when looking at the narratives as shown in Excerpts 5.16–5.17, it is clear that these heroines are nominated in relation to men (i.e. kings or noblemen). Excerpt 5.16 shows that Mo (Tao Sura Nari) has no identity in her own right, but her identity exists only as that of a wife of a nobleman (Phya Palat). Excerpt 5.17 shows that the heroines cannot be introduced in the narrative alone without referring to the heroes.

Excerpt 5.16

Mo was the wife of Phya [sic.] Palat at Korat. (Vol. 3, 1961, p. 83)

Excerpt 5.17

King Rama [sic.] Kamhaeng was a Thai hero. King Naresuan was also a hero. So also was King Taksin. They were Thai heroes. They were heroes of Thai history. Queen Suriyotai was a Thai heroine. We have also other

heroines: Mo of Korat (Tao Sura Nari), and Tao Tep Kasat-tri and her sister, Tao Si Sunthon of Thalang. (Vol. 3, 1961, pp. 56–57)

As discussed above, female characters in the series are outnumbered by male characters. In dialogues that take place in the classroom, girls are sometimes absent entirely. As well, the domains where female characters are represented are more restricted. For example, Chab's mother is represented only as a mother who takes care of her family at home and buys food for her family in the market. This is not to say that there are no female characters represented in other domains. One example is that of Thai queens who fight the enemies on the battlefield. Yet, when looking more closely at the narratives about such female characters, it is revealed that they have no identities in their own right. Their identities are relational to men, such as being referred to as a man's wife. This suggests that the status of men is higher than that of women in the series.

5.3 What are the embedded ideologies? How are these ideologies constructed in the Thai context?

5.3.1 Nationalism

5.3.1.1 Nation, religion, king

What is dominant in the series is the ideology of nationalism. This ideology is conveyed through the representation of the motto “nation, religion, king” propagated by King Vajiravudh. Excerpt 5.18 is a simple conversation about the Thai national flag. This conversation is presented along with the picture of the flag. The three colors of the flag are what is stressed in the conversation and in the picture. This representation of the tricolor Thai national flag can be used to teach the motto “nation, religion, king” that the three colors represent.

Excerpt 5.18

What flag is this?

This is the Thai flag. It is red, white and blue. (Vol. 1, 1939, p. 83)

In Excerpt 5.19, Thailand is presented as a country that belongs to everyone including the reader through the use of “we” and “our.” There is also a reasoning statement: “We love Thailand because Thailand is our country.” The statement uses “because” to justify the need for the country to be loved and hence protected. This representation of the country is accompanied by a map of Thailand. The map features Thailand in a large size and green color. There is the term “Thailand” written on the map. By contrast, we rarely see the countries that surround Thailand. This makes Thailand stand out, suggesting its greatness as a country.

Excerpt 5.19

Thailand is a country. Thailand is our country. We love Thailand because Thailand is our country. We live in Thailand. We are Thais. Bangkok is the capital of Thailand. It stands on Chao Phya River. (Vol. 2, 1940, p. 11)

In terms of religion, there is a lesson about Buddhist temples (See Excerpt 5.20). Three important temples are mentioned: the Temple of the Emerald Buddha, the Temple of Dawn, and the Marble Temple. The first temple is mentioned as a place that houses a sacred Buddha image and the second and third temples are mentioned in terms of their beauty. Pictures of these three temples are also presented. The pictures include the Emerald Buddha and the entrance of the Temple of the Emerald Buddha, the Pagoda of the Temple of Dawn, and the ordinary Hall of the Marble Temple. Both the story and the pictures are designed to make the reader proud of Thai Buddhist cultures.

Excerpt 5.20

This is a temple. It is a Buddhist temple...There are walls around the temple. People go to the temple to worship Buddha. In Wat Phra Keo there is a Buddha. It is a green Buddha. This Buddha is made of emerald. It is the Emerald Buddha.

...

What do you see near the river? It is Wat Arun.

The pagoda is very high. It is the Temple of Dawn. It is very beautiful.

Here is Wat Benchamabopit. Inside the temple there is a very beautiful image of Buddha.The roofs of the temple are yellow. (Vol. 2, 1940, p. 11)

On the topic of monarchy, the series presents historical facts about Thai kings. As shown in Excerpt 5.21, it presents the names of the kings of the Chakkri dynasty. It also presents other pieces of information, such as the age and the family of King Ananda Mahidol, the king at the time the series was first published. The close-up pictures of all of the kings are also presented. Each is portrayed in a headshot; we can see their faces clearly. Four of the kings look directly at the reader; the rest turn their heads a little and look to the side. What can be inferred from the pictures is the authority of the kings.

Excerpt 5.21

Who lives in the palace? The king lives in the palace. Who is the King of Thailand? Ananda Mahidol is the King of Thailand. He is still young. He is only 14 years old (B.E. 2482). He lives in Europe. He is with his mother. He is still learning. He does not live in the Grand Palace.

These are the pictures of the eight Thai kings. Do you know their names? The first king was Phra Buddha Yodfah. The second king was Phra Buddha Lert Lah. The third king was Phra Nang Klao. The fourth king was Phra Chom Klao. They also call him King Mongkut. The fifth king was Chulalongkorn. The sixth king was Vajiravudha [sic.]. The seventh king was Prajadhipok. The eight king is Ananda Mahidol. (Vol. 2, 1940, pp. 117–120)

5.3.1.2 Thai kings fighting the Burmese

Intertextuality is a main feature used to rouse nationalism. The series draws on several stories about Thai kings and queens fighting the Burmese as recorded in Thai history, especially the stories of King Ramkhamhaeng, King Naresuan and King Taksin. The stories have the same plot. As shown in Excerpt 5.22, they start by describing Thai people living in a peaceful land. One day, the Burmese invaded. Therefore, all Thais had to unite and fight the invaders under the leadership of the Thai kings. Finally, the Thais won. All of the kings were then glorified as heroes who saved Thailand, which was portrayed as a victim invaded by evil foreigners.

Excerpt 5.22

I see a soldier.

What does he say?

He says “Our land is our home, the soldiers are our fence.”

He means: We must love our country. We must defend our country.

Look at the map.

This was Thailand.

It was Thailand long ago.

It was Thailand eight hundred years ago.

It was the Thailand of King Rama [*sic.*] Kamhaeng.

He freed the Thais from the Cambodians.

His country was very large.

Look at the second map. This was also Thailand.

It was the Thailand of King Naresuan.

At that time the Burmese came to Thailand.

They came to Thailand many times.

They killed many Thais.

The Thais were not happy.

They were very unhappy.

King Naresuan freed them from the Burmese.

Look at this picture. It is the picture of the Thai army near the River Satong. King Naresuan was in the army. He was sitting on the elephant. He had a gun in his hand. He shot Surakamma, the Burmese general. The Burmese ran away.

Once the Maha-Uparaja of Burma came to Thailand with a large army. King Naresuan fought him at Nong Sarai near Supanburi and killed him.

Look at the third map. This was also Thailand.

It was the Thailand of King Taksin.

He freed the Thais from the Burmese.

At that time the Burmese army came to Thailand. They burnt our capital, Ayudhya. They burnt many Thais. They killed Thai women and Thai children. The Thai soldiers ran away from them. The Thai people were unhappy. Thailand was not free. King Taksin freed them from the Burmese. He was a Thai hero. King Rama [sic.] Kamhaeng was also a hero. They were heroes, Thai heroes.

Now look at Thailand to-day.

This is our Thailand.

Love her! Defend her! For Thailand will be very unhappy, if we do not work hard for her and defend her.

Thailand is our home. Our fathers lived in Thailand. Our grandfathers also lived in Thailand. Our great-grandfathers also lived in Thailand. Our great-great-grandfathers also lived in Thailand. Our children will live in Thailand. Our grandchildren will also live in Thailand. Our great-grandchildren will also live in Thailand. Long live Thailand! (Vol. 2, 1940, pp. 122–129)

Clearly, the entire story is not told in all instances. They start with the invasion of the Burmese without mentioning the preceding conflicts and tensions that resulted in the wars between Burma and Thailand. As such, parts of the stories are omitted on purpose. Moreover, instead of using the term “invade,” the stories use the term “come.” Saying the Burmese “came” to Thailand is a way to avoid Thailand being viewed as a country vulnerable to foreign aggression.

Overlexicalization—the use of many lexical items for one concept in a particular context—is explicit. This is evidence of a preoccupation with a particular dimension of reality, which is normally a site of ideological contention (Fairclough, 1989/2001). The verbs “came,” “burnt,” and “killed” appear repeatedly in association with the Burmese. This emphasizes the evil actions of the Burmese: invading and

destroying Thailand. In contrast, the verb “freed” appears repeatedly in association with the Thai kings. This emphasizes their heroic action: freeing Thai people from the Burmese. The term “hero(es)” also appears many times, leading to the glorification of the kings as brave, patriotic, and self-sacrificing heroes who save Thailand and restore peace and stability.

Of these three stories, the story of King Naresuan is the most outstanding. Two pictures accompany his story: him shooting Surakamma and him fighting the Maha Uparaja of Burma. Both pictures are large and appear in the center of the page, drawing the attention of the reader. This emphasizes the pictures’ significance. The pictures feature the moments the king defeated the Burmese. This romanticizes the Thai victory over the Burmese and encourages the reader to remember the victory as part of a glorious past. One of the two pictures is shown in Figure 5.3.

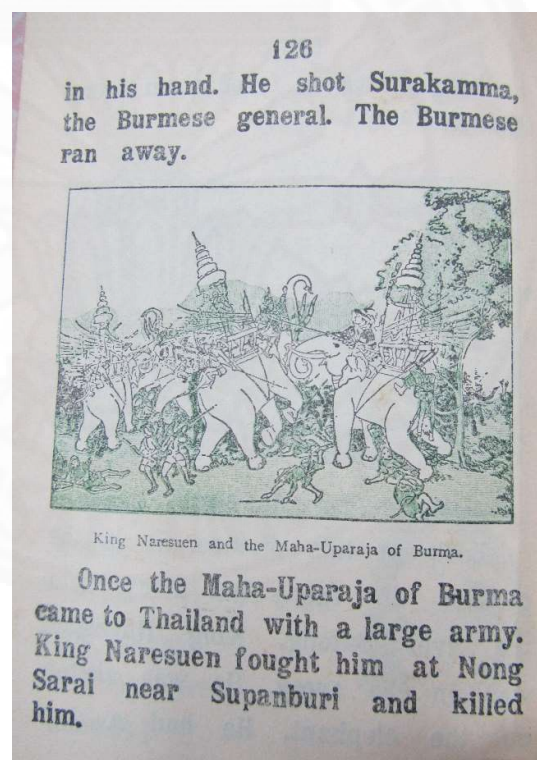


Figure 5.3 King Naresuan

From Excerpt 5.22, we also see the ways nationalism is roused. The inclusive pronouns “we” and “our” are used to establish solidarity with the reader. This helps persuade the reader to believe that Thailand belongs to the reader and thus that it

is vital to act to protect the country. The modal “must” is used to show that defending Thailand is an obligation one cannot deny. The writing style, as clearly seen, is melodramatic so as to intensify the patriotic feelings of the reader (e.g. Love her! Defend her!, Long live Thailand!). Such a writing style includes instructive language together with exclamation marks and constructing the country as feminine, a European convention.



Figure 5.4 Soldier

Furthermore, at the beginning of the excerpt, a metaphor is used. The metaphor is presented as reported speech; the person who speaks is a soldier who says that Thailand is like everyone’s home and the soldier is like the fence. This metaphor justifies the role of the military, defending the country. What is interesting is the visual image of the soldier; it is very big, occupying more than half of the page. There is a soldier at the center, clenching his fist and raising it up while looking up. His statement “Our land is our home, the soldiers are our fence,” is written in the picture in Thai, not in English. This fact makes it notable, as it would catch the eye of the reader right away. Field Marshal Plaek Phibun Songkhram’s regime was shaped by fascism, and he promoted militant nationalism to mobilize the Thai people (Reynolds, 2004, p. 106). According to Reynolds (2004, p. 106), much militaristic nationalist propaganda was

used, including films, maps, and the national anthem. For example, Phibun ordered that a national anthem be composed whose lyrics reflected militaristic values. This picture reflects and reiterates the propaganda of the time and of the master narrative. It attempts to legitimize the military's role in fighting invaders (and communists) within the country.

In addition, Excerpt 5.22 also shows history's presentation as primordial. By using the grammatical structure "It was...", it suggests that Thailand has always existed in its current location. The Thai people have always lived in this place. This is presented as if the existence of the country is a natural phenomenon similar to the existence of the universe, the earth, and the sun and the moon. In fact, Thailand as a modern nation-state with clear boundaries was a newly invented notion. As contended by Winichakul (1994), Thai nationhood has been arbitrarily and artificially constructed by the operations of the nation's territorial entity and its related values and practices, all of which Winichakul terms the "geo-body." For him, this "geo-body" is an effect of the modern, western-based field of geography, whose prime technology is mapping. Looking in particular at nineteenth-century Siam, as Thailand was then called, Winichakul (1994) contends that "the knowledge about the Siamese nationhood has been created by our conception of Siam-on-the-map, emerging from maps and existing nowhere apart from the map" (p. 17). Winichakul's essential thesis is that a modern geographical discourse has changed the perception of space, allowing the creation of a man-made territorial definition or the "geo-body" of the nation. This "geo-body" creates nationhood spatially and serves to construct, arouse, and transmit nationalism and national identity from generation to generation.

Winichakul (1994) argues that the construction of hegemonic monarchical national history was a consequence of Siam's loss of its suzerainty over the left bank of the Mekhong river during the Paknam crisis in 1893. He argues that a dominant version of Siam's history is the product of the emergence of the discourse of "geo-body" that has shaped the knowledge of Siam. This version of history has framed the Siamese past as a series of struggles to defend Thai independence against external threats, struggles that could not be successful without the super-heroic roles of the monarchy. Especially at a high time of European colonialism in nineteenth-century Asia, when all Siamese neighbors had been colonized, this historical version projects that Siam would

not have survived and become modern without the intelligence of the kings who responded wisely to the threats of European powers by deciding to relinquish some of Siam's territory to save their independence, and by modernizing the country in the right way at the right time. This narrative of Siamese anti-colonial heroism was successful in creating a collective romantic memory of the past while removing the pain of the emergence of the "geo-body." Under this narrative, there is no doubt why Siam was always claimed as a lamb bullied by the European wolf. Winichakul, however, rejects such a claim, arguing that Siam was by no means a victim but in fact took on the role of a wolf and played the political game of colonialism along with France and Britain. In the end, however, Siam was simply outmatched by and failed to compete with these bigger or wiser French and British wolves.

Hong (2008, pp. 320–321) agreed with Winichakul, noting that after the Paknam crisis, Prince Damrong did not publish historical works on the reign of King Chulalongkorn. What he published instead were two historical works on Ayutthaya in 1915 and 1924 and "the crux of the narrative was the fall of the capital, Ayutthaya, to the Burmese in 1596 and its restitution by King Naresuan in 1593, and again in 1767, where this time the capital was destroyed, only to give way to a more enduring polity centered first at Thonburi...then Bangkok" (Hong, 2008, p. 320).

After the 1932 Revolution, Luang Wichit Wathakan was influential in spreading such a master nationalist narrative, as his writings were about heroes, including King Ramkhamhaeng, King Naresuan, and King Taksin, fighting for independence from external aggressors. We see the continuity of such a narrative in modern times, too. *The Legend of King Naresuan the Great*, directed by a descendant of the royal family, Chatrichalerm Yukol, is an example of a modern film featuring the military and leadership skills of King Naresuan in defeating the Burmese to declare the sovereignty of Siam.

In fact, not only the stories of Thai heroes, but also the stories of Thai heroines, are told with the same plot in the series. For example, Volume 3 depicts the stories of Queen Suriyothai, Thao Suranari and Thao Thep Kasatri, and Thao Sri Sunthorn defeating the Burmese enemies. Excerpt 5.23 below shows the heroic deed of Queen Suriyothai, who disguised herself as a man to battle against the Burmese in order

to protect her husband, King Maha Jakkraphat. She died in the battle and was praised for her self-sacrifice.

Excerpt 5.23

Queen Suriyotai was a Thai heroine. We have also other heroines: Mo of Korat (Tao Sura Nari), and Tao Tep Kasat-tri and her sister, Tao Si Sunthon of Thalang.

King Maha Chakrapat had seven white elephants. When the King of Burma heard this he asked the King of Thailand to give him two elephants. The King of Thailand would not give him the elephants.

And so Tabinshwehti, the King of Burma, came to Thailand with a large army. King Maha Chakrapat came out to fight the Burmese. His Queen, Phra Suriyotai, asked that she might go with him. The King said that women should stay at home, but the queen begged that she might also go. So she put on a man's dress and went out with him. With them were their two sons, Prince Mahin and Prince Ramesuan. They rode on elephants. The King fought with Prince Prae of Burma. But Prince Prae was stronger than he. King Chakrapat's elephant ran away and the Burmese prince ran after him.

When Queen Suriyotai saw this, she thought that she had to serve him. So she came in between King Chakrapat and Prince Prae of Burma. Prince Prae did not know that she was a woman and killed her.

Queen Suriyotai saved her husband and king from the enemy. By her heroic deed she won the praise of all Thai. (Vol. 3, 1961, pp. 57–60)

The stories of these heroines are also popular today, which suggests that the present ideology is shaped by this historiography. In particular, *The Legend of Suriyothai*, released in 2001, is a popular film about Queen Suriyothai sacrificing her life in the above-mentioned battle. The film was funded, endorsed, and supervised by Her Majesty Queen Sirikit. Jirattikorn (2003) argued that the film was part of the country's narrative about Thai preservation of its sovereignty and "part of a national search for the golden age of antiquity." The film was released during a time when

Thailand faced an economic crisis. In Jirattikorn's view (2003), the 1997 crisis fostered the feeling among Thais that their country experienced the turmoil because of corrupt political and social institutions, the collapse of urban-based economy and financial institutions, and the neo-colonial invasion by such financial organizations as the IMF. Therefore, the feeling intensified that Thailand should return to its glorious past where national sovereignty was preserved by heroes and heroines.

5.3.1.3 Thais vs. Others

Due to the promotion of Thai nationalism, the series emphasizes Thainess and Otherizes people who are not Thai. Being "Thai," by the series's definition, appears to be grounded in race and ethnicity. In Excerpt 5.24, being a Thai person is emphasized by using the adjective "Thai" several times. The excerpt also suggests that only Thai people deserve to live in Thailand.

Excerpt 5.24

This is Thailand.

We are Thais.

You are a Thai.

I am a Thai.

My teacher is a Thai too. (Vol. 1, 1939, p. 78)

In Excerpt 5.25, we see the use of overlexicalization to make the Chinese the Other. In the excerpt, Chab talks about his lunch at school. He says that he eats "Chinese noodles." The question then arises of why "noodles" requires elaboration in terms of race (e.g. "Chinese") despite the generally knowledge that noodles originated in China. The effect of adding "Chinese" is to differentiate "Chinese" from "Thai" in order to make Chinese the Other.

Excerpt 5.25

At lunch I eat rice-soup. I buy rice-soup at school. I buy it from a hawker. The hawker sells rice-soup. I buy it for fifty stangs [*sic.*]. But sometimes I eat Chinese noodles. The Chinese sells noodles. (Vol. 2, 1940, pp. 23–24)

The series also presents information about people from China, Burma, India, Vietnam, Cambodia, Japan, Malaysia, and England in several lessons. Otherness is developed by talking about different lives (Cortazzi & Jin, 1999). By discussing differences in language, clothes, religion, lifestyle, or food, foreigners are made the Other. Excerpt 5.26, for instance, talks about the different capitals, religions, and languages of the Cambodians, the Burmese, the Indians, the Malays, and the Chinese. When such information is given, it turns out that the fact that they are not Thai is being emphasized. This emphasis, combined with the use of the pronoun “we,” produces solidarity with the reader and the pronoun “they” is used to establish distance and exclude these foreign people from the reader’s sense of solidarity. Exclusion is very strong when it comes to the case of Burma. The attempt to emphasize the rivalry against the Burmese is obvious. For example, when Rangoon is described as having a large, golden pagoda, the sentence “We have also a big pagoda at Nakon Pathom” follows immediately afterward to emphasize Thailand’s equal position in terms of Buddhist cultural sites.

Excerpt 5.26

The Cambodians live in Cambodia. Their capital is Phnom-Penh.

Who live in Burma? The Burmese live in Burma.

What is their capital? Their capital is Rangoon.

Rangoon is a big city. There are big buildings, motor cars and trams in Rangoon. In Rangoon there is a big pagoda. It is a golden pagoda. We have also a big pagoda at Nakon Pathom.

There are many good roads in Rangoon and there are many tricycles. There are no rickshaws now.

In the roads there are many Indians. The Indians come from India. They come from Calcutta, Bombay and Madras. The Indians are black, the Burmese are brown.

In Bangkok there are many Chinese.

Who live in Malaya? The Malays live in Malaya. They are Mohammedans.

We are Buddhists. We worship Buddha.

The Europeans are Christians. They worship Christ.

The Burmese and the Cambodians are also Buddhists. Many Chinese are also Buddhists. The Burmese boys learn Burmese at school. They also learn English. They do not learn Thai. They do not talk Thai. They cannot speak Thai. They speak Burmese and read Burmese. The Chinese learn Chinese at school. They also learn English, but they do not learn Thai. Chinese is very difficult. The Chinese are yellow. (Vol. 2, 1940, pp. 86–91)

It is also seen from the excerpt that foreigners have no voice at all. In fact, this is unsurprising. Van Dijk (2004) finds that the Others in visual presentations are normally nameless and silenced. They are passively portrayed and rarely offered opportunities to voice their opinions. In Van Dijk's work, (white middle-class) Americans are found to be the key characters, whereas the locals are passively and exotically portrayed without voice. Citing Greenberg, Cortez (2008) maintains that "the function of Othering is to differentiate, marginalize and exclude us from them based on racial, ethnic, geographical, economic or ideological markers with social inequality as a result. The Others are framed into an inferior position, where self is normal whereas other is deviant, exotic, periphery" (pp. 110-111).

All of the above excerpts illustrate the state policy of building a society with pure Buddhist Thais. To build a pure Thai Buddhist society, Phibun's policies sought to favor ethnic Thai and exclude other ethnic groups (Reynolds, 1991, p. 18). For example, Phibun ran an anti-Chinese campaign to arouse economic nationalism. He encouraged Thais to buy Thai products in order to destroy the Chinese share of the market. He also arrested Chinese businessmen, controlled Chinese schools, and banned Chinese newspapers. In addition, assimilationist policies encouraged the Chinese to speak Thai and dress in a Thai fashion. These anti-Chinese policies were exemplified by the chauvinist writing of Wichit.

5.3.2 Modern education

The series also promotes modern education, which follows the western model of education. In Excerpt 5.27, a teacher and student are talking about the subjects learned in school. The subjects mentioned are what is learned in modern schools, including mathematics, geography, history, and English. As such, the curriculum that gives value to modern knowledge is emphasized.

Excerpt 5.27

Teacher: Who is your teacher?

Sang: Kru Plang is our teacher, sir.

Teacher: What does he teach you?

Sang: He teaches us mathematics (arithmetic and geometry), Siamese, English, history, geography and drawing, sir. He teaches us every subject.

Teacher: In what class were you last year?

Sang: I was in Matayom II last year, sir.

Teacher: What did you learn last year?

Sang: Last year I also learnt mathematics, Siamese, English history, geography and drawing, sir. (Vol. 3, 1961, pp. 3–4)

Excerpt 5.28 portrays the conversation between two people. The conversation is related to Columbus's unorthodox belief (for his time) that the world was not flat. Indirect reporting is used to show Columbus's belief (e.g. He believed that..., He said that...). The last sentence "We now know that he was right" shows that Columbus's belief is valued as true. This excerpt thus prompts the reader to accept new, modern knowledge (that the world is not flat, in this case).

Excerpt 5.28

What did the teacher tell you this morning?

He told us about the world.

He said that the world is round. It is not flat.

Many hundred years ago people thought that the earth was flat, and if they went too far away from the sea-shore, they would fall off.

Columbus did not think that the earth was flat. He believed that the world was round. He said that we could go to the West to India.

We now know that he was right. (Vol. 3, 1961, p. 42)

As for Excerpt 5.29, superstitious beliefs or myths, such as those about Thai gods and goddesses, giants, or dragons are denied, and they seem to be presented as

absurd. The excerpt depicts a conversation between two people. The first person asks whether the second person has seen a god, a giant, or a dragon. The second person denies it. He also says that he has only seen pictures of giants in the temples, and he does not think that dragons really exist. In more modern textbooks, namely *English is Fun: A Beginning Course for Thai Students* and *Projects: Play and Learn*, there is no mention of Thai gods and goddesses, giants, or dragons. This is probably a denial of traditional belief features in modern textbooks, as one goal of *English is Fun: A Beginning Course for Thai Students* was introducing students to the reality of economics, while *Projects: Play and Learn* aimed to prepare students to become global citizens.

Excerpt 5.29

This is a god⁵⁷. And this is a goddess. Have you ever seen a god?

No, I have never seen a god.

...

Have you ever seen a giant?

No, I have never seen one. I have seen one only in pictures. There are pictures of giants in the temples.

Have you ever seen a dragon⁵⁸?

No, I have never seen a dragon.

I don't think that there are dragons. But I have seen dragon-flies.

(Vol. 3, 1961, pp. 121–123)

In addition, the study of English is promoted. It is portrayed as a crucial language for modern education. According to Rappa and Wee (2006, pp. 119–120), unlike other foreign languages, English has enjoyed a privileged status. English is seen as useful, on par with the Thai language. While Thai is seen as a language for maintaining national identity, English is a language for economic purposes. Excerpts 5.30–5.31 show that the series exaggerates the importance of English among Thai

⁵⁷ The god and goddess mentioned in the excerpt refer to a Thai god and a Thai goddess (*thewada*), respectively, not to Christian ones.

⁵⁸ The dragon mentioned in the excerpt refers to a Thai dragon (*nak*), not a Chinese one.

students by using such terms as “always,” “all of them,” “everybody,” and “every.” In Excerpt 5.30, the respondent emphasizes the usefulness of English (though without mentioning how useful it is), which inspires him/her to learn English. Excerpt 5.31 emphasizes that all boys learn English, and all of them find the language likeable. This exaggerated statement (that everybody likes English) confirms the special status of English.

Excerpt 5.30

Do you want to learn English?

Yes, I always want to learn English. English is very useful. It is a useful language. Thai is also a useful language. Thai is our language. (Vol. 2, 1940, p. 72)

Excerpt 5.31

There are many boys in my class-rooms. All of them learn English. All of them are in Matayom [*sic.*] III. Some of them are clever. Some of them are stupid. None of them are girls. Several of them play foot-ball. Some of them learn boxing. Many of them are boy scouts. Each has a desk and a bench. Everybody likes English. Every one of them speaks English. (Vol. 3, 1961, pp. 118–119)

Excerpt 5.31 also demonstrates that, apart from the English language, certain British cultural activities are still a dominant part of Thai school education despite the decreasing economic and political influence of the British in the country after the end of the royalist dominance and the rise of the People’s Party. For instance, boys in the excerpt play football like boys in English public schools where modern football games originated. Moreover, the excerpt mentions Boy Scouts. Following Lord Baden Powell, King Vajiravudh, an alumnus of Sandhurst, the premier British military academy, established the Thai scouts in 1911 with an intention to train Thai youth to contribute to the nation in a similar way as the King’s Wild Tiger Corps, which aimed to train civilians in military skills to help the nation during difficult times, such as by serving in the military reserve during wartime, and to make them loyal to the nation.

The mention of both football games and Boy Scouts reflects an admiration for Britain. At the same time, the mention of Boy Scouts here can also support the nationalistic movement of the militarist regime.

5.3.3 Morality and discipline

Morality and discipline are also emphasized in the series. Many dialogues and narratives discuss the proper roles and duties of children and adults. For instance, Excerpt 5.32 shows all members of a village community living happily and harmoniously because they do their assigned duties to the fullest. The men work outside on the farm. The women work on the farm as well and weave clothes at home. The excerpt stresses that both men and women are hard-working by using the terms “hard” and “industrious” several times. Exaggeration is also created by combining these terms with “all day long,” “very,” and “very indeed.” This is to encourage the reader to perform their duties diligently.

Excerpt 5.32

Have you ever seen a country house? The men live very happily in a small house and they work hard all day long on their farms, in the fields and in their gardens. The women weave under the house. The women are as strong as the men. They plant rice side by side with the men. They go out from place to place in ox-carts. They are very industrious. They rear silk worms. With the silk they make beautiful silk skirts, and loin cloths. They also rear animals. Near their houses you will see pigs, cows, buffaloes, and sometimes ducks and hens. They are indeed very industrious. (Vol. 3, 1961, pp. 79–82)

Similarly, Excerpts 5.33–5.34 list the proper duties of a child, a father, and a mother that will bring happiness to the family and community. For example, a child must go to school every day, study hard, and follow class rules. Excerpt 5.33 carries a strong sense of obligation because the modal “must” is repeatedly used. There is also a polarization between diligent and lazy children; the latter are portrayed in an extremely negative way so as to highlight the proper duties a good child should perform. The duties of the mother and father are less emphasized than that of the child, probably

because they are not the intended readers of the series. As seen, Excerpt 5.34 does not connote an obligation, as the auxiliary verb “will” is in use. However, “will” does hint that the places the father and the mother will go are the places they will perform their duties: working (outside) for the father and food shopping (for family cooking) for the mother.

Excerpt 5.33

Siri must go to school every day. He must walk to school because he has no money. He must learn English, Thai and arithmetic. He learns arithmetic in the morning. He must not talk in class. He must not play in class. Lazy boys talk in class. Lazy boys do not listen to the teacher. Lazy boys do not learn their lessons. They are bad boys. They play in class. They are very naughty. Diligent boys do not talk in class. They listen to the teacher. They learn their lessons. They always do their sums. The teacher gives them sums to do at home. The diligent boys do these sums at home. The diligent boys always do their home-work [*sic.*]. They are good boys. (Vol. 2, 1940, pp. 71–72)

Excerpt 5.34

We shall go to school every day except Sundays. My father will go to the office to-morrow [*sic.*] also. My mother will go out to-morrow [*sic.*]. She will go to the market. (Vol. 2, 1940, p. 40)

In the series, the unequal power relations between adults and children are perpetuated. Adult characters are given a role as the educators who command and control children. Child characters, on the other hand, take a role as the listeners who do as directed by the adults. Child characters have little chance to do what they want independently. Most conversations in the series show that adults ask or give orders whereas children answer or follow the orders. Take Excerpts 5.35–5.37 below as examples.

Excerpt 5.35

Anong is sitting in the room with her mother.

She is learning “Physical Geography.”

Her mother is working.

She says to Anong:

“Anong, have you opened that door? I told you to open it. It is hot in here.”

“Yes, Mother, I have already opened the door.”

“Go and tell the servants to open the windows upstairs.”

“They have already opened the windows, Mother.” (Vol. 3, 1961, pp. 7–8)

Excerpt 5.36

Father: Good Morning, children, have you finished your breakfast already?

Chab: Good Morning, Father, we have finished our breakfast, but Anong is still upstairs. She is not up yet. She is still sleeping.

Father: Have you not told her to get up?

Chab: I have told her, Father. She cannot get up. She is not well. She is ill.

Father: Then I shall send for the doctor.

Chab: The doctor has already come. He came at seven o’clock. He has given her some medicine.

Father: Has she already taken the medicine?

Chab: Yes, she has already taken some aspirin.

Father: What has she done to be ill?

Chab: She has eaten too many Chinese noodles, and she has drunk too much water.

Father: Is the doctor still upstairs?

Chab: No, Father, he has already gone home.

Father: Have you written a letter to Anong’s teacher?

Chab: Yes, I have.

Father: Who has shut that door? It is hot in here.

Chab: I have told the servants to open it. They have not opened it. I shall go and open it. Did you sleep well, Father?

Father: Yes, very well, thank you, my child. I slept very well last night.
(Vol. 3, 1961, pp. 10–13)

Excerpt 5.37

Siri, come out here.

Show me your coat.

Show me your vest.

Show me your handkerchief.

I have no handkerchief, sir.

Take off your shoes.

Put on your shoes.

Take off your coat.

Put on your coat.

Where is your cap?

My cap is hanging on the wall, sir.

Daeng, what is Siri doing?

He is taking off his cap, and he is hanging it on the wall, sir.

Do not take off your cap: take off your shoes.

Take off your stockings.

Unbutton your coat.

Button your coat.

What is he doing?

He is buttoning his coat, sir.

Go back to your place. (Vol. 2, 1940, p. 36)

All child characters in the excerpts are talking to the adults. In Excerpts 5.35–5.36, the children Anong and Chab call their parents by the terms “father” and “mother,” suggesting formality and respect for their parents. In Excerpt 5.37, the boys Siri and Daeng end all of their sentences with “sir” to show respect for their teacher. Formality is also seen in the way they answer the questions. They answer in full

sentences (except for “Yes, I have” in Excerpt 5.36). Neither do they use contractions like “I’ve told...” when answering the questions. This clearly shows that formality is vital when speaking with adults. By contrast, the adult characters use instructive language that shows authority.

Furthermore, it is clearly seen that these children merely answer the adults’ questions and follow the adults’ commands. Chab, from Excerpt 5.37, is particularly interesting. He seems to be a very good boy who is obedient, disciplined, and polite. He also cares about his father by asking at the end whether his father has slept well. Such expressions of care, though mundane, suggest that he follows the Thai cultural doctrine of filial piety. Based on these excerpts, we can see that the series corresponds to the National Education Schemes in the 1930s, whose aim was to provide moral instruction to students and train them to be good citizens. Innately “bad” children must be instructed and trained until they become “good.” Instructions, lessons, and models on morality must come from adults, who are the upholders of morality and virtue.

Suranakkharin (2013, p. 214) argues this representation of relationships among children and adults is a way to maintain the social order within a hierarchical structure. All members are expected to accept their roles that help the community grow stronger. According to Suranakkharin (2013, p. 214), Thai children’s picture books present to their young readers the concept of roles and responsibilities that constitute a core value in building the ideal community discussed by Eoseewong (2004). Suranakkharin finds that under this concept, children are taught to understand their specific roles clearly and perform these roles effectively in order to live with others without quarrels or conflict. They are also taught that all the roles each person performs will bring prosperity to the community; hence, they should not compare their roles with those of others or see others as competitors.

5.4 Chapter summary

In this chapter, I have argued that boys are prioritized characters whereas girls are subordinate characters who lack equal roles to those of boys. Adult characters are generally represented as having relational identification with child characters and having full authority over children. The elite characters are more often portrayed as distinct individuals, while characters of other classes usually have no identities as

individuals. In addition, Thai characters are active agents, while foreign characters have no voice and are represented as the Other. In terms of ideologies, *Direct Method Reader* aims to promote nationalism, especially through the story of royal national salvation, to serve the militant ruling elites for the purpose of nation-building. It also teaches students to be moral and disciplined in order to live harmoniously with other members in a hierarchical society. Furthermore, it views modern education as vital to modernizing students' thoughts and ideas, which will be necessary when serving the country.



CHAPTER 6
RESULTS
ENGLISH IS FUN: A BEGINNING COURSE FOR THAI STUDENTS

This chapter provides a thorough analysis of the series *English is Fun: A Beginning Course for Thai Students* in terms of its represented characters and ideologies. Excerpts and visual images from the series are also illustrated.

6.1 Introduction

The series *English is Fun: A Beginning Course for Thai Students* (hereafter *English is Fun*) was written during the early 1980s by a committee comprising ten people affiliated with the Department of Curriculum and Instruction Development under the Ministry of Education. More specifically, the first and second volumes were published in 1982. One year later, the third and fourth volumes were published. By that time, plans had been made for education reform meant to make school curricula more relevant to daily life, improve teachers' qualifications, introduce educational technology, and eliminate students' fixation on examinations (Watson, 1980, p. 163). In terms of the curriculum, English was subjected to reform. Beginning in 1961, upper primary students were required to study English. There was criticism, however, that English was irrelevant to those living in rural areas (Watson, 1980, p. 163). Thus, when the 1978 Primary School Curriculum was designed as a result of the reform, English was made an elective subject; not all schools were required to teach English if they deemed it irrelevant to their context.

The 1978 Curriculum aimed to educate a student to be literate, find a suitable job, and serve society as a good citizen under the constitutional monarchy. More specifically, the curriculum aimed to produce a disciplined, responsible, merciful, cooperative, and industrious student equipped with academic knowledge (e.g. language, science, mathematics) as well as basic life skills (e.g. earning and saving money, working with others). In addition, such a student must uphold Thai values and culture, appreciate Thai arts, and support the constitutional monarchy while at the same time being able to adapt to a changing world. In accordance with the curriculum, the

series was first introduced as a required English textbook for students in *prathom 5* and *prathom 6*. Later, the series's chapters were reshuffled to cater to students from *prathom 3* to *prathom 6* following an increase in the popularity of English. The series was used until the early 2000s.

With the 1978 Curriculum, communicative language teaching (CLT) came into existence (Methitham, 2017, p. 108). The CLT approach focused on the learner and aimed to enable learners to use English in daily life. Following the CLT approach, the series aimed to teach students how to use English through exercises. Each volume contains conversations, grammar, vocabulary, reading and writing exercises, and games. No grammatical rules are explained explicitly but rather are blended into the exercises. Volume 1 focuses on learning the English alphabet, spelling simple English words, and using basic sentences for daily communication. There are also easy, short readings for reading practice. Writing is not stressed in the volume, but there are exercises that encourage students to arrange words in the correct order in a sentence. Volume 2 features longer, yet still basic, conversations and readings. Sentence-writing exercises are also provided. Volumes 3 and 4 are similar. Both provide substantially more pair work and group-work exercises, including role-plays and interviews in which students must use more communicative skills, especially listening and speaking. They also provide more complex readings and post-reading exercises, such as discussion. Writing at the sentence level is still emphasized, but some exercises encourage students to produce very short paragraphs.

The first, second, and third volumes under examination are their first editions. The first and second volumes were published in 1982, and the third volume in 1983. The fourth volume being assessed here was the third edition, published in 1984. The first volume comprises 19 lessons, the second volume 11 lessons, the third volume 8 lessons, and the fourth volume 7 lessons.

6.2 What are the identities of the characters represented in the textbooks?

The characters in the series are fictional. In terms of age, child characters are the most featured characters. One set of child characters appears throughout the series. However, no characters in particular have dominant roles; instead, the characters take turns appearing in conversations and stories. These child characters are named and

hence represented as specified individuals. The unnamed child characters are classified in terms of gender (as a boy/girl).

Unlike the textbooks of previous eras, we see fewer adult characters in this series. Most of the adult characters are identified as the child characters' parents and teachers. Some adult characters are functionalized, being referred to according to their institutional roles. For example, they are identified as the bus driver, the shopkeeper, the carpenter, the nurse, the farmer, and the fisherman. Other adult characters are classified in terms of gender (as a man/woman).

Visually, the child characters are mostly portrayed in school. Their most observable action is talking; they talk to other characters, especially their peers. The conversations cover everyday topics ranging from family to date and time, daily activities, shopping, counting, identifying things, and so forth. Speech bubbles or quotation marks are used to show the talking action. In conversations, the characters speak from a first-person point of view, using "I" to refer to themselves and "you" or names to address their interlocutors. A narrator's voice tells the stories because the characters are referred to as "he" or "she" in third person. Nonetheless, when it comes to the talking action of the characters in these stories, first-person is used instead, suggesting the characters' voice. Therefore, it can be said that *English is Fun* emphasizes the voice of the child characters.

The child characters are engaged in many conversations with their peers in the classroom without the supervision of their teachers. The conversations are simple, comprising one or more questions and answers. The child characters take turn asking and answering questions. This is not to say, however, that the authority of the adult characters disappears. In fact, their authority is still emphasized as in the earlier textbooks. For example, when talking to the child characters, the adult characters tend to control the conversations by starting and ending them. The child characters mostly answer the questions asked by the adults (See Excerpt 6.1). This is similar to the earlier textbooks in which unequal power relations between adults and children are sustained.

Excerpt 6.1

Teacher: Pam, what color is your pen?

Child A: It's red.

Teacher: Ann, what color is your ruler?

Child B: It's yellow.

Teacher: Pam's pen is red and Ann's ruler is yellow.

(Vol. 2, 1982b, p. 30)

Moreover, when looking at the positioning of the child and adult characters in a picture, the adult characters are usually placed in a higher and more powerful position than that of the child characters. Figure 6.1 shows two pictures. The picture on the left shows that the teacher is in control of the classroom. She stands in the center and talks while the two students sit still and pay attention. In the picture on the right, the man holds his daughter's hand, suggesting that the daughter is protected.

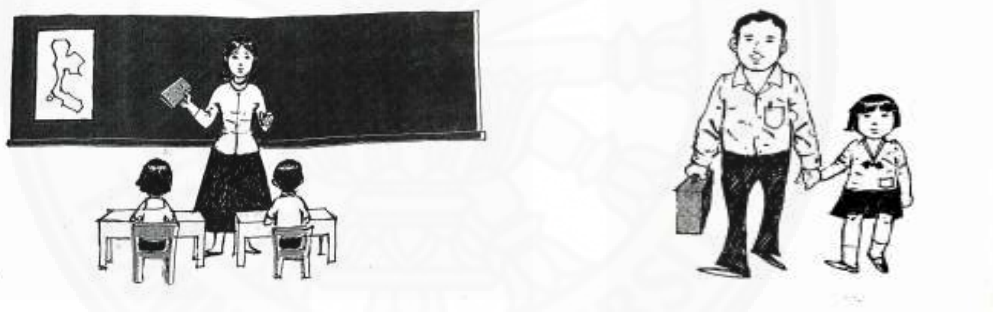


Figure 6.1 Child and adult characters

With regard to race, the child characters can be divided into two groups. The first group has black hair. They wear either a Thai student uniform or casual clothes, like a T-shirt, a dress, a skirt, shorts, or trousers. The second group has fair hair. Their attire is similar to that of the first group. Both groups are individualized, as they have names. The names of the first group are Thai given names, including Suda, Malee, Nangnoi, Aree, Kanya, Wasana, Suwit, Tawee, Manit, Manat, Manop, Wichai, Anan, and Wasan. The names of the second group include Ed, Ann, Pam, and Tom. Judging from their hair color, attire, and names, the first group represents Thai children, while

the second group represents foreign children, possibly western. The representation of the first group outnumbers the second. However, the demarcation between the first group and the second group is not always clear. In one example, the two child characters have black hair but their names are English ones. Similarly, the adult characters are more Thai than foreign. Both are named and individualized. What is notable is that there is no representation of other races, such as Asians. This suggests that not all groups of foreigners are included in the representations. Only white westerners are privileged.

We see the interactions of Thai and foreign characters throughout the series. Visually, Thais and foreigners talk and do activities together. When they appear in the same picture, there is no framing demarcating them. Therefore, they are portrayed as being in the same group (Kress & Van Leeuwen, 1996). Figure 6.2 shows that Thai and foreign characters are not separated into “us” and “them” because they are grouped together as part of the same unit, where both characters look at and make gestures at each other. This suggests less racial prejudice against foreigners.

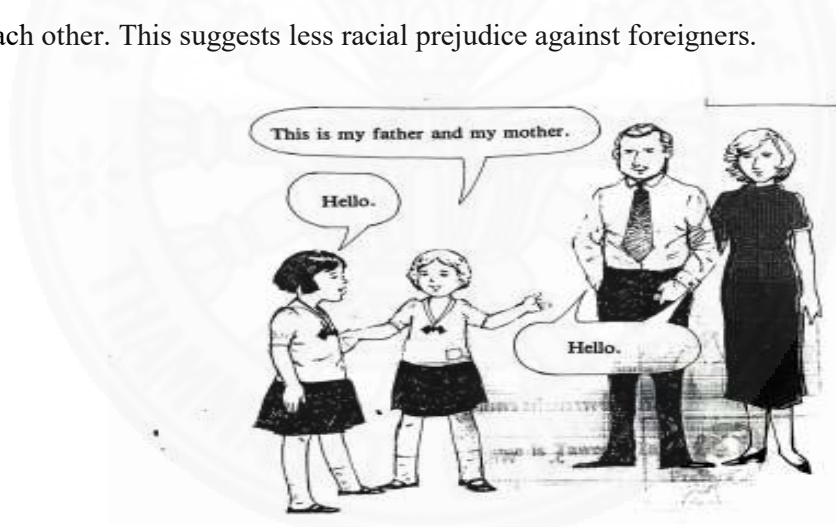


Figure 6.2 Thai and foreign characters

In terms of class, the child characters in the series seem to change from the elites to those from a middle-class or lower-class background. In fact, there is little depiction of what the characters’ houses or schools look like. That is probably because there are no main characters in the series and thus no need to elaborate the social status of the characters. Still, the characters’ middle- and lower-class backgrounds can be inferred from the occupations and names of the child characters’ parents. The parents’

occupations are typical of middle-class and lower-class families, including nurse, bus driver, carpenter, merchant, fisherman, and farmer. The parents' names do not have functional honorifics, as shown in Excerpt 6.2.

Excerpt 6.2

Child A: Who's this man?

Child B: Suwit's father.

Child A: What work does he do?

Child B: He's a farmer.

Child A: What's his name?

Child B: Tong. (Vol. 2, 1982b, p. 1)

Excerpt 6.3 is another example of the child characters being likely to be middle- or lower-class. The excerpt depicts a picture of two children, Ed and Ann, going to school by bus. The bus is crowded as they both stand at the door.

Excerpt 6.3

Ed and Ann are walking to school.

"Oh! Look! It's raining," says Ann.

"We don't have an umbrella," says Ed, "My shirt is getting wet."

"My books are getting wet," says Ann, "My new shoes are getting wet, too."

"Look. A bus is coming," says Ed, "Hurry."

They run to the bus. Many men, women and children are sitting and standing on the bus. Ed and Ann are standing at the door.

"This is good," says Ann, "Now we're not getting wet."

A van is coming fast.

"Oh! Oh! Look at my shirt!"

"Look at my books. Look at my new shoes!"

(Vol. 2, 1982b, pp. 54–55)

What is distinct in their conversation is Ann's choice of the word "new" in the phrase "my new shoes." Being able to afford new shoes means that Ann must come from a family of middle-class or higher origin. Yet the fact that Ed and Ann go to school by public bus, not private car, suggests that they live an ordinary, not luxurious, life, making an inference of middle-class origins more reasonable. Apart from this example, several other stories portray children on the public bus.

The characters include both males and females. Unlike the previous textbooks, female characters are represented more and accorded more roles as social actors. This might be an indicator of an increasing recognition of gender equality. When examining how they are represented, however, whether such gender equality really exists might be questionable. There are seven reading passages about family in the series. Five depict women as mothers and accord women the roles of cooking and child-rearing. As shown in Excerpts 6.4–6.8, the mothers are portrayed in the kitchen, the market, and the child's bedroom. What they do is preparing food for the family, buying food in the market, and looking after the child.

Excerpt 6.4

Wasana was at home last Saturday because she was sick. Her parents were at home, too. Her mother was in the kitchen and her father was in the family room. (Vol. 4, 1984, p. 5)

Excerpt 6.5

Anan is not at school because it is Saturday. He is at the market with his mother. Anan's mother is buying many things (Vol. 3, 1983, p. 35)

Excerpt 6.6

When she got home, her mother said, "Manee, why are you late? Your father's friends are here. I'm waiting to cook dinner for them. Where is the meat?" (Vol. 4, 1984, p. 28)

Excerpt 6.7

Mother: Do you want me to make a cake, Pam?

Pam: Yes, yes, Mother. Please make a cake. (Vol. 3, 1983, p. 28)

Excerpt 6.8

Wichai's mother comes into his bedroom. She looks at Wichai and she looks at the clock.

“Wichai! Wichai! Get up! It's late!”

“What? What time is it, Mother?”

“Look at the clock. It's 7:45. Get up and get dressed. It's late. Hurry up and go to school.”

Wichai gets up...Mother runs to get Wichai's books. Then she puts some rice, fish and milk on the table. (Vol. 3, 1983, p. 143)

Moreover, it is found that the jobs of the adult characters in the series are differentiated between “masculine” and “feminine” jobs. Men do jobs that require more physical force and professional skills, such as doctor and carpenter, while women do caregiving jobs, such as nurse.

6.3 What are the embedded ideologies? How are these ideologies constructed in the Thai context?

6.3.1 Morality and discipline

One ideology in the series is that of morality and discipline. The ideology is conveyed through stories that are effective in naturalizing this ideology. These stories are arranged in the same pattern. They start with the event depicting the bad behavior of children and end with the event depicting the punishment of such misbehaved children.

In Excerpt 6.9, two boys are playing in the classroom. When the teacher enters the classroom, he asks what they are doing. The boys lie that they are reading an English book and doing homework. The teacher knows it is a lie, so he walks to the boys' desk and catches them red-handed. Then the teacher punishes them by hitting

them with a ruler. The boys shout that the teacher is hitting them. The teacher sarcastically tells the boys that he is not hitting them because the boys are behaving well. The message of the excerpt is that children's misbehaviors cannot be tolerated and must be eradicated. If not, the children will be punished. What we also see is the acceptance of physical violence in punishing children. In the excerpt, corporal punishment; that is, hitting with a ruler, is portrayed as a normal tool for punishment, unlike today when it is considered unacceptable or even banned by many schools and teachers.

It can be seen that presupposition is used in the story as a linguistic feature. The sentence "They are not working" presupposes that students are supposed to work when they are at school. They are not supposed to play. Hence, this sentence specifies the duty of a student. Apart from this, we can assume from the sentence "The teacher has a ruler" that it is the duty of the teacher to provide moral instruction to and discipline children, and that corporal punishment is a tool for doing so. The teacher's last sentence ("You are good boys.") is interesting. In terms of speech functions, it is a statement that persuades the reader to think of the teacher not as moralizing to the children at all, although he does. The story shows how the school performs its duty to moralize and discipline children while also showing how children suffer the consequences for their misbehavior.

Excerpt 6.9

Manit and Manat are in school. They are not working. Manit is looking at cartoons and Manat is playing with a top.

"Look, Manat! The teacher is coming," Lek says.

"What are you doing, Manit?" the teacher asks.

"I'm reading my English book," Manit says.

"What are you doing, Manat?" the teacher asks.

Manat says, "I'm doing my English homework."

The teacher is walking to the desk. He is looking at Manat and Manit. They don't see the teacher. They are playing. The teacher has a ruler.

"Manit, you are looking at cartoons!" the teacher says.

"No, I'm not." Manit says.

“Manat, you are playing with a top,” the teacher says.

“No, I’m not.” Manat says.

“Ouch! Ouch! You are hitting us,” say Manit and Manat.

“No, I’m not,” says the teacher. “You are good boys!”

(Vol. 2, 1982b, pp. 59–60)

In Excerpt 6.10, while eating with their family, the two children fight about the food and drink, which in the end brings about disruption in the family’s communication. The fight starts when the first child tries to get more fish despite having some on his plate. This causes the second child to complain. The mother tries to compromise, but soon the two children argue over something else: milk and a spoon. The father, who has been sitting quietly, loses patience and leaves the dining table. The mother begs him in vain to stay. Although the children use the formal term “mother” to address their mother, what we see from this excerpt is a breach of the cultural injunctions in which children are obligated to obey their parents and elders, maintain discipline, and be generous and share. The children in the excerpt do not just sit quietly. They argue. They lack manners. They are greedy and selfish. The mother is the only person trying to make the family an ideal one, but neither the children nor the father cooperates.

Excerpt 6.10

Nit, Lek and their father and their mother are at the table. They are eating.

Mother asks, “Nit, do you want some beef?”

Nit says, “No, mother. I don’t like beef. I want fish.”

A big fish is on a plate. Nit puts the fish in his dish. Lek looks at Nit.

“Don’t take the fish. I want some fish, too.”

Their mother says, “Nit, give me the fish. It’s a big fish. Here is some fish for you and here is some fish for Lek. Your father and I want some fish, too.”

There is some milk in the cup. Lek drinks it.

Nit says, “Mother, Lek is drinking my milk. I want my milk.”

Lek says, “Here is some tea. Do you want some?”

“No! No! No!” says Nit. “I don’t like tea! I want my milk!”

“Mother, Mother,” says Lek, “Nit has my spoon. Give me my spoon.

I want my spoon.”

Nit throws Lek’s spoon on the floor. Lek hits Nit.

Father stands up.

“Where are you going?” asks Mother. “Please eat your fish and your rice. You like fish.”

“Yes,” says Father. “I like fish and I like rice. But I don’t like noise. I’m not very hungry now.” (Vol. 3, 1983, pp. 97–98)

It is interesting to see that the children in the excerpt breach the cultural injunctions on filial piety. According to Mulder (1997, pp. 35–36), parents and teachers are deemed the supreme source of goodness because they teach children to lead a moral life. Thus, children must reciprocate this goodness by paying respect and being obedient to their parents and teachers. Especially for parents, children must help them do chores, uphold the dignity of the family, take care of them when they are sick and old, and reflect well on them after death. Mulder argues that this principle of gratitude and obligation to reciprocate serves as a basis for establishing a social hierarchy in which children depend on parents and teachers. Although the excerpt does not portray the punishment of misbehaving children, it illustrates that breaching the cultural conjunctions on filial piety may result in unpredictable, intolerable chaos and conflicts in the family. In other words, it may destroy the family. In this way, the excerpt emphasizes that filial piety can by no means be breached.

6.3.2 Children’s agency

Another ideology in the series is concerned with children’s agency. The unequal power relations between adults and children are sustained, as illustrated above. However, we also witness a lower degree of respect for and subservience to the teachers and parents. When speaking with the teachers, the child characters do not end their sentences with “sir” like the characters in the earlier textbooks. When speaking with their parents, the child characters still address them with the formal words “Father” and “Mother,” but they are given more chance to express what they want to the parents or

even negotiate with them (See Excerpt 6.10 above). Moreover, the child characters do not use full sentences as much as those in the earlier textbooks. Often, they reply to the adults in short answers (See Excerpt 6.11). When examining the verbs they use in conversations, it is found that the verbs with a material result are used more often. In the series, there are many conversations like the ones in Excerpts 6.12 and 6.13 below. In such conversations, children are the sole actors without the presence of the adults. Many of the verbs they use are transitive verbs with a material result (e.g. buy a doll, visit grandparents, wash clothes) (Halliday, 1994). Thus, the children are depicted as being capable of carrying out actions that can fulfill goals, not just actions that are verbal or mental (e.g. speak, think). As a result, the child characters in the series can be said to have their own agency to a great extent: the capacity to make their own choices, set their own goals, and act on their own.

Excerpt 6.11

Teacher: Who has a red pen?

Child A: I do.

Teacher: Who doesn't have a black pencil?

Child B: I don't. (Vol. 2, 1982b, p. 41)

Excerpt 6.12

Child A: I went to the market yesterday.

Child B: What did you buy?

Child A: I bought a doll.

Child B: How much did it cost?

Child A: It cost 30 baht. (Vol. 4, 1984, p. 17)

Excerpt 6.13

Child A: What are you going to do after school?

Child B: I'm going to play with my friends.

Child C: I'm going to visit my grandparents.

Child D: I'm going to wash my clothes.

Child E: I'm going to wash my clothes, too. (Vol. 4, 1984, p. 57)

In the next four excerpts, the children are depicted as independent, confident, expressive, and even subversive. First, despite its being a simple conversation, Excerpt 6.14 shows that children are capable of expressing their desires to the adult in authority. It also shows the children's unconventional desires. None of them want to, for instance, do homework, study, read a book, or do chores, things "good" children are expected to do. Instead, they want to enjoy activities like singing or watching television, which are seen by some adults as corrupting them.

Excerpt 6.14

Teacher: What do you want to do now?

Child A: I want to sing.

Child B: I want to sleep.

Child C & Child D: We want to watch television.

Child E: I want to speak Thai. (Vol. 3, 1983, p. 93)

Second, Excerpt 6.15 illustrates that the children are capable of negotiating with the adult even though the negotiation cannot be settled to favor the children themselves. The child in the excerpt initiates and leads the conversation by greeting the shopkeeper and asking many questions. The child wants to buy a pen. The first two pens presented by the shopkeeper are too expensive. The child says he has little money, so the shopkeeper shows him an inexpensive pen. This is a common buying-selling conversation but what is uncommon is the ending. The child realizes that the last pen is not a good one and he speaks his mind frankly ("That is not a good pen. But...OK."). Despite negotiating with the adult, he is not afraid to express his true feelings.

Excerpt 6.15

Child: Good morning.

Shopkeeper: Good morning. Can I help you?

Child: Do you have pens?

Shopkeeper: Yes. I have many pens.

Child: Please show me a pen. I want a good one.

- Shopkeeper: These are good pens. They're 50 baht. Do you want one?
- Child: No, thank you. Are those pens 50 baht, too?
- Shopkeeper: No. They're 35 baht. Do you want one?
- Child: Yes, but I have 5 baht.
- Shopkeeper: Hmm!...here is a pen for five baht.
- Child: That is not a good pen. But...OK. (Vol. 3, 1983, p. 18)

Third, in Excerpt 6.16, the child characters also lead the conversation instead of being led by the adult character. Child A, who is buying fruit, uses imperative sentences to command the adult character: “And give me some bananas,” “Give me four mangoes,” “Put the fruit in a big bag, please,” and “Put the fruit in a big box.” We must note, however, that the adult in this case is a fruit seller who has the role of serving the clients, whether young or old. We can also see that when a problem occurs (e.g. no bags to put the fruit in), it is Child A and B—not the fruit seller—who can fix the problem. While the fruit seller does nothing but say no regarding the problem, Child A suggests that a box can be used instead of a bag and Child B offers his own bag for use. It is also quite unusual that the fruit seller mistakes mangoes for mangosteens and that the mistake is corrected by Child A.

Excerpt 6.16

- Child A: Good morning. Can I have some oranges please?
- Fruit seller: How many?
- Child A: Twenty, please.
- Fruit seller: Here you are.
- Child A: And give me some bananas.
- Fruit seller: How many?
- Child A: Ten, please.
- Fruit seller: Here you are.
- Child A: Give me four mangoes.
- Fruit seller: Here you are.
- Child A: These are not mangoes. They're mangosteens.

Fruit seller: Oh, I don't have mangoes.
 Child A: All right. Give me mangosteens.
 Fruit seller: Here are the oranges, bananas, and mangosteens.
 Child A: Put the fruit in a bag, please.
 Fruit seller: I don't have a bag.
 Child A: Put the fruit in a big box.
 Fruit seller: I don't have a box.
 Child A: Hmmm!!
 Child B: I have a bag.
 Child A: Oh, thank you.
 Child B: Here you are.
 Child A: Oh!! That's a small bag! (Vol. 2, 1982b, p. 37)

Finally, Excerpt 6.17 is fascinating. It depicts a situation on a school bus. While driving, the bus driver spots buffaloes blocking the road. He complains that if the buffaloes do not get out of the way, he cannot take the children to school. Upon hearing his complaint, the children do not show any sign of regret or worry. Instead, they say "That's good," which clearly expresses their true feelings: wanting to skip class. It is evident from the excerpt that the children prefer freedom to discipline and obligation. They do their duties, like going to school, because the adults tell them to, but if there happens to be a chance to avoid such duties, they take that chance without hesitation. The subversion of ideology is evident here. We see the children trying to subvert the adult-invented discourse of being good. In fact, the children even make fun of the discourse, which is atypical of Thai society, which upholds the binary opposition between adults and children.

Excerpt 6.17

Tawee and Suwit go to school on the school bus.
 Twenty students are on the bus.
 Look! What's that? Six buffaloes are on the road. The bus can't go.
 A farmer comes.
 The farmer says, "Buffaloes! Go back to the farm!"

The buffaloes don't go. They sit on the road.

The bus driver says, "My school bus can't go. The children can't go to school!"

The children say, "That's good." (Vol. 3, 1983, p. 29)

From all the excerpts, we can see that the collectivist and conformist ideology of Thai society is being tempered by the individualist ideology of the West. Mounier and Tangchuang (2010, p. 313) contend that learning in Thai education is equal to conformity and mimicry because knowledge is merely passed from the teacher to the student. It is repeated and "is not about enlarging an individual's systems of symbols and representations that enable understanding, making sense, and giving meanings" (Mounier & Tangchuang, 2010, p. 313). In their view, knowledge belongs only to the scholars and elites; therefore, asking questions is taboo because it challenges these people's knowledge and hence their social status. On the one hand, the series continues to maintain this ideology for the sake of social harmony, as stated in the 1978 Curriculum. Nonetheless, quite differently from the previous textbooks, rather than delivering the ideology in a straightforward way, the series makes it more complicated by showing the negative outcomes that the non-conformist and deviant child characters will receive (e.g. physical punishment, undesirable family relationships).

On the other hand, the socio-economic situation at the time the series was written must be taken into account. With more integration into the world economy, many more people moved into the city and lived an urban lifestyle. With the expansion of media, people were increasingly exposed to global popular culture, especially Western culture. Hence, as stated by Phongpaichit and Baker (1998, pp. 176–177), the traditional definition of Thai culture came to be less relevant to people's lives. At that time, the individualist ideology stressing personal freedom of choice became more meaningful, especially for those who were becoming more economically independent and exposed to the concepts of rights and freedom through media. The series, as a product of the time, was affected by this ideology. To conform to the 1978 Curriculum that aimed to create a person who could embrace changes, the series makes the individualist ideology more tangible to the reader by allowing some child characters to make their own choices, set their own goals, and act on their own. The series also

characterizes some of these characters as unprecedentedly confident, expressive, or even subversive. As a result, while stating in the preface of the series that it aims to produce disciplined and cooperative students, the series—probably unconsciously—transmits the notion that Thai children can create their own identities and resist adult authority.

6.3.3 Consumerism

Another ideology in the series is consumerism. Again, the ideology is conveyed subtly through story-telling. I noted in the previous section the changed social class of the characters. This does not mean that class divisions disappear from the series. In fact, they are subtly portrayed. The economic and social differences between the rich and the poor, in particular, are highlighted. In Excerpt 6.18 below, the two child characters come from different family backgrounds. A child from a lower-class family tries to befriend a child from an upper-class family, but the latter brags about the assets he has and looks down upon the former. At the end of the story, the lower-class child takes revenge by sarcastically comparing the high-class child to a buffalo, the symbol of stupidity for Thais. What is seen is the use of the adjective “big” with the nouns “house,” “boat,” and “car.” This shows clearly that wealth, defined by having many assets and a lot of money, is a preference for relationship formation for some people, as assets and money are valued as a means of upward economic and social mobility. In addition, the story reflects the existing gap between the rich and the poor in the country. They do not live harmoniously, as in the ideal society fantasized about by the state, but instead have arguments and conflicts. Some of them may end up using violence, be it physical or emotional. In the story, the poorer child tries to push the other child into the water while ridiculing him.

Excerpt 6.18

One Sunday morning, Danai goes to the river near his house. He sees a new boy. Danai walks to him and says, “Hello, my name’s Danai.”

The boy says, “Hello, I’m Watee. Do you live near here?”

“Yes,” says Danai, “I live at 11 Rom Yen Road.”

Watee says, “Oh, I live on Rom Yen Road, too. Our house is big and very nice.”

Danai says, "It's very nice here near the river. I like to come here to swim. Can you swim?"

"Do you have a boat?" asks Watee, "I have a big boat with a motor."

"I have a boat, but it's small. It doesn't have a motor but I can row it. Do you like to swim?"

Watee says, "My father and I have a big car and I can drive it. Does your father have a car?"

"No, but we have a buffalo, and I can ride him. Can you swim?"

"Can you play tennis?" asks Watee.

"No, I can't, but I can play table tennis."

Watee says, "Ha! Who can't play table tennis? My brother is four and he can play table tennis."

Danai looks at Watee. "Do you want to swim now?" he asks.

"No," says Watee. "I can hear my mother. She wants me to go home now."

"Let's swim now, and then you can go home."

Danai takes Watee's hand and pulls him to the river.

"But...but...Don't push me into the water," says Watee. "I can't..."

"Ha!" says Danai, "Can't you swim? My buffalo can."

(Vol. 4, 1984, pp. 31–32)

In another story (Excerpt 6.19), a girl is assigned by her mother to buy some meat on the way home from school. Instead of doing the assigned job, she pays the money to a fortune teller, as she wants to find out whether she will get a gift on her birthday. She decides to consult the fortune teller after accidentally seeing a woman and a man asking her questions. The question asked by the woman is about money; she wants to know whether she will be rich ("Am I going to have a lot of money in ten years?"). This question shows that one important life goal of Thai people is money-oriented and self-interest-oriented. In other words, gaining material wealth is important. As for the man, he wants to know his son's future, and he is happy upon hearing that his son will become a soldier or a policeman. This suggests Thai people's striving for the authority positions that carry the potential of power and wealth. As for the girl, she

wants to know whether she will receive a new bicycle for her birthday. Before she asks the question, she makes the declarative statement “I want a new bicycle for my birthday.” This illustrates the desire to acquire a material of one’s own choice. These questions show that the consumerist and materialist discourse has become a way of life of Thai people.

Excerpt 6.19

Manee was walking home from school with her friend, Suda. They saw many people looking at a fat woman on a mat. There was a glass ball in front of her.

A woman in a blue and white dress asked the woman, “Am I going to have a lot of money in ten years?” The woman looked into the glass ball and said, “Yes, you are going to be very rich.” The woman said, “Thank you,” and give the fat woman twenty-five baht.

Then a tall thin man said, “I have a son. He is three years old now. What is he going to be when he grows up?”

The woman on the mat looked into her glass ball again and said, “He’s going to be a soldier or a policeman.”

The man said, “Thank you,” and gave her twenty-five baht.

Manee looked at Suda and said, “I want to ask the woman a question, too.”

“Do you have twenty-five baht?” asked Suda.

“Yes,” answered Manee, “I have thirty baht. My mother wants me to buy half a kilo of meat for dinner this evening, but I want to ask that woman a question.”

Manee walked up to the woman. “I will be twelve years old next week. I want a new bicycle for my birthday. Am I going to get one?”

The woman looked into the glass ball. Then she looked at Manee and smiled. “It says yes, and it says no.”

Manee didn’t understand. She didn’t like the woman’s answer but she gave the woman twenty-five baht and went home.

When she got home, her mother said, “Manee, why are you late? Your father’s friends are here. I’m waiting to cook dinner for them. Where is the meat?”

“Uh.... Uh.... I’m sorry, Mother. I didn’t buy any meat. I gave the money to a woman with a glass ball. I asked her if I am going to get a new bicycle for my birthday.”

“What?!?” said Manee’s mother. (Vol. 4, 1984, p. 29)

In the last story (Excerpt 6.20), it can be seen that money has become more and more important in people’s lives. The child character in the following excerpt gets a monetary reward from his good deeds—helping a foreign woman—and he is pleased with the reward. Thai children have been taught in school “Don’t expect anything in return when you do good deeds.” Obviously, this excerpt says the opposite. It explicitly tells us that virtue has a monetary value, that there is probably no point in doing good things without expecting anything in return, and that it is important to show gratitude to a person by giving money, not just a word of appreciation.

Excerpt 6.20

Every day Wasana and Wasan take a bus to school. One morning, an American woman got on their bus and sat down near Wasan. She had one big bag and three small bags. She gave her money to the bus boy. One small bag fell on the floor of the bus. The woman did not see it. Wasan saw it, but he was afraid to speak English.

When the woman saw a bank, she stood up. She looked at her bags. She counted them, one big bag, and two small ones. She began to look around but she didn’t see the third bag.

“Little boy, did you see my bag?”

Wasan pointed to the bag on the floor and said, “Yes. There it is.”

Wasan picked up the bag and gave it to her. The woman thanked him and gave him 20 baht.

Wasan looked at his money. He looked at Wasana and smiled. “I like English,” he said, “English is fun.” (Vol. 4, 1984, pp. 48–49)

What is also remarkable from the story is that the child character receives a generous tip (20 baht) from an American woman. The term “American” is significant, as it reflects the image of the United States as the philanthropic donor to which all countries can turn to for help, support, and protection. Such an image can also be seen in other English textbooks published by internationally renowned publishers. Cortez (2008, pp. 97–98) reports that commercial English textbooks tend to portray Americans as helpers of the helpless. For example, a textbook by Cambridge University features the story of an American man doing Peace Corps volunteer work in Africa. The man appreciates his work, saying that it is a great reward as it gives him a chance to help poor people. In Excerpt 6.20, the sentence “The woman thanked him and gave him 20 baht” shows that the American woman is the actor while the boy acts as the recipient of her action. Metaphorically, this makes Thailand, represented by the boy, in a helpless position waiting for assistance from America, represented by the woman.

After World War II, the United States became increasingly involved in Thailand, especially in terms of military and financial support. The military support included joint military exercises that became annual events known as Cobra Gold. The financial support came in various forms, such as through the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) and through philanthropic organizations like the Ford Foundation, the Fulbright Foundation, and the Rockefeller Foundation (Lao, 2015, p. 38). The predominance of American financial support marked a shift of policy preference from the European style of modernity to the American concept of capitalism and development (Lao, 2015, p. 38).

Pennycook (1994) argues that the discourses of English language teaching have changed over time, “from the discourses of pre-Second World War ‘cultural propaganda’ through the postwar discourses on English language teaching as ‘development aid,’ to the more recent understanding of English as a ‘global commodity’” (p. 146). The discourses have spread to other countries through the operations of British and American agencies, foundations, and organizations that serve political and commercial purposes despite their claim to be autonomous. For the British, the British Council has acted as the central mediator in coordinating activities to British advantage, including offering English courses in its centers, training English teachers, providing funds for research and conferences on English language teaching, being

involved in English examinations, and sending its language experts around the world. For the United States, the postwar period witnessed the success of American organizations, such as those mentioned above, in establishing relationships between English and American concepts of capitalism, development, modernization, democracy, and education (Pennycook, 1994, pp. 149–154). Pennycook (1994) states that “While on one level US foreign policy has been simplistically militaristic...other policies more closely matched the emerging global structures of the postwar/neocolonial era, since they were centered not so much around the former ‘missionary’ model as around an understanding of an interconnected global market” (p. 154).

We can clearly see from the excerpt that learning English is profitable for Thais. In the excerpt, it is the boy’s knowledge of English that enables him to tell the American woman where her bag is, which results in him receiving a tip from the woman. Therefore, the significant message to the students using this textbook is clear-cut. It demonstrates the profitable side of learning English. If you can speak English, you will be able to make a lot of money. Since this postwar period, the Thai economy and the global economy have become closely intertwined. Therefore, Thai students must learn English so that they can serve the demands of the economy, such as becoming productive or competitive laborers in the markets. The term “fun” in the name of the series *English is Fun* does not merely mean *sanook* (fun), as the writers tried to suggest in the preface of the series. Instead, “fun” means “money, profit, and wealth.” English is fun because it brings you money, which is highly valued in a Thai society re-orienting itself in a capitalist, consumerist direction and becoming deeply connected with the global market economy.

6.4 Chapter summary

In this chapter, I have argued that *English is Fun* differs quite a bit from the previous textbook series. It portrays child characters as active agents performing actions that sometimes challenge the adults’ authority. Thai characters are prioritized; however, more foreign characters appear in the series, and they are increasingly represented as identified individuals. Female characters are increasingly portrayed and given more roles as the leading characters in stories and conversations. In addition, no elite

characters are portrayed; most characters seem to have a middle- or lower-class background. In terms of ideology, *English is Fun* is meant to expose Thai students to the changing Thai economy, which has become more market-led and internationally connected. The series also aims to provide moral instruction to and discipline students for the purpose of building a national identity. At the same time, however, the series depicts subversive images of the students, which might be seen as promoting the students' self-identity. This is designed to create in them a new breed of children who can embrace changes and adopt the values attached to such changes.



CHAPTER 7
RESULTS
PROJECTS: PLAY AND LEARN

This chapter provides a thorough analysis of the series *Projects: Play and Learn* in terms of its represented characters and ideologies. Excerpts and visual images from the series are also illustrated.

7.1 Introduction

The series *Projects: Play and Learn* (hereafter *Projects*) was written by university lecturers who were mandated to write the English textbook on behalf of the Office of the Basic Education Commission, the Ministry of Education. The series was first used in 2001 and revised in 2008, a period during which Thailand experienced rapid social and economic change along with scientific and technological advancement.

The series was written as a result of education reform. The National Education Act was enacted in 1999, two years after the enactment of the 1997 Constitution, which contained many articles with educational content (Pongwat & Mounier, 2010, p. 64). Pongwat and Mounier (2010, p. 71) contended that the liberal strand advocated the privatization of education. By contrast, the localist strand viewed that local wisdom as well as ethical values should be integrated into the school curriculum. Both strands, however, unified in reacting against the state in demand for the decentralization of the state's decision-making in education. The ultimate goal of the reform was to empower individuals, as both liberalist and localist views on education rested upon the premise that the needs of population should determine the fundamentals of education. As a result, the reform was tasked with developing a new curriculum that, on one hand, promoted local wisdom and virtues and, on the other hand, developed independent and autonomous individuals, adopting a new pedagogy to promote a child-centered education, establishing lifelong learning facilities, improving the quality of teachers, decentralizing the administration of national education, and involving communities and families in education (Pongwat & Mounier, 2010, pp. 64–66).

The 2001 edition of the series followed the implementation of the Basic Education Curriculum of 2001, and the revised edition in 2008 reflected the Basic Education Core Curriculum of 2008. Both curricula are similar in that they focus on the following four learning areas for foreign languages: language for communication; language and culture; language and relationship with other learning areas; and language and relationship with community and the world (Ministry of Education, 2001; 2008). Briefly, in the first learning area, students are expected to be able to use language for communication on various matters of daily life. The second learning area expects students to use foreign languages as a way to express their own cultures to others and to understand the cultures of other people. The third area aims to help students link their knowledge of foreign languages with other disciplines like health care, mathematics, science, and so on. The final area aims to prepare students for further education and a livelihood within the global society.

Looking at both curricula, the Basic Education Curriculum of 2001 and the Basic Education Core Curriculum of 2008 are not very different in terms of goals. The goals of both are to make students adhere to the constitutional monarchy, uphold the morality, ethics, and values of their own religions, preserve Thai traditions and cultures, have self-discipline, be aware of their duties as Thai citizens and dedicate themselves to public service, protect Thai national resources, have good physical and mental health, and be eager to learn. Both curricula also aim at developing students to attain communicative skills, technological skills, and life skills. Also added to the 2008 Curriculum is the category of thinking and problem skills. In addition, the 2008 Curriculum focuses on developing students to live a happy life according to the Sufficiency Economy Philosophy, while at the same time enjoying a harmonious life as Thai citizens and global citizens.

I examined the revised version of the series. The student's books are the main texts under examination. Each student's book in this version contains 6 volumes. Volumes 1 and 4 were the second edition, published in 2010 and 2011 respectively. The rest were the first edition. Volumes 2 and 5 were published in 2011, while Volumes 3 and 6 were published in 2012.

Each volume contains 6 lessons. As the series is project- and communication-based, each lesson requires students to use the English language to

interact and communicate with others in order to complete activities and projects in contexts that are meaningful to them. Each lesson is called a “project” that revolves around one topic. The topics range from family, friends, life at school, food and health, seasons and festivals, gifts and wishes, country and city life to animals, plants, and water. In each lesson, students learn vocabulary, expressions, and grammar related to the topic through conversations, stories, games, songs, poems, and chants. Then students engage in activities and projects related to the topic. Such activities and projects range from the less-complicated ones, like making charts, signs, cards, and posters, doing role-plays, telling stories, and making class surveys to the more demanding and challenging ones like making real toys, cooking according to a recipe book, and holding a real party. A section asking students to reflect on their work and vote for the best work in class is also provided at the end of each lesson. Darasawang (2007, p. 189) argues that since the enactment of the 1999 National Education Act, the focus on learner-centeredness and communicative language teaching (CLT) has expanded more than ever before. This has led to more adoption of project-based learning that promotes learner autonomy with less instruction from the teacher. These projects are quite relevant to students’ lives, as they are usually based on topics related to the students’ communities.

7.2 What are the identities of the characters represented in the textbooks?

In terms of age, child characters are the main characters in the series. The series contains three types of child characters. The first type consists of the animated characters in stories, tales, poems, chants, and songs. Most of them are anonymized. For those who are named, their names are mostly in Thai and English. Only a few names are in Chinese and Vietnamese. These characters have different hair colors: black, brown, pink, orange, blue, yellow, green, and violet, but their skin is the same: fair. As such, it is hard to define their racial identity. Gray (2010) argues that instead of locating the characters in a particular country, modern language textbooks employ a more cosmopolitan or worldly approach to locate the characters.



Figure 7.1 The first type of child character

The series depicts the first type of child character as living the life of the middle class. For example, in two lessons on the subject of home in Volumes 3 and 5, the illustrated house is a modern one divided into many rooms—Buddha room, bedroom, bathroom, living room, dining room, and kitchen—and equipped with household utilities such as a TV, sofa, bathtub, and so forth, which is not common for the houses of people with a lower-class background. Sometimes, the portrayed lifestyles are idealized. For example, Volume 3 shows the image of an ideal family where grandparents, father, mother and children live happily together. The adults are enjoying eating cakes and drinking tea together in the garden in front of their house, where their children are having fun. Another example can be seen in Volume 5 in a lesson about shopping and markets. The market in the lesson is illustrated as clean, well-organized, and uncrowded. All the shopkeepers have friendly smiles. In reality, this kind of atmosphere can only be felt in the supermarket in a department store in the city, not in a Thai-style market, especially in the upcountry. Volume 4 contains a lesson about towns. The image of the town in the lesson is that of a modern one. It has a big street on which a car and a tourist bus are running. It has many shops lined up in an orderly way along the street, such as a barber's shop, a clothing store, a dental clinic, a restaurant, a café, and a fruit shop. In each shop, everyone is doing their duties.

In terms of gender, unlike the earlier textbooks, boy and girl characters are represented equally. The domains where they are represented are similar: in school, in the house, at a party, in the playground, in the garden, in the market, in the city, and in an English camp. Both boys and girls are made active characters. They have equal roles

in doing activities, ranging from playing, doing chores, partying, picnicking, buying things, doing exercise, and asking and answering questions.

The second type of character is portrayed as animated characters who perform classroom activities, such as games, role plays, surveys, and interviews. These activities are designed as part of the lessons. As such, the actions they perform the most are learning actions. In other words, the characters are meant to be role models for the real textbook users (i.e. real students who use *Projects* in their classroom) who can then grasp what the activities are like and how they are involved in such activities. These characters wear Thai student uniforms, but they have different hair colors: black, brown, pink, orange, blue, yellow, green, and violet. This is in contrast to the real schools in Thailand where rules about school hairstyles (usually flattop for boys and bob, ponytail, or braids for girls), not to mention hair color, must be strictly observed. Most of these characters are anonymized; only a few have Thai nicknames. From their uniforms, it is clear that these characters must be in a Thai classroom, but who they are racially is difficult to answer.



Figure 7.2 The second type of child character

As for the third type of character, they are real Thai primary students whose photos were taken by the writer of the series while they were performing the classroom activities of the series. In other words, their role is similar to that of the second type of character: they serve as role models for the real textbook users. These characters wear student uniforms. Their hairstyles are realistic: flattop for boys and bob for girls. Some of them are called by Thai nicknames.



Figure 7.3 the third type of child character

The series depicts the second and third types of child characters as independent, self-confident, and active. They engage in the classroom activities in a cheerful manner. For instance, they stand up, run around, jump, hop, sing, talk, and shout while smiling. They do not just sit quietly waiting for the teacher's commands. Instead, they ask questions, express opinions, discuss with classmates, and show feelings. Basically, these child characters are portrayed in pairs or in groups that correspond with the nature of the project-based activities of the series. There is usually a teacher character guiding them to participate in the activities, especially explaining the instructions and asking questions. The teacher character usually stands in front of the class, but sometimes the teacher stands silently in the corner of the classroom. In addition, these child characters sometimes perform the activities without the presence of the teacher. This is not a typical classroom in Thailand, where the authority is in the hands of the teachers. In reality, most Thai students must behave in class; they are not supposed to do anything that disturbs the class. They are also expected to show respect to and obey the teacher. As such, if asked who these children are, it is possible that they might be children in a progressive school or an international school that employs Western methods of teaching. It is therefore likely that they are children from the middle or upper class. They are least likely to be from the periphery of small schools in the countryside or border schools.

With regards to gender, like the first type of character, boys and girls are represented equally. They have equal roles in performing activities in the classroom, the main domain where they are represented. To be more specific, both boys and girls do activities together in the classroom, such as playing games, searching for and

presenting information, asking and answering questions, and doing role plays. Also, both boys and girls take turns being group leaders in the activities requiring a leader.

Similar to the child characters, adult characters are divided into three types: 1) the animated characters in stories, tales, poems, chants, and songs; 2) the animated teacher characters who guide classroom activities; and 3) the real teachers whose photos were taken by the writers of the series.

The first type is identified in relation to the child characters. Most of them are given the role of the child character's parents and teachers. Other adult characters are functionalized. These include the doctor, the nurse, the dentist, the guide, the soldier, the waiter, the postman, and the shopkeeper who appear in daily activities in which the child characters are involved. Most of these adult characters are not named. For those who are named, their names are mostly in Thai and English. The rest of the adult characters are specific characters in specific stories, such as Santa Claus in the story about Santa Claus and Cinderella and her prince, stepmother, and stepsisters in the story "Cinderella."

As for the second and third types of adult characters, they are the teachers in the classroom. None have names, and all are females who dress professionally (i.e. wearing a dress or a blouse and a skirt). Similar to the child characters mentioned above, the teachers of the second type have various hair colors and so are unidentifiable in terms of race. The teachers of the third type, by contrast, are Thai.

Apart from human characters, non-human characters are also represented, such as things like pencils, crayons, chinks, rulers, and erasers, and animals like rabbits, elephants, lions, bears, dogs, and cats. Some of these characters are presented as children's belongings or pets that serve illustrative purposes (e.g. a pencil used by a student in writing a postcard, a dog running around in the park with child characters). On the other hand, some act as main characters in stories, tales, poems, chants, and songs. These characters can think, talk, and act like humans. What is notable about the latter group of characters is that some of them are accorded genders and roles like humans. For example, the stationery sets are made Daddy and Mommy (Daddy Chalk and Mommy Chalk) in a chant teaching about color. The masculine animals are depicted as the leaders of their groups, such as the lion who acts as the king and rules over other animals in a story about animals in the forest becoming good friends.

7.3 What are the embedded ideologies? How are these ideologies constructed in the Thai context?

7.3.1 Globalization

The ideology of global citizenship can be seen in *Projects*. This ideology is conveyed through both visual and verbal elements. First, as aforementioned, the child characters in the series have multi-colored hair and are ethnically and racially unrecognizable in many contexts, such as in school, at a party, in the park, in the playground, in the city, and so on. Moreover, on the one hand, there are scenes that can be identified as the real places of a particular country, especially Thailand, such as Jatujak weekend market. On the other hand, there are scenes where the contexts cannot be identified by their location. In other words, such contexts could be anywhere, not simply in a particular country. For instance, Figure 8.1 portrays the image of a food party where many children are having fun chatting, eating, and drinking. The food served in the party includes sandwiches, sausages, fruits, milkshakes, and fruit punch. This food party is decontextualized; there is nothing in the image to suggest where exactly the party is held. The children's identities are unknowable because they have different hair colors. They wear normal, non-specific clothes (like skirts, dresses, and T-shirts). The food could be seen at a party anywhere in the world. This indicates that the series emphasizes being a member of the world community rather than part of a particular country.

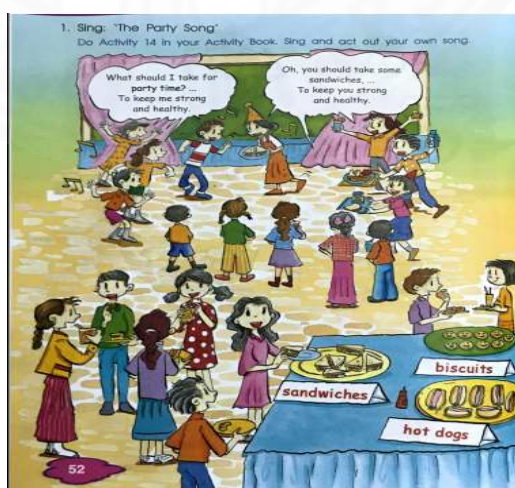


Figure 7.4 Food party

Second, the series equips students with the technological know-how and equipment to live a life in a global community that is advancing technologically. Throughout the series, there is an IT section in every lesson that instructs students to research more about the learned topics on the Internet by themselves (See Figure 7.5). Thus, they learn how to use the computer to browse websites for information and learn to extract information online, a necessary skill for the new generations. Devices like the mobile phone, calculator, printer, TV, microwave, and digital camera are also introduced in the IT section. Other devices, including the recorder and binoculars, are also introduced in other sections, such as in stories and conversations. Students learn the functions of these devices, becoming accustomed to them and viewing them as a part of people's lives.



Figure 7.5 IT

Third, the series features current problems facing the global community, especially environmental degradation. These problems are not portrayed as specific to one particular country; rather, they are represented as global problems that affect the lives of people in general. For instance, Volume 6 of the series contains a poem about recycling and conserving (See excerpt 7.1). The poem says that the earth is home to humans and animals; therefore, it is essential to make it a nice living place. Taking this environmental responsibility is not difficult for the students, as they can do so in daily life by actions such as saving water and electricity, saving trees, and sorting rubbish. Notable in the poem is the use of the phrase “this blue Earth” and the pronouns “we,” “our,” and “us.” It suggests that environmental problems are not bound to any given country. Rather, they are a global problem that needs attention from everyone in the world.

Excerpt 7.1

This blue Earth's our only home,

It is in our hands.

We must learn to keep it safe,

The seas, the skies, the lands.

With recycling,

And conserving,

Oh yes, I can, oh yes, you can,

Yes, it's true, oh yes, we can!

This blue Earth's our only home,

It is in our hands.

It's home to birds up in the sky,

Fishes in the sea.

It's home to animals on the ground,

It's home to you and me.

Turn off water, switch off lights,

Kids can do their part.

Pick no flowers, love the trees,

That's just being smart.

Walk along, and exercise,

Help save oil for cars.

Sort out rubbish, paper from tins,

Let us go that far. (Vol. 6, 2012, pp. 94-95)

The problems are sometimes featured through multivoicedness. For example, in a lesson about caring and cleaning, a few problems are featured through the voices of animals: the elephant, the bird, the fish, the turtle, and the bear. The elephant complains about litter, the bird about air pollution, the fish about water pollution, and the turtle and the bear about the illegal trade in animals. After listening

to these animals' complaints, students are required to do an activity: making a sign to raise the awareness of their classmates. Examples of the sign are shown in the lesson: "Keep the river clean," "Keep the air clean," "We are elephant lovers," "Keep your garden green," "Save animals," "Say goodbye to litter," and "Love me – Love my bin." In fact, these signs are written by the textbook writers, but they are shown as if they were made by the students to make them less didactic (See Figure 7.6). In this case, students are not only exposed to the problems about pollution and the illegal animal trade being faced by many countries, but they are also reminded that it is possible for them to take action to alleviate the problems. Thus, this activity of making a sign encourages them to realize their role as citizens responsible for coping with the problems affecting their lives.



Figure 7.6 Signs

Fourth, the series communicates a notion of globalization based on the concepts of democracy, civil society, equality, and human rights. The series does not state these concepts explicitly but integrates them into the ways students are instructed to acquire knowledge. Throughout the series, students are asked to do many class surveys in which they work in groups to survey others' opinions, send the group representative to report the survey's results, and take turns asking questions when the survey's results are reported. The instructions usually come with the visual images of students doing class surveys and reporting the results (See Figure 7.7).

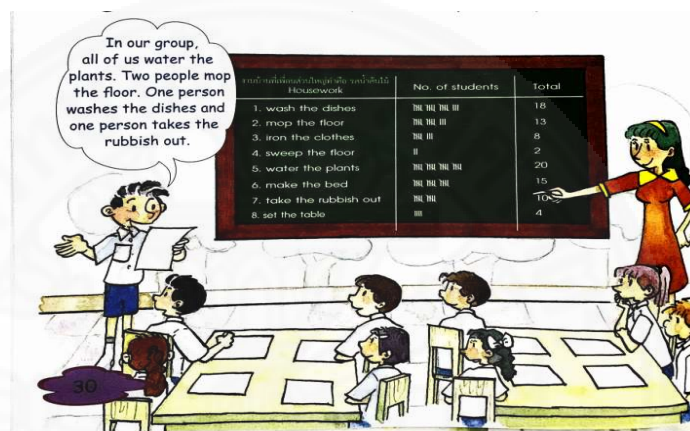
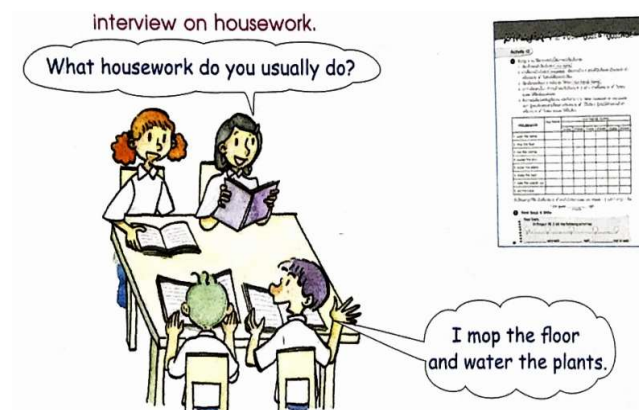


Figure 7.7 Class survey

In addition, students are taught to divide roles for some assigned activities. For example, in Volume 6 of the series, students are instructed to plan a group work task on camping. During the planning, as seen below in Excerpt 7.2, the series shows an image of students contributing to their group by allocating work to one another harmoniously and energetically. Each of the students decides what they want to do in the task and accepts the others' roles.

Excerpt 7.2

Student A (Jum): I choose Pok to be our leader. I myself will look into the location.

Student B (Pok): If you choose me to be your leader, you have to obey me.

Student C (Fah): I will be our group secretary. I have a camera. I will take a lot of photos.

Student D (Toh): I will be a technician. I will bring my binocular and recorder to record the birds' sounds or lectures. (Vol. 6, 2012, p. 106)

Furthermore, when they finish such assigned activities as making cards and posters, writing stories, making picture dictionaries, and making recipe books, students are asked to put their work on the board and vote for the best work. This is shown in Figure 7.8.



Figure 7.8 Casting a vote

In addition, unlike the previous textbooks, *Projects* allows students to express their opinions about the assigned activities more freely with the teacher. In the previous textbooks, teachers usually control the conversations with students. They mostly ask questions while students just give answers. The questions are closed-ended, leaving little or no room for students to give further opinions. In *Projects*, teachers still control the conversations, but students have more chances to give their own opinions regarding what they do. As illustrated in Excerpts 7.3–7.6, the students do not just answer the questions, but try to give reasons, comments, and reflections on the assignments. Also, in the positioning of the teacher and the student, they both sit in chairs and face each other (See Figure 7.9). This suggests that the student is not relegated to an inferior position to that of the teacher.



Figure 7.9 A student giving an opinion

Excerpt 7.3

(Students are asked to survey the commodity prices in the role-play “Going shopping.”)

Teacher: What did you like about making this project?

Student: I liked to survey the prices of the things in the shop. (Vol. 5, 2011, p. 73)

Excerpt 7.4

(Students are asked to make a New Year card.)

Teacher: Who do you want to give this New Year card to?

Student: I want to give it to my father because... (Vol. 6, 2012, p. 73)

Excerpt 7.5

(Students are asked to talk about all the work they have done in a lesson.)

Teacher: Which work are you most proud of? Why?

Student: I’m most proud of this...because... (Vol. 6, 2012, p. 91)

Excerpt 7.6

(Students are asked to make a chart describing their time spent on housework.)

Teacher: Your chart looks nice.

Student: We took an hour to finish it! (Vol. 5, 2011, p. 37)

These ways of acquiring knowledge are important to instill the concepts of democracy, civil society, equality, and human rights in the students' mindset. Without teaching the concepts directly, students learn to give opinions, listen to and respect others' opinions, and even ask when they need clarification on the opinions. They learn how to divide and share roles for a given task. They also learn the basic voting system and the importance of accepting the voting result based on the majority's vote.

Fifth, equality is also emphasized through the redefinition of gender. As mentioned above, in contrast to the earlier textbooks, both boys and girls are made characters in the same proportion. The domains where they are represented are also similar: in school, in the house, in the party, in the playground, in the garden, in the market, in the city, in the English camp, and so on. What is distinct is that boys and girls seem to have equal roles in doing activities, ranging from playing, doing chores, partying, picnicking, buying things, doing exercise, and asking and answering questions. For instance, the boy and the girl in Excerpt 7.7 list the housework they usually do. We can see that they do housework equally, despite that fact that housework has traditionally been deemed a feminine task in Thai society.

Excerpt 7.7

Girl: Do you help your mother at home, Peter?

Boy: Yes, I do. I always do. And what about you, Kaew?

Girl: Yes, I do. I always do, too.

Boy: What housework do you usually do?

Girl: I make the bed. (Iron the clothes, take the rubbish out, cook dinner, mop the floor, water the plants) What about you? What housework do you do?

Boy: I make the bed (cook breakfast, wash the dishes, do the laundry, vacuum the carpet, water the plants) (Vol. 5, 2011, pp. 26–27)



Figure 7.10 Boy and girl doing housework

In the series, we see the image of girl characters as being independent, active, and confident. They do similar things to boys. However, a certain female stereotype remains. For example, when re-examining Excerpt 7.7 above, the action of doing housework is still depicted along gender lines: the more traditionally masculine task is done by boys and the more traditionally feminine task by girls. In Excerpt 7.7, when the girl says “I cook dinner,” the picture illustrated (in Figure 7.10) is the girl holding a dish of ingredients in one hand and frying something in the pan in the other hand. She wears a chef’s hat and apron and stands in the kitchen. On the other hand, when the boy says “I cook breakfast,” the picture illustrated is the boy pushing a button on the microwave to heat a piece of bread inside. In addition, where he stands is more like a living room, rather than a real kitchen like the girl’s. In fact, when looking at the ways boy and girl characters are assigned to do housework throughout the series, we see that it is always the girls who cook while the boys do more stereotypically masculine tasks like cleaning the yard, fixing the fence, and cleaning the car. Even some animal characters connote such a stereotypical image of women. The feminine animals in the series are usually portrayed as having a smaller size. For instance, Mommy Elephant is smaller than Daddy Elephant and Mommy Bear is smaller than Daddy Bear. Apart from this, the fact that the series features such stories as Cinderella and Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs makes it perpetuate a passive image of women as both stories are about victimized young women waiting for their princes to arrive and save them from and give them lives without the evil people (e.g. stepmother, queen) who always bully them.

Finally, to become global citizens, cultural sensitivity is essential. As stated in the 2008 Curriculum, students are expected to understand the cultural diversity of the global society, and simultaneously convey Thai culture to others (Ministry of Education, 2008). The series thus portrays the cultures of many religious and ethnic groups. For example, Volume 5 contains a lesson named “Around the World” that features stories about festivals not only in Thailand but also in Japan and in Christian and Muslim communities. The lesson also features an activity called “At the Restaurant Game” in which students see the menus of various restaurants and order food they like. The menus shown in the activity contain international foods ranging from Thai, Japanese, Chinese, European to Muslim. In addition, the lesson depicts famous landmarks of various countries, including Mt. Fuji, the Statue of Liberty, and Schwedagon Pagoda, as well as explaining manners and rules when visiting these countries. This portrayal of various cultures is in accordance with the increasingly recognized status of English as an international means of communication in the world in the era of globalization. The fact that English has become the language of international communication means that it is no longer a language simply of its native speakers. Rather, English users tend to be those from different cultural identities for whom English is not their first language. Hence, English has become associated with multiple ownerships (Kachru, 1986) and thus multiple cultures.

Even though a variety of cultures are portrayed, Western ones are the most emphasized. Among them, Christmas-related traditions seem to be remarkable. The song “We Wish You a Merry Christmas” is taught to students in Volume 1. Apart from the song, students learn how to draw and cut a Christmas tree and hang it in the classroom. Volume 2 contains an activity asking students to look at the different present boxes under a Christmas tree in order to learn about shapes. After learning about shapes, they are taught to make a Christmas hat and a Christmas gift. Although there are no Christmas-related themes in Volumes 3–5, Volume 6 devotes an entire lesson to presenting Christmas stories, songs, and wishes. The lesson provides two readings: one is about Saint Nicholas, who became the Santa Claus we know today, and the other is about the history of the Christmas tree. Three Christmas songs (“Santa Claus is Coming to Town,” “Christmas Bells,” and “O Christmas Tree”) are presented. Students also learn how to make a Christmas and New Year card and write a wish. Moreover, at the

end of the chapter, students are encouraged to hold a Christmas party: decorating the classroom with paper Christmas trees, singing Christmas songs, and having snacks and drinks. What is noticeable is that Christmas is depicted through the array of things and customs that have accrued around it but without any religious context. For instance, there is no Christ in this Christmas. As such, this may be seen as the de-Christianizing of Christmas.

That Western cultures are emphasized the most is not surprising. Sung (2012, p. 31) argues that globalization may help people exchange cultures, but relationships between cultures are not equal. In the case of English teaching, Western cultures, especially those of the inner-circle countries, are dominant, leading to the polarization of the West and East. For example, citing Kubota and McKay, Sung (2012, p. 31) illustrates that western concepts of learning English, such as motivation and group work, are privileged and the similar concepts of the East are ignored. As he puts it, “Under the name of English teaching, there are hegemonic and oppressive practices related to knowledge formation and distribution, human desire, and identity formation. For example, it is not uncommon that ESL or EFL learners’ cultures and learning styles are essentialized and “Othered” as undesirable if not inferior to those from the IC countries” (Sung, 2012, p. 31).

7.3.2 Maintaining Thainess

Although the ideology of globalization is prevalent in Thailand, globalization generates an anxiety about the prospect of Western, especially American, consumerism undermining Thai cultures and traditions. This anxiety has been occasionally expressed in terms of the threat of cultural imperialism, an argument most prominently represented in the writings of Wongchaisuwan (1995). He is specifically concerned with the corrupting influences of foreign popular culture that would, in his opinion, undermine Thai cultural identity. His fear of cultural imperialism arises in relation to perceived weaknesses in Thai culture that leave Thailand, in his view, vulnerable to being culturally colonized. He also seems to suggest that the solution is to reinforce Thai culture rather than to boycott foreign products. Wongchaisuwan’s argument is part of the localist strand of the strong-society tradition that values local wisdom and community culture.

Both Thai and foreign scholars have pointed to flaws in the assumption of cultural imperialism. Saihoo (1994), in his work about Asian cultures and global transformation, contends that cultural imperialism is a manifestation of cultural pessimism, that people who argue for cultural imperialism are pessimists who paradoxically are quite at ease in an international setting and seldom live their lives in the traditional style of their culture. An additional critique of the cultural imperialism thesis has been provided by Ching (1996), who argues that its proponents are mired in a type of “nationcentrism.” For him, relationships between cultures are not harmonious, even in today’s global cultural economy, in which cultures are becoming decontextualized and dehistoricized, and thus can cross national boundaries. As he puts it,

If global mass culture represents the new configuration of changing capitalist relations in which a nation-centered response or resistance is no longer adequate, we need, on the one hand, to recognize that this cultural process is spatially and temporally uneven and discontinuous, and on the other hand, to be attentive to the different, at times contradictory and unintended, ways social agencies are articulated and empowered at every point of cultural practices. (Ching, 1996, p. 192)

These scholars help provide context for cultural imperialism fears in Thailand. Due to such fears, preserving Thainess is still an important ideology in government textbooks (Ministry of Education, 2008). Thainess is depicted in the series through an array of objects and customs, such as eating Thai food, attending Thai festivals, knowing the Thai map, and recognizing the famous attractions in Thai provinces. Therefore, information about and images of Thai food, festivals, maps, and attractions are constantly presented through the series. For instance, in one lesson, students learn how to count the numbers 1–50 in English using pictures of bananas, a local fruit found everywhere in Thailand. After that, they learn how to make the sun-dried bananas that are one of the popular local snacks. In another lesson, they learn how to make somtum, or Thai-style papaya salad. In the lesson on seasons, students are introduced to some Thai festivals of each season, such as Songkran Day and Loy

Krathong Day. In the lesson on camps and trips, students read about the famous attractions in the east of Thailand and discuss the location of each province in the country based on the map provided. Excerpt 7.8 is a short reading about the famous attractions in the east of Thailand. The information given in the reading includes the location, the opening time, and the must-see and must-buy things.

Excerpt 7.8

Khao Khieo Zoo is 10 kilometres southeast of Chonburi. It is off Route 344. This “open zoo” has over 50 species of birds and animals including deer, zebras, and tigers. The animals stay in semi-free areas. The birds are kept in a large aviary. The zoo is in a peaceful, hilly setting. Open daily 8 am - 6 pm.

There is a fruit festival in May or June every year in Rayong, Chantaburi and Trat. These provinces are famous for rambutan, durian and mangosteen. You can buy them at stalls on the main street. There are flower and fruit parades, and contests for the best durian. You can also see cultural shows and buy local things such as straw mats in Chantaburi. It is about 50 kilometres southeast of Rayong. (Vol. 6, 2012, pp. 96–97)

After finishing the reading, there is no further activity that requires students to talk about the famous attractions in their own province or local community. There is only an activity that asks students to locate the provinces on a map of Thailand (e.g. students look at the map and construct a sentence like this “Bangkok is in central Thailand.”). Therefore, it can be said that the series has a preference for cultural presentation in terms of facts and information. McKay (2002) and Kramsch (1993) assert that teaching culture is not just presenting cultural information on one’s own country or on other countries. Since culture is a social construct, teaching culture also needs reflection on one’s own culture in relation to others. As Kramsch puts it,

[U]nderstanding a foreign culture requires putting that culture in relation with one’s own. As we have seen for social interactions as well as for the interaction with written texts, meaning is relational. Thus, for example, an

intercultural approach to the teaching of culture is radically different from a transfer of information between cultures. It includes a reflection both on the target and on the native culture. (Kramersch, 1993, p. 205)

Through reflection, a sphere of interculturality in which speakers can share ideas and culture with others in cross-cultural situations can be established.

7.3.3 Morality and discipline

Aside from defining Thainess as a set of Thai cultural facts, the series also interprets Thainess within the concepts of harmony, unity, cooperation, discipline, and responsibility, similarly to the textbooks of the previous eras. To maintain Thainess is to expose students to these concepts that are presented through stories, songs, chants, and poems. As early as grade 1, students learn the concepts via simple stories with easy captions or conversations. For instance, the first lesson in Volume 1 teaches students about the letter “h.” In the lesson, there is a story about a hungry ant who finds a piece of apple on the grass. The ant wants to eat it, but it is too heavy for him to carry. So the ant asks for help from the other ants. The other ants hurriedly come to help him, and together they can carry that piece of apple back. The story, as shown in Figure 7.11 below, has a basic dialogue, but its message clearly shows students to be helpful and cooperative so that the work can be done successfully.



Figure 7.11 A story about unity

What can be seen in this story is that non-human characters' voices, particularly those of the animal characters, are quite distinct in the series. These characters can think and talk as if they were human beings. This may be a way to hide the voice of the writers of the series so as to make it more persuasive and less intrusive and didactic to the children.

Another example from Volume 3 presents a conversation between two girls (See Excerpt 7.9). One girl is showing her family photo album to the other girl. In every photo, the image of a warm, loving family is presented; all family members in the photo do activities together while smiling. This is how students are taught about unity and cooperation in a simple way. By being united and cooperative with family members (e.g. doing activities together), good outcomes can be expected (e.g. a warm family). We can notice that Girl A uses the terms “together” and “each other” in nearly all sentences. The repetitive use of these terms can help stress the value of being united and cooperative.

Excerpt 7.9

(Girl A is pointing to a photo of her family sitting together on a sofa.)

Girl A: This is my family. This is my father. This is my mother. This is my brother. This is my sister. And this is me!

(Girl A is pointing to a photo of her family eating.)

Girl A: We eat together.

Girl B: That is nice!

(Girl A is pointing to a photo of her family washing the car.)

Girl A: We work together.

Girl B: That is fun!

(Girl A is pointing to a photo of her family playing in the garden.)

Girl A: We play together.

Girl B: That is fun too!

(Girl A is pointing to a photo of her family having a picnic.)

Girl A: And we smile at each other.

Girl B: That is nice! (Vol. 3, 2012, pp. 2–3)

A more complicated story can be found in volume 5. Thai children (and teenagers) are likely familiar with a popular game known as “The Buddy Game.” This is a game where you must take care of your buddy chosen at random (e.g. sending a sweet note, giving them drinks or snacks), without letting them know who you are. This volume presents a story in which the animal characters play this game. The story begins when a lion entitled “the king of the forest” calls to all the animals—a fox, an elephant, a zebra, a rabbit, a giraffe, and a cheetah—to come for a meeting. In the meeting, the rabbit says she is scared of the fox, who seems cunning while looking at the rabbit. The lion says to all the animals: “We are a big family. Be nice to each other. Let’s play the Buddy Game.” The fox randomly picks the name of the rabbit. The fox, looking moody, says to himself that he wanted to eat the rabbit, but he cannot because the rabbit is his buddy. Following the rules of the Buddy Game, he tells himself to be nice to the rabbit. The next morning, he places a basket of carrots in front of the rabbit’s house. Seeing the gift, the rabbit is happy, but when she sees the fox coming to greet her, she becomes scared and runs away. The fox, though sad, sends the rabbit another basket with a box of chocolates, a flower, and a note. The rabbit is happy to get the basket, but she still does not know who her buddy is. Two weeks pass. The lion calls all the animals together again in order to end the Buddy Game. The lion says, “Now go and see your buddy. Be nice to each other.” The fox then tells the rabbit that he had been the rabbit’s buddy. The rabbit is shocked at first, but then she becomes happy and thanks the fox. The rabbit says, “Thank you very much. You’re very nice to me.” The story ends with a picture of the fox and the rabbit holding hands and dancing happily with the caption, “After that they became good friends. All the animals in the forest became good friends and lived happily together.” What can be learned from the story is respect and obedience to the leader of the group or community. If students follow the leader, they will live in peace and harmony because the leader can solve all the conflicts among them. Hence, social hierarchy is maintained. Furthermore, the story tries to teach students to show loving-

kindness to others, as they all are part of the same group or community. If they have no conflicts, they can lead a happy life.

Self-discipline and responsibility are also greatly emphasized. As in the earlier textbooks, the message from the series is that Thai students must know their duties—as a child to the family, as a student to the school, and ultimately as a citizen to the nation (Mulder, 1977). Doing their duties will be a key to success in their lives and the harmony and prosperity of the nation. In a lesson on home in Volume 5, the child characters are depicted as doing household chores while singing the song in Excerpt 7.10. There are seven children, each doing one chore happily and energetically. There are no parents monitoring the children. By saying that “This is the way we ...”, the excerpt suggests that the children know exactly what to do without the parents’ guidance. As it is a song, the repetition of words, phrases, and sentences is employed to make it easy for singing.

Excerpt 7.10

This is the way we wash our clothes,

Wash our clothes, wash our clothes,

This is the way we wash our clothes,

Early on Monday morning.

This is the way we wash our dishes,

Wash our dishes, wash our dishes,

This is the way we wash our dishes,

Early on Tuesday morning.

This is the way we cook the food,

Cook the food, cook the food,

This is the way we cook the food,

Early on Wednesday morning.

This is the way we sweep the floor,

Sweep the floor, sweep the floor,

This is the way we sweep the floor,

Early on Thursday morning.

This is the way we clean the floor,

Clean the floor, clean the floor,

This is the way we clean the floor,

Early on Friday morning.

This is the way we set the table,

Set the table, set the table,

This is the way we set the table,

Early on Saturday morning.

This is the way we clean the yard,

Clean the yard, clean the yard,

This is the way we clean the yard,

Early on Sunday morning. (Vol. 5, 2011, pp. 24–25)

At school, students must behave well by respecting the teacher and abiding by the school rules. Volume 4 has a lesson about class rules. It shows a picture of naughty boys and girls who break the rules by eating, sleeping, shouting, playing with a ball, and throwing paper on the floor. The teacher is standing in front of the class trying to stop the students from doing so. After learning the words in the picture, the lesson leads to an activity on making class rule signs, such as “Keep the class clean,” “Do not play in class,” and “No food and drinks in class.” This gives a direct message to the students: misbehaviors in the classroom are prohibited. They must study in a disciplined manner and not cause troubles for the teacher or school. The image of a chaotic classroom might show that the authority of the teacher is weak, as the teacher can no longer control the students to be silent, passive, and obedient. This does not mean, however, that the teacher’s authority does not exist in the series. In fact, if we look closely at the classroom interactions between the teacher and the students throughout the series, we can see that the teacher always stands, gazing at the students

or pointing to the blackboard (See Figure 7.12). By contrast, the students usually sit either in a row or in groups. They look up at the teacher. The reader usually sees only the back or the side of the students. The position of the characters demonstrates that the authority of the teacher might be subdued in certain situations, but it still exists.



Figure 7.12 Positioning of the teacher and students

7.4 Chapter summary

In this chapter, I have argued that *Projects* prioritizes child characters. They are active agents performing actions with less supervision from adults than in the other series. Although hierarchy still exists, adults have less authoritative roles. Female and male characters are portrayed equally. Mostly, they perform similar actions in similar domains. Characters with middle-class backgrounds dominate and they are likely to be multi-racial. Unlike the previous textbooks, the demarcation between Thai and foreign characters is not clear-cut. In terms of ideology, *Projects* shapes the ideology of globalization. It aims to prepare young Thai students to become global citizens who are aware of global issues, respect the concepts of democracy, equality, human rights, and cultural diversity, and possess up-to-date technological knowhow. Still, at the same time, the series aims to instill Thainess into the students by making them proud of Thai cultures and traditions. This serves the state policy of building a unified nation.

CHAPTER 8

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

This chapter discusses the two research questions by comparing the four series of textbooks, which are *Ladder of Knowledge Series*, *Direct Method Reader*, *English is Fun*, and *Projects*. The research questions are as follows: 1) What are the identities of the characters represented in the textbooks? 2) What are the ideologies embedded in the content of the textbooks? How are these ideologies constructed in the Thai context?

8.1 Research question 1: What are the identities of the characters represented in the textbooks?

This section discusses the age, race, class, and gender of the characters represented in each of the four series. The identities of characters must be explored because they are linked with the construction of ideologies in discourse. According to Van Dijk (1998), “Ideologies consist of a fundamental schema of which the first category defines the membership criteria of a group. Together with the contents of the other categories, such criteria define the social identity of a group. This means that whenever a group has developed an ideology, such an ideology at the same time also defines the basis for the group’s identity” (p. 118). For Van Dijk, ideologies represent the basic social characteristics of a group, including its identity.

Age, class, race, and gender are all important identities to be explored. In previous eras, the concept of ideology was linked with class, as influenced by Marxists. That is, ideology was believed to justify and sustain the power of the ruling class. Later, the concept was extended to include age, race, and gender, as ideology is not explained merely in terms of class. Laclau and Mouffe (as cited in Barker & Jane, 2016, p. 107) argue that class may share common conditions of existence but does not form class consciousness that is unified. Instead, class is historically specific. It is also full of conflicting interests, including those related to age, race, and gender. Thus, subjects are fragmented subjects with multiple and potentially conflicting identities. In Laclau and Mouffe’s argument, examining age, race, class, and gender is necessary because

identity construction is complex; it involves the intersections of age, race, class, and gender.

Table 8.1 Summary of character identities

Character identities	<i>Ladder of Knowledge Series</i>	<i>Direct Method Reader</i>	<i>English is Fun</i>	<i>Projects</i>
Age	Adult prioritized over child	Adult prioritized over child	Child prioritized over adult	Child prioritized over adult
Race	Siamese prioritized over foreign	Thai prioritized over foreign	Thai and foreign	Multi-racial
Class	Elite prioritized over other classes	Elite prioritized over other classes	Middle class	Middle class
Gender	Male prioritized over female	Male prioritized over female	Male and female	Male and female

According to Table 8.1, we can see that the older series of textbooks, namely, *Ladder of Knowledge Series* and *Direct Method Reader*, are quite different from the newer series, namely, *English is Fun* and *Projects*. For the older series, they prioritize adult characters over child characters, Siamese/Thai characters over foreign ones, elite characters over those of other classes, and male over female characters. By contrast, the two newer series give more importance to child characters, foreign characters, and female characters. They also tend to portray these from a non-elite background.

One point that can be seen from the results is that these series of textbooks bring aged, raced, classed, and gendered identities into the classroom. They are sites where some groups are included and others are excluded or backgrounded. The construction of character identities is thus linked to power. It is a matter of power of some groups over others. Van Dijk (2002) argued that power and dominance are institutionalized. The dominance of one group is not just enacted by its members, but it might be enacted by other group members. The enactment of power may be enforced by the police, legitimated by law, or sustained by textbooks. Another point that can be seen is that the identities of characters changed through time. This shows clearly that

identity construction is a process of social construction. It is the product of discourse, which is tied to historical conditions. As identities are constructed in discursive practice, they are contingent and never fixed.

8.1.1 Age

In this section, the age of the characters is discussed. The frequency of the child and adult characters is illustrated in Table 8.2

Table 8.2 Frequency of child and adult characters

Character Identity	<i>Ladder of Knowledge Series</i>	<i>Direct Method Reader</i>	<i>English is Fun</i>	<i>Projects</i>
Age	Child = 249 (39.1%) Adult = 387 (60.9%) N=636	Child = 182 (42.9%) Adult = 242 (57.1%) N=424	Child = 531 (72.5%) Adult = 201 (27.5%) N=732	Child = 205 (57.9%) Adult = 149 (42.1%) N=354

In terms of age, *Ladder of Knowledge Series* and *Direct Method Reader* portray more adult characters than child characters. In *Ladder of Knowledge Series*, both characters are the main social actors. Relational identification plays a key role in representing the relationship between the child and adult characters (e.g. the boy's father, your son). Apart from relational identification, the child characters are usually classified in terms of gender (as a boy/girl). The adult characters are sometimes classified in terms of gender (as a man/woman). They are sometimes functionalized; they are referred to according to their institutional roles (e.g. the teacher, the police). Except those in Volume 3, all of the child and adult characters are barely named.

In *Direct Method Reader*, the boy character and his family members are the main social actors. Most stories in the series revolve around them. The boy is named and specifically referred to. His family members, except his mother, are named, but they are sometimes identified in relation to him (e.g. his father). Other child characters are passing characters; they are mainly classified in terms of gender. Kings and queens are important social actors in this series, too. They are named and specifically referred to. Other adult characters are functionalized; they include teachers, soldiers, and farmers.

The interactions between the child characters and the adult ones in these two series are similar. Such interactions mostly occur at home and in school between the children and their parents/teachers. The actions performed by the parents and teachers include giving commands, asking questions, correcting mistakes, moralizing, disciplining, and punishing the children. This suggests that the parents and teachers have much authority. They command the children to study, do daily activities, and help out when needed, whereas the children follow their command with respect. The terms used to address the parents and teachers are formal, such as “father” and “mother” to address the parents and “*khru*” (teacher) to address the teachers. Visually, when children and adults are depicted together in *Direct Method Reader*, they are portrayed with different angles. For instance, there is a picture of a mother talking to her child. The mother is sitting on the sofa, whereas her child is on the floor. We can see the face of the mother but only the back of the child. This positioning shows that the mother exists as a more important entity.

In contrast to earlier textbooks, *English is Fun* and *Projects* portray more child characters than adult characters. In both series, the child characters, not the adults, are the main social actors. Some child characters are named; others are classified in terms of gender. Parents and teachers are usually identified in relation to the child characters. Other adults are mainly functionalized. For *English is Fun*, they include the bus driver, the shopkeeper, the fruit seller, the fortune teller, the nurse, the carpenter, the fisherman, and the farmer. As for *Projects*, the roles of adults are wider, including those of the merchant, the guide, the soldier, the postman, the carpenter, the doctor, the nurse, the dentist, the hairdresser, the cook, the policeman, the farmer, and the barber.

For *English is Fun*, the roles of parents and teachers are similar to those in the earlier textbooks. However, there are cases in which the authority of parents and teachers is challenged by children, even though these challenges usually end up with punishment. By contrast, in *Projects*, the roles of parents as the commander cannot be seen, whereas the roles of teachers in the classroom are more of a facilitator who encourages and guides children to participate in class activities and projects. Children are given more chances to express their own ideas in completing activities and projects. No more punishment is given by the parents and teachers. However, looking at the pictures of a classroom in the series, we can see that the teacher is often positioned in

an angle higher than the children are. This makes the children usually look up to the teacher, which signifies their respect for and obedience to the teacher.

The use of relational identification to represent child and adult relations throughout the four series can tell us, as pointed out by Van Leeuwen (1996), that kinship relations are important in Thai society. Even when the country was predominantly an agrarian society until now that it is increasingly becoming an active player in the global market that supports capitalism and individualism, kinship relations have been intrinsic to Thai society. However, it can be noticed that functionalization is also an important representation strategy in *English is Fun* and *Direct Method Reader*. By being functionalized, the characters are nominated in terms of what they do (Van Leeuwen, 1996). According to Machin and Mayr (2012), functionalization connotes legitimacy. It legitimizes a person that he/she is a respectable member of a society. This suggests that in these two series, the value of work is promoted. Those who work will be socially accepted as good members who contribute to the prosperity of society. This may correspond to Thailand's increasing incorporation into a globalized market system, which has been occurring since the 1960s. Instead of production for domestic consumption or to meet the demands of local lords, Thai people have increasingly turned to production for the market (Tanabe & Keyes, 2002). Hence, working for economic growth has become a new value.

In addition, the interactions between the child and adult characters suggest that a hierarchy exists. Podhisita (1985) states that Thai people view that society is made up of hierarchically related positions. Under this hierarchical system, "individuals are seen as either higher or lower, younger or older, weaker or stronger, subordinate or superior, senior or junior, richer or poorer, and rarely equal, in relation to one another" (Podhisita, 1985, p. 32). Hence, one needs to recognize the distinction between a high and a low status and behave himself/herself according to the appropriate behavior required of each status. The four series justify the Thai hierarchical system by showing that children are in an inferior position to adults, and, hence, they must obey and respect adults. Making children realize their position in the hierarchical system is an effective tool for adults to make children observe and control their own behaviors. This is similar to what Foucault found in his discussion on the methods of surveillance in prisons. Foucault (1972) found that the Panopticon, a circular building created around a central

axis, was designed to make prisoners believe that they were constantly being observed. Just by being observed, the prisoners could be controlled.

Through the emphasis on kinship relations and hierarchy in the textbooks, the power of adults is enacted and maintained. Van Dijk (2002) states that power involves control, which is related to both action and cognition. Those in power not only curb the freedom of actions of other people but also use strategic ways to influence or change the minds of other people in order to suit their own interests. By being exposed to language or visual image that emphasizes children's subordinate relationship to adults, children are persuaded to believe that it is natural for adults to command and control them because these adults have rights to do so. With such a belief, children find it difficult to resist the power of adults.

8.1.2 Race

This section discusses the representation of race. The frequency of Siamese/Thai and foreign characters is shown in Table 8.3.

Table 8.3 Frequency of Siamese/Thai and foreign characters

Character Identity	<i>Ladder of Knowledge Series</i>	<i>Direct Method Reader</i>	<i>English is Fun</i>	<i>Projects</i>
Race	Siamese = 20 (25.3%) Foreign = 59 (74.7%) N=79	Thai = 148 (89.7%) Foreign = 17 (10.3%) N=165	Thai = 389 (90%) Foreign = 43 (10%) N=432	Thai = 129 (78.7%) Foreign = 35 (21.3%) N=164

In terms of race, *Ladder of Knowledge Series* and *Direct Method Reader* prioritize Siamese/Thai characters. The frequency count may show that there are more foreign than Siamese characters in *Ladder of Knowledge Series*. However, in fact, the characters in Volumes 2, 4, and 5 of the series are barely named. Thus, they need to be identified in terms of race from the context. Assuming from the contexts, such as the school that the child characters attend, the Siamese subject the children learn in school, or the adult characters' talk about certain places in Siam, we can say that most of the characters are likely to be Siamese. In *Direct Method Reader*, nearly all of the characters are Thai.

Moreover, in these two series, foreigners are usually referred to as a collective group. In *Ladder of Knowledge Series*, they are referred to as the English, the Chinese, and the Indians, for instance. In *Direct Method Reader*, they are referred to as the English, the Burmese, the Cambodians, the Malays, the Chinese, the Japanese, the Vietnamese, and the Indians. Hence, it can be seen that the foreigners in the two series are classified based on race. We hardly see the interactions between Siamese/Thai and foreign characters. They are separate characters in separate stories. In stories that represent both Siamese/Thai and foreign characters, the pronouns “we” and “they” tend to be used to differentiate them. The differentiation is also seen from the visual images of foreign characters. That is, in *Direct Method Reader*, foreigners are portrayed wearing their national costumes. They stand on their country’s map and are isolated from other groups of people. They are portrayed in a small frame in a long shot; hence, their facial expression cannot be seen clearly. Depicted this way, they are distanced and otherized from readers. Their otherness is accentuated by the national costumes they wear, which function as a symbol telling the reader that they are not one of us.

However, there are cases in which foreigners are referred to as identified individuals. The identified foreigners can be found in Volume 3 of *Ladder of Knowledge Series*. In some stories of the volume, there are some fictional characters with English names. There are also several stories about European kings. Still, these foreigners appear in separate stories from those featuring Thai characters, which means that their otherness is highlighted. As for *Direct Method Reader*, several Burmese kings are portrayed in the stories about Thais’ fight for independence. Despite being portrayed in relation to Thai characters, these foreigners merely serve the purpose of fostering solidarity among Thais.

The two newer series, *English is Fun* and *Projects*, give more importance to foreign characters. If we look at the frequency count, foreign characters are still outnumbered by Thai characters in these two series. However, the ways in which foreigners are represented are different from that in the two earlier series. That is, they are more individualized, as they are referred to by names and singular pronouns. They are also accorded more roles as the actors who perform actions, and they are not silenced like before. This means that they have more identity of their own right. In *English is Fun*, foreign characters are likely to be Western, as they have English names.

As for *Projects*, the racial demarcation is blurred. For instance, some child characters have Thai, English, and Chinese names, which help identify them as Thai, Western, and Chinese, respectively. Nonetheless, others are difficult to identify in terms of race because they are anonymous, and they have different hair colors, such as yellow, brown, blue, violet, and green. Although some of them wear Thai-style school uniform, it cannot be said that they are Thai. Like the child characters, the adult characters have multi-colored hair. Hence, it cannot be said for sure who they are racially.

In addition, unlike the earlier series, we see more interactions between Thai and foreign characters in these two series. For example, Thai and foreign child characters are interlocutors in conversations, and they do activities together, such as studying and playing. Visually, there is no more frame to demarcate Thais and foreigners. They mingle freely in pairs or in groups. When they mingle, they gaze at each other's eyes and gesture at each other. This suggests that both characters belong to the same group.

Overall, we can see from the portrayal of foreigners that there is racial prejudice. Foreigners are portrayed to be inferior to Siamese/Thai people. This is especially seen in *Ladder of Knowledge Series* and *Direct Method Reader*. To make foreigners inferior, the authors used exclusion and collectivization as the key representation strategies. Simply, foreigners are excluded from some representations. When they are included, they are mostly collectivized. That is, they are represented as a group, which means that their agency as an individual is denied. They are individualized in specific cases, such as in stories that aim to promote the heroic deeds of Thai people or to teach some moral lessons to readers. In addition, the images of foreigners in *Direct Method Reader* tell us that they are distanced from readers. As these foreigners stand on the isolated map of their country in a long shot in a small frame, they are poorly connected with readers, thus emphasizing their otherness (Kress & Van Leeuwen, 1996). This is not beyond expectation because *Ladder of Knowledge Series* was written during the time when Siam was facing threats from colonization. *Direct Method Reader*, on the other hand, was written during the time when nationalist movements increased worldwide, and the ruling military regime of the country also needed to Thai-ify itself. Therefore, the representation of foreigners in the two series is

subdued to place Siamese/Thai people in a hegemonic position for mobilizing nationalism.

Racial prejudice seems to decrease in *English is Fun* and *Projects*. Naming is a simple representation strategy that can make foreigners be identified as individuals. For visuals, framing is removed to make them connected with the Thai characters on an equal term. *Projects* goes beyond *English is Fun* in representing characters with physical looks that are difficult to identify in terms of race. This is similar to modern textbooks that Gray (2010) notices that being unlikely to locate characters in a specific country. That Thai racial supremacy is less seen in the series is partly due to the welcoming of foreign investment and the promotion of tourism during the time of economic expansion in the country when *English is Fun* was written. As for *Projects*, the intensity of the pace of globalization also makes Thailand more connected to the world culturally and economically.

One more reason behind the declining racial prejudice involves the status of English as an international language. Nowadays, English is a widely used language. It is estimated that 1,200–1,500 million people use it as a first, second, or foreign language (Crystal, 1997). Scholars, such as Pennycook (1994), assert that the speaking of English is associated with access to a modern world that is characterized by technology, scientific knowledge, greater communication, and economic power. In a similar vein, Alptekin (2002) asserts that social and economic globalization has necessitated the use of English as an international means of communication in the world. This means that English is not only a language of native speakers (Crystal, 1997). Rather, English users tend to be those with different cultural identities and whose first language is not English (Crystal, 1997). As Graddol (2006) points out, interactions involving a native speaker are now fewer. This changing profile of English speakers leads to the question of language ownership. Kachru (1986) argues that English is gaining a variety of international identities and hence multiple ownerships. Kachru's argument suggests that English has perhaps lost its exclusive connection to a particular culture, especially the culture of inner-circle countries. This leads to the new trend of portraying textbook characters as multi-racial.

It is interesting to see that the declining racial prejudice in the last two series of textbooks is organized by the Thai state. It is not the foreigners themselves who enact

their power in the textbooks. Instead, it is the Thai state that plans, monitors, and approves textbook production and hence decides the ways in which foreigners are portrayed. In other words, it is the Thai state that decides the process of power enactment in the textbooks. What makes the Thai state increasingly and positively portray foreigners and legitimize their roles in the textbooks is probably the increasing dependence of the country on foreign countries, especially in economic terms. Therefore, it may be said that the portrayal of foreigners is used as a strategic way to serve the interests of Thailand: being able to withstand foreign forces that require the country to be open for more transactions, communication, and connections. In other words, this is a way to maintain the power relations between Thailand and foreign countries.

8.1.3 Class

This section presents the characters in terms of class. Table 8.4 shows the frequency of characters per class.

Table 8.4 Frequency of characters per class

Character Identity	<i>Ladder of Knowledge Series</i>	<i>Direct Method Reader</i>	<i>English is Fun</i>	<i>Projects</i>
Class	Elite = 49 (35%) Middle class = 40 (28.6%) Lower class = 51 (36.4%) <i>N=140</i>	Elite = 34 (50%) Middle class = 26 (38.2%) Lower class = 8 (11.8%) <i>N=68</i>	Middle class = 56 (100%) <i>N=56</i>	Elite = 2 (8.3%) Middle class = 22 (91.7%) <i>N=24</i>

Overall, in terms of class, *Ladder of Knowledge Series* and *Direct Method Reader* prioritize characters from the elite class over those from other classes. The elite characters in *Ladder of Knowledge Series* include kings, princes, and masters. As for the child characters in *Ladder of Knowledge Series*, most of them are from the elite family, too. This can be judged not only from the frequency count but also from the information about their school, their father's work, their daily routine, or their future plan. For example, they talk about going to the palace or being sent to study abroad (e.g., England, Europe), which is part of elite life during the time the series was written. Other social classes, especially the lower class, usually appear in relation to the elite.

For example, the servant serves the elite in everyday activities. A key representation strategy found is that the elite characters are activated when interacting with the lower class. On the contrary, the lower class is passivated; it is commanded to serve the elite. The interaction between them, therefore, is one way and top-down.

Direct Method Reader involves a boy character who comes from the elite class. This is obvious because his father is nominated with an honorific of a nobleman. Apart from this main character, *Direct Method Reader* features Thai kings and queens. They are identified individuals who really exist in Thai history. The characters of other classes, such as farmers, are merely fictional and usually referred to as a collective group. Unlike the previous series, the interaction between the elite and other classes, especially the lower class, is hardly seen in this series.

The adult characters in *English is Fun* and *Projects* are different from those in the earlier series of textbooks. No more kings and queens are featured as characters in *English is Fun*. Instead, the series features those in the workforce, such as the teacher, the bus driver, the shopkeeper, the fruit seller, the fortune teller, the nurse, the carpenter, the fisherman, and the farmer. Similarly, *Projects* features such people as the merchant, the guide, the soldier, the postman, the carpenter, the doctor, the nurse, the dentist, the hairdresser, the cook, the policeman, the farmer, and the barber. On the basis of their occupations, they tend to come from the middle class. They are activated and accorded the role of actors. They are also individualized.

In these two series, the child characters tend to be from a middle-class background, too. This can be seen visually from these characters' lifestyles, such as the houses they live, the household equipment they have (e.g. car, computer), the schools they attend (i.e. project-based school), the food they eat, and the festivals they join.

From these textbooks, we can see class politics. That *Ladder of Knowledge Series* was originally written to teach English to King Chulalongkorn's sons makes the series oriented toward the elite. That is, the portrayal of elite characters and their daily activities can make it easier for the king's sons to understand the stories, as they can identify with the characters. Furthermore, English education at that time was restricted to the elite; thus, there was no point in giving importance to non-elite characters. That *Direct Method Reader*, though written after the 1932 Revolution, revolves around an elite family is probably due to the same reason: serving the interests of the elite who

were the main beneficiary of education. In addition, that *Direct Method Reader* portrays the stories of kings' and queens' quest for independence can be seen as a part of the military ruling elite's strategy to develop nationalist sentiments among readers by showcasing the historic deeds of kings and queens.

The exclusion of elites is a representation strategy found in *English is Fun* and *Projects*. With the socio-economic context taken into consideration, this change in characters corresponds to Thailand's transformation toward a free-market economy since the 1960s that witnessed structural economic growth driven by the rise of foreign investment and agriculture-led exports. Employment in the manufacturing and service industries increased sharply. As a result, urban areas expanded, and there was an increasing number of the middle class to accommodate the rising needs of the business sector. This suggests that power relations changed. The power of the elite is in a way resisted by the middle class, which has become an important driver of the economy. English education is no more limited to the elite as it was in the past, but it expanded to other groups of people, partly in response to the expansion of jobs that require English skills. This demonstrates that power relations are a key element in the production of discourse (Fairclough, 2002b). If there is a change in power relations, the order of discourse will be transformed.

8.1.4 Gender

In this section, gender is discussed. The frequency of gendered characters based on masculinity and femininity is shown in Table 8.5.

Table 8.5 Frequency of male and female characters

Character Identity	<i>Ladder of Knowledge Series</i>	<i>Direct Method Reader</i>	<i>English is Fun</i>	<i>Projects</i>
Gender	Male = 571 (84%) Female = 109 (16%) N=680	Male = 391 (70.6%) Female = 163 (29.4%) N=554	Male = 391 (55.9%) Female = 308 (44.1%) N=618	Male = 165 (48.5%) Female = 175 (51.5%) N=340

When it comes to gender, male characters outnumber female characters in *Ladder of Knowledge Series* and *Direct Method Reader*. In *Ladder of Knowledge Series*, there are more boys than girls, and only boys are portrayed in the classroom. All

teachers are male. Elite people, especially kings and princes, are portrayed, whereas queens and princesses are not. In *Direct Method Reader*, the most outstanding character of the series is a boy. Everyone in his family has names, except his mother who is represented by means of relational identification as the boy's mother. His mother is also excluded from some of the boy's daily activities. Boys dominate the classroom; in some lessons, only boys are presented in the classroom, whereas girls are ignored. All teachers are male. Both kings and queens are portrayed, but queens are always referred to as wives of certain kings in the stories they are portrayed in.

The number of female characters, especially girls, increases significantly in *English is Fun*. In addition, they are more activated; they are accorded more roles as the actors performing actions. However, the jobs of the adult characters in the series are still differentiated between male and female jobs. That is, men do the jobs that require more physical force and professional skills, such as the characters of the doctor and the carpenter, whereas women do the jobs that focus more on the role of a caregiver, such as the character of the nurse.

Projects is different from the other series. The number of female characters here is slightly higher than that of male characters. Moreover, visually, both characters seem to have equal roles in activities, ranging from playing, doing chores, partying, picnicking, buying things, engaging in exercise, and asking and answering questions. The domains where they are represented are also similar, such as in school, in the house, in the party, in the playground, in the garden, in the market, in the city, in the English camp, and so on.

However, when looking at words stating actions and places that occur with the words "father" and "mother," we can see the continuity from the first to the last series. Men as fathers are portrayed not only in the domain of the house but also in the outside domain, and they perform various actions, including working. Women as mothers are accorded the role of cooking in the kitchen or buying food in the market. Even in *Projects*, in the same house, mothers cook, whereas fathers read newspapers in the living room. This is shown in Table 8.6.

Table 8.6 Words that occur with father and mother characters

	<i>Ladder of Knowledge Series</i>	<i>Direct Method Reader</i>	<i>English is Fun</i>	<i>Projects</i>
Words that occur with father characters	be, want, live, go, buy (a gun, rice), give, come back, come, distribute (money), drive (the tramcar), <u>work (as a government official)</u> , have (dinner), let, ask, write, teach, help, build (the house), <u>finish (work)</u> , (be) sued, tell, say, see, feed house, home, palace, hospital, names of places (e.g., Paknam)	be, read (the newspaper), sleep, send, have (a bag, friends, brothers), have (breakfast), want, take, get into (a car), talk, walk, see, stay, say, go <u>office</u> , cinema, room, hotel, names of places (e.g., Hua Hin)	be, come, put, <u>do (work)</u> , ask, say, has (a car), stand, like home, family room, food shop	be, do, read, water (plants) living room
Words that occur with mother characters	be, want, live, buy (rice), sell, order, visit, let, <u>bake (the bread)</u> , love, say, cry house	be, come, go, drink, eat, work, say, have (a rose, a hat), have (breakfast), <u>buy (fruits and rice)</u> , like (flowers), buy (a book) <u>home, kitchen, market</u>	be, want, <u>cook, make (a cake, cookies, good things to eat)</u> , look, put, <u>buy (food)</u> , come, run, say, ask, get, get up <u>home, kitchen, market, food shop</u>	be, do, <u>cook</u> , wake up, get (out of bed), give, see <u>kitchen</u>

The unequal portrayal of male and female characters proves that there is gender hierarchy. This is especially obvious in *Ladder of Knowledge Series* and *Direct Method Reader*, where female characters are excluded from certain representations. When they are included, they tend not to have their identity on their own rights because they are identified in relation to their children or husbands. This demonstrates that the ideology of male domination is in operation in these two series. This is unsurprising as Thai female representation, both in journalistic and academic work, is largely grounded in a submissive position to that of men. Women are rendered as the weaker sex, physically and mentally, being compared in a Thai metaphor to elephants' hind legs

whose move must follow those of the front legs (men). Kaewtep (2000) observes that the domestic sphere continues to frame many constructions of Thai femininity. Women as mothers and wives, in particular, have dominated Thai films and TV dramas. The images of mothers and wives are diverse, but the idealized ones are those of sacrificing mothers and wives who are loyal and obedient to husbands. In these scenarios, it is obvious that women are understood more as mothers or wives of male counterparts, a viewpoint that denies their selfhood, as well as frames them within the binary image of “good” and “bad.”

The growth of the economy may be one reason why female characters are more portrayed and activated in *English is Fun* and *Project*. As the Thai economy grew, more people joined the labor market. Male labor only was not enough to drive the economy. In fact, Thompson and Bhongsivej (as cited in Klausner, 1995, pp. 53–55) report that the high economic growth rate of 8% per annum during the 1980s was fueled by the rapid increase in the export of manufactured goods, such as textiles, jewelry, canned goods, and electrical devices, as well as by the burgeoning tourist industry. Despite receiving about half of the legal minimum wage, women accounted for about 80%–90% of this labor force.

Besides the economic factor, the portrayal of gender equality might be motivated by the feminist movement demanding rights and justice for women that has burgeoned since the 1970s; it can be partly attributed to the promotion of women’s rights as human rights by the UN (Tantiwiranond & Pandey, 1991). The feminist movement has also been influenced by the rise of gender theory in Western scholarship, attempting to understand how gender inequalities are socially constructed and embedded in daily life experiences (Elliot & Lemert, 2014). The activists and scholars belonging to the feminist movement have been active in challenging the discourse that Thai women are passive and subordinate, as well as in transforming gender relations in Thai society. For instance, they work for the betterment of women and attempt to eliminate discrimination, and some try to advance government policies on the issue of women’s rights and development.

As a result, Kaewtep (2000) notes that more and more images of “strong women” are being portrayed in Thai media. These women are depicted as educated, confident, and independent. They take care of their family, as well as work outside.

They know how to fight for their own happiness and dignity, or they even challenge some age-old values ranging from smoking to engaging in premarital sexual activities. Van Fleet (1998) also notes that women's sex roles have changed considerably through the mass media because of the rise of middle-class lifestyles and consumption practices as a result of economic growth. For instance, more and more women are choosing to remain single or are becoming less concerned with their virginity at marriage.

What can be seen from the four series of textbooks is that there are power relations between men and women. Men's power is institutionalized in the earlier series but is resisted in the more modern series. Women's power is increasingly enacted in the more recent textbooks, but whether women's power can really replace that of men remains questionable. As mentioned above, even in the most recent publications, an age-old stereotype of women as mothers still exists.

8.2 Research question 2: What are the ideologies embedded in the content of the textbooks? How are these ideologies constructed in the Thai context?

This section discusses the ideologies in the four series of textbooks. Multiple ideologies are embedded in each of the four series, but the ideologies presented in this section are what I consider the most dominant ones for each series.

Table 8.7 Summary of dominant ideologies

Ideologies	<i>Ladder of Knowledge Series</i>	<i>Direct Method Reader</i>	<i>English is Fun</i>	<i>Projects</i>
Modernization	✓			
Nationalism		✓		
Consumerism			✓	
Globalization				✓
Morality and discipline	✓	✓	✓	✓

According to Table 8.7, the ideology of modernization is dominant in *Ladder of Knowledge Series*. This particular ideology was replaced by that of nationalism in *Direct Method Reader*. In *English is Fun* and *Projects*, the ideologies of

consumerism and globalization are dominant, respectively. Regardless of time, the ideology of morality is at play in all four of them.

What can be seen is that all four series act ideologically. These ideologies are discursively constructed and should be understood in the frame of construction (Fairclough, 2003). They are constructed to favor the dominant groups. That is, the power of the dominant groups is justified and maintained by these ideologies. These ideologies are different according to era. This illustrates that the ideologies are contingent, as they are subject to contestation and negotiation. According to Gramsci (1971), hegemony is formed by the temporary and strategic alliances of social groups. Hence, it is unstable, as it needs to be contested and negotiated by such social groups.

8.2.1 Modernization

The most dominant ideology in *Ladder of Knowledge Series* is modernization. It is constructed through the following networks of discourse. The first is going to school. What is repetitively stated in the series is that children must go to school because the school is the only place that can educate children. The second discourse is learning English. What is repetitively stated is that students must learn and be able to use English. English is also equated with intelligence; those who can use English well are deemed as clever. The third discourse is going abroad to study. In particular, the adult characters repetitively talk about sending their children to Europe. It is found that modality is the main linguistic feature used in conveying these discourses in the series. In addition to these discourses, we can find the terms denoting modernity, such as engineer, bank, hospital, train, steamship, and tennis. Furthermore, the series includes exercises that test knowledge about history and current affairs, scientific discovery and invention, and mathematics and economics. This kind of knowledge is based on the Western model of education. These discourses match the concepts of mass education, secularism, rationalization, and industrialization, which are a part of the important characteristics of modernization, as suggested by Inglehart (1997) and McGrath and Corrin (2018).

Ladder of Knowledge Series was written in 1889–1894 during the reign of King Chulalongkorn (1858–1910). During the time, Siam was surrounded by two imperialist powers, Britain and France. Both competed in colonizing other countries, and Siam was vulnerable to colonial rule. For example, the Paknam crisis in 1893 led

to the boundary demarcation between Siam and French Indochina (Baker & Phongpaichit, 2005). Siam was forced to relinquish Luang Prabang, Vientiane, and some Khmer provinces to France. The vulnerability of Siam to colonial rule made the king realize the necessity to modernize the country in order to preserve its sovereignty. The king's foreign travels also "broadened his outlook and enabled him to learn on the spot the good and bad features of colonial rule" (Syamananda, 1977, p. 125). Thus, the king carried out reforms that were based on Western models. For example, on his second coronation in 1893, he abolished prostration in royal presence and punishments for looking at the king's face. In 1905, he issued a law that abolished slavery.

The main concern for the Thai state at that time was modernization. According to Lao (2015), modernity was an important motivation of the Thai state to emulate the West, and selective borrowing served as a major strategy of the Thai state in conducting reforms in quest of modernity. Citing Peleggi (2002), Anderson (1978), and Winichakul (2000), Lao (2015) argues that Thai elites tried to achieve modernity by copying and borrowing Western values and models; nevertheless, despite doing so, they were proud of being able to "selectively and strategically" embrace Western values and models (p. 23). The pride rested in the premise that Thailand was never colonized by the West and that Thai cultures and traditions were superior. As such, selective borrowing was "extensively used in public policies to exemplify the uniqueness of Thai policy elites to become modern while maintaining Thai and Buddhist traditions" (Lao, 2015, p. 24). Lao (2015) contends that in fact, selective borrowing served as a discourse to justify the authority of the elites. The elites were unable to apply full-scale Western models, so they created the discourse of Thainess to justify a half-way adoption. In Lao's (2015) own words, the discourse of Thainess "refers to a unique consolidation of western models and the maintenance of Thai characteristics, to reconcile the gaps between policy aspiration versus the reality on the ground" (p. 39). This selective borrowing strategy is the reason why not all characteristics of modernization are presented in *Ladder of Knowledge Series*. Such characteristics as individualism and consumerism might be seen as jeopardizing the attempt to mobilize people and were therefore deleted.

What does the ideology of modernization serve? It serves the policy of building the Thai nation-state to become a strong one in order to resist external and

internal threats. The building of the Thai nation-state was presented by Baker and Phongpaichit (2014) as the interplay of two political traditions: the tradition of a strong state and the tradition of a strong society. During the reign of King Chulalongkorn, the tradition of a strong state was embodied in the absolute monarchy that was justified by the quest for modernity to protect Siam from Western colonization and internal disorder. This tradition upheld that the monarchy and elitists deserved their right to power because they were the most civilized individuals in the country, and it demanded that the people be unified and obedient for the sake of a national identity. On the other hand, there emerged the tradition of a strong society in the late 19th century, which was supported by commoner intellectuals. This tradition opposed the authority of the monarchy and elitists, arguing for the implementation of the rule of law and the empowerment of the people.

Some might think that it is not surprising to see the presence of modernization in *Ladder of Knowledge Series* because it is generally known that King Chulalongkorn pursued modernization policies. Indeed, this is unsurprising. However, what makes the findings significant is that they confirm that modernization was not merely a policy on paper, but it was also actually passed down, and it penetrated the English classrooms of Rajakumara College and, later, the classrooms of government schools. This confirms that the ideology was completely manipulated by the authorities to make it hegemonic. Despite being written by a British, the series was under tight control.

In fact, when looking back in history, we can see that at the time Sir Robert L. Morant wrote the series, Prince Damrong, the king's brother, was in charge of the Education Department; therefore, he was influential in directing and administering the educational system of the country. For instance, Prince Damrong ordered that only students who could pass *prayok 1* of the Thai curriculum be taught English part-time, and only those who could pass *prayok 2* be taught English full-time (Wyatt, 1994; Theeraeak, 2014). Wyatt (1969) argues that Prince Damrong and Morant worked cooperatively to improve English teaching in the country. According to Wyatt (1969),

Because control over his activities fell partly to Prince Damrong, and because of the natural affinity between his work and Damrong's efforts to

improve secondary education in general and English education in particular, he soon attained public recognition as the Prince's able assistant, and devoted his efforts to the improvement of the standard of English instruction through the drafting of a code of English examination standards, issued in 1891, and the writing of his Ladder of Knowledge Series of textbooks for teaching English to Thai schoolboys. (p. 136)

Morant wrote the series in English, but it appeared that explanations and translation into Thai were provided throughout the series. For example, in the preface of Volume 4 printed in 1891, Morant expressed his thanks to "Luang Tay Sar of H.M.'s Survey Department in his assistance in the Siamese version of the explanations and exercises throughout this book" (Morant, 1891a, p. xxi). Similarly, Morant expressed his gratitude to Prince Vajiranana, another brother of the king, in the preface of Volume 5 dated 1894. As he put it, "The Priest-Prince has been kind enough to give the Author numerous hints and suggestions, as to the particular points in English Composition which the Siamese Student of English is apt to find most difficult; besides devoting a portion of his limited leisure to composing the Siamese versions required in some of the Exercises, in such a style as will be suitable to the particular requirements of this book..." (Morant, 1902, pp. xi-xii). In addition, Morant expressed his gratitude to Prince Damrong for his translation of the preface of Volume 1 (Morant, 1915, p. 12). As a result, the series must have been checked, edited, and approved before its publication, and the ideology of modernization can be expected from the series.

8.2.2 Nationalism

What is dominant in *Direct Method Reader* is the ideology of nationalism. The series constructs this ideology by means of intertextuality. That is, stories about Thai kings and queens fighting the Burmese are incorporated into the series. In particular, the stories of three kings, King Ramkhamhaeng, King Naresuan, and King Taksin, defeating the Burmese are important. The stories start with Thai people living in a peaceful land. One day, the Burmese invaded them. Therefore, all Thais had to unite and fight the invaders under the leadership of Thai kings. Finally, the Thais won. All of the kings were then glorified as heroes who saved Thailand, which was portrayed as a victim being invaded by evil foreigners. The key linguistic features utilized in the

stories include the use of the pronouns “we” and “they” to differentiate Thais from the Burmese and the use of modalities, such as “must,” to rouse nationalism. The conflicts that led to the battles between the two countries are deleted, whereas the Burmese action of burning Thai cities and killing Thais are emphasized. Metaphor is also used to justify the role of soldiers as the defenders of the country.

The ideology serves the military ruling elites. Looking at the political condition, we can see that *Direct Method Reader* was written several years after the Revolution of 1932 when Thailand was experiencing a political transformation from an absolute monarchy to a constitutional monarchy. It was not a smooth transformation of political power, as members of the People’s Party were divided into factions. At that time, fascist leaders were particularly influential around the world, and there were growing movements of nationalism worldwide during the years prior to World War II (1939–1945). As Field Marshal Plaek Phibun Songkhram rose to power and began to adopt fascist doctrines, Pridi Phanomyong, the leader of the civilian faction of the People’s Party, believed in liberal democracies, hence leading to the rivalry between the two (Reynolds, 2004). Their rivalry included Phibun’s advocacy for Japanese militaristic policies vis-a-vis Pridi’s anti-Japanese network. It was Phibun who took power in 1938, and his first regime lasted until 1944. Phibun exercised his power to build a new nation (Wyatt, 1982). The new nation was meant to be a modernized one widely accepted by the world community.

Influenced by fascism, Phibun implemented policies, such as changing the name of Siam to Thailand in 1939. In the same year, he issued a series of cultural mandates (*ratthaniyom*). One issue in *ratthaniyom* was related to the concept of *siwilai* or civilization, as Phibun desired to change the image of the country in the eyes of foreigners from a barbaric to a civilized one. To become civilized, Thais had to, for example, eat with spoons and forks, follow dress codes and wear hats when going out, and do everyday activities according to schedule (Phongpaichit & Baker, 2005). In addition, they had to know the new national anthem and salute the national flag in public areas. Phibun also ran an anti-Chinese campaign to arouse economic nationalism. For instance, he encouraged Thais to buy Thai products in order to destroy

the Chinese market share. He also arrested Chinese businessmen, controlled Chinese schools, and banned Chinese newspapers.

When the Cold War began, after the defeat of Pridi who was labelled a communist, Phibun rose back to power as the prime minister and continued his nationalistic policies. He formed the National Culture Council in 1948 and assigned his ally, Luang Wichit Wathakan, to write a number of plays, songs, and books in order to imbibe nationalism in people's hearts (Phongpaicht & Baker, 2005). School children must have been inculcated with Wichit's work. For example, as reported by Wisaphrom (2016), a *prathom* 3 student addressed a speech about the people's freedom written by his school principal. The speech ended with the song "Tuen toed chao thai" ("Wake Up, Thais!"), which was composed by Wichit. Under Phibun's second regime (1948–1957), Phibun and Wichit attempted to promote the monarchy and Buddhism as the hearts of being Thai (*huajaikhwampenthai*) (Sattayanurak, 2014). In particular, he tried to govern the country according to the paternalistic form of kingship and to elevate himself as a supporter of Buddhism (Connors, 2005).

During the Cold War, Phibun turned to the United States, the world power at the time. First, he needed the United States to curb the spread of communism. Second, he hoped to ask for American financial and military aid. The United States then became the protector of Thailand. Under American influence, the capitalist economy was promoted, and America poured about two billion dollars into Thailand (Phongpaichit & Baker, 2005). Field Marshal Sarit Thanarat ousted Phibun in 1958. Under Sarit's regime (1958–1963), the first five-year development plan was launched to put forward economic, educational, and administrative development. From the late 1950s, it was reported that the Thai economy grew by 7% per year (Phongpaichit & Baker, 2005). The growth was based on export and manufacturing industries, as well as flows of foreign investments. While inculcating the idea of development in the Thai people, Sarit's regime simultaneously tried to win the people's support by using monarchy and Buddhism. For example, the regime restored royal rituals and ceremonies, as well as Buddhist holidays. As contended by Connors (2005), "Neo-traditionalist notions of subject-hood were promoted through the rehabilitation of the king, thus displacing earlier notions of modern citizenship based on popular sovereignty" (p. 529).

Amidst these political conditions, *Direct Method Reader* was written by the representative of the Thai state, M. L. Manich Jumsai, who worked for the Ministry of Public Instruction (later known as the Ministry of Education). The writing of the series is linked with the discourse in the National Education Schemes of 1933 and 1936. Both schemes provided three kinds of knowledge, namely, intellectual education, moral education, and physical education, aiming to produce a citizen who could not only pursue a suitable career but also serve society as a member of a democratic country (Ministry of Education, 1976). To reach this aim, schools were mandated to include studies about morality, civics, legal rights, and duties concerning daily life, the defense of the country, military and police affairs, and health and hygiene (Ministry of Education, 1976). As can be seen, the defense of the country is an important issue that students need to be exposed to.

In my view, if the ideology of nationalism is presented in social studies or history textbooks, it is understandable. Such textbooks are supposed to teach students about the concepts of nation and citizenship and to inculcate pride in and loyalty to the nation. However, the fact that nationalism is conveyed substantially in English textbooks, such as this one, is quite unexpected. As English textbooks are designed to teach English, it does not make sense as to why the Thai author needs to insert many nationalist stories and pictures in the content of the textbooks.

Given that *Direct Method Reader* is filled with nationalist stories and pictures, it can be argued that the series is one of the nationalist propagandas attempting to build pride in Thainess. In fact, the writer was very straightforward about this. He stated in the preface of the first volume that he wanted to write an English book that was suitable for Thai students. Although the textbooks written by foreigners were good, they were, in his view, too expensive and were not suitable for Thai students. Thus, according to the writer, *Direct Method Reader* “is aimed to suit Thai students. That is, it features the things Thai students must know, see, and communicate every day. It does not talk about an apple, a pound, or a penny, but it talks about the school, house, address, fruits, and stories of Thais” (Jumsai, 1939, p. A). As a result, the series contains various stories about Thailand and the Thai people.

What is clearly shown from the writer’s statement is that Thainess was what he aimed for. According to Connors (2005), Thainess has been the central ideology of

Thai ruling elites, including Phibun, with an intention to produce citizens who can identify with the nation-state and be mobilized for productive purposes. In his own words,

Thai-ness is shaped by its association with hegemonic projects of nation building by Thai elites. It aims to call forth loyalty and commitment to the nation, to ensure identity between people and the nation, and to provide a common political language that excludes nonbelievers. Conceived thus, the politics of Thai-ness is a political process of giving meaning to things. Cultural hegemony has been attained when a large section of the population comes to interpret life, relations, politics, and identity through the prism of Thai-ness. Marginalized and dissident elements that withstand the lure of propagated identity, often find, as Gramsci warned, that behind hegemony lies the armor of coercion. (Connors, 2005, p. 525)

In fact, Gramsci (1971) maintains that hegemony is not only about force but also about consent. Presenting nationalist stories in textbooks is a way to make students accept the power of the state by consent. If students can identify themselves with the Thai state by absorbing these nationalist stories, it will be easier for the state to mobilize them.

8.2.3 Consumerism

The dominant ideology in *English is Fun* is consumerism. The ideology is naturalized into several stories, as well as in the name of the series. The most important of these stories is about a Thai boy receiving a tip from an American woman after helping the woman find her bag. Both the boy and the American woman are on the bus. The woman cannot find her bag, and it is the boy who helps her. As such, the woman gives him 20 baht as a tip. Upon receiving the tip, the boy is so happy that he exclaims, “English is fun.” The series states briefly in the preface that the writers wish that the students would have fun talking in English by using this series in class. A look at such a short statement in the preface indicates that “fun” chimes in with the Thai culture of *sanook* (fun). By equating English with the concept of *sanook*, the series emphasizes that English is not boring and can probably motivate young children into exploring the language more. Yet, looking at this particular story, I think that “fun” does not merely

mean *sanook*. Instead, English is fun probably because it can help Thai people in making money and living a comfortable life in the modern world.

Similar to other countries' case, the achievement of economic prosperity is a main reason contributing to the spread of English in Thailand. According to McKay (2003), many Thais view that English can help them achieve their present and future career goals. For example, English proficiency is a required skill for high-paying jobs. Furthermore, English proficiency provides them with opportunities to gain technical and business information, which may bring economic rewards. Therefore, the intrinsic instrumental motivation to learn English among Thais is high. In a similar vein, Methitham and Chamcharatsri (2011) state that English became the preferred first foreign language, especially in tourist-related enterprises and joint-venture factories and companies, because of the fast growth in tourism and foreign investment in Thailand in the 1980s. The economic value of English has made the Thai government promote English in the country. In *English is Fun*, as illustrated above, the economic benefit of studying English is promoted.

The ideology of consumerism, as well as the economic benefit of studying English, is shaped by the sociocultural condition of Thailand. During the 1960s, Thailand experienced dramatic changes in its economy. Phongpaichit and Baker (1998) report that the Thai economy grew substantially with the rise of foreign investment and the increase in agricultural exports. Economic management became less successful in the 1970s when the country experienced its first oil crisis; the growth of agricultural exports slowed down, and aid and loans from the United States were cut off as the Americans left Indochina. After 1975, the country's foreign debt grew rapidly, and this became critical when the second oil price hike occurred. In the late 1970s and the early 1980s, the Thai economy slowed down before it slumped into a recession in 1984–1985. However, after 1985, the country managed to make its economy return to rapid growth when there were changes in the international economic scene. From the 1980s, the outward tradition of the business community changed the Thai economy. As Phongpaichit and Baker (1998) put it, "In just fifteen years, the economy's main export emphasis moved from crops; to services; to labour-intensive manufactures; to medium-tech manufactures. Local firms rode this roller-coaster by saving and investing more; by securing overseas technology through purchase or partnership; by importing skills;

and by supplementing capital from world financial markets” (p. 313). What we can see here is the increasing integration of the Thai economy into the world economy.

Phongpaichit and Baker (1998) also report that as the economy grew, urban areas expanded, making people move from the countryside to the city to become laborers. At the same time, the middle class rose in number because of the rising needs of the business sector. Given the expansion in the media and communication channels, Thai people consumed TV and radio programs, including news, dramas, and songs from around the world. This led to the reinterpretation of Thainess in the modern world. As Phongpaichit and Baker (1998) contend, the definition of Thai culture as something traditional and classic, as a blend of “the royal and rural, the arts of the court and the folklore of the villages, the lineaments of a peasant society ruled by a monarchy” (pp. 176-177), was questioned more and more by Thais who lived a new urban lifestyle. Such a definition, formalized by the National Identity Office in the late 1970s and early 1980s, seemed irrelevant to their lifestyles.

Overall, Thailand’s rapid economic growth led to the absorption of a consumerist and materialist way of life in which goods consumption and material possessions became economically desirable. In this sense, the discourse on social harmony that gives importance to such traits as self-sacrifice, mercy, generosity, social bonding, and reconciliation seems to have become less relevant to the lives of some people. What is more important to them is the value of competitiveness to strive for money and assets. This capitalist discourse is a dominant one in *English is Fun*, which is similar to that in many other textbooks produced for commercial purposes. Gray (2010) argues that modern commercial textbooks display an ideology of individualism that operates within the world of work. Under this framework, textbook characters “are not affected by personal, financial or social constraints of any kind” (Gray, 2010, p. 725). Rather, they have the freedom to “exercise choice within consumer society which indexes social status, and in such a society, typified by the aestheticization of ever more aspects of human activity and experience, work is increasingly evaluated in terms of its glamor, sensation or fulfillment potential” (Gray, 2010, p. 725). Therefore, in his view, textbook characters are very passionate about and committed to their careers, which they believe can bring them satisfaction, wealth, and success in life.

8.2.4 Globalization

The ideology of globalization is dominant in *Projects*. It aims to prepare young Thai students in becoming global citizens who are aware of global issues, who cherish the concepts of democracy, equality, human rights, and cultural diversity, and who possess up-to-date technological knowhow. For instance, the child characters in the series have multi-color hair and are ethnically and racially unrecognizable in many contexts. Moreover, there are scenes where the contexts cannot be identified. In other words, such contexts could be anywhere, not merely in a particular country. Furthermore, the series features problems that the global community is encountering, especially environmental degradation. These problems are not portrayed as specific to one particular country; rather they are considered problems at the global level, affecting the lives of all people, in general. In addition, the series portrays the cultures of various religious and ethnic groups of people to enable students to understand the cultural diversity of the global society (See Table 8.8). This portrayal of various cultures is in accordance with the increasingly recognized status of English as an international means of communication in the world during the era of globalization.

Table 8.8 Words that show various cultures

<i>Festival</i>	<i>Food</i>	<i>Place</i>	<i>Others</i>
Ramadan, Hari Raya, Christmas, Easter, Kodomo-no-Hi, Loy Krathong, Khao Phansa Day, Songkran Day	Sateh, Biryani, Sushi, Tempura, Baozi, Dim Sum, Pad Thai, Tom Yum Kung, pizza, hot dog	Statue of Liberty, Jurong Bird Park, Mt. Fuji, Schwedagon Pagoda, Ko Samet	Batik, Shinkansen

As mentioned earlier, Lao (2015) argues that modernization has been a main motivation for policy elites in Thailand. At the start of the 21st century, however, the notion of modernization was replaced by that of globalization. Thailand's economy has structurally grown since the 1960s with foreign investment, export-led manufacturing, and services. This led to an increasing interconnectedness of the global economy marked especially by the free flow of capital and free trade. The rapid pace of the globalizing capitalist economy, combined with the advancement of

communication technologies, has accelerated the transnational connection of culture, which cuts across the boundaries of nation-states. The Internet, in particular, has made Thai people connected with the global community with a mouse click.

The state policy motivated by globalization can be seen in the Basic Education Curriculum of 2001 and the Basic Education Core Curriculum of 2008. Both curricula focus on the following four learning areas for foreign languages: language for communication, language and culture, language and relationship with other learning areas, and language and relationship with the community and the world (Ministry of Education, 2001; 2008). What reflects the policy is the second and fourth learning areas. Briefly, the second learning area expects students to use foreign languages as a way to convey their own culture to others and to understand the cultures of other people. The fourth learning area aims to prepare students for further education and a livelihood within the global society.

That globalization is a main motivation for Thai policy elites is not unique to Thailand. From the 1990s, globalization has often been mentioned in Asian government policies as a major driving philosophy for education. English education is then emphasized as a communicative tool to ensure individual success, as well as “the nation’s edge in the global competition” (Sung, 2012, p. 26). Cha and Ham (2011), in their research about the adoption of English, contend that English is globally adopted so as to build “collective identities that empower future citizens in global society” (Cha and Ham, 2011, p. 10). The spread of English is due more to the expansion of a transnational civil network that empowers individuals to meet global demands and challenges than to economic survival in global competition. In this sense, English has become an important tool that the nation-state uses to develop individuals as global citizens (Sung, 2012).

Despite having become a new focus for Thai policy elites, globalization has been received differently. According to Phongpaichit and Baker (2014), the strong state political tradition in Thailand saw globalization as an external threat and hence legitimized itself by taking a role in overcoming the threat of globalization. On the other hand, the liberal stand of the strong society political tradition adopted the discourse of globalization as a means to promote democracy, civil society, and human rights. This liberal strand was advocated by the urban middle class and the business sectors, but it

was condemned by the state as “not being Thai.” The localist strand of the strong society tradition, supported by non-government organizations, social activists, and academics, strategically cooperated with the liberal strand to challenge the domination of the state. The localist strand emphasized local wisdom and community culture and sought for a more egalitarian society through self-reliance and moderation. Despite some oppositions, *Projects* shows that global citizenship is what the Thai state has trained its students to become since the early 2000s.

8.2.5 Morality and discipline

Morality and discipline are an important ideology in operation for all four series of textbooks. These textbooks have different ways of constructing such an ideology. *Ladder of Knowledge Series* and *Direct Method Reader* mainly use command sentences and declarative sentences, especially with modality expressing obligation. This means that the two series are straightforward in inculcating morality and discipline. By contrast, the two newer series subtly hide ideology. That is, *English is Fun* uses stories, whereas *Projects* uses stories, songs, chants, and poems with voices of animals and repetitive words. Students have to assume from what they read what the moral message is. This suggests that these two series do not want to make the teaching of morality and discipline obvious. This might probably be due to the changing approach in teaching English from a teacher-centered one to a more student-centered one that promotes greater inductive learning. In addition, using stories, songs, chants, and poems, as well as multivoicedness, can disguise the seriousness and formality of the teaching, thereby making it appear natural and easier to accept.

Despite using different strategies, all textbooks discuss the same thing: the proper roles and duties of children. They emphasize that good children must know their duty and perform their duty effectively in order to live harmoniously with others, which is a core value to build the ideal community, as discussed by Mulder (1997) and Eoseewong (2004). For example, children must go to school every day. At school, they must study hard and do the activities directed by the teacher. They must not talk or play in class. When at home, they must do their homework and help their parents with the housework. In addition, children must behave according to the moral standards set by their family and school. For instance, they must obey their parents and teachers and

treat them with high respect. All kinds of misbehaviors, such as being rude, naughty, stubborn, disobedient, lazy, and so on, will usually result in not only punishment but also chaos and conflicts, which will in turn lead to the instability of the family, school, community, and nation.

If we examine the national education schemes and curricula, we can see that morality and discipline are one of the main goals of Thai education. For example, the first Education Draft Law of 1892 states briefly that students are to be taught about Buddhist virtues. The National Education Schemes of 1933 and 1936 provide moral education as one of the three types of knowledge that should be taught to students. The 1978 Primary School Curriculum aims to produce disciplined, responsible, merciful, cooperative, industrious, and hardworking students. The goals of both the Basic Education Curriculum of 2001 and the Basic Education Core Curriculum of 2008 include upholding morality, ethics, and the values of their own religions, having self-discipline, being aware of their duties as Thai citizens, and dedicating themselves to public service.

These four series of textbooks moralize and discipline students to live harmoniously in a hierarchical society. Thus, they serve the state policy of building a unified nation where the people recognize the central administration as the preserver of harmony and discipline. Mulder (1997) states that the school serves the purposes of nation-building. Therefore, the mandate of the school is to produce morally good people because such people contribute to a peaceful, harmonious, and prosperous nation. In fact, moral principles, such as obedience, tolerance, diligence, and perseverance, are first taught at home by parents. The school has the duty to add the values of self-discipline, self-mastery, sound reasoning, respect for rules, and obtaining knowledge (Mulder, 1997). Within this representation, Mulder (1997) argues that there is no place for bad behaviors, such as laziness, disobedience, quarrels, extravagant spending, drinking, smoking, or gambling. In a similar vein, Eoseewong (2004) argues that the creation of a nation and nationalism is sustained by Thai education. He reasons that Thai students are taught through Thai and social studies textbooks to think of the Thai nation as a peaceful and harmonious village. In the village, everyone strives for unity; there is no social segmentation. Everyone knows his/her duty and tries his/her best to

contribute to society. By comparing a nation to a village, Eoseewong concludes that the Thai state can present in an idealistic way the means in which the nation should be built.

Why does the ideology of morality and discipline coexist with other ideologies in all four series? This co-existence occurs because morality and discipline can be a major tool for national unification, as mentioned earlier. By inculcating morality and discipline (e.g. obedience, reconciliation, respect for elders, filial piety) in students, the state can easily control the behavior of the people and orient them to a direction that is in favor of the state. However, that the ideology of morality and discipline coexists with other ideologies, especially modernization, consumerism, and globalization, can also be considered a counter-balance to these ideologies. That is, morality and discipline serve as a tool to maintain Thainess (including Thai cultural roots and values, such as the hierarchical system and kinship relations) for fear that it would be corrupted and degraded by the modernizing forces that come with the Western model, the increasing consumerist and materialist ways of life, or the intensification of penetrating global cultures.

8.3 Chapter summary

In this chapter, I have argued that these series of textbooks bring aged, raced, classed, and gendered identities into the classroom. The first two series prioritize adult characters, Siamese/Thai characters, elite characters, and male characters in the representations. By contrast, child characters, foreign characters, middle-class characters, and female characters become increasingly important in the last two series. The construction of character identities is a matter of power of some groups over others. I have also argued that the dominant ideologies in the textbooks have changed from the first series to the last ones from modernization, nationalism, and consumerism to globalization. However, there is one ideology that has never changed through time—the ideology of morality and discipline. The construction of these ideologies serves to justify and maintain the power of the Thai state.

CHAPTER 9

CONCLUSION

This chapter describes the conclusion, limitations, and implications of the research study.

9.1 Conclusion

This research study attempted to provide a critical analysis of English textbooks for Thai beginners in order to assess how dominant linguistic and cultural ideologies are discursively reproduced and naturalized into legitimate knowledge in the textbooks in the Thai context. The objectives of the study were twofold: 1) to examine the identities of the characters represented in the textbooks, and 2) to examine the ideologies embedded in the content of the textbooks and how these ideologies are constructed in the Thai context.

The textbooks under examination were four series: *Ladder of Knowledge Series*, *Direct Method Reader for Thai Students*, *English is Fun: A Beginning Course for Thai Students*, and *Projects: Play and Learn*. They were from four different eras: the late 19th century, the 1930s, the 1980s, and the 2000s, respectively. They were analyzed using the theoretical frameworks of CDA. The methods employed for data analysis included analyzing the content, language features, and visual images.

Regarding the first objective, findings revealed that the identities of the characters have changed over time and correspond to the ideologies at play in each of the four series of textbooks. It was found that the child characters in *Ladder of Knowledge Series* and *Direct Method Reader* tend to be Siamese/Thai boys from elite families, while those in *English is Fun* and *Projects* tend to be Thai and foreign boys and girls from middle-class backgrounds. Parents and teachers are important adult characters in all the series. Other than parents and teachers, *Ladder of Knowledge Series* and *Direct Method Reader* tend to prioritize adult characters of the elite class, including kings and government officials, over adults of other social classes. Both series also tend to prioritize Siamese/Thai adults over foreign ones and male adults over female ones.

By contrast, the other two series tend to portray both male and female adult characters in the workforce whose racial identity is not limited to Thai.

Regarding the second objective, findings revealed that multiple ideologies operate in all of the four series of textbooks. However, the most dominant ideology in *Ladder of Knowledge Series* is modernization. The series introduces students to the concept of modernization in order to prepare them as subjects and shapers of social and economic change during a time when Siam was vulnerable to colonial threats. In *Direct Method Reader*, nationalism is the most dominant ideology at play. The series aims to promote nationalism, especially through the story of royal national salvation, to serve the militant ruling elites for the purpose of nation-building. The ideology of consumerism is dominant in *English is Fun*, which is meant to expose students to the changing Thai economy as it becomes more market-led and internationally connected. As for *Projects*, the ideology of globalization serves to prepare students to become global citizens who are aware of global issues, honor the concepts of democracy, equality, human rights, and cultural diversity, and possess up-to-date technological savvy. The ideology that has persisted throughout all four series is that of morality and discipline. These four series provide moral instruction and discipline to guide students to live harmoniously in a hierarchical society. They thereby serve the state policy of building a unified nation where the people recognize the central administration as the preserver of harmony and discipline.

9.2 Limitations

The limitations of this study were as follows:

9.2.1 Researcher's voice

This study privileged the researcher's voice as essential in interpreting the data. Although I tried to validate the data through peer-reviewing, this study was, still, inevitably biased, as it was shaped by my cultural background and experiences. In addition, this study did not attempt to seek the perspectives of the textbook users—teachers and students—in receiving the ideologies. Therefore, it was impossible to know how and the extent to which the ideologies embedded in the textbooks were successfully transmitted to them.

9.2.2 Accessibility of data

Access to textbook samples was another major limitation of this study. Due to the temporary closure of the most important library that provided the most complete textbook collection, I could not find some textbook samples as expected. Moreover, I could not find the original versions of textbooks and had to use later versions for analysis. Some versions were not published during the period they were originally used. For instance, Volume 3 of *Ladder of Knowledge Series* that I analyzed was published in the reign of King Vajiravudh despite originally being published in the reign of King Chulalongkorn. Volume 3 of *Direct Method Reader* that I analyzed was published under Sarit's regime, despite a record indicating that this volume had been used long before that (during Phibun's regime).

9.2.3 Representativeness of textbooks

The textbooks under examination were four series that were selected for the reasons stated in Chapter 3. In reality, a variety of English textbooks have been used in Thai schools; they are produced by both the Thai state and local and international publishing companies. Therefore, in terms of representativeness, these four series only represented the group of state-produced textbooks. They could not represent the other groups of textbooks, namely the commercial ones produced locally and internationally.

9.2.4 Defining concepts

The concepts of modernization, nationalism, consumerism, globalization, and morality are broad and thus subject to various interpretations, as shown in Chapter 2. The findings of this study revealed that the ideologies of morality and discipline have been reproduced from the first series of textbook to the fourth series. Still, it must be realized that the concepts of morality and discipline might differ by era. It was beyond the scope of this study to explore how such concepts have been developed and defined in detail over the decades. Instead, this study defined these concepts in Chapter 1 and used the definitions to analyze all four series of textbooks.

9.2.5 Language features

Since the textbooks under examination were designed for Thai beginners, the language features found in the textbooks were less complex than those in higher levels of textbook or in other kinds of documents analyzed by CDA scholars, such as policy texts, news and magazine articles, and political speech. Many language features

suggested by Fairclough (2003) were examined. However, the features that emerged frequently from the analysis were simple ones, especially pronouns and modality. It is possible to consider these features “superficial,” but this does not mean that these features reflected “superficial” ideas, beliefs, or values; in fact, those hidden in these features are complex and must be interpreted on a deep level.

9.2.6 Limitations of CDA

CDA has some limitations. A number of criticisms have been targeted at CDA. For instance, CDA is criticized by Widdowson (2002) as being by nature subjective and interpretative in its analysis. In terms of methodology, CDA is attacked by Pennycook (2010) as having “a strange mixture of theoretical eclecticism and unreflexive modernism” and lacking a central theory (p. 87). Also, Pennycook (2010) argues that textual analysis alone is merely a particular reading of a particular text. Despite these drawbacks, CDA is a useful tool in dismantling ideologies in textbooks since it proposes a mutual relationship between discourses and ideologies by uncovering the hidden and subtle meanings in the discourses.

9.2.7 Counting frequency

There is a limitation in counting the frequency for the representation of class and race. Class refers to a group of people in society who share the same economic and social positions. In contrast to the lower class, the elite are the people who have the highest position in society; the middle class refers to those in between. There are words in all four textbooks that can refer to the class to which each character belongs. For example, terms such as “king,” “servant,” and “merchant” refer to the elite class, the lower class, and the middle class, respectively. However, there are many cases in which the characters are referred to by pronouns alone, and, hence, their class must be assumed from a reading of the context. In particular, identifying who is in the middle class depends much on the context, and it can be understood by examining the characters’ daily lifestyle and consumption patterns. In terms of race, it refers to a group of people in society who share the same physical characteristics, language, or customs. In some cases, identifying the race of the characters is possible because of the naming of these characters and the occurrence of such words as “Thais” and “Burmese.” However, in other cases, determining one’s racial identity is difficult, especially when there are no words that denote specific names/races and when the context is not related to a specific

country. Therefore, in these textbooks, counting the frequency for the representation of class and race may not provide a complete picture of the representation.

9.3 Implications

The implications of this study are as follows:

9.3.1 Material writing

This study could have implications for textbook writers, publishers, and teachers in designing English materials, including textbooks and supplementary hand-outs. Since this study shows that the four series of textbooks contain multiple ideologies, textbook writers, publishers, and teachers should incorporate activities in the materials that would help develop students' critical-thinking skills. The activities should not impose a particular ideology on students but rather should expose them to various beliefs, ideas, and values representing various ideologies in order to encourage students to explore and make sense of the ideologies by themselves. Nonetheless, if it is necessary to impose a particular ideology, there should be critical-thinking activities that require students to learn how to evaluate the ideology. It is not the ideology itself that matters, but the process of evaluation that can help students become active users of textbooks.

In terms of language, publishers, textbook writers, and teachers should be more careful about language use in the materials. If language use is taken for granted, it may result in the inclusion of biased language. In particular, lexicalization should be paid attention to in order to avoid sexist or derogatory language. Not only language but also visual materials, such as illustrations and photos, should be carefully selected.

With regards to content, textbooks should incorporate a more variety of characters as well as the cultural content of different groups of people so as to reflect the actual diversity of society. English has become an international language and associated with multiple ownership (Kachru, 1987). English users for whom English is not their first language tend to be diverse in their cultural identities. This changing role of English should lead to the reappraisal of textbook authority. It can be seen from this study that the four series of textbooks represent mainly Thai and western cultures. There is little space for the presentation of other varieties of culture. Furthermore, the

textbooks seem to take the term “culture” for granted. To them, culture is merely portrayed through the array of objects; the definition of culture as a way of life is insufficiently portrayed. This portrayal of superficial and fragmentary cultural information may result in misinterpretation or misunderstanding of a particular culture and people associated with it.

Textbook writers, publishers, and teachers should be aware that English textbooks that concern themselves only with western cultures cannot prepare students for cross-cultural interactions in which students might be engaged in the future. Therefore, it is important that international cultural elements are incorporated into the textbooks and that students have the chance to reflect on them. As McKay (2002) suggests, “First, the materials should be used in such a way that students are encouraged to reflect on their own culture in relation to others, thus helping to establish a sphere of interculturality. Second, the diversity that exists within all cultures should be emphasized. And finally, cultural content should be critically examined so that students consider what assumptions are present in the text and in what other ways the topic could be discussed” (p. 100).

9.3.2 Teaching activities

This study could be useful for teachers in creating teaching activities that promote critical thinking. For example, teachers could conduct a reading class with a critical angle. In the class, teachers could not only ask students to read for the main idea or details but also have students discuss why a reading passage has been chosen for them to read, who is included/excluded in the passage, and what position of the passage writer is. In fact, in addition to the text, the visual materials, such as cartoons, posters, advertisements, signs, and photos, should also be used for discussion. A short discussion may serve as a warm-up activity. It could also be a longer discussion, such as at the end of the whole reading process.

In addition to discussion in class, students could also be asked to conduct independent reading outside class. In this respect, the independent reading activity could be combined with writing. After finishing a reading, students could reflect on it. The reflection could be guided by a checklist provided by the teacher. In the checklist, these questions may be included: 1) What is the author’s main point?; 2) What is the evidence for the author’s main point? How convincing is the evidence?; and 3) To what

extent has the author convinced me? (Barnet & Bedau, 2014, p. 186). The reflection may be combined as a portfolio that helps teachers track the students' development of critical thinking skills.

A more challenging activity could also be applied with relatively older students, such as university students. Students (in pairs or groups) could be asked to read a novel or fiction as a self-reading activity outside class. Students have to analyze the whole novel or piece of short fiction and, before the semester ends, present it to the class. To make it more fun, the presentation could be done in the form of role-play. For instance, students could pick one scene of the novel or short fiction and play the roles of the characters. The class may be asked to assess why such a scene was chosen and identify the message that the scene aims to deliver to the audience.

9.3.3 Teachers' awareness

This study could be useful in raising teachers' awareness about how textbooks are discursively constructed. This study highlights the fact that textbooks are partial because they present only one part of a story and reflect the ideologies of the writers and the state. It helps teachers see biases in the textbooks of the past and present and hence the limited role of textbooks. Teachers may come to realize that all discourses, including those in English textbooks, are subject to ideologies and should be understood only within a particular context. They could possibly detect, scrutinize, or dismantle ideologies using the critical approaches discussed in this research. By doing so, they may be able to provide their students with stimulating ideas that prompt them to learn to think critically. In other words, this study may encourage teachers to see themselves as the active users of textbooks. As Pennycook (1995) points out, teachers need to actively question, rather than blindly obey the authority of, textbook contents. When they find content that conveys stereotypes, they should develop counter-discourses in order to challenge them.

To raise teachers' awareness, it might be helpful if a teacher training session is conducted, especially for pre-service teachers. In the session, teachers can help one another evaluate the textbooks or materials used in their class. For instance, they can discuss the positioning of particular readings or textbooks as a whole and examine whether they contain any biased language or content. They can also brainstorm and map plans for dealing with such biases. If the process of adaptation of textbook

language or content is needed, they can also share their ideas, experiences, and techniques to make the textbooks less biased and more relevant and meaningful to students. In addition, it might be beneficial if a teacher who is more experienced with conducting critical-thinking activities could demonstrate how to effectively conduct such activities with the textbooks evaluated in the training session. This could help the less-experienced teachers gain a clearer picture of the use of critical approaches in the classroom.

9.3.4 Research

This study could be useful for researchers who use critical approaches in their work. In terms of representation, this study could be the basis for those who want to critically analyze the representation of specific groups of people in English textbooks and materials for Thai students. Such groups include marginalized people, such as non-native speakers of English, gay and lesbian people, and ethnic and religious minorities, such as Muslims. The analysis could reveal how these people are stereotyped and may lead to changes in their representations in textbooks and classroom materials.

Similarly, this study could form a basis for those who are interested in deeply investigating specific ideologies in English textbooks and materials. One ideology that has not yet been investigated in contemporary English textbooks and materials in Thailand is the ideology of English. As the concept of World Englishes is being discussed widely (e.g. Kirkpatrick, 2007; Jenkins, 2009; Snodin & Young, 2015), it is interesting to see how the ideology of English is presented and how it incorporates World Englishes. This analysis might lead to more understanding about the acquisition and promotion of World Englishes within Thailand's context. Moreover, this study could be useful for those who want to study the ideologies in English textbooks and materials of a higher level to see whether there is any continuity of ideology. It is also interesting to see whether textbooks of a higher level are more salient or incorporate more complex features. This analysis might contribute to the broad picture of how ideologies are constructed through the entire English education from primary to tertiary level.

9.4 Recommendations for further research

Further research should be conducted on the perspectives of the textbook users in receiving the ideologies. This study has shown that textbooks are sites where ideologies are constructed and reproduced, but it has not yet proven whether such ideologies could really be transmitted to the textbook users and how they are mediated. Thus, it is recommended that teachers and students who are textbook users be surveyed on their perceptions of the ideologies discerned in textbooks. Their perspectives would be useful for textbook writers to develop the learning materials to suit them.

In addition, since this study focused only on English textbooks produced by the Thai government, it might be useful if further research could be conducted on the study of the representation of characters and ideology in commercial textbooks produced by private publishing companies. This may help to understand whether the government and commercial textbooks contain the same ideology. More interestingly, this may also help to compare whether the commercial textbooks differ from the government textbooks in terms of production, such as editing processes and censorship. Even though the Ministry of Education must approve all textbooks before use, it might be possible that the degree of textbook inspection differs. In undertaking this kind of research, interviews with textbook writers and editors from both the Ministry of Education and publishing companies would be useful in illuminating the processes of textbook production in Thailand.

In addition, it is recommended that further research be conducted on critical policy analysis on education as a whole in Thailand. This research could be a multi-disciplinary endeavor, drawing on some findings from this study and studies from other fields, such as history, social sciences, and Thai linguistics. For instance, the ideologies found in the Thai language textbooks from the work of Sukwisith (2011), the ideologies found in the social studies textbooks from the works of Osatharom (2001), Kanjanasthiti (2001), Chumkran (2014), and Buakhamsri (2014), and the ideologies found in the English textbooks in this study can be compared so as to examine the development of the education policies of the Thai government through the decades. In addition to education policies as a whole, the findings in this study can also supplement the history research conducted by Teeraeak (2014) about English education policies during the reign of King Chulalongkorn. Teeraeak's research discusses little about

English textbooks; therefore, this study could be used by historians to develop a clearer picture of the king's policies on English education.

9.5 Chapter summary

This study concluded that the four series of textbooks under examination are sites where power relations exist, leading to the unequal construction and representation of the identities of characters and ideologies in the textbooks. Such construction and representation are inextricably linked to Thailand's social conditions that govern the processes of discursive events. Limitations of the study included the biased nature of the researcher, the lack of availability of the original versions of textbooks, the representativeness of textbook samples, the numerous definitions of some key concepts used in the study, the limited language features found in the textbooks, the inherent limitations of CDA, and the limitation in counting the frequency for the representation of class and race. In terms of implications, this study could be useful for encouraging textbook writers to be more careful about textbook content and language, promoting critical teaching activities in class, raising teachers' awareness about the prejudice of textbooks, and providing some information for other studies concerning identities and ideologies. It is recommended that further research be conducted on gaining the perspectives of textbook users and comparing and contrasting ideologies in commercial textbooks. Another kind of research may involve educational policy analysis, which can possibly draw on work from multi-disciplinary fields of study.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A
LADDER OF KNOWLEDGE SERIES

Ladder of Knowledge Series, Volume 4, Lesson 17

LESSON 17.

114. Let the teacher make sure, by questioning, that the pupils clearly understand about the Interrogative and the Relative.

115. Translate the following sentences into Siamese: saying whether there is an Interrogative or Relative in each case; and name the tense of the italicised verbs.

1. You must kill the dogs, which *come* into the garden.
2. The boy, who *gave* me this book, is the son of the farmer.
3. Who *told* you to shut the door?
4. Give 10 atts to the man, who carried my box.
5. I am now going to the house of the China-man, who *washes* my clothes.
6. You must light the lamps today: the servant, who *lights* them every day, is ill.
7. Do you *teach* all boys, who want to come to school?

Lesson 17.

105

8. Where is the box which the carpenter gave you yesterday?
9. We eat the honey, which the bees store up in their hives.
10. There are many boys in this school, who can speak English quite well.
11. Is there anyone in this room, who can speak Siamese?
12. Who knows if this boat goes to Singapore?
13. Put your books in the box, which is under my bed.
14. Any boy, who leaves the door open, must write out two pages of grammar.
15. Tell your sister to go to the market: and give her money to buy some food.
16. Give this book to the boy, who is sitting near the door.

14.

17. Who *lights* the lamps in this room every night?
18. The horse, which I *gave* to my sister, is very gentle.
19. Cats, which have white hair, generally *have* pink eyes.
20. What are those men *doing*, who are *sitting* on that box?
116. After writing this out in Siamese, the pupils should practise putting these sentences back from Siamese into English again, shutting this book. Plenty of viva voce practice is also of great value in sentences of this character.

APPENDIX B
DIRECT METHOD READER FOR THAI STUDENTS

Direct Method Reader for Thai Students, Volume 2, Lesson 15


65
LESSON 15.

Sang, come out here!
Show me your ears.
Show me your nose.
Show me your tongue.

(To the class) Whose tongue is this?
It is his tongue, sir.

Have you also a tongue?
Yes, I have a tongue.
Yes, I have.

right arm.



left arm.

Show me your arms.

Show me your arm.

Show me your right arm.

Show me your left arm.

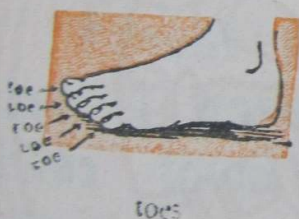
66

Where is your left hand?

Here it is, sir.

How many **fingers** are there on your left hand?

There are five fingers on my left hand and there are also five fingers on my right hand. I have ten fingers altogether.



I have also ten **toes**, five on my left foot and another five on my right foot. I have two feet.

Sawai, come out here.

Turn to the right.

Turn to the left.

Walk **to** the right window.

67

Go to the left window.
 Go to the front window.
 Go to the back window.
 Come to the front of the class.
 Go to the back of the class.
 Go back to your place.
 Stand up on your bench.

Siri, come out here!

Show me your ear!

Show me your ears!

Show me your neck!

Show me your eyes!

Show me your eye!



neck

Show me your right
leg.

Show me your left
leg.



He stands on
one leg | both legs.

68

Stand on one leg.

Stand on **both** legs.

Show me both ears.

Show me both hands.

Siri and Sang, come out here!

Siri, show me your **cheek**. Show me your cheeks!



cheek

chin

Siri, show me his **chin**.

Siri, show me your hair.

Siri, show me his **trousers**.

Sang, show me your

finger- **nails**.



nails

Siri, show me my books.

Siri, show me Sang's books.

APPENDIX C
ENGLISH IS FUN: A BEGINNING COURSE FOR THAI
STUDENTS

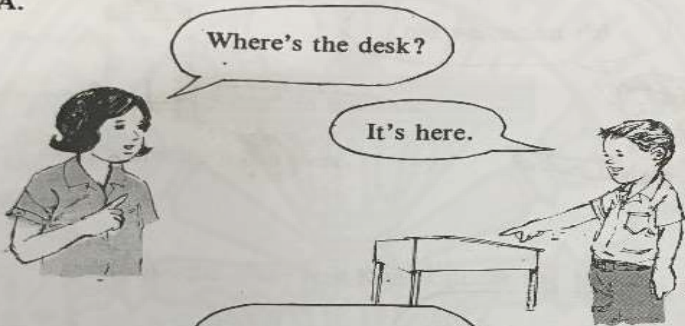
English is Fun: A beginning Course for Thai Students, Volume 2, Lesson 12

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
one	two	three	four	five	six	seven	eight	nine	ten

LESSON TWELVE

1. ฟังและพูด

A.



Where's the desk?

It's here.

(a) broom

(a) chair

(a) desk

(a) room


(a) table

where

in

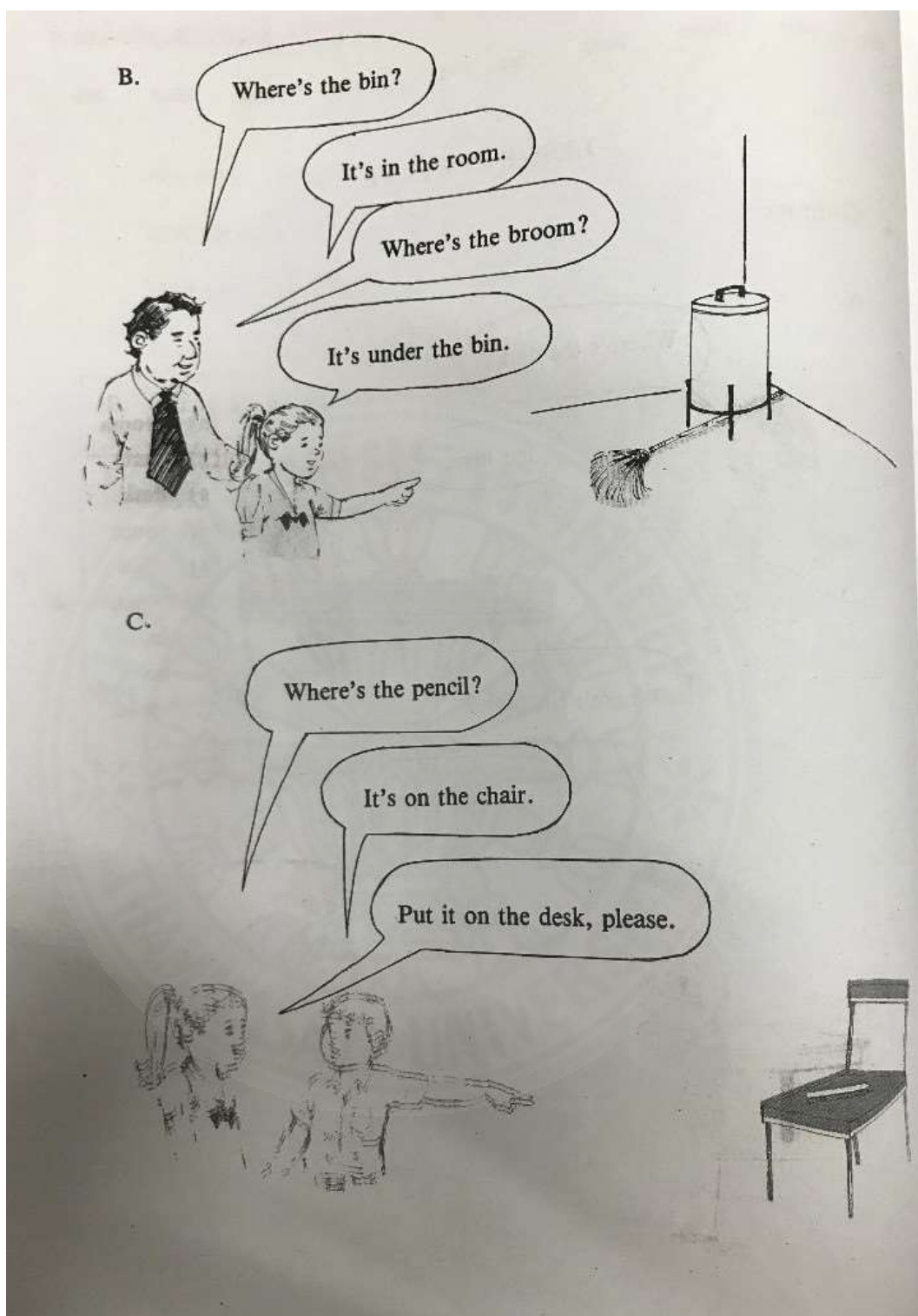
on

under



Where's the table?

It's over there.



2. อ่านในใจ ทำความเข้าใจเรื่อง ตอบคำถามท้ายเรื่อง อ่านออกเสียงและแสดง
บทบาทตามบทอ่าน

key
Oh !
now

Pam and Kim come to the room.

Pam and Kim go to the table.

A box is on the table.

A lock is on the box.

Pam and Kim put a key* in the lock.

Pam and Kim look in the box.

"Oh!*"

Now* Pam is on the chair and Kim is under the table.

What is in the box?

ขีดเส้นใต้คำที่จะเป็นคำตอบได้ และอธิบายเหตุผล

(a fox, a zebra, a rat, a book, a ring)

*(ให้นักเรียนเดาความหมายของ key, Oh ! และ now)

3. เขียนประโยคตามตัวอักษรที่โยงไว้ให้

T h i s i s a h u t .

T h e m a n i s a d .

A b u g i s u n d e r t h e b o x .

T h e j u g i s o n t h e m a t .

A f i s h i s i n a d i s h .

APPENDIX D

PROJECTS: PLAY AND LEARN

Projects: Play and Learn, Volume 2, Project 1A

PROJECT 1

Project 1A: My Book about Me (1)

1. Sing 'Greetings'. Listen, sing and act it out. 1 / songs

Your right hand says, Good morning.
Good morning to you.

Your left hand says,
Good morning.
Good morning to you.

*Your right hand says,
How are you?
How are you,
my dear?

Your left hand says,
I'm fine.
I'm fine. And you?

Your right hand says, Good afternoon.
Good afternoon to you.

Your left hand says, Good afternoon.
Good afternoon to you.

(Repeat*)

2

1 = Track ที่ 1 ของ CDเสียง ที่แนบท้าย Teacher's Book

songs = เพลงได้หัวข้อ songs ของ CD-ROMภาพและเสียง ที่แนบท้าย Student's Book

MYSELF



Your right hand says, *Good evening.*
Good evening to you.



Your left hand says, *Good evening.*
Good evening to you.

(Repeat*)

Then do Activity 1 in your Activity Book.




2. Play 'Good Morning Game'. Throw a ball to a friend and say...



PROJECT 1

3. Make 'My Book about Me' (1).

Draw and cut Worksheet 1.1 in your Activity Book.


Put your work on the board. Vote for your friends.

4. Show your feelings about Project 1A. Do Activity 2 in your Activity Book and say...



Now I can...

- sing 'Greetings'...
- make 'My Book about Me'...



very well. O.K. but not so well.

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