

## **Discourse Analysis of Thai Nationalism with Religion in Secondary school Historical and Buddhism Textbooks**

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### **Abstract**

The objectives of this study were to study and analyze the preservation of meaning and value of Thai nationality through religious beliefs with texts in a textbook on history and Buddhism at the secondary school level. It is based on two concepts: Benedict Anderson's "Imagined Communities" and Michel's "Biopower." Foucault's research shows that the textbook uses a variety of linguistic strategies to convey discourse. Moreover, ideology is hidden in the scriptures and reveals the practical sectors of discourse. "Thainess" is the inheritance of the main pillars of Thai society, namely nation, religion, monarchy, and culture.

Furthermore, the influence of society affects the ideals in the classroom as well. The unity of nation, religion, and monarch shows that the various ideologies conveyed by the text to the reader through various linguistic strategies are strongly related to the context surrounding the text of the textbook because textbooks are discourses produced in the context of Thai society. Under government agencies' supervision, various government policies can influence the media through various ideologies within the textbook. In addition, the textbook is a work produced for use in primary education. The state requires all children to be educated and has the characteristics of printed media; students in the education system across the country who need to use textbooks can easily access textbooks. The various ideologies contained in the textbook can spread to the broader society.

**Keyword:** Discourse Analysis, Thai Nationalism, Textbooks

### **Introduction**

Each society is different geographically, in thought, belief, or traditional culture. The regime that each society chooses to organize is therefore different. Political regimes developed naturally within a society will follow the common will of its people and hope not to conflict with their values. However, historically, many societies have adopted a regime that was believed to be reasonable and able to lead society to civilization. Bringing it into their society may be due to the reform or revolution of most of the minority. However, when a regime adheres to the ideology, beliefs, and values of that political regime, it will be blended with the fundamental values of society to form a framework of a moral system. Normative social specific beliefs It is accurate, and various structures support reproduction. It was causing an explanation of the characteristics of people in society that should have characteristics according to the state's purposes to happen spontaneously.

For this reason, the state must have the art of government and the technology to use its power to create people as the state wants. Because if people in the state were not absorbed in ideological values or discerning reasonableness, that regime would only be an outer shell. It is not truly the way of the people in that social state.

Education enables people who are born naked to learn the systems of the social world. When people are educated, they learn the scope of action that is possible and ought to be. Education is related to knowing and exercise freedom based on their rights, education is related to the lives of people of all ages. Enabling people to absorb knowledge enhances the experience. Making the learners the ones that need to be recreated. Since education builds people, in this regard, the process of creating people for citizenship must be built through the education system. Therefore, education is like a government tool

in making people members of the state. The State was created for an orderly and purposeful society. The state has various social institutions working together to make society continue, such as family, religion, and education. These institutions and educational institutions are considered important institutions of the modern state. Previously, educational institutions may have merged with family or religious institutions.

Nevertheless, educational institutions were separated in some societies, such as in ancient Greece. Educational institutions were born to meet the needs of society. In passing on common sense, it is necessary to pass on the power of the modern state. To direct the people of the state and let the people of the state regulate themselves is especially important when modern society is a society that is changing circumstances. Educational institutions will be able to allow people to have their own direction or according to the direction of the state in having a thought or belief. Furthermore, capable of what the state wants. Louis Althusser has suggested that schools are the ideological engine of the state. They intend to uphold the leading ideology in society [1], which is to make society see what is reasonable or what does not make sense in the same way.

If a nation is an imaginary community, as proposed by Benedict Anderson [2], then the modern state is responsible for building that imaginary community to support the sovereignty of its state. However, being born into that fictitious community is imperative for the citizens of the state to have a common image or conscience. At least the population of the state must have been "perceived" in this series of images to accept their existence. The modern state therefore uses the educational process to perform this function through important official fields such as school areas. The state has pushed the state's objectives and intent to create this awareness through the curriculum. One study and such a curriculum will be shown as knowledge content in "textbooks" and "textbooks that will allow you to see the face of the "Thai nation" through a variety of mirrors, that is, "model studying social studies," especially at the secondary school level, which will emphasize the imagination of this Thai nation more deeply.

According to Benedict Anderson, the textbook is like a publication that follows the phenomenon of print capitalism, which emerged from the advances in printing technology during the Industrial Revolution that gave rise to the publishing industry. Such as an increasing number of newspapers making it available to the masses via their capital. However, Anderson found that typographic capitalism favored the formation of a modern nation-state as a linguistic tool to convey the national language through "Conceptual Communities." Thus, the state uses such typographic capitalism to enable citizens in the nation-state region to join the core ideology or unite in specific value-set systems. Through the system of education, which is the invisible power (hegemony) as thought by Antonio Gramsci, the state uses printing capitalism to create "standard textbooks" or "formal textbooks" to disseminate the national language, instilling in the content the ideology that the state wants or textbooks to enable learner citizens to assimilate the will of the state through the compulsory or primary education system. The textbook is, therefore, a social product. The use of culture as a political tool of the state is propaganda from the state. The textbook is used as a tool to create and maintain political power by operating the discourse of knowledge that appears through the text's language or the textbook's content. So, the textbook is a way for the government to use technology to create an imaginary community based on how people see society.

The "Social Studies Textbook" officially emerged in the 1957 century, since the introduction of the curriculum in 1960, followed by the Secondary school Sentence Curriculum in 1975, the Junior Secondary Sentence Curriculum, and the Sentence Curriculum. Upper Secondary Education, Social Studies, B.E. 2520; Lower Secondary Education Course, B.E. 2521; Higher Secondary Education Course, B.E. 2524 . The Educational Curriculum B.E. 2544 and the Core Curriculum of Basic Education B.E. 2551 (B.E. 2562) are currently in use, regardless of the period. The common core issue is the creation of the imagination of the Thai nation and the placement of the status of national institutions. The King, as the core of Thai nationality and the preservation of the Thai national value system, the

emergence of a particular course in each period has a changing context as an essential driving factor. The state government, such as the Ministry of Education, is appointed as the curriculum drafting committee. There must be a way to see the ideological problems common with the state at that time. For this reason, even every course in the curriculum must maintain a nationalist ideology that is tied to the core institutions of the nation, such as nation, religion, and monarchy, as its core. However, when we look at the details of the content of the text in the social studies course, we can see that the content always tries to adapt to a particular era, with a different emphasis or emphasis on one subject.

The content of the chapters that appear in the social studies curriculum can be divided into two main parts. Namely, one is providing academic information according to content known as "Knowledge Sciences," attitudes, and worldviews through the researcher's explanation. The other component is incorporating ideology through the author's ideas, experiences, background, perception, attitude, or thinking base. Generally, textbook authors are required to produce a set of ideological sections following the state's intent to obtain a license from the Ministry of Education. They can use it as a form of study in an educational institution. In this section, it can be shown that the identity of the "Thai nation" that the state wanted to create through beliefs from the 1950s to the 1960s, heavily focused on national security, religious and permissive ideas, had to go in the direction of social studies. Nationalism, religion, and monarchy were all vigorously pursued. Knowledge of geography and history, as well as citizenship and moral responsibilities, indicates that such stability is moving in one direction and relies on political and military stability to carry out disassembly duties. The People's Party's pre-existing constitutional or racial ideology includes collective defense. "Communist threats" will shake the nation's institutions and nationalist ideology in this period. Therefore, it is the ideology of nationalist dictatorship that is making the population look like a "military" under the command of a military dictator. Ready to receive orders and follow them? The content in the textbook during this period is therefore aimed at "teaching" the people to know their civic duties. We can have Buddhist morality as the state wants. They were cultivating the greatness of the Thai people with an emphasis on history. The Greatest Man in History. The distinctiveness of the Thai nation, which has always been independent, is the King's Abilities project of being "King of Fighters" through studying the history of neighboring countries that are enemies of Thailand. In addition, the textbook's content during this period also needs to emphasize the democratic form of government with the King as Head of State because it is another thing that helps support the "security" of the nation during this period.

### **Research Objective**

To study and analyze the preservation of meanings and values of Thai nationality through religious beliefs with texts in a textbook on history and Buddhism at the secondary school level.

### **Methodology**

This research is a qualitative research study by using a textual analysis method from a secondary school textbook on History and Buddhism that was selected in relation to religion and the Thai nation. The scope of research is defined as follows.

#### **The Scope of the Unit of Analysis in Research**

- 1) Study through the text in the history textbook and Buddhism at the secondary school level. In the compulsory courses or additional subjects that are designated as compulsory subjects for all students in Thailand in the general system, only
- 2) Study through history textbooks and Buddhism at the secondary school level.
- 3) Study history and Buddhism in secondary school textbooks that have been licensed by the Ministry of Education to use textbooks or educational materials produced by both the Ministry of Education and private publishers.
- 4) In a history lesson, only the text and Buddhism should be studied. It appears to be a secondary school level with a Thai nationality and religious beliefs. Therefore, it does not include an analysis of

the ideology that may arise through the creation of other knowledge content in the history textbook. and Buddhism at the secondary school level.

### **Time Boundaries or the Allocation of Time in Research**

A study of the analysis of national discourse with religion in a history textbook and Buddhism at the secondary school level, 2008–2021, studied from one social studies curriculum, namely the Basic Education Core Curriculum B.E. 2551 (2008), which is a curriculum under the National Education Act B.E. 1999 and 12 years of basic education

### **Determining and Dividing the Period of the History Textbook and Buddhism at the Secondary school Level in Research**

This research defines and divides the periods of Thai nationality based on the curriculum born at a particular time. The use of history textbooks and Buddhism at the secondary school level during a period depends on which course it comes from. It is not based on the year the book was published.

### **The Conceptual Research Rramework**

Analysis of the Discourse of a Nation with Religion in a History Class and Buddhism at the secondary school level This is based on two conceptual frameworks: Benedict Anderson's "Imagined Communities" and Michel's "Biopower." The concept of Imagined Communities will visualize the use of print capitalism, such as social studies, as a technology to create a collective imagination of cultural artifacts known as "nations." from language practice through the text in the social studies curriculum to forge a set of national imagery for the people of the state. The concept of biopower will help to continue to consider the text's language in the textbook as discursive practice in shaping the meaning of "knowledge," arising from collisions, coordination, or convergence of discourses in different planes until a discourse is formed. The new set can preserve the core set or the values of the original ideology and has been lowered into the consciousness of the population until, eventually, such ideology becomes the consciousness of standards or norms of the population or of the subject (subject), which is forged from the practice of national discourse through learning technology. The individual becomes the exercise of that state power to maintain and follow that ideology. All this shows that the formation of the Thai national image of the individual, therefore, does not arise only from the "putting in the ears" of the state alone. But it also arises from the biopower of the individual itself. that is ready to maintain that set of values for the "well-being" of society.

Therefore, the conceptual framework to understand the functioning of "learning" as a technological operation of state power to produce a common conscience of the population, especially about "nation," will be projected to reveal the splitting of state power. Hidden and spread into the population through this educational channel is the concept of "power over life" (Biopower), which is related to the concept of "governmentality" by Michel Foucault.

### **Result and Finding**

#### **Reflections from the History Textbook and Buddhist Teachings**

When the state uses the mechanism of education and language as a tool to create "Nationalism" through building a collective consciousness, "Thainess" is the heart of this research. As a result, it is critical to consider how such awareness-raising efforts were reflected in history and Buddhism textbooks. which is a course in the subject group of social studies, religion, and culture. From the study analyzing the discourse of nationality with religion in the history and Buddhism textbooks at the secondary school level, it was found that within the textbook, there was an instillation of the concept that two important things are the concept of royal nationalism and that emphasizes the importance of the monarch as the heart of the nation. It is presented through the story of the King's wisdom and racial pride emphasis on raising the Thai nation. But the textbook has a bias in presenting the stories of neighboring countries. According to the belief in karma in Buddhism, the concept of Buddhism,

particularly raising the status of the monarch to become a fictitious deity and mentioning the merits of the king, creates peace for the people with the rule of the commons according to the principle of Thotsaphit for seeking or cultivating the nation to become a Bodhisattva who will attain the prestige of becoming a Buddha in the future.

It was also found that history textbooks and Buddhist teachings, especially the importance of Buddhism to Thai society, are aimed at the study of building a nation through a textbook. The researcher found that within the history textbook, the picture of "nation" was given in a way that gave importance to the nation, religion, and monarchy institutions, as well as Thai culture in the central region. The textbook also presents a picture of a peaceful society under the rule of a virtuous monarch. But on the other hand, this textbook has presented a picture of Thailand's relationship with other countries in the form of conflict. Thus, the study of history in the Thai history curriculum cannot make the learners understand the differences of each ethnic group in world society, a component of Buddhist teaching. It still reinforces the importance of Buddhism as a single religion to the nation.

Thai education does not really place importance on multicultural diversity. It also creates a set of ideas and discourses that continue the ideology of the nation, religion, and monarchy. The religion that the state pays attention to is Buddhism and the Theravada sect, only because Buddhism is the religion that Thai people respect the most. Therefore, the textbook can be chosen to carry on the Buddhist religion. They try to push it into the national religion in the text of the textbook, which appears on the issue of rituals and morality. According to the findings of the study, religious trance and beliefs adhere to the principles of morality, ethics, and humility. It is presented through a textbook with language strategies. It's a social lullaby for learners to learn and be able to act in harmony with society. The form requires the learner to be a Thai person who has a gentle personality, is humble towards the elderly, and respects the elderly. So, this socialization is shown in a textbook to help people figure out what they should do in society.

### **Discourse in a History Lesson and Buddhist Teachings**

The Thai education system has used the social studies form, especially the history and Buddhism textbooks, to become the source of the rules of knowledge, which is Power, but not in the form of coercion, is the use of refined power in the form of knowledge of the subject and not in the form of general knowledge. Rather, it is in the form of knowledge that is specialized expertise and mechanisms, especially rules and customs in society. It can be said that power is the source of knowledge creation. or say When there is power, it can define what is "knowledge" and a set of truths that people in society can accept and follow from the difference between what can be said correctly over a period (under a set of rules and logic) and what cannot be said at that time [3].

In addition, discourse requires a discourse-based practice to reinforce knowledge, truth, and power by explaining teaching, disseminating ideas through media such as propaganda, and action, which is an action in the form of an action or activity. When the concept of Fugot's discourse was analyzed in the textbook, it was seen that the textbook, as a form of literature, has extended A type of language for learners to talk about a subject in a particular era is the process of presenting knowledge about that subject, and Foucault views the discourse as just a series of discourses that come together in a complex way. According to Foucault [4], literature no longer presents ideal truths about human life and well-being. But the literature is a presentation. The "truth regime", or the truth that the author believes because it is within a particular discourse cycle, representation in literature is no longer an ideal representation. but is a representative image that represents the author's point of view. It is inevitably related to the discourse framework [5]. Therefore, the use of the concept of discourse can be considered in the textbook, which is used to emphasize the knowledge of truth and the power of discourse "Thainess, nationality, and religion" in the mainstream.

From studying the book editors in the curriculum, it can be concluded that curriculum editors are government officials and committees appointed or endorsed by government agencies in the field of

education, namely the Ministry of Education, the Department of Academic Affairs, and the Office of the Basic Education Commission. It was also found that in Buddhism and international religions, it was also found that monks, who are one of the Buddhist companies of Buddhism, also became part of the curriculum editors in the current Thai education curriculum. Production of textbook text in a specific group that must be legally designated. People who do not go through this process may not participate in the production of textbooks. For this reason, the production of textbooks is reserved only for certain groups of individuals authorized by the state. The textbook has become a discourse in which the state controls and produces it through those who have the knowledge to create knowledge powers that pass on the state's ideology.

This Buddhist textbook, according to the Basic Education Core Curriculum of 2008, was used as part of the standardization of "Thainess". That is, it was used as a tool to create "Thainess" that is important greatly as part of cultural nationalism. Because creating an aim for Thai people to love their Thai nationality is part of helping to create unity in moral ideology, values, and feelings in various matters under the framework of nationalist ideology set by the state. Therefore, the general school therefore had to teach history and Buddhist subjects. According to the textbook, people in the nation have a sense of unity in the ideology. The textbook is therefore an important part of the national culture in which the creation of rules is This makes Thai people who are outstanding in other ethnicities must "Become Thai" and "become another" at the same time.

The history textbook and the Buddhist textbook according to the Core Curriculum of Basic Education Year 2008 on rituals and morality. It was found that the textbooks were selected to contain praise and present only Buddhism. While Thai society is a society with a variety of religions, in addition, at the secondary school level, morality, ethics, and sufficiency were also inserted, which is the philosophy of sufficiency economy according to the concept of King Rama IX (former King of Thailand). The dharma principles of Buddhism overlap with them a lot. This may be because the learners in childhood are the age that is suitable for absorbing, polishing, and not asking questions, so the text has chosen to contain a lot of content on the religious issues mentioned above. The fact that the textbook has a lot of religious and moral content It can be explained in Thai society that Buddhism is a mainstream religion because most people in Thai society practice Buddhism in large numbers since ancient times, as referenced in Article 67, "The state should uphold and protect Buddhism and other religions." in fostering and protecting Buddhism, which is a religion that most Thai people have long respected. The State should promote and support the education and propagation of the dharma principles of Theravada Buddhism for the development of mind and wisdom. There must be measures and mechanisms to prevent any form of undermining Buddhism and should encourage Buddhists to participate in the implementation of such measures or mechanisms as well. The point is that in Thai society since ancient times, up to now, there has been an important cultural nationalism. Another important thing is the reign of King Chulalongkorn with the establishment of "Thai Buddhism", Buddhism is important. In many dimensions, such as sustaining the "nation" and having faith in "karma" and the adherence to "good and evil" in the textbook, therefore, it is a literature that conveys the social discourse that Buddhism is a national religion, including making it acceptable that the King It is of utmost importance to both the Thai nation and Buddhism. In line with the concept of Saichon Satyanurak [6], the concept has created a "Thai-style ceremony" based on Buddhist rituals, in which the various ceremonies held must be in accordance with the "Correct" as His Majesty King Chulalongkorn has decreed in the Twelve-Month Royal Ceremony. These ceremonies were reproduced in later times and became an important part of the national culture, reinforcing the social order in which people of high and low status lived. descending in reverse order the highest status of people in Thai society is the king. royal family. This is one of the important factors that makes the high and low difficult to know. It is still the correct pattern of Thai culture sequentially.

From the study, "Analysis of the Discourse of Nation by Religion in History and Buddhism Lessons at Secondary school Level," the researcher can conclude that the idea of Buddhism It is another

idea that affects the ideology in the classroom. As can be seen, the good people that society desires. There must be attributes that are consistent with the virtues that Buddhism places emphasis on. As the Ministry of Education deems it appropriate to instill 12 basic virtues and values with an emphasis on developing youth to be good, knowledgeable, and happy by using virtue as the basis of the learning process that is linked to cooperation of institutions: families, communities, religious institutions, and educational institutions. Inculcating morality means arranging learning conditions for students to see the value of having morals and ethics in various fields and leading to a change in attitudes and values that lead to good faith and behavior.

Therefore, textbooks are a medium for conveying what society wants to youth more easily. The content in the textbook is aimed at convincing people to be responsible for themselves, their families, society, and the nation able to live with other people, be able to apply ethics and morals to be adapted for use in daily life and live in society peacefully. However, goodness, ethics, and morality are still defined by religious concepts and discourses that appear in and pass on through the textbook to learners as well as creating a nation with Thainess through history textbooks as well.

### **Conclusion**

Education is the process of passing on the identity, ideology, and knowledge of a society from one generation to another. The textbook is therefore one of the important tools in conveying ideology and ideas to learn as the state wants. Textbooks in Thailand are under the supervision of the Ministry of Education. The content that appears in the textbook is under the conceptual framework of the educational curriculum. This is to control the quality of learners to achieve the aims of the course. as part of the production of citizens as required by the state.

An analysis of the discourse on nationality and religion in the history and Buddhism textbooks at the secondary school level revealed that the concept of national education policy and the preparation of the curriculum structure in Thai history subjects and Buddhism in the Ministry of Education are still tied to the elite. The reason for the necessity of building a nation in order to create pride in the Thai people is to create feelings of love and cherish for the country that the Thai nation has had a history of good culture and traditions for a long time. As a result, the study of history and Buddhism is in the nature of the study of national history. That is consistent with the state ideology in the form of the mainstream, that is, nation, religion, and monarchy.

The aims of the Thai Education Curriculum are to want students to develop patriotism, pride in being Thai, and loyalty to the nation, religion, and monarch. Uphold the arts, culture, and wisdom of the Thai people. The history and Buddhism textbooks include important Thai people, leading to the placement and content determination as mentioned above. As a summary diagram of the text production and distribution of the history and Buddhism textbook Basic Education Core Curriculum 2008

Therefore, the practical analysis of the discourses of historical and Buddhist textbooks The Core Curriculum of Basic Education BE 2551 as above helps to see that the production and consumption of textbook texts are related between the state and the people. The distribution is wide and the textbook has a complex production process. It is a pattern of state control that has been replicated. Consequently, the textbook is considered an institutional discourse that plays an important role in the transmission of discourse. and various ideas that the state wants the students to aim at creating people with desirable characteristics in society. The ideology conveyed through linguistic strategies in the classroom tends to have an important influence and role in guiding the members of the society through which they are absorbed and recognize and act unconsciously.

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