
GENDER BIASES REPRESENTED IN MALAYSIAN AND THAI NATIONAL LANGUAGE TEXTBOOKS FOR PRIMARY SCHOOLS

*Pitchayada Mekhirunsiri**1

Universiti Malaya, Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia
Chulalongkorn University, Thailand
Pitchayada.M@chula.ac.th

*Mala Rajo Sathian*²

Universiti Malaya, Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia
malarajo@um.edu.my

ABSTRACT

This paper examines gender representations in language textbooks in Malaysia (*Buku Teks Bahasa Melayu*) and Thailand (*Bhasapatee Chan Prathom Suksa*) used at the primary school level, years 1–6. Despite their declared aims of teaching language skills, moral values and critical thinking, both textbooks embed gender biases shaped by their respective social and cultural contexts. We compared these textbooks qualitatively using discursive analytical techniques, and quantitatively by counting and categorizing the number of occurrences of biases. The comparison revealed both similarities and differences in how gender roles and stereotypes are presented. We found multiple instances supporting our assertion that both textbooks are gender-biased in many ways.

Keywords: *language textbooks, Malaysia, Thailand, gender representations, gender bias*

INTRODUCTION

We analysed and compared representations of gender bias in the primary school national language textbooks in Thailand and Malaysia. Furthermore, we used discursive analytic techniques to examine social and cultural context providing insight into how they influence the way gender roles are depicted.

Malaysia and Thailand have both instituted laws requiring education to be mandatory for the first six and nine years respectively. During this compulsory period children in public school are required to study their national languages using textbooks endorsed by the state. The composition and structure of these textbooks are overseen by state selected commissions. For Malaysia, it is the *Dewan Bahasa Dan Pustaka* (DBP), whereas Thailand has the *Sammakngan*

khana kammakan kansuksa khan puenthan (Office of the Basic Education Commission, or OBEC), *Krasuang suksa thikan* (Ministry of Education). These agencies choose authors, provide them with subject matter, closely monitor their efforts, then endorse the final product with the official stamps and seals of the national educational ministerial units. The process is rigorous and lends them the respectability these books need to be socially and nationally accepted as reliable and *true* sources of knowledge. The main aim of both language textbooks is to teach children the four basic communication skills of listening, speaking, reading and writing. This is clearly stated in the preface of the Thai language textbook, *Bhasapatee* (BP 2, 2016, preface) and the introduction to the *Buku Teks Bahasa Melayu* (BM 2, 2013, introduction).

Students and the public rely on these texts to represent a true perspective on the social realm surrounding them and the standards of the language they are learning. Many people, though, parents and students among them, do not realize that they contain additional ideas concealed within the words, texts and images. Deeply intertwined with this supplementary messaging is the very significant fact that although a single compulsory national language is being taught country-wide, both nation's demographics are fractured by multiple large and small non-national language native speaking populations – along with their attendant cultural differences. However, that is not to say the countries are mirror images of each other, since both population, linguistic, and cultural compositions are quite distinct. Yet a core principle is characteristic of both: they each have a majority-imposed standardized central language which aims to bind together many disparate language-speakers. Although within the national language teaching materials, we have also found many other kinds of biases related to age, social status, nation, monarchy, religion, wealth, culture, etc., this paper focuses specifically on gender biases of these compulsory centralised language textbooks as they are presented in the stories and images.

LITERATURE REVIEW: OTHER GENDER-THEMED STUDIES ON TEXTBOOKS

A study named “Rethinking Schooling for the 21st Century: The State of Education for Peace, Sustainable Development, and Global Citizenship in Asia” by UNESCO done by the Mahatma Gandhi Institute of Education for Peace and Sustainable Development (MGIEPSD), discovered that in 22 Asian countries, textbooks emphasised a chauvinistic curriculum for the purpose of forming national identity. This study emphasised that “curricula in many Asian countries uncritically endorse strongly ethno-nationalist identities, often effectively reducing minorities or migrants to second-class status” (Aranya Shankar, 2018). It also found that concepts like gender equality and global citizenship are lacking within the national educational policies these nations promulgate.

The literature on textbooks in Asia, particularly in Southeast Asia, stresses how these educational tools are crucial in influencing gender roles and identities. Regional governments often use textbooks to advance gender norms, impressing specific attitudes and expectations on their youth. This approach represents greater nation-building policies via reinforcing traditional gender roles.

The Evaluation of Textbooks and Supplementary Readers concerning the Role of Men and Women by Nisa Chutu et al (1996), and Saranya Akethammasut's thesis on ‘An Analysis of Gender Roles in Level 1 and 2 Thai Textbooks from the Basic Education Curriculum of BE 2544’ (Saranya Akethammasut, 2006) respectively, looked at genders in Thai textbooks, yet did

not discuss intrinsic gender biases; nor did they examine the power dynamics governing relationships between the sexes. These kinds of studies have thus far only zeroed in on activities and social relations.

There is also a large body of research on Malaysian Social Science textbooks that relates to the present study. Generally, these researchers studied gender matters as portrayed in the written texts and illustrations of both English and Malay elementary reading textbooks.

Saedah Siraj discussed elementary grade 2 - 6 Malay language textbooks in 'An Analysis of Gender Stereotyping in Malay Language Elementary Reading Textbooks: Implications for Malaysian Education' (1990). This research employed content analysis on textbook images and stories. It determined that men are seen as dominant and women are submissive. Siraj similarly felt that women may be better represented with more affirmative and equitable images, and that gender discrimination should not be inserted in educational materials.

Twenty years later, gender bias still exists in Malaysian textbooks. Zarina Othman & Others (2012) looked at Malaysian textbooks imagery and presented their findings in "Gender images in selected Malaysian school textbooks: A frequency analysis". They also found images accentuating gender partiality, and showed males in a dominant role.

Not only Malay language textbooks but English textbooks used in the Malaysian school system depicted bias in images to children. "A Visual Analysis of a Malaysian English School Textbook: Gender Matters' (Mohamad Subakir Mohd Yasin & Others, 2012) focused on these English textbooks. Analysis of images was done using social semiotic and ethnomethodological theory, which inform us that people are actors and create their own social reality in their own lives. Gender bias was found in the pictures when compared to the text.

In Malaysia, a few studies have applied CDA in the examination of English language textbooks. "Multimodal Analysis of Gender Representation in ELT Textbooks: A Reader's Perceptions" (Fatimeh & Sheida, 2014) and "Linguistic Sexism and Gender Role Stereotyping in Malaysian English Language Textbooks" (Bahiyah et al, 2008) looked for gender representations in conversations and texts and illustrations. They too found gender-based biases. Men were continually shown as powerful and successful.

An article titled "Gender Stereotyped Images and Occupations in Malaysian Primary English Textbooks: A Social Semiotic Approach" (2015) also used social semiotics on the illustrations of gender stereotypes in primary school English textbooks. Typical male occupations were doctor, architect, farmer and firefighter. Typical females had caring personalities and worked as nurses and teachers.

Damayanti, conducted a study on Indonesian textbooks titled 'Gender Construction in Visual Images in Textbooks for Primary School Students' (2014). Using textual analysis and visual grammar approach (by Kress and van Leeuwen), the author found gender biases in Indonesian language textbooks, similar to Malay and Thai language textbooks. Women were seen as necessarily dependent upon men.

'Gender Depiction in Indonesian School Textbooks: Progress or Deterioration' (2008) written by Utomo et al analysed gender roles in primary and secondary school major subject textbooks approved by the Department of National Education and Culture. The topics covered were *Bahasa Indonesia*, English, Islamic Religion, Science, Social Sciences, and Sports and Healthy Living. They found that these textbooks contained gender biases and covert

messages. Men were deemed responsible for outdoor and public work and women were useful for indoor supportive jobs.

An article by Brindle and Arnot titled “England Expects Every Man to Do His Duty: The Gendering of the Citizenship Textbook 1940 – 1966” (Brindle & Arnot, 1999) examined contents referring to women in England’s post WWII social science textbooks from 1940 to 1966. They found that women were not seen as equals in public and political arenas. They also discussed the inadequate laws protecting women’s rights.

All the studies mentioned above found that school textbooks in general presented gender biased texts and images. Males are portrayed as dominant and ‘naturally’ discrepant in abilities and purpose with females. Males were ‘naturally’ authoritative and suitable for public jobs, while females were suited for private work.

METHODOLOGY

By examining the content and images within various themes of the national language textbooks from these two countries, this study investigates gender representations and the biases behind them in the primary school textbooks of Thailand and Malaysia: *Bhasapatee* and *Buku Teks Bahasa Melayu Sekolah Kebangsaan* (KSSR). The scope and sample-size of this study is limited to the total set of the only existing six state-produced public primary language textbooks from each country, for a total of twelve textbooks. The six Malaysian national language textbooks, based on the Standard-Based Curriculum (*Buku Teks Bahasa Malaysia Sekolah Kebangsaan*), are referred to as BM 1-6 which were published between 2013 and 2016 depending on the level. In Thailand, we examined the national language textbooks known as *Bhasapatee* which are based on the 2008 Standard-Based Curriculum and are referred to as BP 1-6. We have not concerned ourselves with the other privately produced textbooks that are used in a few public schools and numerous private schools since they have far less direct effect on the majority of Thai and Malaysian students.

Representation theory is the study of how media, texts, and cultural elements depict ideas, people, and realities. It is particularly concerned with issues of power, ideology, and identity, and explores how representations can reinforce or challenge societal norms and stereotypes. Stuart Hall accentuated that representation is not just a reflection of reality but a way of constructing reality through selective use of symbols and meanings that are culturally shared. It influences how people understand and engage with the world around them. It is a cultural process by which meaning is produced and exchanged between members using language, signs, and images. Since different meanings can be ascribed to the same image or text, depending on interpreters and context, representation is often contested and can require dialectic to achieve consensus (Hall, 1997).

In this paper, we have also used Critical discourse analysis (CDA) to help us tease out the inner meanings of textbook representations which embody gender inequality and patriarchal influence. The point of CDA as a qualitative research method is to use the social context that produces the texts to help analyse them. From this context can be derived an understanding of social dominance and inequality as they are expressed and maintained through communication. Textual analysis is accompanied by research into other related activities like state controls over textbook production and distribution, how the state teaches the teachers to teach, the basis of the knowledge used in the texts, historical background,

the cultural rules values and beliefs embodied, and so on. CDA's main function is to help understand, expose, criticize, and resist social inequality (Van Dijk, 2001, p.352). Therefore CDA is especially useful at finding hidden meanings embedded in texts, since language textbook language incorporates both ideational and interpersonal relationships with the intention of shaping a learner's mindset. Van Dijk (1997) says that both verbal and nonverbal elements enable intentional guidance of thought along pre-approved pathways. A core philosophical premise of CDA is that individuals speak or write under the influence of underlying thought systems, which help generate predictable choice of words, grammar, and any of the so many other aspects of discourse. Some audible signals used to influence are intonation, emphasis, accent, rhythm, volume, dynamics, pitch, timbre; some visual signals are font type and style, order of images or ideas, placement of depicted characters, colours and kinds of clothes worn and their condition, and so on.

The Three-Dimensional Model of Fairclough

This study also uses Fairclough's Three-Dimensional Model to interpret data found in the primary source, the textbooks. Fairclough proposed a method for analysing the relationship between discourse and society which involves examining the text alongside discursive and socio-cultural practices. He said that a "discursive event is shaped by situations, institutions, and social structures, but it also shapes them" (Fairclough & Wodak, 1997, p. 48).

The Model assumes 3 points:

1. 'Text' is the spoken or written language which creates meaning.
2. 'Discursive practice' is the process of text production, dissemination, consumption and interpretation.
3. 'Socio-cultural practice' consists of the social situations or factors which are related to text consumption and interpretation – including the influence the text has on societies and cultures (Fairclough, 1995, p. 59).

This textual analysis technique helps us decipher language use and other intrinsic communication strategies within specific contexts, and can be used to decode the specific linguistic strategies that embed gender biases. The techniques commonly used are naming, narrative, comparison, contrast, conversation, question, and parallel sentences, as well as grammatical nuances and changes that integrate modifiers, verb forms, adjectives, adverbs, interjections, etc., as well as rhetorical strategies like metaphor, simile, poetry and song. Naming and system of address (Mr., Miss, Mrs., Dr., etc.) involve making lexical choices which involve cultural biases concerning status and authority. Verb forms show which actions and commands strengthen power dynamics. Modifiers can emphasise certain values, while metaphors can suggest cultural nuances and inherent beliefs. Narratives offer moral instruction, using human or animal characters, and the intertextuality involved can join current concepts to historical/religious tropes. Rhetorical strategies have an emotional pull which can entice readers to follow norms. Together, all these strategies present potent persuasive and authoritative moulding forces that a young reader will find difficult to evade, understand, or critically evaluate.

Social and cultural context helps us decipher hidden meanings within texts. Van Dijk (2001) explained that text and discourse are biased by the context which thus shape socio-cultural makeup. Social values, norms, perceptions and thoughts, as well as older socially

sanctioned Thai and Malaysian ideologies, have sunk deep roots into their respective schoolbooks. These ideas reflect the unequal power dynamics between disparate groups. Such unequal distribution becomes the paradigm to which future generations subscribe.

A drawback to the 3D framework is that it is challenging to fit it perfectly to the data. However, CDA can make up for that as it allows for parsing of more relevant details in the school textbooks, and helps us strip out and better analyse the embedded ideologies and representations. Although this study has focused on gender, CDA and Fairclough's 3D model are particularly effective when considering nation-building and the 'national' knowledge that both countries feel necessary to indoctrinate their children with, to which programmed gender biases indirectly contribute.

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

Generally, in Thailand and Malaysia, masculine and feminine traits are revealed through physical appearance and distinctiveness of roles. Males are physically strong, vigorous, brave, determined, and involved in outdoor sports and labour. Emphasis on the pleasurable depiction of competition while young implants masculine ideals. Both winning and losing sides are taught to respect each other in a good natured and respectful manner. Females are physically soft, gentle, neat, timid, shy, sensitive, good caretakers, and less/non-competitive, so the roles of housewife and social extrovert are decided to be more suitable for them.

Buku Teks Bahasa Melayu Sekolah Kebangsaan (BM)

The BM commonly use indoors versus outdoors as criteria to define appropriate male and female roles and the physical space in which they should be found. The distinction of appropriate space invokes several patriarchal principles: the need to protect women from danger; female inability to do—or assumed incompetence in—performing complex physical and mental work.

Based on extracted Text 1-4 below, females are repeatedly represented as doing housework such as cooking, cleaning, laundry, demonstrated by words like *memasak* (cook) and *mencuci* (wash). While women are sometimes depicted as craftspeople, the vocabulary used often reinforces traditional gender roles.

Text 1

...Sister cooks the fish.
Mother washes the clothes

(*BM 1*, 2016, p.7, translated)

Text 2

Mother arranges plates on the shelf.
Sister sweeps the trash using a broom.

(*BM 1*, 2016, p. 15, translated)

Text 3

...Mother, what did you cook today?
The food is prepared and laid out.

Go have a look at the table.
Mother cooked grilled fish.

(BM 1, 2016, p. 45, translated)

Text 4

... Rizal's mother loves to cook.

(BM 1, 2016, p. 49, translated)

From Text 4, female characters are described as happy or pleased to do the chores with ideas like *gemar* (like, love, enjoy). *Ibu Rizal gemar memasak* (Rizal's mother likes to cook). A 'mother' often teaches her 'daughter' housework, and a 'daughter' is always her mother's helper. The conversations in Text 5 and Figure 1 below clearly show this.

Text 5

...Aina, please help mom wipe these plates...
Wipe them with this dry cloth. Do it carefully...

(BM 1, 2016, p. 60, translated)



Figure 1: Daughters help mother wash dishes
(BM 1, 2016, p. 59)

Text 6

...Imran and his friends jointly take care of the corn plants in the garden. They are good at gardening. They remove the weeds and clean the garden in rotation...Imran wants to be a modern farmer.

(BM 2, 2013, p. 81, translated)

In Text 6, men do the gardening and the caption above shows them to be *pandai* (good, clever), in the sentence *Mereka pandai berkebun* (They are good at gardening).

The distinct gender roles are illustrated through a contrast technique: men (father) outdoors, women (mother) indoors. However, there are rare exceptions to this rule. In the Text 7 below, a boy helps his mother indoors.

Text 7

1. Kamal and his mom's chores in the house:

- Clean the carpet
- Wipe the sliding door
- Sweep the floor
- Clean the furniture

2. Ujai and his father's chores outside of the house:

- Trim the tree branches
- Sweep the yard
- Clean the drains
- Plant flowers

(BM 3, 2013, p. 35, translated)

The separation of tasks according to gender is also emphasised via images. Figure 2 below shows the predominant gender roles where a mother and daughter cook and clean inside, while the father washes the car outside.

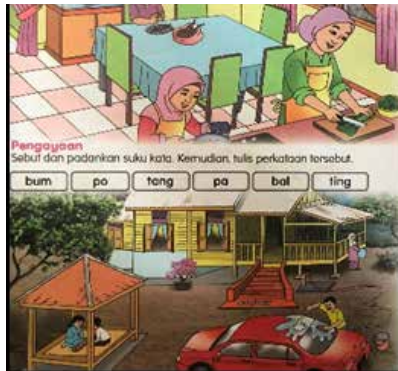


Figure 2: Females work indoors, males work outdoors
(BM 1, 2016, p. 19)

The same format is used repeatedly to describe all male and female chores. Adults assign chores or activities to the young which incidentally become common social practice. In Text 8, an uncle asks his nephew to carry a paint bucket, but assigns both his nieces to cleaning tasks.

Text 8

...Halim, please pick up this paint barrel. Bring it over there. Then both of you, go clean the slide. Use this cloth.

(BM 1, 2016, p. 27, translated)

Text 9

...Hanis's mother's birthday is just around the corner. Her father wants to gift her mother a robotic vacuum. He asks Hanis to find information on the appropriate robotic vacuum...

(BM 5, 2015, p. 208, translated)

Text 9 '*Vakum Robotik untuk Ibu*' (Robotic Vacuum for Mum) illustrates a man giving his wife a robotic vacuum as a birthday gift, reinforcing the expectation that men assign but women are responsible for household tasks. Further inferred is that reading government textbooks may contribute to the reinforcement of these strict gender stereotypes.

Text 10

...Zarul follows his father to the dhobi shop to wash their clothes during his mother's absence...

(BM 5, 2015, p. 161, translated)

Men use external help or services to do house-work, but women do it themselves. From Text 10 in BM 5, when wives and mothers are not home, men choose to go to a laundromat to do their laundry

Text 11

...LONDON, 17 Mei - Norman bin Musa is a Malaysian who runs a Malaysian food restaurant in London. He is also a famous internationally known producer of spices...

(BM 6, 2015, p. 96, translated)



Figure 3: Male chef cooks in a TV show
(BM 6, 2015, p. 96)

While one example shows a man dignifying cooking as a career-chef, cooking is generally seen as a routine woman's role, even if men do it on occasion. This is seen under the topic titled *Harumkan Nama Malaysia* (Bringing pride to Malaysia) in Text 11 and Figure 3 above.

The textbooks offer many examples of males doing activities together such as in Text 12. The stories reinforce traditional gender roles and stereotypes by using words like *berdua* (together), to feature the collaborative effort of a man and boy, in ...*Selain itu, mereka berdua suka menonton dokumentari dan membaca majalah perikanan...* (Besides that, they both also like to watch documentaries and read fishing magazines ...) and in '*mempunyai minat yang sama*' (they share the same interests).

Text 12

...Zarul and his father, Encik Yahya share similar interest. They love to go fishing during their leisure time. Besides that, they also like to watch documentaries and read magazines about fisheries...

(BM 5, 2015, p. 118, translated)

Women as caretakers of the family

The Malaysian educational system and society render women as caregivers of men and children. This representation is strengthened in Text13 from BM 1 through a story and images of women in a family setting.

Text 13

...Mother gets out of the car to open the gate. Even though she used an umbrella, she gets wet. We were very sorry to see that. Father had an idea...We should feel grateful for new technologies that helps make life easier.

(BM 1, 2016, p. 106, translated)

Figure 4 below illustrates women as caretakers and men as problem-solvers using technology. The characters express sympathy when they say, *Kami kasihan melihat keadaan itu* (We were sorry to see it), when the mother had to open the gate in the rain, yet the solution offered by the father, rather than suggesting he or the son should step out to open the gate, was to install an automatic gate. While the suggestion was meant to help the mother/family, the implicit meanings carried through this passage reinforces another binary between women who conduct work manually while men are technology savvy and think of automated options. The writer uses both pictorial and textual comparison techniques



Figure 4: Pintu Pagar Automatik – Automatic Gate
(BM 1, 2016, p. 106)

The textbooks assert the female-as-caretaker paradigm repeatedly. In BM level 2, Text 14; *Ibu Adam menjaga adik Rahimi [kerana] Ibu Rahimi tidak sihat* (Adam’s mother takes cares of Rahimi’s brother [because] Rahimi’s mother is unwell) indicates that even when one’s mother is unwell and their offspring fall ill, the responsibility to care (*menjaga*) is shouldered by another female

Text 14

...Adam's mother takes care of Rahimi's brother. [because] Rahimi's mother is unwell.

(BM 2, 2013, p. 43, translated)

Bhasapatee

Like their Malaysian counterpart, Thai textbook authors too often portray men engaged in outdoor activities like sports, farming, or hazardous tasks like road-clearing. Text 15 captions below illustrate this.

Text 15

...After the rain, Father took *Plai Mapin*, *Plai Makha* and the two neighborhood elephants to help drag a tree that had blocked the road. *Bhupa* asks his father if he can follow...

(BP 1, 2016, p. 94, translated)

Text 16

...The most enjoyable thing is the tower jump. Whomsoever can do this successfully is assumed to be *fully a man*...

(BP 3, 2016, p. 205, translated with emphasis)

In the Thai (Text 16), male youths doing sports are portrayed as bold and fearless and claimed to be '*karn pen look phu chai*' (the quality of being a man), a perspective very much in accordance with Thai society's standards and expectations. Thai society values masculine characteristics. Textbooks reinforce this ideology to young children, indicating that successful play is a sign of maturity and manliness. This patriarchal value system permeates Thai society and the young feel pressured to conform to these expectations to prove themselves. Failure can lead to being mocked or censured (Aut, 2021).

Even though textbook males predominantly display masculine characteristics, sometimes they are portrayed as helping with things in special situations, like cooking while camping. However, this helpfulness does not extend to the home (BP 2, 2016, p. 39 - 41).

There are many similarities but also some variations in the way Thai textbooks illustrate gender roles when compared to Malaysian textbooks. Sometimes they 'defend' males. For example, using a conversation technique, a grandfather and his grandson are shown in a preferred activity namely, going to the market (Text 17). This activity is typically presented as feminine yet allowable because the boy is 'bonding' or learning masculine traits from a male family member (BP 5, 2016, p. 21 -22).

Text 17

...I have no idea about men in other families but in my family, my grandpa and papa loved going to the market. Sometimes they went to the market separately, but they always brought me with them. At other times, they can read each other's minds, like today. This is how we show our love in my family. I am happy to go with both of them since it is a good time to have a *man to man talk*...

(BP 5, 2016, p. 21 - 22, translated with emphasis)

Thai textbooks often depict women as primarily responsible for household tasks like cleaning, cooking, and caring for family members, especially children and husbands. When cooking, a positive adjective is used to endorse their expertise in food preparation.

An archetypal example of this is found in Text 18 with the word *pen tee luaeng lue* (well known) and in Text 19, the word *aroi mak* (very delicious) is used.

Text 18

...Mom boiled a lot of snake-head fish to be cooked for curry with rice noodles tomorrow. Mom's fish curry recipe is well-known for its taste. Since everyone wants to try it, my mom has to cook it in a very large pot so that it can be shared with everyone. Mom asks June to help her mash the cooked fish...

(BP 5, 2016, p. 239, translated)

Text 19

...My grandma cooks very delicious, and sweet foods...

(BP 5, 2016, p. 255, translated)

Text 20

...Mom brings out the left-overs of roasted chicken, mixes it with some salt and toasts it until it turns golden-brown. For the steamed vegetables, she reheats and coats with some oyster sauce. By doing this, the meal is ready to be served to the whole family. Grandma praises her and says "Like mother, like daughter".

(BP 4, 2016, p. 26, translated)

Text 20 illustrates the Thai proverb "luke mai lon mai klai ton" (similar to "the apple doesn't fall far from the tree") and shows a woman learning how to cook from her mother. Older generations are seen as responsible for guiding younger ones.

Naming strategies are subtle in the text but they are effective ideological tools. The writers intentionally named the mother character above *Oon reun* (warm home), to promote the concept that the appropriate behaviour for a woman would bring warmth, peace, and happiness to a home (BP 4, 2016, p. 26).

Women are natural mothers and should be caregivers

Text 21

...A mother cat leaves to find food every day and then comes back to feed milk to her kittens. She looks after her kittens with love. She always licks her kittens' hair all over their bodies...

(BP 4, 2016, p. 166, translated)

The writers want to teach children that mothers are the primary caregivers. They use a narrative approach with a mother cat parable describing a baby kitten finding a teat and the mother licking the kitten's fur clean, for example. The modifier words *duay khwam rak* (with

love) cast upon the scene the concept of wholesome maternal care, while the adjective *took wan* (everyday) is placed to indicate required consistency of the role.

Imagery teaching male-female stereotypical contrasts is often present. In Figures 5 and 6 below, women wear pink clothes and men wear blue, similar to an accompanying drawing of female and male elephants (Umawan, 2021).

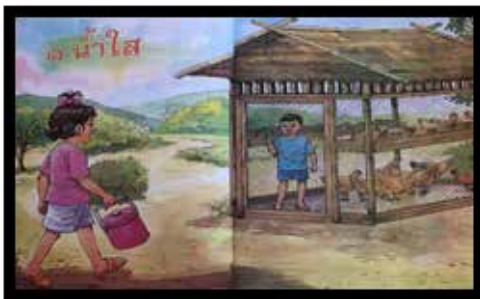


Figure 5: Girls in pink, boys in blue
(BP 2, 2016, p. 1 - 2)



Figure 6: Female and male elephant in pink and blue respectively
(BP 1, 2016, p. 126)

While some female characters are portrayed in modern, empowering roles like spies, they often still require male support. Even highly skilled women may face societal doubts about their abilities compared to men. Text 22 below uses a question technique that underlines society's commonly censorious perspective on women.

Text 22

...“Are you sure, V1, that you will be the person to destroy the chemical trash? You still have time to change your mind. I’m ready to take your place”...

(BP 6, 2016, p. 168, translated)

Text 23

...Mommy Nee and mommy Porn look after their daughters. Uncle Tong and Uncle Jit take care of their sons...

(BP 5, 2016, p. 144, translated)

A parallel sentence language technique in Text 23 shows how textbooks often frame traditional gender roles by depicting boys and girls engaging in activities with same-sex

parent-characters. Even when caring for children, men are typically shown caring for boys, and women are shown caring for girls.

BP very robustly perpetuates traditional gender roles in an attempt to influence children's understanding and instil patriarchal concepts as ethically sound (Text 24). The story about Krich recounts a boy joining a dance club, and accentuates the mocking and pressure he encounters by not conforming to traditional masculine norms. Despite his love of dancing, the social pressures persuade him to quit, demonstrating the negative consequences of deviating from socially accepted gender roles.

Text 24

No matter how good the club is, this will be the first and last time for Krich since he is the only male in this club, and he is always teased by everyone. Even though he knows sometimes that they were sympathetically teasing him, he feels ashamed anyway. So, there will be no more Krich in this club - but who knows, if he could find a few more boys to join in this activity, Krich will possibly join back.

(BP 5, 2016, p. 127, translated)

Social mocking deters children from following their dreams. Kath (2021) writes that Thai schoolchildren raised under collectivist conditions with gender expectations can have gender-identity issues since they avoid behaviours that would label them as 'other'. Current education trains and conditions children in static bipartite gender classification, suppressing more fluid perspectives.

Men should be and are natural leaders

'Men are leaders' is a trope that is moralised through a male's monologue in Text 25. He announces his position with ...*Sebagai ketua keluarga* (As the head of the family...) and claims he supports and educates other members in matters of religion. Text 26 further posits a man's financial familial responsibility.

Text 25

"...I will make sure that my children get religious guidance and sufficient education. As a leader of the family, I always encourage and associate them closely with religion," Othman told the journalist...

(BM 5, 2015, p. 18, translated)

Text 26

...Hardip follows his father to the post office. His father needs to run some errands there. He wants to pay the phone, electric and water bills.

(BM 1, 2016, p. 141, translated)



Figure 7: Schoolgirls walk behind boys.
(BM 4, 2016, p. 45)

Figure 7 under the topic of '*Berjalan dengan Berwaspada*' (Walk with caution) shows schoolgirls walking behind schoolboys. An ostensible 'safety' lesson differentiates 'natural' male leaders from 'natural' female followers. Society fashions children into adults who act biologically appropriate (Kath, 2021). Thai and Malaysian textbooks both reinforce the concept with stories featuring both human and animal characters.

Text 27

"If I die, how will you take care of our kids without me?", asked father.

(BP 6, 2016, p. 101, translated)

A couple's conversation in Text 27 indicates that women might face difficulty as providers, imposing the male domination/protection construct.

Men are protectors

Text 28

...Aunty *Hwan* is pretty. She is a singer in a well-known restaurant. She goes back home late. Uncle *Chai*, her husband, picks her up...

(BP 3, 2016, p. 3, translated)

Text 29

...Even when there were multiple accidents in a single day, *Tu* does not think it was frightening. He is proud of himself since he could solve the family's problems and protect them in place of his parents. He feels like he has jumped from being a 5th to 11th grade student. The most memorable incident was when *Taw* ran to him and said "I feel safe when I am with you" ...

(BP 5, 2016, p. 164, translated)

Texts 28 and 29 are further evidence of the construct, women cannot protect themselves. They feel safer in a male's presence, and males feel pride in the role.

Women must maintain their 'purity'

This is an important Thai ideology formulated as *rak nuan sa nguan tua* (preserve one's purity and virginity). It is an extension of Thai patriarchy and simultaneously endorses absolute expectations in boys and formidable taboos in girls about a young girl's value. Malaysian textbooks, in contrast, never discuss this theme.

Text 30 uses a comparison technique to negatively evaluate a girl who was in premarital relationships in contrast to her sisters who dutifully abided family/society virtues.

Text 30

...*Keaw's* grades dropped a lot. She failed. This comes with the feeling that she doesn't want to study anymore since she is now in relationships with many boyfriends. In the end she had to quit school. On the other hand, her two younger sisters follow their parents' advice and get good grades. Auntie *Nuan* and Uncle *Poj* are tormented knowing that their beloved daughter celebrates her first year of being a young adult woman as a single mom...

(BP 6, 2016, p. 214 - 215, translated)

The *suphasit sorn ying* (parables for women), is derived from a traditional form of classical literature. It emphasises the paramountcy of traditional values and admonishes girls on the negative consequences of premarital sex, including how it paints them and their family with dishonour. The inference is that family will mainly control this aspect of a young girl's life. Other regulating concepts introduced are those of destiny, merit, and *karma*, which are used to steer girls' choice of partner. Girls are warned adamantly to place their family's perspective before their own.

Text 31 has a grandmother teaching her granddaughter the logic of maintaining her innocence, suggesting that it is a well-valued traditional norm.

Text 31

...Granny says to her granddaughter "To be a good lady, you can't have sex with any men and have to maintain your virginity until you get married".

(BP 5, 2016, p. 255, translated)

Further warnings against premarital promiscuity consist of a story about a young unwed mother who would be raising her child without her boyfriend's assistance (BP 6, 2016, p. 221). Fear of adverse consequences is created by submerging readers from a young age-group in adult expectations, beliefs and behaviour, precluding their ability to question or critically examine them. This aversion is established by the textbook, and no practical information on sexuality is offered in its place. Furthermore, males are not admonished from the practise of pursuing females.

Men must be manly and genteel

Parallel to the focus on female virginity, boys are expected to be polite and respectful towards females (as well as the elderly). Text 32 compares two male characters with different manners, setting a precedent for good behaviour over bad.

Text 32

“... some men break into a queue of women and kids. People like that are not gentlemen. *Bhu*, do not act like them! They have bad manners and are selfish”. Father waits and gets his food after he sees that the ladies and female children have gone back to their seats.

(BP 6, 2016, p. 146 - 147, translated)

The conversation ends with the father giving his son advice on courteous manly behaviour.

Higher male social status and roles

In contrast to female characters, textbooks tend to describe males as the main characters with good career prospects. Higher male social status can be seen in a *BM 6* story titled *The Caring Mentor, Excellent Mentee*, which is about an exemplary male school headmaster (*BM 2*, 2013, p. 112) (*BM 3*, 2013, p. 79) (*BM 6*, 2015, p. 35). Proportionally, successful women characters are depicted far less than successful male characters in the textbooks.

Both *BM* and *BP* characterise men as having higher status and more opportunities than women. Thai authors reinforce this inequality by using male characters in higher positions and more honourable jobs. Men are portrayed as school principals (*BP 5*, 2016, p. 55), community leaders (*BP 2*, 2016, p. 21), and high-ranking government officers (*BP 6*, 2016, p. 99). The authors also report male characters as having better chances to study and work abroad but do not specify where (*BP 5*, 2016, p. 41) (*BP 5*, 2016, p. 255).

Men are often depicted as more successful in managing people and completing tasks. *BP3* compares a male-led team and a female-led team, highlighting the male team's greater inner cohesiveness and capacity to achieve perfect results, while the female team is seen as flawed due to poor management (*BP 3*, 2016, p. 3).

Gender Stereotypes and Alternative Designations

Gender roles and gender itself, are defined by social norms, which are affected/controlled by social elites. Gender is a social construct that categorizes people according to roles affirmed by society and culture. Gender roles are directly defined and refined through media (like textbooks) and indirectly through social acquaintances when individuals judge for acceptable sexual and physical characteristics (Jane Pilcher and Imelda Whelehan, 2005). Gender-derived inequality can be generated by the social constructs of any culture. Thais, for example, politely refer to males with the term *suphap burut* meaning 'gentleman', and to females with *suphab satree* meaning 'lady'. Malaysians similarly use *Puan* and *Saudari* for 'ladies' and *Tuan* and *Saudara* for 'gentlemen'. Both genders are summoned as components of these ideals, and since identity and sexuality as defined by society are usually firmly entangled, gender often defines character (Saharot, 2020).

Significant government controls have established rigid binary sexuality. Simply answering frequent biological sex questions on bureaucratic forms and using socially suggested/expected titles ensure that this binarism persists (Yukti, 2021). Such ordinances are insisted upon by both countries. Tunyawaj (2021) says that nations should not cast people into these either/or constructs. LGBTQ+ people need sanctioned classifications, and their

governments should support them and protect their rights (p. 54). Presently bureaucracies are blind to LGBTQ+ so so-endowed individuals cannot access equally many of the nation's welfare programs and legal protections. Malaysia especially has this kind of gender-blindness given the conservative nature of Muslim (and other) political clout.

The Patriarchy System

Patriarchy is a social system where men hold the dominant positions in politics, morality, social status, and property ownership. Women often become recognizable victims of this system, yet it remains a culturally absorbed norm practiced/enforced in daily life, with many people not realizing/accepting how detrimental and unequal its impact can be (Wison, 2011).

Southeast Asia's concept of patriarchy has long dominated the region. Its origins are in Chinese, Indian and Islamic religions mixed with traditional belief systems and lifestyles. Yet it is a relatively modern development since, in the past, there have been times when women had status higher than or equal to men (Pranee, 2006).

Children are frequently apprised of patriarchal ideas in textbooks. Thai and Malaysian textbooks both advise that men are natural leaders responsible for protecting and guiding women, children, and elderly members. Wherever this idea is deployed, the proper places for men and boys are situated outside home-life. They are placed instinctively in higher status positions like government committees or in the elite bureaucracy, etc. On the other hand, women and girls must be followers, house-bound, feminine, caring, and duty-bound to their husbands and children. These chauvinistic values are passively accepted and emulated by children, who are a socially powerless underclass exposed to government-mandated and widely esteemed educational materials.

A critical patriarchal element that Thai language textbooks emphasise is the preservation of female virtue. Those who transgress—unwed mothers, in particular—are often judged harshly, which children are taught to do so as well.

Conservative concepts that promote patriarchally biased social norms may be less appropriate for primary level language textbooks. They restrict children's potential within an irrational sexually-biased social space and set of duties. Likewise, current practice outside the imaginary realm of stories that the textbooks present is that any member of the family can be a provider and/or help with household chores. Primary schools should be a space where the idea that girls, women, boys, and men are all equals is encouraged and nourished, since neither sex is intrinsically more morally fragile.

Bhasapatee: Preservation of a Female's Purity

Thai society places a significant emphasis on the preservation of girls' ideal virtues. Textbooks often reinforce this by suggesting that those who maintain virtuous ideals such as abstaining from pre-marital sex, are held in higher esteem. According to Nureeyan (2004, p. 223)

Thai culture views premarital sex as a violation of tradition, not religion. An unmarried girl is considered property, and a man who has sex with her is seen as stealing from her family and tarnishing its reputation. On the other hand, Malaysian textbooks avoid discussing this topic, even though Muslims face much harsher penalties and view "premarital sexual behaviour" as "illicit...and a crime against their religion" (Nureeyan, 2004, p. 223).

Despite dedicating significant text to a related story, Thai textbooks fail to explore the actual thoughts and feelings of the teenage girl who becomes pregnant outside of marriage. The focus is on the negative reactions of others, such as the gossip, criticism, and judgement emanating from peers, friends, and parents. The girl's parents are deeply saddened and suffer greatly from the perceived dishonour brought upon their family.

The textbooks also fail to address the common disapproval-bias directed toward female children by Thai parents and families. This ideology places significant value on the virginity of girls and women, and "reveals a gender discrimination towards women in which they are the first to be blamed when they become pregnant outside of marriage" (Nureeyan, 2004, p. 195). Only a patriarchal system could justify the illogicality imposed on Thai children that grants boys immense social power devoid of responsibility, but expects girls to protect themselves from boys, or allow/expect other males to protect them, and bear the blame when they or their protectors fail to do so.

"...women's reproductive capabilities render them vulnerable to pregnancy outside of marriage, and therefore give them the potential to be considered overly fragile human beings who can ruin the good reputation of a family. In contrast, men, who may also be promiscuous, are not considered in the same negative way by society. Not many people seriously criticize their sexual behaviour, whereas women lose sympathy if they have had sexual relations..." (Nureeyan, 2004, p. 195).

Thai and Malay societies believe that "sexual segregation is a social concept designed to prevent fornication between men and women" (Nureeyan, 2004, p. 223). Thai textbooks promote this concept nationwide by indoctrinating schoolchildren.

Binary Gender Role Biases

Both textbooks portray leadership as a masculine trait. Men often assume leadership roles within the family, classroom, and community. They are expected to be devoted husbands, protectors of their wives, and good fathers. Aut (2021) argues that textbooks create an idealized image of society that children are encouraged to emulate and judge others by. The traditional family structure depicts mothers and wives as subservient to their husbands, who must be the primary income earners (Anna 2021). Families that deviate from these established roles may face difficulties. Single mothers are often viewed as less valuable than married mothers with intact families. Despite decades of challenges to these norms and textbook content, there is still a lack of constructive discussions regarding single mothers, single fathers, and LGBTQ+ roles (Nisakorn, 2021).

In Malay Muslim society, men are the primary providers, but they lack control over women's personal and public rights. Their physical strength is used for protection, not domination. Women, known for their endurance, sensitivity, and patience, fulfil family duties that require these qualities (Seyyid Aseed Akthar Rizvi, 2001).

Malaysian women, once employed in farming, construction, sales, and handicrafts, are now transitioning to the expanding industrial labour market due to the country's shifting economic focus. While some women are depicted as self-employed in Malaysian textbooks, they are represented in a smaller proportion than men. Their familial responsibilities often hinder their pursuit of further education, limiting their technical and financial skills. However,

the Malaysian government is making efforts to provide business training and networking opportunities through women's support organizations (Osman Rani, 2007).

The textbooks portray men as protectors and leaders of women, the elderly, and the disabled. They portray men as the sole bearers of responsibility, while women are depicted as dependent on men for most things. Thai and Malaysian textbooks perpetuate gender stereotypes by clearly defining female and male personalities and roles.

Quantitative Assessment of Gender Bias Occurrences in Both Textbooks

The set from which data could be derived is the complete set of all primary level government sponsored and published public school national language textbooks that have been used for the last 8-16 years, depending on publication date and country. Apart from the clear national/cultural distinctions, the two nations published nearly a generation apart during different political periods. Seeing this divergence it was surprising to us that many similar biases were present. The Thai texts were devised and published in 2008 during national financial and political upheaval -- and as of yet have not had any major revisions in spite of constant calls for them from many social elements. The Malaysian texts were published between 2013 to 2016, 5-8 yrs after the Thai, at least partly during PM Najib Razak's leadership scandal and its subsequent Malaysian currency devaluation, and also have not been revised. We feel it is possible to connect Thai and Malaysian government educational policy to the political climate in the 2000s since many biases stem from the states' desires to form good citizens during times when the state may have considered their citizens less malleable and in need of improvement. Many of the other kinds of non-gender-related bias we discovered in these same sets of textbooks seem to be closely related to their nation-building forays. Perhaps, at first glance, gender-related biases do not seem allied to nation-building. However, they represent a form of family management mainly targeted at curbing and subjecting females to male dominance. Men are assumed to be superior in both patriarchal nations, and a well-behaved submissive family is an anchor that can keep a socially important man moored to and in sync with his nation's policies and ideologies. The family that behaves within national guidelines leads to a stronger nation; the family that rebels weaken its natural leaders.

Insights Derived from Quantifying Occurrences of Biases

In addition to the qualitative analysis using CDA, Hall, and Fairclough derived methods that we discussed above, we categorized and enumerated the number of instances in which biases were found. We divided gender bias into six general categories that were for the most part applicable to both sets of textbooks. The categories we used are: Women in Housekeeper/Caretaker Roles; Male Leadership/Outdoor Roles; Gender-Specific Behavior; Gender Bias in Professions; Appearance-Based Stereotypes; and Double Standards.

Table 1: Gender Bias Occurrences in BP (Years 1-6)

Category	Year 1	Year 2	Year 3	Year 4	Year 5	Year 6	Total
Women as Housekeepers/Caretakers	1	2	3	5	3	2	16
Men in Leadership/Outdoor Roles	0	2	2	2	3	2	11
Gender-Specific Behaviour	1	2	2	2	2	2	11
Gender Bias in Professions	0	1	1	1	2	2	7
Appearance-Based Stereotypes	2	1	1	1	1	1	7

Table 2: Gender Bias Occurrences in BM (Years 1- 6)

Category	BM 1	BM 2	BM 3	BM 4	BM 5	BM 6	Total
Women as Housekeepers/Caretakers	7	5	6	8	6	5	37
Men in Leadership/Outdoor Roles	7	4	6	7	5	6	35
Gender-Specific Behaviour	7	5	5	7	4	4	32
Gender Bias in Professions	3	0	3	5	2	2	15
Appearance-Based Stereotypes	2	0	1	0	0	0	3
Women Successful in Careers	1	0	1	1	1	1	5

Table 3: Gender Bias Occurrences in BP vs. BM

Category	BP	BM
Women as Housekeepers/Caretakers	16	37
Men in Leadership/Outdoor Roles	11	35
Gender-Specific Behaviour	11	32
Gender Bias in Professions	7	15
Appearance-Based Stereotypes	7	3
Women Successful in Careers	5	5
Double Standards	1	0

Quantification and Comparison Insights

It is remarkable that there are so many similarities between both sets of textbooks, seeing the vast cultural, linguistic, historical, political and religious differences that exist between the two nations. We recognize that tracing the deeper historicosocial reasons that gender and other biases occur would be a more complex endeavor than this paper can attempt. The fact that other national textbooks (mentioned in the literature review) use similar methods to disseminate their favored ideologies, and that the ideologies are similar, suggests that certain governing strategies seem to be infectious. Unfortunately, although interesting, the vectors of an ideological pandemic are also presently beyond our scope.

Bhasapatee (BP) sports numerous instances of traditional gender role reinforcement; however, *Buku Teks Bahasa Melayu* (BM) displays many more. Women in Housekeeper/Caretaker Roles and Male Leadership/Outdoor Roles are proportionally represented in both

Thai and Malaysian textbooks, yet BM has double or triple the number of occurrences than BP. BP shows more flexibility in some aspects, such as occasional portrayals of men doing housework or women participating in non-traditional activities, but it still adheres strongly to traditional gender norms.

Gender-Specific behavior and Gender Bias in Professions are similarly proportionally represented in both countries, yet again BM far outweighs BP in number of occurrences showing fewer women in leadership or high-status jobs. Appearance-Based Stereotypes have both countries using traditional gendered imagery or job roles for men and women. Appearance-based stereotypes are more prominent in BP, particularly through clothing and color choices, while BM focuses more on behavioral and task-related gender roles. Double Standards concerning virginity, modesty, and other aspects of female sexuality, are represented only once in the Thai textbooks, yet the section dedicated to it is quite long and potent.

CONCLUSION

School textbooks play a crucial role in the shaping of gender perceptions, so we examined gender representations in Malaysian *Buku Teks Bahasa Melayu* and Thai *Bhasapatee Chan Prathom Suksa*. These textbooks ostensibly teach basic language skills, moral values and critical thinking, yet all the while they embed gender biases (and other ideologies) shaped by their social and cultural contexts. We used CDA and Hall's conceptions of representation, and Fairclough's 3D model, to qualitatively examine and discuss the biases found in the text and image content of the textbooks. We then counted the number of occurrences of each bias, categorized it according to type, and assessed how quantitative differences supported our analysis.

Comparing these textbooks in these ways reveals both similarities and differences in how gender roles and stereotypes are presented. Yet looking at both BP and BM as well as having reviewed related literature, it appears that these textbooks share many common aspects with other textbooks that have been researched. Gender biases that are transmitted include stereotypical concepts applied to males, namely: they are natural protectors of physically and mentally weaker females; they should manifest masculine characteristics; they have higher status and competence in society and careers; they are natural leaders in family and society; they are better at work outdoors and outside the home. For females, the typical biases include: they naturally need protection; they should preserve their virginity until marriage; premarital sex and motherhood are destructive and dishonourable; they must assume the motherly caretaking roles within the standard family unit; they are expected to be housewives; and they are naturally inclined to indoor duties like cleaning and cooking. In both countries' textbooks, patriarchal systemic concepts are deeply rooted and well-represented. Sex education is non-existent except for the previously mentioned premarital relations taboo in one Thai volume. Sexual roles are maintained as rigid binary constructs, and suppress LGBTQ+ categorical flexibility by ignoring them.

Gender is a very important classification and constraint that affects, enhances, constricts, or diminishes most people's lives -- and textbooks play a critical role in shaping perceptions related to it from early on. They fortify these perceptions with stereotypes, qualify them with ready-made patriarchal dreams, and embed them with role expectations. They use them to influence personality formation, fortify social norms, affect peer interaction, and set

guidelines on how social relationships should be. Given the importance of this issue, we feel extra vigilance is required when a state controls such an important aspect of a child's life.

The advent of rapid ubiquitous technological advances is another thing that has affected gender issues. However, most of the content of these textbooks present pre-internet society and social mores as the norm. In spite of the great influence that technology has had on both nations and their cultures, as well as the greatly expanded educational opportunities that such progress offers, it is rarely mentioned other than in passing. The fact that broader access to multiple worldwide disparate cultural perspectives has occurred in both countries, and the obvious effects that have occurred on the nations' youth because of them, gender-based and other biases compulsorily presented to the most vulnerable social class as social fact have not been altered in either set of textbooks from 2008 and 2013-16 respectively.

All in all, the textbooks – at least gender-wise – seem not be aware/interested in the relatively rapid social evolution of the past two decades. Revising them, and the curricula they are anchored in, would justly accommodate modern social currents, and children would be much better equipped to enter their appropriate culture, and the world, and navigate the constantly progressing newer realities.

REFERENCES

- Abdul Rahman Che Ngah dan Orang Lain. (2016). *Buku Teks Bahasa Malaysia Tahun 1 Sekolah Kebangsaan*. Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka.
- Anna Annanont, Natchanant Klaharn, & Thongtha Nisakorn. (2021). Gender inequality and good education system with bad students. *Sarakadee*, 435, 118-121.
- Aut Bunnag. (2021). Nisakorn Thongtha. (2021, June). Y culture: Literary works and soft power in real life. *Sarakadee*, 435, 106-111.
- Azran Osman Rani. (2007). *The Encyclopedia of Malaysia. (Vol.13), The Economy*. Archipelago Press.
- Bahiyah Abdul Hamid, & Others. (2008). linguistic sexism and gender role stereotyping in Malaysian English Language Textbooks." *GEMA Online Journal of Language Studies* 8(2), 2008.
- Brindle, P., & Arnot, M. (1999). England expects every man to do his duty: the gendering of the citizenship textbook 1940-1966. *Oxford Review of Education* 25, (1/2 Political Education [Mar-Jun]), 103–123.
- Chairoziela Mohd Shamsuddin, & Others. (2015). Gender stereotyped images and occupations in Malaysian primary English textbooks: A social semiotic approach. *Arab World English Journal (AWEJ)*, 166-181.
- Jantima Angkapanichkit. (2561 BE / 2018). *Kan Wikhroh Khokhwam [Discourse Analysis]*. (2nd ed.). Thammasat University.
- Hall, S. (1997). *Representation: Cultural representations and signifying practices*. Sage Publications.
- Ika Damayanti. (2014). Gender construction in visual images in textbooks for primary school students. *Indonesian Journal of Applied Linguistics*. 3(2), 100.
- Kamarudin Jeon & Siti Hajar Abdul Aziz. (2013). *Buku Teks Bahasa Malaysia Tahun 3 Sekolah Kebangsaan*. Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka.

- Kath Khangpiboon. (2021). Nisakorn Thongtha. (2021, June). LGBTQ+: Education. *Sarakadee*, 435, 106-111.
- Mat Ariffin Ismail dan Abdul Rahman Kamil Abu Naim. (2015). *Buku Teks Bahasa Malaysia Tahun 6 Sekolah Kebangsaan*. Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka.
- Mohamad Subakir Mohd Yasin, & Others. (2012). A visual analysis of a Malaysian English school textbook: Gender matters". *Procedia--Social and Behavioral Sciences* 69 (2012) 1871–1880.
- Mohamad Subakir Mohd Yasin, & Others. (2012). Linguistic sexism in Qatari primary mathematics textbooks. *GEMA on-line Journal of Language Studies* 12(1): 53-68.
- Nisa Chutu, & Others. (2538 BE / 1996). *Kan pramuen nangsue rian lae nangsue an prakop kan rian chueng thaithot khaniyom kiew kap botbat chaiying* [An evaluation of textbooks and supplementary readers concerning the roles of men and women]. National Human Rights Commission of Thailand, Office of the Prime Minister.
- Nureeyan Saleh. (2004). *A comparative study of Thai and Malay short stories, written by regional writers from Southern Thailand and Northern Malaysia*. [Doctoral thesis. SOAS University of London].
- Office of the Basic Education Commission Ministry of Education. (2016). ภาษาพาที ชั้นประถมศึกษาปีที่ 1 – 6 (*Bhasapatee Chan Prathom Suksa Petee 1-6*). OTEP.
- Ponin. Nisakorn Thongtha. (2021, June) "LGBTQ+: Education". *Sarakadee*, 435, 106 -111.
- Pranee Wongthet. (2006). *Pet Saphawa nai Suwannaphum (Usa Khane)* [Gender in Southeast Asia]. Matichon.
- "Rethinking Schooling for the 21st Century: The State of Education for Peace, Sustainable Development and Global Citizenship in Asia". (2019). Mahatma Gandhi Institute of Education for Peace and Sustainable Development.
- Saedah Siraj. (1990). *An Analysis of Gender Stereotyping in Malay Language Elementary Reading Textbooks: Implications for Malaysian Education*. [Doctoral Dissertation, University of Pittsburgh].
- Saharot Kittimahacharoen. (2563 BE / 2020). *Siam Gentleman*. Matichon.
- Saranya Akethammasut. (2549 BE / 2006). *Kan wikhrao botbat yingchai nai nangseu baep rian phasa Thai nai chuang chan tee 1 lae chuang chan tee 2 tam laksut kan seuksa khan puen than po so 2544* [An Analysis of Gender's Role in Thai Textbooks of Level 1 and 2 in the Curriculum of Basic Education 2544 BE]. [Master's thesis, Thammasart University].
- Seyyid Aseed Akthar Rizvi. (1980). *Islamic Family Life*. World Organization for Islamic Services (WOFIS).
- Siti Hajar Abdul Aziz and Marina Mat Isa. (2013). *Buku Teks Bahasa Malaysia Tahun 2 Sekolah Kebangsaan*. Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka.
- Siti Hajar Abdul Aziz et.al. (2016). *Buku Teks Bahasa Malaysia Tahun 4 Sekolah Kebangsaan*. Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka.
- Siti Sarah Abdul Malek et.al (2015). *Buku Teks Bahasa Malaysia Tahun 5 Sekolah Kebangsaan*. Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka.
- Tunyawaj Kamolwongwat. (2021). "LGBT+ Member of the House of Representatives." *Sarakadee*, 435, 54-55.
- Umawan Chechang. (2555 BE / 2013). *Kwam Samphan Rawang Phasa kap Udomkannai RuangLao Samrap Dek nai Nangsue Wan Dek Haeng Chat 2523-2553 BE* [The Relationship between

- language and ideologies in narratives for children in National Children's Day Books Published from 1980-2010]. [Master's Thesis, Chulalongkorn University].
- Utomo., et al. (2009, October 02). *Gender Depiction in Indonesian School Textbooks: Progress or Deterioration*. [Paper Presentation]. IUSSP International Population Conference, Morocco.
- Van Dijk, T. A. (2001). Critical discourse analysis. In Tannen, D., Schiffrin, D., & Hamilton, H. (Eds.). *Handbook of Discourse Analysis* (pp. 352-371). Blackwell.
- Wisun Sukwisith. (2554 BE / 2011). *Kwam Samphan Rawang Phasa kap Udomkan nai Nangsue Rian Rai Wicha Phasa Thai Tam Lak Sut Prathom Suksa 2503–2544 BE: Kan Sueksa Tam Naeo Wathakam Wikro Choeng Wipak* [The Relationship between Language and Ideologies in Thai Language Textbooks for the Elementary School Curriculum BE 2503–2544: A Critical Discourse Analysis]. [Doctoral Dissertation, Chulalongkorn University].
- Yukti Mukdawijitra, & Natchanant Klaharn. (2021). LGBTQ+: Who are we? Who are we in Thailand? *Sarakadee*, 435, 24-31.
- Zarina Othman, & Others. (2012). Gender images in selected Malaysian school textbooks: A frequency analysis. *The International Journal of Learning*. 18 (10): 101-126.

* *Corresponding Author*

¹ Department of Southeast Asian Studies, Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences, Universiti Malaya, Jalan niversity, 60693 Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia

Department of Eastern Language, Faculty of Arts, Chulalongkorn University, Phayathai Road, Pathumwan, 10330 Bangkok, Thailand

² Department of Southeast Asian Studies, Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences, Universiti Malaya, Jalan niversity, 60693 Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia