THE LANGUAGE POLICIES AND PRACTICES OF THE PHILIPPINES AND THAILAND: INSIGHTS AND LESSONS FOR LANGUAGE PLANNING

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This paper comparatively studies the language policies and practices of the Philippines and Thailand in order to gather insights and lessons for ongoing language planning of both countries, as well as of the other countries of the ASEAN region, and of any other countries that are grappling with the issues and challenges of being multicultural and multilingual or are gearing for regional integration/ cooperation and globalization. The aspects of language policies and practices of the said two countries analyzed by this paper are: [1] the profiles of their language policies and practices, [2] their socio-historical and political contexts, [3] their underpinning motivations, [4] their implementations and their structural/ organizational mechanisms, [5] their implications on nationalism and multiculturalism, [6] their implications on the development of human and intellectual capitals, and [7] their implications on regional integration and globalization.

planning, motivations behind language planning, language planning and the development of human and intellectual capitals, language planning and nationalism, language planning and multiculturalism, language planning and regional integration, and language planning and globalization

INTRODUCTION

THIS PAPER LOOKS into the strengths and gaps of the language policies and practices of the Philippines and Thailand in order to glean some insights and lessons that could be of value to both countries, to the other ASEAN countries, and to any other countries that are grappling with the issues and challenges of being multicultural and multilingual, as well as those countries that are gearing for regional integration/cooperation and globalization.

THE LANGUAGE POLICIES AND PRACTICES OF THE PHILIPPINES

To have a grip on the complex history of language planning in the Philippines, it is advantageous to start with the following chronological map that visually represents the period from the transition from the Spanish to the American colonial regimes up to the present (adapted from Demeterio, 2012, p. 28):
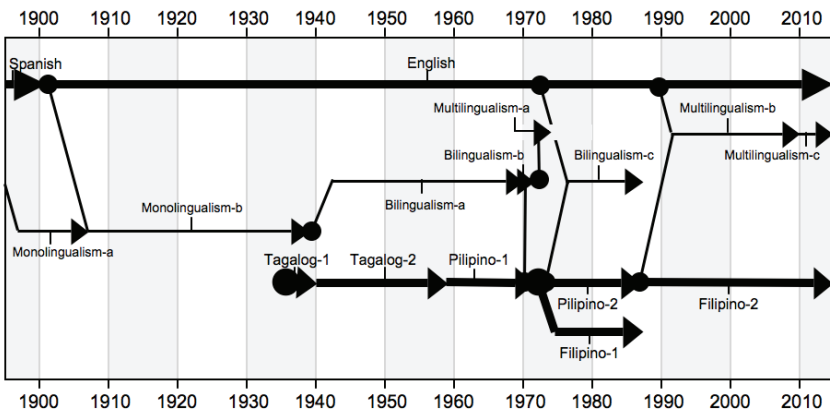

Figure 1. *Chronological Map of Philippine Language Planning*

A Profile of the Philippine Language Policies and Practices

National language. The present national language of the Philippines is Filipino and Figure 1 shows how its almost 80 years of history is characterized by renamings and discontinuities. Tagalog-1 refers to the Tagalog language, which in 1937 was considered the basis of an intended national language. Eventually, Tagalog-1 was named the National Language of the Commonwealth of the Philippines in 1939. Tagalog-2 refers to the same Tagalog language, which in 1940 was made into a mandatory academic subject. Pilipino-1 refers to that stage when the national language was renamed "Pilipino" in 1959 in order to dissociate it from the Tagalog ethnic group and presumably ease the resentment of the other Philippine ethnic groups, particularly the Cebuanos, the Ilocanos and the Hiligaynons. Pilipino-2 refers to that stage when the same language was divested of its national language status in 1973 while maintaining its supposedly temporary official status. Filipino-1 refers to a grandiose project, envisioned in 1973 but did not take off, concerning the building of a new national language from the grammar and vocabularies of the Philippine languages. Filipino-2 refers to that stage when Pilipino was renamed "Filipino" in 1987 and invested again with the status of national language. Thus, the Philippine national language may be said to be around for almost 80 years if the reckoning starts from Tagalog-1; but considering the disruption brought about by Filipino-1, it would be more reasonable to start the reckoning from Filipino-2 and say that it has been around only about 30 years.

Official languages. The official languages of the Philippines are English and Filipino. English has been the official language for over a century now; Spanish only ceased to be an official language in 1973; while Filipino (Tagalog-2 in Figure 1) only became an official language in 1941. Thus, Filipino as a co-official language has been around for only about 70 years. But, again, because of the disruption brought about by the temporary status of Pilipino-2 that was supposed to be replaced by Filipino-1, it would be more reasonable to start the reckoning from Filipino-2 and say that Filipino has been a co-official language for only about 30 years. In addition to English and Filipino, the 1987 Constitution of the Republic of the Philippines recognized the regional languages as

official auxiliary languages in their respective regions.

International language. With the transition from Spanish to American colonial regimes, Spanish as an international language also waned in the Philippines with the waxing of English. At present, very few Filipinos understand and use Spanish. This makes English the sole international language in the country.

Status of the regional languages. According to *Ethnologue*, the Philippines has 181 living languages (Cf. "Philippines"). Subtracting Filipino, Tagalog, Chinese Mandarin, Chinese Min Nan, Chinese Yue, and Spanish from this total, the country, therefore, has 175 regional languages. Although these languages are heavily used in everyday non-formal communication, they have minimal official standing. Since 1939, they have been intermittently used as auxiliary languages for learning. The 1987 Constitution of the Republic of the Philippines has a more affirmative stance on them with its recognition of their being official auxiliary languages in their respective regions, its vision of continuously enriching Filipino with elements coming from them, and its mandate for the Congress to establish a national language commission composed of regional representatives and tasked with conducting developmental and conservational researches on the Philippine languages. The Philippines' most dramatic support for the regional languages is the Order 74, Series 2009 of the Department of Education, entitled "Institutionalizing Mother Tongue-Based Multilingual Education," that stipulated the use of such languages in the early years of primary education.

Status of other foreign languages. *Ethnologue* includes four foreign languages in its list of 181 living Philippine languages: Chinese Mandarin, Chinese Min Nan, Chinese Yue, and Spanish. Among these four, however, only Spanish is mentioned in the 1935, 1973 and 1987 constitutions. Specifically, the 1935 Constitution of the Commonwealth of the Philippines retained Spanish as a co-official language, while the 1973 Constitution of the Republic of the Philippines specified it together with Arabic as one of the languages to which the constitution shall be translated, and the 1987 Constitution of the Republic of the Philippines provided that Spanish, together with Arabic, shall be promoted on voluntary and optional bases. Chinese Mandarin, although not mentioned

in any of the Philippine constitutions, enjoys the status of being taught and used in Chinese primary and secondary schools.

Languages in the public sphere. With the presence of two official languages, 175 official auxiliary languages, and a handful of other foreign languages, determining the dominant language in the Philippine public sphere is a little complicated thing to do. In this paper, therefore, the public sphere was first broken into the following domains: [1] national government, [2] courts, [3] military, [4] religion, [5] education, [6] entertainment, [7] press/literature, [8] local government, [9] businesses and offices, [10] factories, and [11] marketplaces and home-based industries (Adapted from Schmidt-Rohr as cited by Haberland, 2005, pp. 229-230). Then, for each domain it was discerned if Filipino, English, the regional languages, and the other foreign languages have primary, secondary, tertiary or quaternary dominance. Such discernment was based on the authors' familiarity with the linguistic landscape of their home country, as well as on the information culled from the literature on Philippine languages. To be able to come up with averages, numerical values were assigned: 1 for primary, 2 for secondary, 3 for tertiary, and 4 for quaternary dominance, with 5 for non-use. English has primary, the regional languages have secondary, and Filipino has tertiary dominance in the Philippine public sphere and that the other foreign languages are relatively not significantly used (Table 1).

Language programs. With the presence of two colonial languages, discontinuities in the histories of national and official languages, and further discontinuities in language planning, a series of discontinuous language programs were put in place mainly in the domain of education. Hence in Figure 1, monolingualism-a refers to the Spanish monolingual education; monolingualism-b, to English monolingual education; bilingualism-a, to a program that started in 1939 that established English as the primary medium of instruction and the regional languages as the auxiliary medium of instruction; bilingualism-b, to a short-lived program in 1969 that mandated the use of Filipino as the primary medium of instruction and the regional languages as the de facto auxiliary medium of instruction; multilingualism-a, to another short-lived program in 1973 that directed the use of the regional languages as the medium of instruction for the early years of primary education

Table 1. **Preferred Languages in the Philippine Public Sphere**

Domain	Filipino	English	Regional Languages	Other Foreign Languages
National Government	Secondary (2)	Primary (1)	Not Used (5)	Not Used (5)
Courts	Tertiary (3)	Primary (1)	Secondary (2)	Not Used (5)
Military	Secondary (2)	Primary (1)	Tertiary (3)	Not Used (5)
Religion	Tertiary (3)	Secondary (2)	Primary (1)	Quaternary[1] (4)
Education	Secondary (2)	Primary (1)	Tertiary (3)	Quaternary[2] (4)
Entertainment	Secondary (2)	Primary (1)	Tertiary (3)	Not Used (5)
Press/Literature	Secondary (2)	Primary (1)	Tertiary (3)	Not Used (5)
Local Government	Tertiary (3)	Primary (1)	Secondary (2)	Not Used (5)
Businesses and Offices	Tertiary (3)	Primary (1)	Secondary (2)	Quaternary[3] (4)
Factories	Tertiary (3)	Secondary (2)	Primary (1)	Not Used (5)
Marketplaces /Home-Based Industries	Not Used (5)	Secondary (2)	Primary (1)	Not Used (5)
Average[4]	**Tertiary (2.73)**	**Primary (1.27)**	**Secondary (2.36)**	**Not Used (4.73)**

[1] Arabic is used by Filipino Muslims as a religious language.
[2] Mandarin and Arabic are taught in some schools.
[3] Chinese languages are used by Filipino Chinese in business transactions.
[4] 1.00 to 1.80=Primary; 1.81 to 2.60=Secondary; 2.61 to 3.40=Tertiary; 3.41 to 4.20= Quaternary; 4.21 to 5.00=Not Used.

before transitioning to Filipino and English; bilingualism-c, to the more lasting and known version of bilingualism that started in 1974 and the specified use of only Filipino and English as the medium of instruction for primary, secondary, and tertiary education; multilingualism-b, to a modification of bilingualism-c during the Presidency of Corazon Aquino that recognized again the regional languages as auxiliary medium of instruction; and

finally, multilingualism-c, to an innovation in 2009 that is based on the principles of mother language education that begins with the regional languages and systematically transitions into the use of Filipino and English. As already mentioned, this program was the Philippines' most dramatic support for the regional languages.

Socio-Historical and Political Contexts

English as an official language antedated Filipino as national and co-official language by about 40 to 90 years (Figure 1), depending on whether the reckoning starts with Tagalog-1, Tagalog-2 or Filipino-2. This means that English had already been well-entrenched in the Philippines before Filipino became a national and co-official language. Furthermore, Philippine language planning happened when the country was still under the dominion of the United States of America, and therefore was not totally free to determine its own affairs. When America finally gave the country its political independence after the Second World War, the Philippines was too preoccupied with post-war reconstruction to allocate enough attention and resources to language planning.

The archipelagic nature and mountainous terrain of the country that fostered an astonishing diversity of over 150 languages presented another problematic context. The 1935 Constitution of the Commonwealth of the Philippines attempted to grapple with this challenge by suggesting the creation of a national language that is "based on one of the existing native languages." Thus, naming Tagalog (Tagalog-1 in Figure 1) in 1937 as the bases of the Philippine national language appeared to be aligned with the spirit of this Constitution, but declaring Tagalog (Tagalog-2 in Figure 1) as the Philippine national language is a little incongruent to such spirit. Although Tagalog is the language of a sizeable ethnic group of Filipinos, this group happened to occupy the capital of the country and the surrounding provinces, making the declaration of the same language appear like a hegemonic imposition in the eyes of the other ethnic groups. Before the Spaniards came, Malay was the trading lingua franca of the archipelago. Then the Spaniards brought with them Spanish to become the lingua franca of the limited number of elite Filipinos, and made it a point to prevent the emergence of an indigenous lingua franca that could potentially galvanize the various ethnic groups into a threatening mass. When the Americans came, they

replaced Spanish with English. Tagalog, therefore, never had the chance of being an archipelagic lingua franca prior to its selection as national language.

The divisive nature of the problem of the national language in a democratic setting posed as still another problematic context. Regional politicians can champion the cause of the regional languages and reopen old debates, while national politicians are hesitant to take decisive steps for the certainty of some political backlash coming from the disgruntled ethnic groups (Cf. Rappa & Wee, 2006, p. 61). It is to the political advantage, therefore, of national politicians not to meddle with language planning.

The slow growing economy of the country and its fast growing population stood as still another problematic context (Cf. Gonzalez, 2003, p. 5). As the country is forced to depend more and more on labor export, and consequently value the ability of Filipino job seekers to speak English, everyone conveniently forgets that both the 1973 and the1987 constitutions only grant temporary official status to English with an implicit hope that Filipino (Filipino 1 and Filipino 2 in Figure 1) will one day take over as the sole official language of the country.

Underpinning Motivations

Anthea Fraser Gupta's article "Language Status Planning in the ASEAN Countries" listed eight basic motivations that precede decisions in language planning: [1] the government's recognition of the articulated desire of the people; [2] the cultivation of national identity; [3] the establishment of a medium for inter-ethnic group communication; [4] the maintenance of cultural differences between different ethnic groups; [5] the provision of affirmative support to some disadvantaged groups; [6] the restriction of some minority groups; [7] the infusion of power to the dominant group; and [8] the establishment of a medium for international communication (1985, pp. 3-4). Table 2 shows the different motivations that underpin the different languages in the Philippines.

Implementation and Structural/Organizational Mechanisms

In this paper, implementation is conceptualized using Einar Haugen's idea of language planning as having four dimensions:

Table 2. **Underpinning Motivations of the Languages in the Philippines**

Language	Status	Underpinning Motivation
Filipino	National and co-official language	1 and 2 (in unity)
English	Co-official language	1, 3, and 8
Regional languages	Auxiliary official languages in the regions	1, 2 (in diversity), 4, and 5
Other foreign fanguages (Spanish, Arabic and Mandarin)	Promoted and tolerated languages	2 (in diversity), 4, and 8

[1] selection, [2] codification, [3] implementation, and [4] elaboration (1987, p. 59). This paper's idea of implementation means that a given Philippine language, or cluster of languages, had successfully passed through Haugen's four dimensions of language planning. Hence, Table 3 shows how these languages fared through such dimensions.

Table 3. **The Languages in the Philippines and Haugen's Phases of Language Planning**

Language	Status	1	2	3	4
Filipino	National and co-official language	■	■		
English	Co-official language	■	■	■	■
Regional languages	Auxiliary official languages in the regions	■			
Other foreign languages (Spanish, Arabic, and Mandarin)	Promoted and tolerated languages	■	■		■

1 = Selection   2 = Codification   3 = Implementation 4 = Elaboration

Filipino as national and official language encountered problems in its selection and codification processes. Its pre-war versions (Tagalog-1 and Tagalog-2) had problems with the selection dimension due to the perceived heavy handed imposition of the Tagalog ethnic group, but it went on with a rather successful codification. Its 1973 version (Filipino-1) could have addressed the problem of selection by promising a new ethnically neutral/inclusive national language, but faltered in its codification, and miserably reverted (as Filipino-2) to the evolving codification that started in the pre-war period. These are the main reasons that Filipino as national and official language could not successfully push through the implementation and elaboration dimensions of language planning. English, on the other hand, when it was imposed by the Americans on the Filipinos, was already a successfully codified and elaborated language. Hence, between a language that is still trying to legitimize its selection and codification dimensions while staggering in the dimension of implementation, and another language that has already been elaborated, most Filipinos would give their pragmatic support to the latter.

The regional languages had been successful in the selection dimension, as there are no noticeable oppositions to the government's inclusivist action of making these languages the official auxiliary languages of their respective regions and the medium of instruction in the early years of primary education. But in the actual reality, things may not be as neat as they appear. First, the boundaries among ethno-linguistic groups do not coincide with the political boundaries of the local governments. Second, there are local governments that are saddled with too many regional languages. These problems, although not articulated as urgent matters, had already been felt in the codification process for the purpose of using these languages for instruction. Faced with so many still uncodified regional languages, the government stealthily substituted its mother language education program with a regional lingua franca education program, at least for the time being. Thus, instead of codifying and immediately using all of the over 150 regional languages for instruction, the government started only with twelve languages and later on added seven more. With this problem in codification, it is but logical to assume that the Philippine regional languages are still far from the implementation dimension of language planning. With the status

of the regional languages as official auxiliary languages and as media of instruction for the early years of primary education, even if their codification and implementation will be accomplished someday, there is very little chance for them to be elaborated.

Spanish, Arabic, and Mandarin—like English—are also well codified and elaborated languages. But unlike the case of English, the plans for Spanish, Arabic and Mandarin are not as intensively implemented and widely supported by Filipinos. As has been shown (Table 1), how these other foreign languages are relatively not significantly used in the domains of the Philippine public sphere.

The structural and organization mechanisms that support the Filipino language are the Department of Education, the Commission for Higher Education and the Komisyon sa Wikang Filipino (Commission on Filipino Language). These departments and commissions are too few, too preoccupied with other concerns, and too weak to goad Filipino against the hegemony of English. These are especially true in a context where the propagation of the national language is not a priority of the government (Cf. Rappa & Wee, 2006, p. 61). English, on the other hand, is structurally and organizationally supported by practically all of the schools, colleges, and universities, as well as by the other domains of the Philippine public sphere (Table 1).

The regional languages are structurally and organizationally supported by the Department of Education and nominally by the Komisyon sa Wikang Filipino. The Department of Education is the specific government office that is being flooded with the already mentioned codification of regional languages for the supposedly ongoing mother language education program. The Komisyon sa Wikang Filipino is having difficulties implementing the national language and could not be expected to give significant support to the regional languages. In addition to these two government offices, there are a handful of non-government organizations, mostly groups of regional writers, that support specific regional languages. Examples of these organizations are LUDABI for Cebuano, and GUMIL for Ilocano. Yet these organizations are too few to represent all of the over 150 regional languages. Despite their weak structural/organizational support, these regional languages are adequately used by a number of domains in the Philippine public sphere (Table 1).

Spanish is structurally and organizationally supported by

the Instituto de Cervantes and by the very few universities that continue to offer courses in Spanish for the students who are majoring in history, international studies, foreign relations, and the like. Arabic is structurally and organizationally supported by the Islamic schools that are operating in Mindanao. Mandarin is taught in Chinese primary and secondary schools found in urban centers.

Implications on Nationalism and Multiculturalism

One of the motivations for the establishment of Filipino as national language was the cultivation of unified national identity (Table 2). But since the perceived heavy handed imposition of the Tagalog ethnic group resulted in resentment among those who do not belong to this ethnic group, this language did not do much in the strengthening of Filipino nationalism. Nationalism in the Philippines was first expressed anyway in Spanish, then in the regional languages and then in English. Thus, there is no reason why it cannot be cultivated further using English and the regional languages.

Does the failure of Philippines to cultivate a unified national identity with its national language imply that such language inadvertently supported multiculturalism? It does not follow, because there is a difference between being multicultural and multiculturalism. The first refers to a state of cultural diversity, while the second refers to an attitude of openness to such diversity. There might be linguistic diversity in the Philippines, but it does not follow that its government has that attitude of openness to such diversity. Philippine multiculturalism cannot be deduced from its failed mono-cultural attempt to cultivate a unified national identity through the Filipino national language. It should be deduced instead in its mother language education program. But considering that such program is still being run as a lingua franca education program, and that such program is only good for the early years of primary education, we cannot reasonably expect a profound multiculturalism coming from it.

Implications on Human and Intellectual Capital

The Philippines has already achieved the status of being one of the top labor exporting countries, but a closer look (Table 4), showing

how Filipino workers are distributed among foreign occupational groups, reveals that only very few of them land in white collar jobs (adapted from National Statistics Office, 2013).

Table 4. **Distribution of Filipino Overseas Workers to the Occupational Groups as of 2013**

Occupational Groups	Percentage of Workers	Classification	Percentage of Workers
Officials of government and special-interest organizations, corporate executives, managers, managing proprietors, and Supervisors	3.5%	White collar	15.1%
Professionals	11.6%		
Technicians and associate professionals	7.6%		
Clerks	5.2%		
Service workers, and shop and market sales workers	16.7%		
Farmers, forestry workers and fishermen	0.0%	Blue collar	84.9%
Trades and related workers	12.9%		
Plant and machine operators and assemblers	11.7%		
Laborers and unskilled workers	30.8%		

This demonstrates that it is not the intellectual capital of the Filipino worker that attracts foreign employer. Furthermore, the country appears to have failed to maximize its rather impressive educational infrastructure and culture (Table 5) that juxtaposes

Table 5. **Educational Infrastructure and Culture, Workplace, and Employment Context, and Global Innovation Index of the ASEAN Countries**

ASEAN Country	Education Pillar (*from* Human Capital Index 2013)			Workforce & Employment Pillar (*from* Human Capital Index 2013)			Global Innovation Index		
	Score	World Rank	Regional Rank	Score	World Rank	Regional Rank	Score	World Rank	Regional Rank
Brunei Darussalam	No data	No data	No data	No data	No data	No data	31.7	88	6
Cambodia	−0.839	99	8	0.104	42	6	28.7	106	8
Indonesia	0.04	61	3	0.262	32	4	31.8	87	5
Laos	−0.320	83	7	−0.097	59	8	No data	No data	No data
Malaysia	0.526	34	2	0.736	18	2	45.6	33	2
Myanmar	No data	No data	No data	No data	No data	No data	19.6	140	9
Philippines	0.011	65	4	0.164	38	5	29.9	100	7
Singapore	1.348	3	1	1.345	2	1	59.2	7	1
Thailand	−0.242	79	6	0.482	27	3	39.3	48	3
Vietnam	−0.176	73	5	−0.040	57	7	34.9	71	4

data from the Human Capital Index 2013 and the Global Innovation Index 2014 (Adapted from World Economic Forum, 2013, pp. 12-13; & Dutta, Lanvin & Wunsch-Vincent, 2014).

In terms of educational infrastructure and culture, the Philippines ranks 4th in the ASEAN region. But in terms of translating this standing to the context of the workplace and employment, the country slides to the 5th rank in the same region and in terms of translating its educational standing to innovativeness, the country further slides to the 7th rank in the same region. This incongruence could have been a result of an inefficiency arising from the Philippine government and people's insistence on using English as the primary medium of instruction that necessitates so much time for the learning and mastery of the language without the guarantee that such time expended would indeed result in the functional use of the same language. English in the Philippines has become a bottleneck in the education of young Filipinos. Had the country shifted to using the national language as the primary medium of instruction, the education process would have been a lot more efficient. Although Filipino may not be the mother tongue of many Filipinos, its grammatical structure and a good portion of its vocabulary are analogous and shared by the other Filipino Austronesian languages. The mother language education program that was launched a few years ago may improve Philippine education depending on its successful implementation, which as this paper already mentioned is still a huge struggle, and depending on whether this program would systematically transition to multilingual education that is still predominantly English or to a multilingual education that would be predominantly Filipino.

Implications on Regional Integration and Globalization

Linguistically speaking, the Philippines, with its people's facility for the English language, the official language of the ASEAN and a major lingua franca of international interaction, is more than ready for regional integration and globalization. But globalization is not just about communication; it is more so about human capital and functional economies. If the Philippines strengthened its communication facility at the expense of prioritizing its human capital and economy, then the country should have second thoughts about its readiness for regional integration and

globalization.

THE LANGUAGE POLICIES AND PRACTICES OF THAILAND

Again, to have a grip on the history of language planning in Thailand, it is also advantageous to start with the following chronological map that visually represents the period from the establishment of the Chakri Dynasty and the Kingdom of Rattanakosin in 1782 up to the present.
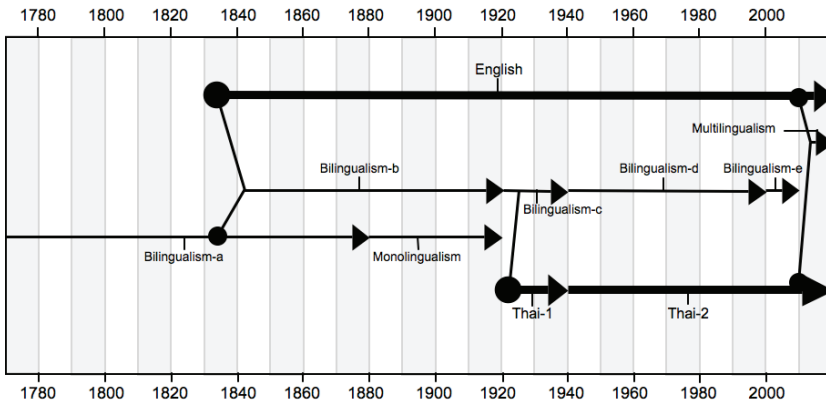

Figure 2. *Chronological Map of Thai Language Planning*

A Profile of the Thai Language Policies and Practices

National language. The de facto national language of Thailand is Thai; its more than a century history of existence is characterized by developmental continuity (Figure 2). Thai-1 refers to the Central Thai language, which in 1918 was imposed by King Vajiravudh (Rama VI) as a subject and medium of instruction to all private schools, specially the Chinese schools, and which in 1921 was used as the medium of instruction in Thailand's compulsory education program (Cf. Ratanapat, 1990, pp. 107-108; Tungasvadi, 2004, pp. 47-48). Thai-2 refers to the same language, which in 1940, through a state convention, was made into one of the primary symbols of Thai nationalism and an obligatory language to be learned by all inhabitants of Thailand (Cf. Simpson & Thammasathien, 2007, p. 397). If one reckons the existence of the Thai national language

from Vajiravudh's time, then it has been around for almost a century; and if one reckons its existence from the state convention of 1940, then it has been around for more than 70 years. What is clear is that there is no disruption between Thai-1 and Thai-2.

Official language. Thai is the only official language of the Kingdom of Thailand. Such status must be reckoned from the reign of Vajiravudh. Therefore, this official language has been around for almost a century.

International language. English is the foremost international language of Thailand. Its presence in Thailand can be dated back to the decision of King Nangklao (Rama III), who ruled from 1824 to 1851, to let his court be familiar with this language in order to elude the threat of colonial domination. Nangklao had access to the language through the American Baptist missionaries who arrived in 1833, and the American Presbyterian missionaries who arrived in 1840 (Cf. Methitham & Chamcharatsri, 2011, pp. 59-60). This policy was supported and expanded by his successors, King Mongkut (Rama IV), King Chulalongkorn (Rama V), and Vajiravudh. The then Prince Chulalongkorn was one of the wards of the British school teacher. The English language, therefore, has almost one and a half centuries presence in Thailand. Although Chinese, Indian, and Japanese are mentioned in the most recent language policy of Thailand, only English has been substantially supported so far by the Thai government.

Status of regional languages. According to *Ethnologue*, Thailand has 73 living languages. Subtracting from this the Ban Khor Sign Language, Chiangmai Sign Language, Chinese Mandarin, Thai and Thai Sign Language, the country, therefore, has 68 regional languages. Although these languages are heavily used in everyday non-formal communication, they underwent a rather long history of repression, as a consequence of the propagation of Central Thai as the national and official language. The languages, other than the Central Thai, that belong to the Thai family were considered dialects and variants of the Central Thai. The rest of the languages that do not belong to the Thai family were marginalized as minority languages. Despite the dominance of the Central Thai, there is generally no tangible resentment coming from the other ethnic groups (Cf. Smalley, 1988, p. 246). It was only very recently

that the Kingdom of Thailand became open to the practice of mother language education.

Status of other foreign languages. Aside from English, the other foreign languages that are significant in Thailand are Chinese Mandarin, Japanese, Pali, and Arabic. Chinese Mandarin has been part of the curriculum of the Chinese schools since the establishment of the Kingdom of Rattanakosin, and although it experienced periods of repression it is presently the second most popular foreign language in the country (Cf. Luangthongkum, 2007, p. 190). Japanese used to be the second most popular foreign language before it was overshadowed by Chinese Mandarin (Cf. Luangthongkum, 2007, p. 190). Thais who can speak Chinese Mandarin and Japanese possess advantage in the job market. Pali, a dead Indian language, and Arabic are used as religious languages by Buddhists and Muslims, respectively, and are taught in temples and mosques. Aside from these major foreign languages, Thailand also has a number of languages that are shared with its neighboring countries, Myanmar, Laos, Cambodia, and Malaysia. But for the purposes of this paper, these border languages are treated as either regional or minority languages of Thailand, instead of international languages.

Languages in the public sphere. With the presence of an official language, 68 regional languages and a handful of foreign languages, the dominant language in the Thai public sphere may be determined following the scheme that was used in this paper for the Philippines. Since the authors were not as familiar with the linguistic landscape of Thailand as they are with that of the Philippines, their discernment on the primary, secondary, tertiary or quaternary dominance of the languages of Thailand was based on the information culled from the literature on Thai languages as well as on the kind guidance and assistance of a number of Thai acquaintances who corresponded with them through emails: Pat Niyomsilp, professor of law; Sarisa Srisathaporn, education student; Natthawan Saensaeng, French student; Chayapol Prayoonsin, information and communication engineering student; Sirasith Prach Suchartlikitwongse, materials science and engineering student; all from Chulalongkorn University; Liu Phitchakan Chuangchai, teacher of Thai from Walen School Chiang Rai; and Mew Kuenghakit from Harrow International

School.

Table 6. **Preferred Languages in the Thai Public Sphere**

Domain	Thai	English	Regional Languages	Other Foreign Languages
National Gov't	Primary (1)	Secondary (2)	Not used (5)	Not used (5)
Courts	Primary (1)	Not used (5)	Not used (5)	Not used (5)
Military	Primary (1)	Tertiary (3)	Secondary (2)	Not used (5)
Religion	Primary (1)	Quaternary (4)	Tertiary (3)	Secondary[1] (2)
Education	Primary (1)	Tertiary (3)	Secondary (2)	Quaternary[2] (4)
Entertainment	Primary (1)	Secondary (2)	Tertiary (3)	Not used (5)
Press/Literature	Primary (1)	Secondary (2)	Tertiary (3)	Not used (5)
Local Gov't	Primary (1)	Tertiary (3)	Secondary (2)	Not used (5)
Businesses/Offices	Primary (1)	Secondary (2)	Tertiary (3)	Quaternary (4)
Factories	Secondary (2)	Tertiary (3)	Primary (1)	Not used (5)
Marketplaces/ Home-Based Industries	Secondary (2)	Tertiary (3)	Primary (1)	Not used (5)
Average[4]	**Primary (1.18)**	**Tertiary (2.91)**	**Tertiary (2.73)**	**Not used (4.55)**

[1] Pali and Arabic are used by Thai Buddhists and Muslims as religious languages.
[2] Pali, Arabic, Mandarin, Japanese, French, German and Korean are taught in some schools.
[3] Mandarin and Japanese are used by some Thais in their job.
[4] 1.00 to 1.80=Primary; 1.81 to 2.60=Secondary; 2.61 to 3.40=Tertiary; 3.41 to 4.20=Quaternary; 4.21 to 5.00=Not Used.

Thai has primary, while the regional languages and English have tertiary dominance in the Thai public sphere (Table 6). The other foreign languages are relatively not significantly used.

Language programs. Bilingualism-a (Figure 2) refers to the archaic temple-based education that presumably used either the mother tongues or some lingua francas together with Pali. Bilingualism-b pertains to the elite court-based education that used Thai and English starting from the decision of Nangklao to familiarize the Thai royalty and aristocracy with the language. Monolingualism denotes the secular and modern education implemented by Chulalongkorn starting in 1884 (Cf. Sangnapaboworn, 2007, p. 261). Away from the control of the Buddhist temples, this educational system was presumably monolingual based on either the mother tongues or some lingua francas. Bilingualism-c signifies the innovation made by Vajiravudh starting in 1921 to propagate Thai as the official language of the Kingdom and English as its international language. Bilingualism-d represents the educational system starting in 1940 that propagated Thai as both the official and national language of Thailand, and English as its international language. Bilingualism-e refers to a trend starting in 1999 to use English both as a subject matter and medium of instruction for some courses (Cf. Baker, 2012, p. 2). Multilingualism pertains to the trend established by the Kingdom's new language policy in 2010 that affirmed the value of the regional languages especially in the context of mother language education (Cf. Fry, 2013). Aside from these positive language programs that thrive in the educational context, Thailand also initiated repressive programs both inside and outside such context, such as the banning of the teaching of Mandarin in Chinese schools, the limitation of publication of foreign language newspapers, the banning of the use of scripts other than the official and national script, and even the burning of some non-Thai texts (Cf. Keyes, 2003, p. 192).

Socio-Historical and Political Contexts

Figure 2 might show that the presence of English as a foreign language antedated the establishment of Thai as official language by almost 90 years and as national language by more than 100 years, but such do not mean that English was able to entrench itself deeper than Thai. English started as an international language for only a very small number of Thai royalty and aristocracy. English and Thai started to be imposed on the wider population simultaneously in 1921, with Thai as both a

curricular subject and medium of instruction as well as medium of official communication, while English was only a curricular subject. Furthermore, it should be remembered that even before English came into Thailand, the Thai language already had some hundreds of years of history as the language of the court. Another important factor that leads to the entrenchment of Thai was the fact that the language planning initiated by Vajiravudh was preceded by more than 130 years of stabilization of the Kingdom of Rattanakosin and some decades of bureaucratic centralization and modernization done by Chulalongkorn. In addition to this well primed stage, Vajiravudh threw his full authority and support for the propagation of Thai as official language.

The mild linguistic diversity of Thailand offered another auspicious context for the entrenchment of Thai. The Thai family of languages was spoken by more than 90% of the population of the Kingdom. By packaging the other Thai languages as dialects and variations of Central Thai, the official and national language became easier to accept by over 90% of the population. Since Thai had the privilege of being the language of court, and therefore the language of prestige and opportunity, and lingua franca as well, the remaining less than 10% of the population speaking about 50 different non-Thai languages could offer very little resistance to the imposition of Thai.

In the context of an absolute monarchical state, the issue of selecting an official language, was not a matter that was to be settled in a political debate. Thus, Vajiravudh selected Thai, because it was his language, it was the language of his capital, it was the courtly language of his kingdom as well as of its predecessor, the Kingdom of Ayutthaya, and it was the lingua franca of his people. There were no local rulers to debate against his imposition of Thai, because decades before, Chulalongkorn clipped their powers and replaced most of them with bureaucrats who took orders from Bangkok. Most importantly, there was no time for political debates, as Vajiravudh was consumed by a sense of urgency in using Thai as a tool for nation building. First, he inherited from Chulalongkorn the idea that the Thai nation had to be built; otherwise, the western powers might parcel out the Kingdom of Rattanakosin along the ethnic boundaries of its admittedly diverse people, leaving the Chakri Dynasty with only the territories occupied by the Thai ethnic groups (Cf. Keyes, 1997, p. 207). Third, Vajiravudh felt threatened by the rise of nationalism

among the Chinese in Thailand, but knew that they can be swayed to the side of the Thai nation if such nation emerges soon (Cf. Simpson & Thammasathien, 2007, p. 395). With this urgency, the establishment of Thai as official and national language happened with less debates and protracted deliberations, but with more action and implementation.

The robust economy of Thailand bolstered the Thais' racial pride and reinforced their nationalism including their commitment to their official and national language. Their stable population does not push the Thais to seek employment abroad and force them to embrace English more and more.

Underpinning Motivations

Following Gupta's list of basic motivations that precede decisions in language planning, table 7 shows the different interests that underpin the various languages in Thailand:

Table 7. **Underpinning Motivations of the Languages in Thailand**

Language	Status	Underpinning Motivation
Thai	National and official language	2 (in unity), 3, 4 (Thais from Burmese, Lao, Cambodians, and Malaysians), and 6 (especially the Thai-Chinese)
English	Promoted international language	8
Regional languages	Mother tongues (national treasures)	1, 2 (in diversity), 4 (within Thailand), and 5
Other foreign languages (Mandarin, Japanese, French, German, Korean, Pali and Arabic)	Other promoted international languages	2 (in diversity), 4 (especially the Thai-Chinese), and 8

Implementation and Structural/Organizational Mechanisms

Following this paper's definition of implementation as a given language's successful passage through Haugen's four dimensions of language planning, Table 8 shows how the different languages of Thailand fared through such dimensions.

Table 8. **The Languages in Thailand and Haugen's Phases of Language Planning**

Language	Status	1	2	3	4
Thai	National and co-official language	■	■	■	■
English	Promoted international language	■	■		■
Regional languages	Mother Tongues (National Treasures)	■			
Other foreign languages (Mandarin, Japanese, French, German, Korean, Pali, and Arabic)	Other promoted international languages	■	■		■

1 = Selection   2 = Codification   3 = Implementation 4 = Elaboration

Thai did not encounter problems in its selection process during the time of Vajiravudh. Its codification process was even done earlier during the time of Chulalongkorn (Cf. Renard, 2006, p. 314). With the full support of Vajiravudh, in the context of a state that was centralized and modernized by Chulalongkorn, in a precarious climate of external and internal threats, the policy of using Thai as official language was powerfully implemented. As already mentioned, such initial status given to Thai was supported and further developed by the succeeding governments. Thai is constantly being elaborated by the Royal Institute of Thailand. Hence, viewed through the dimensions of Haugen, Thai language planning is a story of success. English, on the other hand, although it is a fully codified and elaborated language, was not successfully

implemented in Thailand. Nangklao's idea was merely to limit its use among some members of the Thai royalty and aristocracy. Vajiravudh's attempt at universalizing the use of English was operationalized by merely offering it as a curricular subject. Since 1999, Thailand has been trying to improve its facility with English by using it more and more as a medium of instruction, at least for some courses.

Although Thailand's regional languages had just recently emerged from almost 100 years of repression, their affirmation since 2010 as mother tongues and national treasures signal a successful selection dimension in this branch of language planning. But with the same history of almost 100 years of repression and a mother language education policy that is still four years old, these regional languages are definitely currently plagued by problems of codification. Thus, their implementation would also be logically problematic, at least for the time being. With their status as media of instruction for the early years of primary education, even if their codification and implementation will be accomplished soon, there is very little chance for them to be elaborated. Mandarin, Japanese, French, German, Korean, Arabic, and Pali—like English—are also well codified, and, except Pali, are well elaborated as well. If English is not successfully implemented in Thailand, these other foreign languages are in an even worse situation. It has already been shown that these other foreign languages are relatively not significantly used in the domains of the Thai public sphere (Table 6).

The structural and organization mechanisms that support Thai are the Royal Institute of Thailand that takes care of the continuous standardization and elaboration of the languages as well as its propagation at the level of the country's top scientists and scholars; the Ministry of Education and its textbook printing office that take care of the propagation at the level of the teachers, professors and the youth; the National Identity Office that takes care of promoting national unity and security based on the principle of "one language and one culture;" the Ministry of the Interior that takes care of the functional Thai proficiency of the local officials; and even the Ministry of Defense that takes care that language issues do not escalate into political issues (Cf. Luangthongkum, 2007, p. 181; Rappa & Wee, 2006, pp. 110-111). English, on the other hand, is structurally and organizationally supported by the Ministry

of Education, as well as by some of the domains of the Thai public sphere (Table 6).

The regional languages are structurally and organizationally supported by the Royal Institute of Thailand and the Ministry of Education. However, it appears that the Royal Institute of Thailand is still not prepared for the codification of these languages. Its current functions related to language are still very much tied to the official and national Thai language "to compile dictionaries, encyclopedias, terminologies in all fields of knowledge, and coin new words" and "to establish criteria of Thai usage in order to preserve and promote the Thai language, a national identity" (The Royal Institute, 2007). The other foreign languages are structurally and organizationally supported also by the Royal Institute of Thailand and the Ministry of Education, the Chinese schools, and by the major mosques and temples.

Implications on Nationalism and Multiculturalism

One of the motivations for the establishment of Thai as national language was the cultivation of a unified national identity (Table 7). Such desire for a unified national identity was not nurtured for the sake of a unified national identity but rather for the sake of saving the Kingdom of Rattanakosin from the external threat of the French and British colonial powers as well as from the internal threat of the Thai-Chinese.

Thailand's nation building since the time of Chulalongkorn and Vajiravudh had clearly been veering towards monoculturalism and monolingualism. Such a long lasting project had been inauspicious to multiculturalism. What is remarkable about Thailand's monolingual nation building was that the other Thai ethnic groups generally accepted the national language, and what they asked for from the central government was merely the government's tolerance and a little space for their regional languages (Cf. Keyes, 2003, p. 192). It is only lately that Thailand began affirming multiculturalism through its opening up to the regional languages in its recent mother language education program. But considering that this program is still four years old, and that these regional languages will only be used in the early years of primary education, we still have to wait and see what kind of multiculturalism it will foster.

Implications on Human and Intellectual Capital

Thailand appears to have maximized its rather struggling educational infrastructure and culture (Table 5) that juxtaposes data from the Human Capital Index 2013 and the Global Innovation Index 2014. In terms of educational infrastructure and culture, Thailand ranks 6th in the ASEAN region. But in terms of translating this standing to the context of the workplace and employment, the country climbs to the 3rd rank in the same region, and, in terms of translating its educational standing to innovativeness, the country retains the 3rd rank in the same region. This impressive incongruence could have been a result of an efficiency arising from the Thai government's insistence on using Thai as the primary medium of instruction. Although Central Thai may not be the mother tongue of many Thais, the major regional languages of Thailand are related to it as part of one linguistic family.
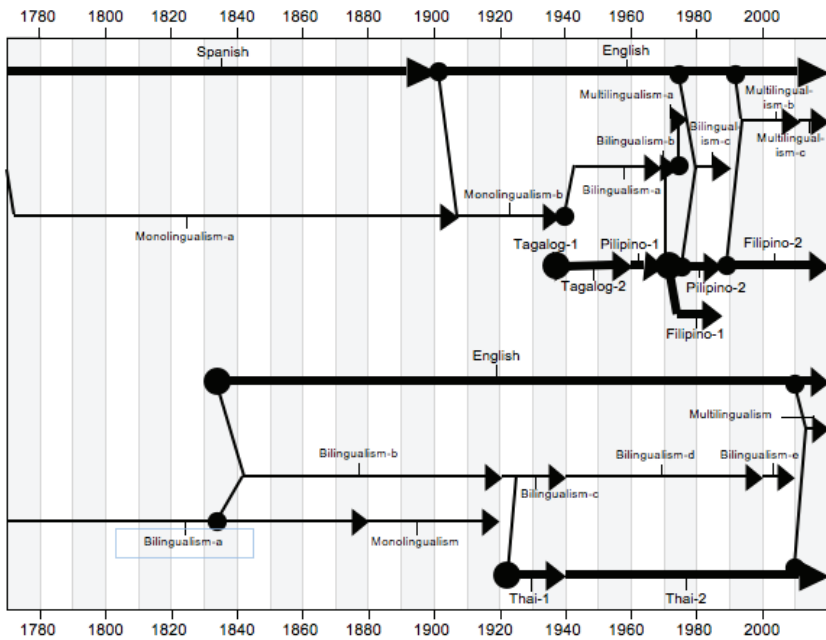

Figure 3. **Chronological Maps of Philippine and Thai Language Planning**

Implications on Regional Integration and Globalization

Thailand may not be very proficient with English, but it does not mean that it is not ready for regional integration and globalization. It has enough leaders and intellectuals who are proficient with English and therefore can communicate regionally and internationally. Furthermore, some Thais are very proficient with Chinese Mandarin and with the handful of their boundary languages such as Burmese, Lao, Cambodian, and Malay, which are languages of some of the ASEAN countries. As already mentioned, globalization is not just about communication, but more so about human capital and functional economies, thus Thailand's impressive translation of its standing in educational infrastructure and culture into economic and innovative performance (Table 5) gives the country a considerable edge.

COMPARISON AND CONTRAST

On the Profiles of the Philippine and Thai Language Policies and Practices

The Philippines and Thailand's linguistic profiles are similar in the sense that they both: [1] have a national indigenous language, [2] use such national indigenous language as official language, [3] have English as primary international language, [4] have a number of regional languages, [5] are currently shifting to a multilingual affirmation for these regional languages, and [6] have other international languages.

At a closer comparison, however, these similarities would prove to be superficial in the sense that the Philippines and Thailand's linguistic profiles have more dissimilarities in their details. First, Thailand's national language is indeed used as the only official language of the country, in contrast to the Philippines' failure to use its national language and its having English as a co-official language. Second, the Philippines' proficiency in English is much stronger than that of Thailand, because for over a hundred years the Philippines has used English as a medium of instruction and as an official/co-official language, while Thailand only uses English as a subject to be studied and as an international language for a very limited number of people. Third, the Philippines

has a more positive and tolerant attitude towards the regional languages, in contrast to Thailand's incidence of repressive and aggressive monolingual policies. Fourth, Thailand's other foreign languages have actual pragmatic functions and enjoy some level of support from the government, while the Philippines' other foreign languages are merely mentioned in some policies. Fifth, the Philippines and Thailand have different ways of employing their languages in the public sphere (Table 9).

Table 9. **Comparison on How the Philippines and Thailand Use their Languages in the Public Sphere Based on Tables 1 and 6**

Languages	Philippines	Thailand
National/Official Language	Tertiary	Primary
English	Primary	Tertiary
Regional Languages	Secondary	Tertiary
Other Foreign Languages	Not significantly used	Not significantly used

In the Philippine public sphere, English has primary dominance, the regional languages have secondary dominance, while the national and official language has only tertiary dominance, and the other foreign languages are not significantly used. In the Thai public sphere, on the other hand, it is the national and official language that has primary dominance, while the regional languages, together with English, only have tertiary dominance, although the other foreign languages are also not significantly used. Sixth, the difference between the Philippines and Thailand's language programs can be graphically seen in Figure 3.

The Philippines left a dizzying trace of rambling, shifting and disruptive language programs in comparison to Thailand's evolutionary and developmental trajectory. In addition to this, Thailand had a slightly longer history of nationalistic language planning than did the Philippines.

On the Socio-Historical and Political Contexts of Philippine and Thai Language Planning

The socio-historical and political contexts of Philippine and Thai language planning are similar in the sense that they both:

[1] have English as an international language that antedates the establishment of their national/official language, [2] have to start from a linguistically heterogeneous situation, and [3] exist under the overarching presence of western powers.

At a closer comparison again, these similarities would prove to be superficial in the sense that the socio-historical and political contexts of Philippine and Thai language planning have more dissimilarities in their details. First, although English antedated Thai as a national/official language, Central Thai was already used hundreds of years earlier as a courtly language and lingua franca, in contrast to Tagalog/Filipino that did not have such distinctions prior to its selection as national/official language. Second, Philippines' linguistic heterogeneity is much greater, more than double specifically, compared to that of Thailand, and such Philippine heterogeneity does not have an uncontestable majority language. Third, Thailand was not colonized while the Philippines had been colonized by both Spain and the United States of America. Hence, language planning in the Philippines happened when the country was still a colony, while language planning in Thailand was done after more than a century of political stabilization and centralization. Fourth, language planning in Thailand had the ideological, organizational and logistical support from the absolute monarch, in contrast to the language planning in the Philippines that deteriorated into a wrangling issue that cannot be resolved democratically and had to be relegated to some obscure departments as a non-priority. Fifth, language planning in Thailand had a sense of urgency coming from the need to have a common language for intra-state communication, from the external threat of western colonization, and from the internal threat of the rising nationalism of the Thai-Chinese. Philippine language planning never had such sense of urgency, as the country's intra-state communication was done in English, the Filipinos did not see the Americans as external threats but as benevolent allies, and the country did not feel at that time significant internal threats coming from the Filipino-Chinese or from the Filipino-Muslims. Sixth, Philippine language planning is pressured to prioritize English by its sluggish economy and rapid population growth so that Filipinos can more easily find jobs abroad. Thai economy, on the other hand, is more robust and its population growth had already stabilized.

On the Underpinning Motivations of Philippine and Thai Language Planning

The similarities and differences between the underpinning motivations of Philippine and Thai language planning can be seen in Table 10.

Table 10. **Comparison on the Underpinning Motivations of Philippine and Thai Language Planning Based on Tables 2 and 7**

Language	Underpinning Motivation	
	Philippines	**Thailand**
National/Official Language	1 and 2 (in unity)	2 (in unity), 3, 4 (Thais from Burmese, Lao, Cambodians and Malaysians), and 6 (esp. the Thai-Chinese)
English	1, 3, and 8	8
Regional Languages	1, 2 (in diversity), 4, and 5	1, 2 (in diversity), 4 (within Thailand), and 5
Other Foreign Languages	2 (in diversity), 4 and 8	2 (in diversity), 4 (esp. the Thai-Chinese), and 8

The underpinning motivations for promoting the regional languages and other foreign languages in the Philippines and Thailand are almost the same. As for the national/official language, Thailand has more underpinning motivations than the Philippines. This could be one of the reasons why Thai is definitely more robust than Filipino. On the other hand, as for English as a primary international language, the Philippines has more underpinning motivations than Thailand. This could be one of the reasons why Filipinos ended up being more proficient in English than the Thais.

On the Implementation and Structural/Organizational Mechanisms of Philippine and Thai Language Planning

The similarities and differences between the implementations of

Philippine and Thai language planning can be seen in Table 11.

Table 11. **Comparison on the Movements of Philippine and Thai Language Planning through Haugen's Phases**

Language	Philippines				Thailand			
	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4
National/Official Language	■	■			■	■	■	■
English	■	■	■	■	■	■		■
Regional Languages	■				■			
Other Foreign Languages	■	■		■	■	■		■

1 = Selection   2 = Codification   3 = Implementation   4 = Elaboration

The implementation of the planning for regional languages in the Philippines and Thailand are similar in the sense that they are both stuck in the codification phase, owing to the newness of the two countries' shift to mother language education. The implementation of the planning for the other international languages in the Philippines and Thailand are also similar in the sense that they are both having problems in Haugen's implementation stage.

Philippines and Thailand differ in the implementation of their national/official languages, in the sense that the Philippines is stuck in Haugen's implementation phase, while Thailand is currently engaged in further elaborating Thai. Philippines and Thailand also differ in the implementation of English as international language, in the sense that Philippines is taking full advantage of the ongoing elaborations of English that are being done in the other parts of the world, while Thailand is stuck in Haugen's implementation phase.

As to the structural and organizational mechanisms for the implementation of Philippine and Thai language planning, the two countries are similar only for their sparse support given to the regional languages. They are different in terms of the national/official language; whereas Thailand has a number of powerful departments and offices that plan, implement and monitor the propagation and development of its national/

official language, Philippines only relied on its departments of education, that appear more interested in English language, and a commission that is relatively powerless and understaffed. Thai as national/official language is centrally supported by the Thai government as a political matter as the Thais are convinced that Thai is indispensable for the creation of a strong Thai identity and consequently a strong Thai nation-state. On the other hand, Filipino as national/official language is not centrally supported by the Philippine government as the Filipino politicians understand that Filipino is a sensitive and divisive political issue that if unnecessarily touched could create imminent backlash on their political careers. Secondly, Philippines and Thailand are different in the way they support English as this international language is a priority in the Philippine departments of education as well as in majority of the domains in the Philippine public sphere, while in Thailand, although this international language is also desired, the Ministry of Education still prioritizes Thai and majority of the domains in the Thai public sphere only allot tertiary attention to such international language. Thirdly, Philippines and Thailand slightly differ in their support of other foreign languages; the Philippines is hardly concerned about these languages while Thailand is giving them some level of government curricular programming and financial backing.

The Implications on Nationalism and Multiculturalism of Philippine and Thai Language Policies and Practices

Filipino and Thai are different in their impact on the development of their respective nationalism. Tagalog/Filipino deteriorated into a divisive political matter and therefore could not contribute much to the development of Philippine nationalism. Thai, on the other hand, was successfully established as one of the key symbols of Thai nationalism and one of the defining characteristics of Thai-ness.

Although the Philippines and Thailand just recently shifted to mother language education, signifying in the process their official support of multilingualism and consequently of multiculturalism, it would appear that the Philippines has a better environment for multiculturalism compared to Thailand. For a long period of time the Philippines tolerated and recognized its regional languages as auxiliary official languages. Thailand, on the other hand, has

a history of repressing its regional languages. As to the prospects of mother language education, Thailand, however, has an edge over the Philippines as the Philippines is burdened with so many regional languages and is notorious for its insufficiently funded programs and offices. Thailand's Royal Institute has a better chance of successfully codifying its regional languages than the Philippines' Commission on Filipino Language. Similarly, Thailand's Ministry of Education has a better chance of successfully implementing the mother language education than the Philippines' Department of Education. Furthermore, given the Philippines' history of rambling, shifting and disruptive language programs, even the mother language education program is actually in a precarious situation of being superseded by other future language programs. Thailand, on the other hand, has a history of evolutionary and developmental language planning that in some way guarantees the continued existence of its mother language education program.

The Implications on Human and Intellectual Capital of Philippine and Thai Language Policies and Practices

Comparing how the Philippines and Thailand translated their educational infrastructure and culture into advantages in the context of the workplace and employment as well as in the sphere of innovation, it would appear that Thailand is faring much better compared to the Philippines (Table 12).

The inefficiency in the way the Philippines makes use of its comparatively strong educational infrastructure and culture could have been the result of its insistence on using the English language as the primary medium of instruction. The country may produce English-speaking graduates, but only very few of them can actually use such language in higher levels of thinking and discoursing. Other graduates without the adequate English proficiency could not as well use the national and regional languages in higher levels of thinking and discoursing because in the Philippine public sphere, there is very little space and support given to higher level thinking and discoursing outside the English language. Conversely, the efficiency in the way Thailand makes use of its comparatively weaker educational infrastructure and culture could have been the result of its insistence on using Thai as the primary medium of instruction. The country may not

Table 12. **Educational Infrastructure and Culture, Workplace and Employment Context, and Global Innovation Index of the Philippines and Thailand**

Country	Education Pillar (*from* Human Capital Index 2013)			Workforce & Employment Pillar (*from* Human Capital Index 2013)			Global Innovation Index		
	Score	World Rank	Regional Rank	Score	World Rank	Regional Rank	Score	World Rank	Regional Rank
Philippines	0.011	65	4	0.164	38	5	29.9	100	7
Thailand	−0.242	79	6	0.482	27	3	39.3	48	3

produce many English-speaking graduates, but the majority of its Thai-speaking graduates can actually use the Thai language in higher levels of thinking and discoursing. This mass of human capital that is capable of higher level thinking and discoursing is what powers Thailand's comparatively vibrant workplace and employment and its strong drive for innovation.

The Implications on Regional Integration and Globalization of Philippine and Thai Language Policies and Practices

In terms of English as the official language of the ASEAN and the lingua franca of globalization, the Philippines definitely has an edge over Thailand. But Thailand has an edge over the Philippines in terms of Chinese Mandarin, as a major language in the ASEAN region and also a lingua franca of globalization. Furthermore, Thailand has border languages that it shares with its neighboring ASEAN countries. In terms of human capital and functional economies, Thailand also has an edge over the Philippines. Thailand's weakness in English can be easily compensated by its increasing number of leaders and intellectuals who are proficient in such language. But the Philippines' weakness in human capital and economy is something that cannot be compensated by the number of its English-speaking people.

CONCLUSION:
INSIGHTS AND LESSONS

What the Philippines Can Learn From Thailand

Thailand has more success than the Philippines in terms of planning for the national language, the official language, and the other international languages, thus the lessons that the Philippines can glean from Thailand should come from these three areas of language planning. Reflecting on Thailand's planning for national language, the Philippines should realize that in a linguistically heterogeneous context, the selection of a national language would inevitably be a political process that would include irresolvable issues from some aggrieved ethnic groups. The Philippines might have faltered in this process, but it went on with the codification and half-hearted implementation processes. Philippines' national

and local leaders should be able to see that at this stage it would really be both pragmatic and strategic to put a closure to the never-ending debates about the bungled selection process and just move on with full support for the further codification, implementation, and elaboration of Filipino. Instead of not attending to or blocking a more robust implementation of Filipino, the local leaders and intellectuals should focus their energies in lobbying for a more inclusive codification/elaboration of Filipino by proposing the adaptation of more vocabularies from their regional languages and even the recognition of their idiosyncratic grammar as legitimate variants of Filipino. The national leaders, on the other hand, should learn from Thailand that planning for national language should be backed by a strong political will and sufficient financial and organizational support from the central government.

The Philippines should learn from Thailand that one way of propagating the national language is to use it as official language. With the Philippines' two official languages, Filipino and English, the national leaders should make it a point that Filipino should be the more dominant official language, and that gradually English should be divested of its official status as implied by the 1987 Constitution. The Philippines can continue to use English as an international language even without investing it an official status, just like what is being done in Thailand. The Philippines should realize that it needs a language that can be shared by the majority of its people and can be used for higher level communication and discoursing. English was not able to address such need, but Filipino has greater chances of addressing such need. Being an Austronesian language, Filipino is definitely easier to learn, use, and master by the Filipinos who may not belong to the Tagalog ethnic group. The Philippines should look at Thailand to eradicate its deep-seated fear that without English, the Philippine economy would spiral downward. The Philippines should, in fact, realize that its insistence on holding on to English only created a mindset of dependence on external economies for jobs and survival, which at the bottom line only further weakened the Philippine economy. Thailand's practice of delegating international relations and commerce to its fewer number of Thais who are proficient with English can be used as model for Filipinos. After all, what is the use of widespread English proficiency if it is paid for very dearly by the Philippine people's inability to engage themselves in higher levels of communication and discourse?

The Philippines should learn from Thailand that aside from English there are other international languages that can be useful in the ASEAN integration and globalization, and that the study of these languages, therefore, should be given some degree of government support. For example, the Filipino language's affinity with the Malay language, which is a national/official language of three other ASEAN countries, should be maximized as a starting point for Filipinos' study and mastery of this Austronesian language. Just as the background of some Chinese-Filipinos in Chinese Mandarin should be further cultivated and expanded to the other Filipinos.

What Thailand Can Learn From the Philippines

The Philippines has more success than Thailand in terms of planning for English and the regional languages, hence the lessons that Thailand can glean from the Philippines should come from these two areas of language planning. As to the relative success of the propagation of English in the Philippines, Thailand should see its positive and negative sides. On the positive side, Thailand may learn how the Philippines propagated the use of English by making it the primary medium of instruction in education and by allowing English to dominate most aspects of the Philippine public sphere. On the negative side, such method of propagating English may negatively result in an inefficient educational system that fails to produce graduates who are able to translate their educational capital into functional economic power and drive for innovation. Furthermore, such method of propagating English may negatively result to the erosion of Thai-ness that the country is supposed to be jealously guarding. In other words, Thailand should think twice about following the Philippine fascination and obsession with the English language.

Thailand may glean some lessons from the Philippines' openness and tolerance to the regional languages. The existence and cultivation of the regional languages need not be seen as contradictory to the project of nation building. Furthermore, since the Philippines started embracing the system of mother language education a little slightly ahead of Thailand, Thailand could actually monitor the progress of such educational program in order to gather practical lessons for its own implementation of its similar program.

Insights and Lessons for the ASEAN Countries and Beyond

Concerning the planning for national language, the ASEAN and other countries that are grappling with the issues and challenges of being multicultural and multilingual as well as those that are gearing for regional integration/cooperation may gather the following insights and lessons: that a national language can be used as a tool for nation building; that national language planning in a linguistically heterogeneous context can be a very difficult task that needs a lot of political will, financial support, and organizational backing; that national language planning implies some irresolvable issues coming from aggrieved ethnic groups; and, that the stakeholders should be able to see the necessity and urgency of such planning.

Concerning the planning for official language, the ASEAN countries and the other countries may gather the following insights and lessons: that it would be beneficial for a national language to be truly used also as an official language; that it should be continuously assessed if an inherited colonial language still needs to be invested with an official status; and, that the use of an indigenous official language that is related to the regional languages will tend to have a positive impact on the development of a country's intellectual and human capital.

Concerning the planning for English as an international language, the ASEAN and other countries may gather the following insights and lessons: that there is a need for an international language and going for English is a sound decision; that it is not necessary, however, to use English as the medium of intra-state communication; that it is also not necessary to invest English with the status of official language; that it is not a wise policy to increase proficiency in English to the detriment of the national/official language as well as the regional languages; and that it is more pragmatic to reserve proficiency in English to the segments of society that truly need it, such as the leaders, international businessmen, academics, graduate students, and other individuals gearing for overseas employment.

Concerning the planning for regional languages, the ASEAN and other countries may gather the following insights and lessons: that there should be no contradiction between being open and tolerant of these languages on one hand and pushing for nation

building on the other hand; that these languages can be accorded an auxiliary official status; that the system of mother language education is a good way of affirming these regional languages; that, however, we should not expect so much development and cultivation of these languages from the system of mother language education in the sense that such languages will only be used in the early years of primary education; and, that the development of these languages will largely depend on whether local organizations and intellectuals will use and support such languages in literature and journalism.

Concerning the planning for the other international languages, the ASEAN and other countries may gather the following insights and lessons: that aside from English, there are other international languages that can also be useful for regional integration/cooperation and globalization and that it would be beneficial for governments to encourage and support their study, use, and mastery.

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