"They Serve as Good Models," but "Their Works Are too Expensive": US Hegemony in Citation Practices in EFL Writing Textbooks in Thailand

Kiatipong Rerkwanchai[1]

thinking.kid@gmail.com

Savitri Gadavanij[2]

ajarn.savitri@gmail.com

[1,2] Graduate School of Language and Communication, National Institute of Development Administration, Thailand

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Abstract

Citation is an important element in academic writing. Although emphasis has been primarily placed on the linguistic features of citation with pedagogical aims, this study investigates citation practices from a decolonial perspective by examining the concept of *the gesture of exclusion* (Connell, 2007) or the tendency to cite scholarship produced by Western-based writers. Focusing on a non-Anglophone and non-colonized country, we examined the extent to which Thai textbook authors practice the gesture of exclusion by analyzing the references in their publications. Data were collected from six locally produced English as a foreign language university-level writing textbooks and one author interview. Findings showed that in a non-colonized country, the dominance of works by US-based scholars was clearly discernible, but works by Thai academics seemed to be finding footing as well. Author's decisions to refer to either Anglophone or local scholarship were shaped by three factors: native-speakerism, capitalism, and rhetorical appeals. Paradoxically, the tension between the two competing western discourses, native-speakerism and capitalism, contributed significantly to a higher visibility of works by local scholars. It is suggested that as this tension mounts, it could help promote a more inclusive academic discipline, in terms of academic citations. Implications for writing teachers and material writers are also discussed.

Keywords: citation practice, decolonization, EFL writing textbook, knowledge production, Thailand

Introduction

Academic citation is a key element of academic communication as it demonstrates researchers' knowledge of and familiarity with existing literature in a specific academic discipline, in addition to being a means for authors to attribute credit to cited scholarship (Hyland & Jiang, 2019). Previous studies on academic citation practices have focused mostly on the textual aspects of text, such as citation

forms (Jalilifar, 2012), the use of reporting clauses (Charles, 2006; Petrić, 2007) and the rhetorical functions of citations (Jubhari, 2015). These studies concentrate on the internal microfeatures of text, with a primary goal of offering pedagogical tools for writing teachers. However, some studies have also aimed to examine citation practices from a non-linguistic perspective. Friedman (2019), for example, conceived of citation as "a key social practice in academia" (p. 23), enabling authors to dialogue with other academic members. Particularly pertinent to the current article is a study by Lillis et al. (2010) that reported the decline of non-English sources and the dominance of English language publications in academic journals in Portugal, as English was conceived of an academic lingua franca and as more scholars tended to publish their studies in English. More recently, Banegas and Cad (2021) also investigated citation patterns of Argentinian scholars and found that because more value was placed on works by Anglophone scholars, academics were more likely to cite US/UK-based scholarship than that by local researchers. They further argued that such practices could have adverse effects on the knowledge flow and knowledge democracy in local professional communities. In fact, academics in various fields (de Sousa Santos, 2015; Kong & Qian, 2019; Mignolo, 2012), including those in applied linguistics (Canagarajah, 1996, 2002; Diniz De Figueiredo & Martinez, 2021; Kubota, 2020; Motha, 2020; Pennycook, 2022), have grappled with the issue of decolonizing academic disciplines. In this study, we attempt to add new understandings to this effort by specifically examining citation practices in local English as a Foreign Language (EFL) university-level writing textbooks. We argue that although the pervasiveness of Anglophone citation practices is palpable even in a non-colonized context of Thailand, the outlook appears optimistic as a result of two competing discourses.

The study of citation practices is important because it enables us to see how power relations operate in terms of knowledge production. As Kong and Qian (2019) indicated, citations "constitute relations of uneven power between scholars" (p. 50), and "'the impact' exerted by published articles, estimated […] by citation data" can provide information about "the power relations of knowledge production" (p. 53). Elaborating on this point, Kubota (2020) points out that citation practices and intellectual colonization are intricately intertwined. That is, the current practice seems to favor white authors or authors with Eurocentric epistemologies which are usually perceived as more legitimate than their indigenous counterparts. As this practice continues, epistemological racism becomes cemented, reinforced, and perpetuated: the more Euro-American authors get cited, the more credit, recognition, and prestige they receive. Also, as their works become more well-known and respected, they will receive even more attention and citations, consigning indigenous academics and knowledges into oblivion. As a result, powerful and influential scholars tend to be those in the Euro-American contexts whose works are often referenced to in local and international journal articles and textbooks (Canagarajah, 2002; Chilisa, 2012; Connell, 2007; Juntrasook & Burford, 2017; Kong & Qian, 2019; Pennycook & Makoni, 2019; Trahar et al., 2019; van Dijk, 1993). Thus, the need for decolonization, or for a more level playing field, has been called for.

Thailand was selected as a case study in this work primarily because of its unique history vis-à-vis colonization. Officially, the country has never been colonized (Anderson, 1978; Fry & Bi, 2013). Therefore, it is worth examining if and to what extent Euro-American writing practices, such as *the gesture of exclusion* (Connell, 2007), exist among Thai academics, defined here as full-time university lecturers. This study can also offer insights into the far-reaching effects of academic labor based on American-Eurocentric worldviews. By analyzing scholarship produced by Thai authors, this study modestly attempts to contribute to the existing literature to understand the hegemony of US-based knowledge on non-Western scholars specifically in the field of EFL writing, a discipline that concentrates mainly on knowledge production, specifically through writing.

Notably, however, examining the issue of Anglo-American hegemony in the discipline of EFL writing might seem counter-intuitive at the outset, because the study of writing in English has its origin in North America (Muchiri et al., 1995). That is, scholars, regardless of their locations, may naturally refer to studies by US-based authors when researching and discussing EFL writing. Despite such a tendency, we argue that academics today have more scholarly sources to cite from, in addition to the studies produced by US-American academics. This argument is based on the fact that second language writing, a sister field of EFL writing, has grown internationally in the recent decades (Pelaez-Morales, 2017) with contributors from various countries. Thus, scholars nowadays could choose to rely either more or less on American scholarship.

Literature Review

Euro-American Influences on Global Knowledge Production and Consumption

The effects of colonization on global knowledge production, dissemination and consumption have been noted in many disciplines, including applied linguistics (Motha, 2020), language education (Kubota, 2020), sociolinguistics (van Dijk, 1993), sports management (Chen & Mason, 2018), management (Westwood, 2001), and urban studies (Kong & Qian, 2019). In examining a sociology textbook, for instance, van Dijk (1993) concluded that the pages of the text contained a "white perspective" while also "understat[ing] and underanalyz[ing] the role of European ethnic dominance, inequality and racism in ethnic relations" (p. 177). Connell (2007) also analyzed three works by Northern sociology scholars and presented a taxonomy for understanding what might be called "Northern intellectual hegemony" (Juntrasook & Burford, 2017, p. 25). What this means is that scholars in the non-Western contexts often feel gravitated toward metropolitan, or Western-European, hegemony by "writ[ing] in metropolitan genres, cit[ing] metropolitan literature, becom[ing] part of a metropolitan discourse [...] describing [their society] in the mode of comparison [and] placing its specificity within metropolitan frameworks" (Connell, 2007, p. 8). The effects of the domination of Western knowledge systems are particularly vast and *firmly rooted*, as articulated by Juntrasook and Burford (2017) by way of an example: "When I [Juntrasook] have initiated conversations of this sort with colleagues here in

Thailand, many people haven't been able to see any 'problem'. It seems that it is natural, just the way the academic world is" (p. 22). Drawing upon this observation, on the one hand, making references to US-based scholarship may appear natural for many academics in the field of EFL writing; on the other, it can also be a problem as such practice would help further entrench Euro-American writing practices. That is, as discussed previously, it could prioritize works based on Euro-American worldviews or give precedence to white authors or authors with assumptions deeply rooted in the Western philosophical tradition, at the expense of indigenous or non-Anglophone scholarship.

According to Connell (2007), there are four basic textual moves that help to produce, maintain and perpetuate the *Northernness* of Northern/Eurocentric social thoughts. These textual moves, or characteristics of Euro-American writing practices, include *the claim of universality*, *reading from the center*, *grand erasure* and *the gesture of exclusion* (Connell, 2007). Claim of universality refers to the fact that metropolitan writers often mistakenly assume that their findings, derived from a study in a metropolitan context, are applicable to all other contexts, regardless of their cultural and sociocultural particularities. Reading from the center refers to focusing on the issues that arise in metropolitan contexts, whereas grand erasure denotes the lack of colonial experience in Northern social theory, that is, current social theories are often based on problems found in few major metropolitan contexts, resulting in the erasure of the majority of human experience in other regions   (Connell, 2007). The other move, which is the focus of this study, is the gesture of exclusion.

The gesture of exclusion refers to a strong tendency to cite works produced by writers in Northern contexts. This observation is congruent with a recent observation made by scholars in applied linguistics and feminist studies (Kubota, 2020; Todd, 2016). Kubota (2020), for example, maintained that scholars are often "compel[led] to cite well-known white (or brown or black) scholars with Eurocentric epistemologies to show the legitimacy of their work" (p. 727), a practice that will help champion Anglophone supremacy in the academia. In a similar vein, Todd (2016) contended that academics tend to refer to Euro-Western works while omitting the scholarship of indigenous peoples. In short, scholars, in the metropolitan contexts and outside, often feel compelled to "read the leading journals published in the metropole, learn the research techniques taught there and gain recognition there. Career paths include advanced training in the metropole, attending conferences in the metropole and, for the more successful, getting jobs in the metropole" (Connell, 2014, p. 219) to ensure academic survival. In addition to previous studies, the present work argues that the continuation of this practice can relegate the equally painstaking efforts of nonmetropolitan academics to a lower rung of the academic-publishing ladder and, in the worst case, contribute to the demise of scholarship produced by academics in non-Western contexts, which can further result in reduced diversity. As a consequence, this academic phenomenon should be addressed and examined.

Decolonization of knowledge, however, is not without challenges. The issue has been deeply entrenched in academia on three major fronts: linguistic, institutional, and ideological. Linguistically, materials written in non-European languages cannot be easily and widely utilized by a wide range of

researchers, and those written in the English language, in particular, are mostly preferred (Curry & Lillis, 2004). This phenomenon can clearly raise the visibility of native writers of English with western-based epistemologies and frameworks. Institutionally, university libraries and academic databases tend to subscribe to Northern-based academic journals (Collyer, 2018; Edwards, 2019) due to the prestige ascribed to them, which in effect can help maintain and perpetuate the inequalities of the knowledge systems. Ideologically, native-speakerism, which is a belief that perceives native-speakers of English as ideals (Holliday, 2006), is also pervasive, further marginalizing works by non-native speakers. These challenges could more or less undermine the decolonial project, making it a daunting struggle. Notwithstanding these obstacles, research on intellectual decolonization has been growing and becoming increasingly active (Alatas, 2007; Kumaravadivelu, 2016; Mazenod, 2018; Pennycook & Makoni, 2019).

Sociocultural Context*: Writing for Publication in Higher Education in Thailand

In the past, writing and research activities were not common among Thai academics. According to Bovonsiri et al. (1996), faculty members, as civil servants in the early days, were usually given permanent tenure after a probationary period. This condition, as it has been suggested, may have contributed to the low motivation for conducting research. Moreover, universities before the 1980s were responsible mainly for "teaching and producing students" (Lao, 2015, p. 102) instead of for research innovation. For example, "[f]or nearly the first fifty years since Thailand established Chulalongkorn [University], higher education institutions in Thailand focused their attention on teaching undergraduate students to respond to demands for modern-day bureaucrats" (Lao, 2015, p. 100). Therefore, the need to produce knowledge or research in Thailand was weak.

However, writing gradually became a more prominent means of knowledge construction in higher education, given the demand for teaching material (Klungthanaboon, 2015), especially after an increase in the number of universities and colleges in the country. As a result, in 1974, research and publishing became responsibilities of university faculty members. In the 1980s, Thai scholars also began to conduct research after the government proposed the policy to use research as a means for national development (Lao, 2015). Moreover, as public universities faced diminishing financial support from the central government due to the Asian financial crisis in 1997, they were forced to reform, particularly, to become more autonomous and accountable. In fact, as Atagi (1998) noted, the loan program funded by the World and Asian Development Banks, which was a part of the IMF's bailout package, also laid down one condition for the loan, that is, the privatization or corporatization of government projects and agencies. What this meant for faculty members was that they would no longer be civil servants and would be required to publish to help elevate the competitiveness and the status of their institutions. Since then, research activities have begun to flourish.

Professionally and personally, research is also a means for academic survival. This point is linked to the culture of *publish or perish* that in no small measure affects Thai university lecturers

(Phothongsunan, 2016), as it does academics in other countries. Knowledge production through publication in Thailand is often associated with research grant agreements, academic promotions and academic performance assessments, among others (Klungthanaboon, 2015). In many cases, the number of publications also determines a lecturer's salary adjustments and yearly performance appraisal. That is, to receive grants, academics must present research proposals and sign research grant agreements, and the final report must be submitted when the project is completed.

In addition to journal articles, textbooks are one outlet where academics produce and distribute their knowledge. Bovonsiri et al. (1996) observed that "Thai professors are encouraged and rewarded for producing textbooks in Thai [and, it could be argued, in English]" (p. 70). Textbook publication, in fact, is a sine qua non for an academic promotion in Thailand. Assistant professors in Thailand are required to publish textbooks to be promoted to a higher academic rank (Klungthanaboon, 2015; The Civil Service Commission in Higher Education Institutes, 2020). This requirement thus has helped to drive the increase of textbook publication in the country.

Similar to second language writing, EFL writing could be said to be an interdisciplinary academic field that concerns itself with "the study and teaching of writing done in a language other than one's mother tongue" (Silva & Leki, 2004, p. 5). It is the focus of this study primarily because it is a discipline that is growing internationally (Porte & Richards, 2012) and domestically (Chuenchaichon, 2014) and because English plays a crucial role in the academic settings in Thailand (Tang, 2020). Moreover, given that an emphasis of EFL writing is on building future scholars to produce and advance knowledge in many disciplines, we argue that it is this discipline that should be studied in terms of its influence on knowledge production and dissemination. To a certain extent, this study aims to examine the degree with which non-Anglophone university-level academics comply with "white hegemonic knowledge" (Kubota, 2020, p. 723) through knowledge production, primarily to raise local academics' awareness of their citation practices and hopefully to encourage them to reconsider their practices. Specifically, the study was guided by the following questions:

1) What sources do Thai scholars use when producing and disseminating knowledge in the field of EFL writing in Thailand?

2) What changes, if any, could be observed in citation practices regarding EFL writing scholarship produced in Thailand over time?

3) How might Thai scholars' citation practices and the changes, if any, be accounted for?

Methods

This study adopted two sets of data: six university-level writing textbooks produced by Thai academics and the transcript from an author interview. It should be noted that the data for the present study are part of a larger project that examined Euro-American writing practices used by Thai researchers and textbook authors. Although the larger study focused on five aspects of the practices such as the use of the English language and the utilization of Anglo-American research writing

conventions, the present investigation examined only one aspect, that is, the gesture of exclusion. Accordingly, only the sections of the author interview that are related to the gesture of exclusion were included in the study. Below, we describe our data collection and analysis.

Data Collection and Analysis*:* Textbooks

Textbooks were selected as data for this study because they "are one of the few media which are explicitly oriented to shaping the values, knowledge, and subjectivities of the future generations" (Macgilchrist, 2017, p. 525). That is, their power in shaping our knowledge and values (such as whose knowledge should be given more weight) is great and therefore deserves scrutiny. Access to in-house university writing textbooks is limited because to a certain extent they are private properties of particular institutions. As a result, only EFL university-level textbooks that are available for public purchase were collected for analysis. Furthermore, given that several types of university-level English writing textbooks are available such as those written by non-full-time university staff usually for the purpose of self-study, this study opted to focus on those textbooks written by full-time university lecturers (or academics). One reason for such inclusion was that these books are most likely to contribute to the construction of the interested field because they were written by instructors who had been involved in the discipline through their consumption of EFL writing research and their participation in academic activities. Because of this, these materials are likely to be regarded as vehicles to construct *official knowledge* (Apple, 2014), a status that may not be generally accorded to commercial writing textbooks.

Table 1

The Corpus

Textbook	Author(s)	Year of latest publication	Publisher	Number of reprints
Sentence Writing	Panatip Pinijsakkul	2016	Thammasat University Press	2
Paragraph Writing: A Process Approach	Chuencheewee Chalermpatarakul	2018	Thammasat University Press	3
Writing Paragraphs	Tragarn Kalchayanant	2016	Thammasat University Press	3
Writing Essays	Tragarn Kalchayanant	2018	Thammasat University Press	3
English for Research Writing	Kanyarat Getkham	2019	Chulalongkorn University Press	6
Business Communication: A Functional Approach	Sumtum Parisuthiman	2017	Thammasat University Press	10

Another criterion guiding our data collection was the number of reprints. Reprints indicate the popularity and the wider reach of texts. Thus, only six textbooks that were reprinted at least once were included in the data, as shown in Table 1.

To answer the first research question, all references to which the textbooks made were manually typed and pasted onto a Microsoft Excel sheet, which served as our research instrument. Specifically, the textbook data referred to 195 books and articles combined. Then, to enhance accuracy, the list was alphabetized using the Microsoft Excel program function. The numbers of both western-based and local-based materials were later counted for comparison purposes. Finally, the frequencies also were extracted and ranked from the most frequently cited to the least frequently cited publications. The process was repeated twice by the same researcher on different days to increase reliability. The citation counts are exemplified in Figure 1. Based on the provided screenshot (lines 138-140), for example, Reid's *The Process of Composition* would be counted as 3 citations, cited by three different textbooks.

Figure 1

A Sample of All the References

After the list of the most cited publications was generated, the countries with which the authors of these works were affiliated were identified.

To understand how citation practices evolved over time, which is our second research question, we concentrated on Getkham's textbook (2019) for a further citation analysis which followed our initial examination of the corpus. This particular textbook was subject to the same procedure of citation counts described above. We focused on Getkham's textbook in six editions, published in six years (i.e., 2010, 2013, 2014, 2015, 2017 and 2019) because of three main reasons. First, the fact that this particular textbook was reprinted six times in a nine-year time span may attest to a growing demand for it and the influence it may have had on its readership. Second, the author's continuous updates of the content in each reprint also made this text a perfect candidate for a diachronic analysis. Finally, although it is not the most reprinted book, it is the second most reprinted textbook in the corpus.

Data Collection and Analysis*: Interview*

To address our third research question, we conducted an interview with one of the authors whose textbook was included in our corpus to understand the changes in citation practices. This particular author was chosen because she represented an *information-rich* case (Merriam & Tisdell, 2015) who served not only as a textbook author but also a reviewer. Moreover, her textbook was one of the textbooks in the data that made references to both local and non-local scholarship, allowing for an understanding of her choices of citation. A less but still important criteria of author selection was access: it was not possible to reach the other authors in the data sets. A Thai-medium, one-hour interview was conducted and audio-recorded. Before the interview, the interviewees were informed about the purpose of the study. During the interview, notes were taken and were then reviewed for key themes immediately after the interview session was finished to ensure accuracy (Merriam & Tisdell, 2015). Although attempts were made to follow the predetermined questions during the conversation, the sequence of the questions was not strictly followed due to the spontaneity of the interviews. However, to ensure that all interview items were addressed, the questions on the list were revisited after the first round of interview. As this current article is a segment of a larger study that investigated the influences of intellectual colonization in the field of EFL writing in Thailand, the interview questions focused on in this paper reflected only the issue of the gesture of exclusion: "What criteria did you use to select works to be cited?" "Why did you choose to cite Anglophone scholars in your textbooks?" and "Why did you choose to cite Thai scholars in your textbooks?" After the interview, it was transcribed and coded based on the third research question to extract themes.

Coding involved both inductive and deductive approaches; that is, the researchers relied both on the interview data and the literature when coding. Using the third research question as a guideline, the researchers carefully examined the interview transcript and identified the answers to the question in the margins. Repeated twice, this process resulted in 5 codes. In the second round, related and repeated first-round codes were then systematically grouped into categories, a process which produced 3 major themes. Finally, member check (Creswell & Creswell, 2018) was used to ensure validity, as the interviewee's feedback on the analysis and interpretation of the interview was solicited.

To put the interview in context, basic information about the nature of the textbook written by the interviewee is provided here. The textbook provides both language lessons and several writing exercises throughout. Referenced sources are used occasionally to provide writing lessons and exercises, but mainly to serve as writing models, usually in the form of paragraphs, to illustrate the language items under focus.

Results

In the following sections, we initially provide quantitative results to answer the first two research questions, followed by qualitative results obtained from the interview to answer the third question.

Citation Practices

The overall frequencies of the citation indicate a domination of western-based sources used in the production of the textbooks. Specifically, they reveal that the Thai authors of the EFL university-level writing textbooks often referred to scholarship authored by academics located outside Thailand, as shown in Table 2.

Table 2

The Number of Western- and Local-Based Sources Cited in the Data

Textbook	Western-based sources	Local-based sources	Total
Paragraph Writing	28 (100%)	0 (0%)	28
Writing Essays	35 (100%)	0 (0%)	35
Writing Paragraphs	36 (100%)	0 (0%)	36
Sentence Writing	10 (77%)	3 (23%)	13
Business Communication	17 (89.5%)	2 (10.5%)	19
English for Research Writing	47 (73%)	17 (27%)	64
Total	172 (89%)	22 (11%)	195

Almost 90% of the cited materials were western-based, clearly outnumbering their local-based counterparts. Also noticeable is that half of the textbooks under this study relied 100% on non-local sources, while the other half used a mix of local and Anglophone materials, despite western-based materials still claiming a larger proportion (over 70%) of all citations. A closer look at the most frequently cited scholarship reveals that works from the US are clearly visible, occupying the top 3 slots for countries of publication, as shown in Table 3.

Evidently, high-impact works emerged predominantly from countries in metropolitan contexts, notably from the United States. Two books—one by John Langan, and the other co-authored by Alice Oshima and Ann Hogue—were cited four times. Langan's books were cited in Chalermpatarakul's *Paragraph Writing* (2018), Pinijsakkul's *Sentence Writing* and Kalchayanant's *Writing Paragraphs* (twice: one citation for the 1998 edition of Langan's book and the other for the 2002 edition). Oshima and Hogue's textbook was cited in Chalermpatarakul's *Paragraph Writing* (2018), Getkham's *English for Research Writing*, Kalchayanant's *Writing Essays* and Kalchayanant's *Writing Paragraphs*. The third heavily cited books were Arnaudet and Barrett's *Paragraph Development: A Guide for Students of English* and Reid's *The Process of Composition* (2nd edition), with three citations each. Nine books were cited twice and were also written by scholars based in metropolitan institutions.

Table 3

Most Cited Materials in University-Level English Writing Textbooks

Rank	Article/Book Title and author(s)	Country of Publication	Citations
1	*Writing Academic English: A Writing and Sentence Structure Handbook* (2nd edition) *Writing Academic English* (3rd and 4th editions) By Oshima, A., and Hogue, A.	USA	4
1	*English Skills* (1985) *English Skills with Readings* (1988, 2002) By Langan, J.	USA	4
2	*Paragraph Development: A Guide for Students of English* By Arnaudet, M., and Barrett, M. E.	USA	3
2	*The Process of Composition* (2nd edition) By Reid, J.	USA	3
3	*Ready to Write: From Paragraph to Essay* By Blanchard, K., and Root, C.	USA	2
3	*Reading for Results* (6th edition) By Flemming, L. E.	USA	2
3	*Great Paragraphs* By Folse, K., Muchmore-Vokoun, A., Solomon, E. V.	USA	2
3	*College Writing Skills* (1987) *College Writing Skills with Reading* (1997) By Langan, J.	USA	2
3	*Discoveries in Academic Writing* By Leonhar, B. H.	USA	2
3	*Express Yourself in English* By O'Connor, F.	USA	2
3	*Independent Writing* By O'Donnell, T., and Paiva, J.	USA	2
3	*Paragraph Practice* (4th edition) By Sullivan, K.	USA	2
3	*Writing Talk: Paragraphs and Short Essays with Readings* By Winkler, A. McCuen, J. R.	USA	2
	Total		32

Despite the heavy reliance on texts by metropolitan scholars, it does not necessarily indicate that efforts by nonmetropolitan scholars are left unacknowledged. As seen in Table 2 above, approximately 10% to 30% of the total number of citations came from local sources, in the three

textbooks. Parisuthiman cited two works written in the Thai language by Thai scholars: Chaiseri's *Introduction to Business* (1971) and Phongwet's *English–Thai Dictionary of Economics, Banking and Business* (1979). Getkham (2019) also cited *Dictionary of Linguistics* by Rātchabandittayasathān (2003), whereas Pinijsakkul made references to the following textbooks: Jithavech's (2002) *Reading Better in English*, Na Kalasin et al.'s (1993) *Practical English Structure* and Vessakosol's (2001) *Sentence Composition*. These instances indicate that although knowledge or works by scholars in the local context do not enjoy as much attention as those by their counterparts in the Anglophone, especially the US, context, they are still valued and recognized.
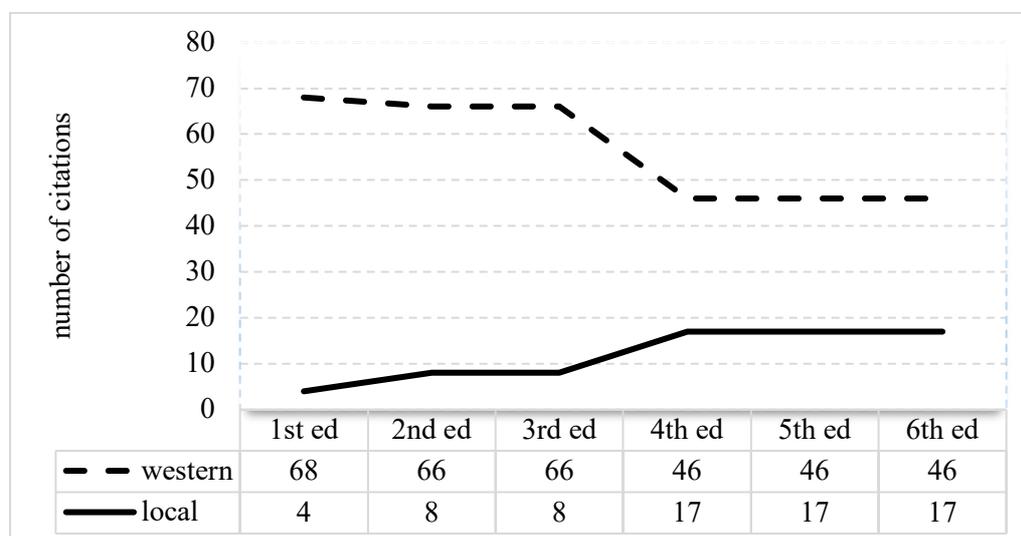
Changes in Citation Practices

This section looks at how citation practices transformed in six editions of Getkham's textbooks. Overall, western-based sources dominated the production of this textbook, as seen in Figure 2. The number of Anglophone materials in the first edition was as high as that in the second edition. However, between the 3rd and the 4th editions, there was a noticeable drop in the number of western sources, from 66 to 46 respectively, which accounted for a 30% decrease. In terms of local-based scholarship, although the number was quite small to begin with, in each round of revisions, it claimed more space and gained more visibility. Specifically, there was an 80% significant jump in the number of works by Thailand-based authors, between the 1st and the 6th editions, resulting in the gradually narrower gap between the number of local-based and US-based scholarship.

Evident also in the textbook is the fact that self-citation grew more common in later editions. That is, the author self-cited three of her previous articles in the first edition of the textbook, five in the 2nd and 3rd editions, and eight in the 4th, 5th, and 6th editions. (See Appendix 1 for a list of local sources cited.)

Figure 2

Number of References to Western and Local Materials in Getkham's Textbooks

	1st ed	2nd ed	3rd ed	4th ed	5th ed	6th ed
- - western	68	66	66	46	46	46
— local	4	8	8	17	17	17

Factors Influencing Choices in Citation Practices

The interviewee's answers reveal the numerous factors that affected her decisions regarding citation practices. These factors revolve around three themes: native-speakerism, capitalism, and rhetorical appeals.

Native-speakerism.

Native-speakerism is the chief reason why Anglophone-based materials abound. According to the interview, the author decided to include works by Anglophone scholars primarily because of her positive perception towards the language patterns used by native speakers:

> *I cited works by Anglophone scholars because these works contain effective language patterns that can serve as good models for novice researchers to be emulated. After all, we are not native speakers of English.* (Interview, June 5, 2019)

The words *effective* and *good models* speak positively of the scholarship by Anglophone academics. As a result, for her, the language patterns used by *Anglophone scholars* can serve as standards from which *novice researchers* can learn. Later in the interview, the author also added that works by Anglophone scholars exemplified the *current trend* in writing, such as the *verb tenses* and the *author's stances* that should be utilized in current writing. Furthermore, when asked if she preferred to read works by local or Anglophone scholars, she preferred the latter because of a similar reason, that is, they provided good and up-to-date language patterns.

Capitalism.

The effects of capitalism on citation practices cannot be underestimated, as the interviewee ascribed the visibility of local-based sources in the textbook to this system. During the interview, the respondent mentioned the hefty royalties that she had to pay on her own if she were to take short excerpts from articles or textbooks that were published in non-Thai academic outlets. In her own words:

> *I had to take out a lot of examples by native speakers because I had to pay a lot for copyright fees. It usually was more than the royalty fees an author received. Authors are sometimes charged 20,000–30,000 baht [638–957 US dollars] by the publishers [from which the examples were taken] Very expensive. Back then, I had to pay twice more than the royalty fees I got. It was expensive. Note also that I did not take just one example. [...] [To avoid the fees,] I began asking for writing examples from native speakers and non-native speakers whom I knew personally.* (Interview, June 5, 2019)

Relatedly, the respondent also added that authors must be financially responsible for the reprint permissions, which could also be another burden. Hence, some Western references were removed and replaced by works written by local scholars. Clearly, financial constraints are another driving factor that must considered by authors when citing specific scholarship. Instead of paying for the royalty fees, turning to the works of acquaintances who published in well-ranked journals may provide a workable solution.

Rhetorical appeals to emotions and authority.

References to scholarship by non-Anglophone scholars were also deliberately made for emotional and authorial appeals. The author indicated in the interview that the inclusion of works by Thai academics was primarily due to her writing objective to use works by non-Western scholars as sources of *inspiration* for novice researchers. As she put it,

> *I included works by Thai scholars to demonstrate that Thai scholars could also have their works published in good quality journals, so the reader could get inspired.* (Interview, June 5, 2019)

Psychologically speaking, the importance of role models in second language acquisition cannot be easily dismissed as they can be *highly influential* (Muir et al., 2021). Because students are often eager to improve their language skills when motivated, the decision to use non-Western scholarship in university-level writing textbooks may yield positive results.

In addition to the emotional appeal, the authorial appeal is also as important. In explaining her decision to self-cite her works, the author said,

> *I would like the reader to know [that I can do what I preach]. Self-citation is important. I am afraid that the reader would think, "You only took examples from other writers, but can you do it yourself?" I wanted the reader to be sure that the author is knowledgeable on the topic because she also does [what she preaches].* (Interview, June 5, 2019)

Clearly, she was fully cognizant of the relationship between herself and her readers. In other words, the reason underlying her decision to self-cite her works was to demonstrate her ability to her readers and to use self-citation as a rhetorical strategy to claim authority on the subject and to avoid having her credibility undermined.

The interview reveals a variety of factors that play crucial roles regarding citation practices. Regardless of the justifications, it is clear that textbook authors have an agency, and they seem to make decisions deliberately regarding which scholarship to be included and excluded in the process of their knowledge production. Below, we discuss these findings guided by the three sets of findings.

Discussion

This study examines how knowledge in the field of English as a foreign language writing in Thailand is constructed through an examination of citation practices in EFL college-level writing textbooks. The findings reveal that although a domination of the use of Anglophone sources can be clearly observed, which reflects what Connell (2007) calls *the gesture of exclusion*, there was also a steady rise in the use of locally produced scholarship.

On the one hand, the findings echo a study by Banegas and Cad (2021), which found that Argentinian researchers in English language teaching tended to cite works situated in the Global North, particularly the UK and the US. They also dovetail with studies by Chen and Mason (2018) in management, and by Kong and Qian (2019) in urban studies, suggesting that this lopsided citation practice appears to not be a discipline-specific phenomenon but a cross-discipline one, and that the effects of *academic neo-colonialism*, which leads scholars from the periphery contexts to rely on ideas borrowed from those from the center (Manzenreiter & Wieczorek, 2008, p. 87), can be (pro)found in both colonized and noncolonized contexts.

On the basis of the interview, the hegemonic practices that favor native-speakerism appear to account for the heavy reliance on US-American scholarship, especially in the field of English language teaching where writing norms and conventions proposed by native speakers of English are often highly valued (Holliday, 2006). This notion is also true when non-native speakers of English perceive themselves as non-native, as exemplified in the interview, "we are not native speakers of English", and by implication as being inferior to their native counterparts—an attitude that can further promote asymmetrical global knowledge flows. To a large extent, this choice of citation is not unexpected: Given that textbooks, by definition, are construed as *vehicles for pedagogy* (Issitt, 2004, p. 683) and should thus embody *official knowledge* (Apple, 2014), they must include language models or knowledge that is seen as *standard* or *norm*. This finding rings especially true for EFL classroom materials that are meant to provide standard inputs for students, and the norm is often seen as provided by native speakers of English.

On the other hand, our findings also reveal a conspicuous rise in the use of local scholarship in citation practices. When read in light of native-speakerism, this phenomenon is indicative of two western discourses simultaneously at play—but at opposite ends of the spectrum. While native-speakerism, reflecting a western discourse, is pulling authors toward the employment of Anglophone-based scholarship, capitalism, a form of western ideology (Srijongjai, 2019), is driving authors away from it. To explain, references to non-Western-based scholars are bound by the condition that involves the *financial constraints* that govern the production of texts, and by the view that textbooks are *economic commodities* (Issitt, 2004). In the age of capitalism, the process of commodification is not uncommon, including commodification of knowledge. Knowledge has become a product that can be purchased and sold (Rhea, 2017). Thus, to use someone's knowledge for commercial gain, the author needs to pay the fees, which are usually high. One way to economize on spending, then, is to ask the

author's acquaintances, who usually reside in the same location as the author, for permission to reprint their works, hence the rise in the number of citations by scholars in non-Western contexts. On the bright side, this paradox (i.e., the two unanticipated opposing consequences of western discourses) could provide fertile ground of change, which after all is the aim of any decolonial project. That is, when native-speakerism is superseded by capitalism, nonmetropolitan scholarship becomes more visible.

Furthermore, as the findings reveal, non-Anglophone citations can also be observed in the practice of self-citation. The interview reveals that the author used self-citation rhetorically to serve as a means for her to motivate readers and to establish authority on the subject. Thus, by referring to her own previous publications as writing models, the author can successfully achieve these rhetorical goals. In terms of the authorial appeal, periphery scholars are often tasked with the need to present their credentials, whereas center scholars may not carry such a burden. In view of World Englishes, countries in the Inner Circle, such as the US are not only *norm-providing* (Kachru, 1992) but also *knowledge-providing* countries. As noted in many studies (Connell, 2007; Kong & Qian, 2019), scholars based in Anglophone contexts are more likely to produce theories and be agenda-setters than those based in non-Western contexts. With this perception in mind, some non-Anglophone scholars may often feel obligated to demonstrate their mastery of skills to prove that they can also *provide norms* for novices.

In addition to the interview data and in reference to the socio-cultural context, we also argue that another explanation for self-citations may also be equally possible. This explanation stems from the professional pressures that faculty members in several universities worldwide have to bear. Although the interviewee did not touch upon this issue, professional pressure can account for self-citation when socio-cultural context is considered. According to Swales and Feak (2012), self-citation has become common in the era when "numbers of citations are becoming increasingly important in the evaluation of individuals" (p. 341). This commonality can be attributed to the culture of *publish or perish*, which, according to Mauranen (1993, as cited in Canagarajah, 2002, p. 115), is the discourse originated in the American academy. In addition, to use Bourdieu's terms, knowledge is seen as a form of cultural capital that enables academics to gain recognition in their field, and one of the means to achieve such a goal is through being visible (Neveu, 2018). Self-citation can help increase visibility and has thus become a common practice, which further helps promote the employment of nonmetropolitan scholarship.

On the basis of the aforementioned analyses, publications by scholars in the Anglophone, particularly North America, clearly dominate the field of foreign language writing in English in Thailand, eclipsing the research contribution of scholars from the Global South. However, as is evident in one of the findings, voices from scholars in the Global South are growing, insinuating that the trend might be reversed, especially if the force of capitalism supersedes that of native-speakerism.

It is important to note that we do not want to claim a universal conclusion that all textbooks in Thailand show evidence of being colonized, and that these are the only forces shaping knowledge production. To better understand this phenomenon, a larger data set of data would provide a more

comprehensive picture of the gesture of exclusion and shed light on authors' motives for including or excluding works by scholars from the nonmetropolitan contexts. Also, more artefacts, such as journal articles or conference presentations, should be incorporated into future studies to advance our understanding of knowledge production and dissemination in the discipline. Future research can also help predict if the rise of the uses of local scholarship will continue. However, it is our hope that this study could serve as a launchpad for further studies in the discipline to problematize our knowledge production and dissemination activities.

Conclusions

We conclude that although Thailand is never officially colonized, the influences of Anglo-American academic writing practices in EFL writing are still palpable. However, the issue is not one-sided and the power flow is not unidirectional. Given the complex rule of the publication game, especially the commodification of knowledge and the need to demonstrating *author*ity, Thai academics do have agency when it comes to the materials they use when producing knowledge. They do not meekly submit to the notion of native speakerism; instead, they try to strategically find a balance between providing good models, coping with financial constraints, and establishing credibility with readers, all of which pointing to a positive direction for any decolonial project.

The issue of intellectual decolonization is an important one: the fact that more local knowledge is produced but not adequately utilized may raise concerns in terms of local knowledge flow and asymmetrical power relations between scholars in the Euro-American setting and those outside it (Banegas & Cad, 2021). In the worst case, it could result in a demise of alternative knowledges, as knowledge produced in the Euro-American contexts receive more value and recognition. Therefore, scholars in both settings should begin to balance the dominance of Euro-America to create a space where academic areas become more inclusive, and to acknowledge and recognize the labor of periphery scholars. Likewise, examinations of knowledge flow and knowledge democracy should be ongoing. We agree with Kubota (2020) that we must "critically examine how our own scholarly activities produce and maintain racial hierarchies and inequalities of different academic knowledges, further impacting the institutional status of racialized scholars" (p. 4). This study can be seen as an attempt to do that.

Finally, the decolonial project would be far from reality without changes that also take place in the classroom and outside. When adopting heavily Anglophone-based textbooks in their classrooms, EFL writing teachers may consider supplementing the textbooks with sources or writing models from local academics, or even exemplary student texts. This practice can have not only decolonial but also psychological effects, as it can motivate and inspire student writers. Likewise, EFL material writers may consider incorporating local scholarship in their production of knowledge. The decision to use local works should not be arbitrarily made, however. Instead, borrowed texts should reflect high quality scholarship, so the practice is not seen as being done only for the sake of inclusion. Through concerted

effort, a more democratic and inclusive space for knowledge production and dissemination in this field and others can be created.

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Appendix 1

A list of locally-produced publications that Getkham's textbook made reference to in 6 editions (2010-2019)

Edition	Number of references by academics in Thailand	Details of references produced by academics in Thailand
1st (2010)	4	• 3 articles by Getkham (1988, 2007, 2010) • 1 article by Kanoksilapatham (2003)
2nd (2013) 3nd (2014)	8	• 5 articles by Getkham (1988, 2007, 2010, 2012, 2013) • 1 article by Kanoksilapatham (2003) • 1 article by Phanairamai, M. (1997) • 1 book by the Office of the Royal Society (2003)
4th (2015) 5th (2017) 6th (2019)	17	• 8 articles by Getkham (1988, 2007, 2010, 2012 (two articles), 2013 (two articles), 2015) • 1 book by the Office of the Royal Society (2003) • 1 article by Chat-Uthai (2013) • 1 article by Kamsaeng (2015) • 1 article by Hearns-Branaman (2013) • 1 article by Kanoksilapatham (2003) • 1 article by Phanairamai, M. (1997) • 1 article by Samransamruajkit, Jitchaiwat, Deerojanawong, Sritippayawan, Prapphal (2007) • 1 article by Samransamruajkit, Hiranrat, Sritipayawan, Deerojanawong, Prapphal, Poovorawan (2008) • 1 article by Saengboon (2014)

About the Authors

Kiatipong Rerkwanchai is a PhD candidate in Language and Communication at the Graduate School of Language and Communication (GSLC), National Institute of Development Administration (NIDA). His academic interests encompass writing studies, decolonization of knowledge, and critical discourse analysis.

Savitri Gadavanij is Assistant Professor of Linguistics at the Graduate School of Language and Communication (GSLC), National Institute of Development Administration (NIDA). Her expertise and interest lie in discourse studies and critical discourse studies with specific focus on public discourse and Discourses in Thai society.