

Minerva Access is the Institutional Repository of The University of Melbourne

Author/s:

Newman, Trent Phillip

Title:

'Seidauk sai hanesan ami nia mehi': a study of lecturers' responses to multilingualism in higher education in Timor-Leste

Date:

2019

Persistent Link:

<https://hdl.handle.net/11343/227022>

Terms and Conditions:

Terms and Conditions: Copyright in works deposited in Minerva Access is retained by the copyright owner. The work may not be altered without permission from the copyright owner. Readers may only download, print and save electronic copies of whole works for their own personal non-commercial use. Any use that exceeds these limits requires permission from the copyright owner. Attribution is essential when quoting or paraphrasing from these works.

‘Seidauk sai hanesan ami nia mehi’

***A study of lecturers’ responses to multilingualism
in higher education in Timor-Leste***

By Trent Phillip Newman

ORCID#: 0000-0002-8495-456X

Submitted in total fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

Melbourne Graduate School of Education

University of Melbourne

January 2019

Abstract

This research is aimed at understanding multilingualism in locally situated institutional contexts in higher education in Timor-Leste. Particular attention is paid to the language planning and workforce development roles played by tertiary educators in the context of postcolonial, social and economic development. This is done through a close study of the beliefs and practices of lecturers teaching in professional fields relevant to the national development of Timor-Leste: agriculture, petroleum, tourism and community development. Guiding research questions focus on these lecturers' conceptualisations of the communication skills and resources needed by their students for study and work in their respective industries, as well as on their multilingual teaching practices and communication strategies with students. Findings are drawn from empirical data gathered ethnographically from focus groups, interviews and class observations conducted with lecturers from three institutions, one public and two private.

A combination of fine-grained sociolinguistic and discourse analysis reveals spectacular diversity in the locally valued and enacted forms and arrangements of multilingualism in these higher education spaces in Timor-Leste. The results of this research detail the specificities of this variation at multiple sociolinguistic scales of analysis: the different industry areas case-studied, the different faculties, departments and institutions where data was collected, and the classrooms of different individual lecturers. Different 'visions of industry' are productive of different beliefs about the communicative worlds into which graduates will be entering. Different beliefs about the relative affordances and constraints of the four official and working languages of Timor-Leste (Tetun, Portuguese, English and Indonesian) are productive of different perspectives on the preparedness of students for tertiary study. Lecturers' own unique plurilingual repertoires, borne of individual educational and biographical trajectories, combined with the material constraints of available teaching and learning resources, limit the multilingual communication possibilities in classrooms. There are, however, powerful examples of lecturers' significant creative and agentic abilities towards the transfer of expert knowledge in and through a mixture of semiotic forms.

This study thus highlights both the hugely challenging position in which lecturers in higher education in Timor-Leste are placed – at the meeting point of diverse and often conflicting

pressures – and their role as change agents in the discursive construction of multilingual communication for different fields. Lecturers’ beliefs and practices with regard to multilingual communication are demonstrated to be influenced by a range of competing pragmatic considerations and discursive forces, as well as being themselves productive of particular norms of professional and vocational communication and particular constructions of expert knowledge. Implications of the findings of this study are considered for policy-makers working in language and higher education in Timor-Leste, for those working in workforce development, and for teachers in academic literacies and language support programs in tertiary settings in developing, multilingual contexts.

Declaration

This thesis comprises only my original work towards the Doctor of Philosophy, except where indicated in the preface. Due acknowledgement has been made in the text to all other material used. The thesis is fewer than 100 000 words in length, exclusive of tabulated information, figures, references and appendices.

Signed:

Trent Phillip Newman

Date: 31st January 2019

Preface

Material from this PhD research project has been published as book chapters in the following edited collections:

Newman, T. 2018. Policy and Practicality in Timorese Higher Education: Lessons from lecturers in development-related disciplines. In J. Crandall & K. Bailey (Eds.), *Global perspectives on educational language policies*. New York: Routledge.

Newman, T. 2017. Transforming Lexicon, Transforming Industry: University Lecturers as Language Planners in Timor-Leste. In J. Choi & S. Ollerhead (Eds.), *Plurilingualism in Teaching and Learning: Complexities Across Contexts* (pp. 183 – 198). New York: Routledge.

This published material is elaborated in chapters four and five of this thesis.

Agradesimentu sira ***(Acknowledgements)***

Producing a PhD thesis is a truly collaborative enterprise. Perhaps it is not supposed to be – it is, after all, supposed to be my own voice, expressing in writing a rigorous process of academic and intellectual becoming. If this is the case, then it is surely a heteroglossic voice with which I have produced this thesis. It is a voice infused, written through with the voices of others that I have encountered in my journey through the conduct of this research. Those from whom I have learned and by whom I have been guided; those who supported and encouraged me to use my voice with confidence; those with whom I have developed my ideas and the articulation of those ideas in dialogue and discussion over a conference podium or over a glass of wine in Dili, Ermera, Melbourne and elsewhere.

There are, of course, too many voices to acknowledge, too many sources of support that saw me through to the completion of this thesis. I am grateful for them all.

Iha Timor-Leste:

Thank you to the lecturers who I encountered in the course of completing this study – those who participated formally and also those who did not. I am humbled by your earnest efforts and transformational energy towards the development of your country. To those who did participate, thank you for your openness and honesty, for your earnest reflection and insights, for sharing your valuable time and for opening your classrooms to me. *Obrigadu barak.*

I offer my sincere gratitude, also, to the institutional leaders who permitted me to conduct this research. Thank you for your hospitality and for the invaluable opportunity to work with and learn from your lecturers. My thanks, especially, to the faculty of agriculture at 'NU' for welcoming me and hosting me, providing me with office space for three months during my visit in 2015.

To my interpreters and translators: Mana Zita Araujo, Maun Etelvino, Mana Katrina, Mana Mayra. The understandings and insights that I have gained from this research would plainly not have been possible without you. I feel privileged to have had the opportunities that I did to learn about Tetun – about its many complexities as well as its possibilities – in dialogue with you in and through Tetun.

To Dr Helen Hill: thank you for our many long and rich conversations, from which I learned so much about the historical and contemporary socio-political context of higher education in Timor-Leste. Thank you especially for sharing your home in Dili with me on my visits there.

To my friends and colleagues who continue to do important education work in Timor-Leste: Mana Catharina WVK, the teachers in the School of Languages at 'TTC', Mana Louise Cook-Tonkin, staff in the ANAAA office in Dili, and Mana Lyndall: Thank you for teaching me, encouraging me and helping me along the way during my various visits to Timor.

Iha Australia ... no fatin seluk:

Ba hau nia orientador sira, Prof. Joe Lo Bianco and Prof. Lyn Yates. *Obrigadu* for your guidance and support throughout this journey. I am a transformed researcher for our work together and I am most grateful for that.

Joe, I thank you especially for introducing me to conversations that I would not otherwise have dreamed of entering, for continually encouraging me to have confidence in my own researcher gaze and voice, for our many rich discussions, and for your friendship.

Lyn, thank you especially for always helping me to focus on 'keeping it moving forward', for your ever sharp and timely insights and feedback, for your genuine interest in helping me to find my own way with this study, and for making me feel like a friend and colleague.

My sincere thanks also go to the trustees of the fellowships and financial awards that enabled me to conduct this research: The International Research Foundation for English Language Education (TIRF) doctoral dissertation grant, and the William and Kate Herschell Scholarship at the Melbourne Graduate School of Education. I am honoured that you saw potential in this research and in me.

To my PhD brothers and sisters: Dr Rebecca Hetherington, Dr Amanda Hiorth, Dr Bo Hu, [pretty much] Dr Brendan Rigby and Dr Nima Sobhani. Thank you for your love and comradeship on the PhD journey. You re-humanised the experience for me at crucial moments that enabled me to believe it was worth continuing. I am so grateful for that, and for your friendships.

To the members of my progress committee: Prof. Lesley Farrell and Prof. Fazal Rizvi. Thank you for your advice and guidance on conceptualising key aspects of this research. Lesley, thank you especially for being both a mentor and a friend, and for modelling a human approach to scholarship that I admire and want to emulate.

To my colleagues and friends in the Language and Literacy Research Hub at the Melbourne Graduate School of Education: thank you for your collegiality and support over the past five years. A heartfelt thanks especially to Paul, Julie, Yvette and Carmel, for always showing an interest and a concern in 'how it's all going'.

To the staff at the University of Melbourne Graduate Students' Association: thank you for your generosity and your understanding in accommodating me and my 'study group' over the past two years.

On a more personal note:

I would like to thank my extended supervisory support network: to Dr Sue Ennis, thank you for understanding, for checking on my wellbeing, for reminding and reassuring me that the insanity was somehow normal, and for cooking for me; to my mother, Ann Moore, for believing in me and for instilling in me a passionate interest in learning processes; to my sister, Harp Kalsi for listening and holding my hand; to my brother, Scott Newman, for telling me that I have tenacity; to my teachers at Clifton Hill yoga studio for their wisdom and guidance in maintaining balance in my mind and body throughout this difficult and taxing journey; to my wonderful friend, Mary-Jane, for the many moments of inspiration we shared together and in conversations with others.

To my girls, Charlie and Lola: thank you for your unconditional love, for greeting me every day with joy and positive energy, lifting my spirits, and for helping me through the dark times by taking me for walks outside in the sunshine.

And, finally, to my beautiful husband James. Thank you for all of the large and small ways that you have supported me over the last five and a bit years: the dinners, the extra chores, the listening, the dialogue and brainstorming, the neck rubs, the encouragement, the hugs. From the very beginning until the very end, you have been by my side, patiently and lovingly reminding me to continue to live life. I feel so fortunate to have met you in Dili that day, to have travelled with you through this long and difficult journey, and to have benefited from your keen insights, informed perceptions and wise reflections on what this research has revealed. This thesis would not be without you and, in many ways, it is your achievement too.

Ba imi hotu nee,

Obrigadu.

Dedication

This thesis is dedicated to the lecturers who participated in this study. May it bring awareness of and attention to not only the many difficult challenges that you face in your work as vocational educators, but also to the positive examples of your flexible, adaptive responses. May it serve to inform policy, structural, and other changes in the Timorese tertiary sector to make your work easier, more effective and more fulfilling.

...and to my father, Peter John Newman (1944-2012), a passionate and dedicated educator throughout his life who would have been proud, I'm sure, of this achievement.

Table of contents

Abstract	ii
Declaration	iv
Preface.....	v
<i>Agradesimentu sira</i> (Acknowledgements)	vi
Dedication	ix
Table of contents.....	x
List of tables	xvii
List of figures	xviii
List of acronyms and abbreviations	xix
List of transcription conventions.....	xx
Alphabetical list of participant pseudonyms.....	xxi
Chapter 1: <i>Kona ba peskiza nee</i> An introduction to the study	1
The ‘Problem(s)’	1
<i>Kona ba Timor-Leste</i> : About Timor-Leste.....	4
Dimensions of Timorese multilingualism	6
Timorese colonial history and its legacies for language and (higher) education	13
The current context of higher education in Timor-Leste	20
<i>Trent iha Timor</i> : Some personal background to this study	24
Research questions	28
The structure of this thesis.....	30
Chapter 2: <i>Buka hatene liu husi sira nia lian</i> A review of relevant literature	33
Chapter overview	33
2.1 Epistemologies of multilingualism	34

Societal multilingualism: constructions of language, the nation-state and the post-colony	35
Multilingual communication: Language use, bilingual education and the construction of the multilingual subject	38
Multilingualism as 'mixing': Repertoire, voice, performance and the 'trans' turn....	42
Section summary	51
2.2 Higher Education as a social process of language production	52
Language as object and literacy as job skill in national and global economies	52
Higher education in development and in the post-colony	54
Academic literacies and socialisation into disciplinary discourse communities.....	57
Section Summary.....	62
2.3 Lecturers planning disciplinary language and knowledge	63
Chapter summary	69
Chapter 3: <i>Saida mak halao no tanba saa</i> A discussion of research design and enacted methodology	72
Chapter overview	72
3.1 Summary of research objectives	73
3.2 Evolution of the research design.....	75
Origins of this study in early work at TTC.....	77
Selecting and approaching additional research sites.....	80
3.3 Methods of data collection	83
Summary of enacted methodology.....	83
Procedures for focus groups and interviews	88
Recording observations of academic and disciplinary communication.....	91
Working with interpreters.....	94

Translation as research method.....	95
3.4 Methods of data analysis	96
3.5 Learning from methodological challenges: A summary of key lessons learned.....	99
Working in and beyond multiple sites, and sites within sites.....	100
Communicating my research in and across languages and cultures	101
Managing awareness of researcher self-in-context.....	104
Chapter summary.....	106
Chapter 4: ‘ <i>Ami nia mehi</i> ’ Visions of industry transformation & the planning of expert graduate voices	108
Chapter overview	108
4.1 Agriculture.....	110
The industry context of agriculture.....	110
Conceptualising agricultural science as language.....	115
Conceptualising ‘farmer speak’ as language.....	118
Section summary.....	120
4.2 Petroleum.....	121
The industry context of petroleum	121
Conceptualising the English(es) of the Timorese petroleum industry.....	125
Conceptualising other languages in petroleum-related work	130
Section summary.....	133
4.3 Tourism.....	134
The industry context of tourism.....	134
Conceptualising the language of service delivery	136
Conceptualising the communication of ‘Community-Based Tourism’	141

Section summary.....	145
4.4 Community Development	146
The industry context of Community Development.....	146
Conceptualising communication with communities.....	149
Section summary.....	154
Chapter summary and conclusions	155
Chapter 5: ‘ <i>Seidauk Iha</i> ’ Deficit views of students’ communication resources.....	159
Chapter overview	159
5.1 Students’ plurilingual repertoires	161
Indonesian vs. Portuguese educational eras.....	161
Diverse plurilingualisms	166
Tetun as a language of academic and scientific communication.....	170
Section summary.....	180
5.2 Students’ sociolinguistic competence	181
‘ <i>Ativu</i> ’ as performed engagement in disciplinary communication	181
Performing resemiotisation of learned knowledge	184
Essayist literacy: tensions between localised and globalised academic literacy practices	189
Section summary.....	190
5.3 <i>Kontestu Timor</i> – ‘The Timorese context’ as deficit resource.....	191
Chapter summary and conclusions	198
Chapter 6: ‘ <i>Tetun ho gado-gado</i> ’ Mixing in the communication of specialist knowledge ..	201
Chapter overview	201
6.1 ‘ <i>Tetun ho gado-gado</i> ’: Expanding understanding of language mixing practices...	203

6.2 Observation data: The ubiquitous use of Tetun and its functions in classroom communication.....	205
6.3 Interview data: Lecturers' accounts of intentionality in the use of 'mixed' Tetun	210
6.4 Material and textual data: The materiality and multimodality of lecturer-student communication.....	217
Powerpoint slides and whiteboards.....	217
Textbooks, writing guides and hand-outs	227
Feedback and assessment.....	239
6.5 Other institutional data: The outsourcing of disciplinary communication	245
Portuguese for reading timetables at NU	247
English for petroleum at TTC.....	249
The work of Tetun departments at TTC and at NU	250
Practicing community communication via fieldwork.....	251
Chapter summary and conclusions	252
Chapter 7: <i>Hotu nee ba nebee?</i> Lessons, conclusions and implications	255
Contribution to knowledge in the field of educational linguistics	256
The specificities of diversity	256
Contribution to knowledge in the field of language policy and planning.....	259
Lecturers' participation in discourses of multilingual normativity	259
Lecturers as planners of graduate voices.....	261
Implications for the intellectualisation of Tetun.....	263
Implications for institutional language policy-making	264
The implementation and enactment of institutional language policies.....	264
Implications for academic language and literacy support programs.....	266

Implications for workforce development in Timor’s strategic industries.....	267
Concluding comments.....	270
List of cited references	272
Appendices	300
Appendix 1: Participation permission documents	301
A1.1 Institutional permission documents	301
A1.2 Plain language statement – English version	302
A1.3 Plain language statement – Tetun version	304
A1.4 Individual participant consent form – English version.....	306
A1.5 Individual participant consent form – Tetun version	307
Appendix 2: Method Tools	308
A2.1 Focus group prompts	308
A2.2 Interview topics and sample questions	312
A2.3 Tools for working with interpreters	316
A2.4 Observation tool samples	324
Appendix 3 (A3): Data excerpts from agriculture lecturers	333
A3.1 Excerpts from a focus group with NU agriculture lecturers (NU-FG1)	333
A3.2 Excerpts from an interview with Prof. K (NU-I2)	352
A3.3 Excerpts from an interview with Prof. Y (NU-I3).....	357
A3.4 Excerpts from an interview with Prof. Z (NU-I4).....	365
A3.5 Excerpts from an interview with Prof. M (NU-I5)	375
A3.6 Excerpts from a focus group with RCI agriculture lecturers (RCI-FG1).....	384
A3.7 Excerpts from an interview with Prof. E (RCI-I8)	392
A3.8 Excerpts from a joint interview with Prof. K and Prof. Y (NU-I12).....	399

Appendix 4 (A4): Data excerpts from petroleum lecturers.....	402
A4.1 Excerpts from a focus group with TTC petroleum lecturers (TTC-FG1).....	402
A4.2 Excerpts from an interview with Prof. S (TTC-I1).....	415
A4.3 Excerpts from an interview with Prof. O (TTC-I2).....	420
A4.4 Excerpts from an interview with Prof. L (TTC-I3).....	424
A4.5 Excerpt from an interview with Profs. V & W (TTC-I8).....	428
Appendix 5 (A5): Data excerpts from tourism lecturers.....	431
A5.1 Excerpts from a focus group with TTC tourism lecturers (TTC-FG2).....	431
A5.2 Excerpts from an interview with Prof. R (TTC-I5).....	442
A5.3 Excerpts from a joint interview with Prof. C and Prof. F (TTC-I6).....	448
A5.4 Excerpts from an interview with Prof. C (TTC-I7).....	452
Appendix 6 (A6): Data excerpts from community development studies lecturers.....	458
A6.1 Excerpts from NU-FG3 - a focus group with CDS lecturers at NU.....	458
A6.2 Excerpts from NU-I9, an interview with Prof. D.....	470
A6.3 Excerpts from NU-I11, an interview with Prof. Ab.....	473
Appendix 7: Supplementary data.....	487
A7.1 Sample PowerPoint slides provided by participants.....	487
A7.2 Sample pages from thesis writing guides in three languages.....	488
A7.3 Sample assessment criteria and marking rubrics.....	491
A7.4 Excerpts from TTC-I10, an interview with Prof. Lu.....	493

List of tables

Table	Detail	Page
1	Numbers of lecturer participants by discipline and institution	85
2	Summary of lecturers' visions of industry transformation and their implications for language and communication	156
3	Class observation results by discipline and institution	206

List of figures*

Figure	Detail	Page
1	2015 Two Euro coin commemorating 500 years of Portuguese presence in Timor-Leste (Source: Banco de Portugal, 2015)	15
2	Photo of students at NU reading a noticeboard outside the agriculture faculty	92
3	Photo of a petroleum lecturer at TTC unlocking the door to the 'Mud Lab'	123
4	Completed class observation tool for Prof. L's 'Basic Electricity' class	208
5	Completed class observation tool for student undergraduate thesis presentation, TTC petroleum faculty	209
6	Photo of TTC petroleum lecturer Prof. L teaching series and parallel circuits in his 'Basic Electricity' class	218
7	Photo of detail of whiteboard semiotic landscape shown in Figure 6	219
8	Detail of PowerPoint slide shown in Figure 6	221
9	Photo of TTC tourism lecturer Prof. C teaching 'Check-out Procedures' in English (written) and Tetun (spoken)	223
10	Photo of one of only seven classrooms (including one computer room) at the Rural Coffee Institute (RCI)	224
11	Photo showing dark lighting and a discoloured PowerPoint projection in Prof. Ba's 'Sociology of Tourism' class at TTC	225
12	Sample slide from Prof. Ba's 'Sociology of Tourism' presentation pictured in Figure 11	226
13	Photo showing three Indonesian textbooks used by NU agriculture lecturer Prof. K for his 'Agricultural Extension' class	228
14	Photos of samples of student-made pamphlets, produced in Indonesian, for Prof. K's 'Agricultural Extension' class	229-230
15	Sample page from TTC tourism faculty report writing guide for students	231
16	Sample slide from a presentation on crop water requirements by NU agriculture lecturer Prof. M	233
17	Sample slide from a presentation on eco-tourism by NU community development studies lecturer Prof. D	236
18	Excerpt from page 1 of a class handout produced by NU community development studies lecturer Prof. J	238
19	Photo of lecturer feedback handwritten on homework tasks submitted by petroleum students at TTC	241
20	Photo of lecturer feedback handwritten on draft undergraduate thesis submitted by an agriculture student at NU	242
21	Photo of a NU agriculture student presenting her undergraduate thesis defence before a panel of supervisors and assessors	243
22	Photo of a boxed lunch provided by a petroleum student at TTC as part of his undergraduate thesis presentation	244

*NB: Unless otherwise indicated, all photos are credited to the thesis author, taken with participant consent.

Acronyms and abbreviations used

ACIAR	Australian Council for International Agriculture Research
ADB	Asian Development Bank
ANAAA	<i>Agência Nacional para a Avaliação e Acreditação Acadêmica</i> (National Agency for Academic Evaluation and Accreditation, Timor-Leste)
ASEAN	Association of South East Asian Nations
DFAT	Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade, Australia
CDS	Community Development Studies
CEF	Common European Framework of Reference for Languages
CPLP	<i>Comunidade dos Países de Língua Portuguesa</i> (Community of Portuguese Speaking Countries)
EMol	English-only medium of instruction
ESL	English as a Second Language
ESP	English for Specific Purposes
FDCH	<i>Fundo de Desenvolvimento do Capital Humano</i> (Human Capital Development Fund, Timor-Leste)
HEI	higher education institution
INL	<i>Instituto Nacional de Linguística</i> (National Institute of Linguistics, Timor-Leste)
LAP	Language for Academic Purposes
Mol	medium of instruction
NU	National University (pseudonym)
ODA	Overseas Development Assistance
PKL	<i>Praktik Kerja Lapangan</i> (Fieldwork Practice/Professional Placement)
PPT	(Microsoft) PowerPoint
RCI	Rural Coffee Institute (pseudonym)
RDTL	<i>República Democrática Timor-Leste</i> (Democratic Republic of Timor-Leste)
SoL	School of Languages at TTC (pseudonym)
STEM	Science, Technology, Engineering and Mathematics
TTC	Timor Technical College (pseudonym)

Transcription conventions used

...	Idiosyncratic ellipsis in speech
[...]	Gap/omission from original transcription (used in cited excerpts)
-/	Marks a discontinuation. Participant interrupts themselves mid-utterance to shift their discourse. e.g., P1: Partially formed utterance-/ Fresh utterance.
//	Frames utterances to indicate simultaneous speech. e.g., P1: //word(s)// P2: //other word(s)//
[Tet.]	Marked use of a Tetun 'native' word (by contrast to marked loan words as indicated below)
[Ind.]	Marked use of an Indonesian loan word
[Port.]	Marked use of a Portuguese loan word
[En.]	Marked use of an English loan word
[word?]	Best guess at what was uttered, given a difficult to hear piece of audio
[laughter]	Metanarrative on, and/or description of, non-verbal activities relevant to the discourse
word	Vocally emphasised word
[interpreter translates]	Summarises less relevant verbal activity. (NB: An interpreter's translation is always transcribed in full if it is inaccurate or if it appears to have impacted a participant's interpretation of the original question/prompt)
[pause, 5 seconds]	Indicator of significant pauses, longer than idiosyncratic ellipses of 2 seconds or less

Alphabetical list of participant pseudonyms

Participant pseudonym	Disciplinary field	Institution
Prof. Ab	CDS	NU
Prof. Az	Tourism	TTC
Prof. Ba	Tourism	TTC
Prof. Br	Agriculture	NU
Prof. C	Tourism	TTC
Prof. D	CDS	NU
Prof. E	Agriculture	RCI
Prof. F	Tourism	TTC
Prof. Gm	Agriculture	RCI
Prof. Gr	Agriculture	NU
Prof. H	Petroleum	TTC
Prof. I	CDS	NU
Prof. J	CDS	NU
Prof. K	Agriculture	NU
Prof. L	Petroleum	TTC
Prof. M	Agriculture	NU
Prof. N	CDS	NU
Prof. O	Petroleum	TTC
Prof. P	Agriculture	RCI
Prof. Q	Agriculture	RCI
Prof. R	Tourism	TTC
Prof. S	Petroleum	TTC
Prof. T	CDS	NU
Prof. V	Petroleum	TTC
Prof. W	Petroleum	TTC
Prof. X	Agriculture	NU
Prof. Y	Agriculture	NU
Prof. Z	Agriculture	NU

Chapter 1:

Kona ba peskiza ne'e¹

An introduction to the study

'academic language is never anyone's mother tongue'
(Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990, p. 115)

The 'Problem(s)'

Lecturers in higher education institutions in Timor-Leste² are faced with a daunting challenge: how to work within a mixture of linguistic and communicative resources for the academic and professional transformation of their plurilingual students amid an intensely complex and conflicted language policy environment. These lecturers are under competing pressures to adopt different monolingual teaching practices, despite the multilingual reality in classrooms. They must routinely select from among the two 'co-official' (Tetun³ and Portuguese) and two 'working' (Indonesian and English) languages for the diverse range of academic and vocational communication work that they need to do. Pressure from the government and many nationalist voices in Timor-Leste is to abandon the use of Indonesian in all tertiary classrooms – though it is the language that many lecturers have themselves studied in and the language of many teaching and learning resources – and to comply with an educational decree dictating that Portuguese should be the sole medium of instruction for all post-primary education (RDTL, 2008; Taylor-Leech, 2013).

At the same time, some private higher education institutions in Timor-Leste are in the process of implementing English medium of instruction policies for specific faculties oriented to strategic industries, notably petroleum studies and tourism (Williams-van Klinken, 2014). This is in response to growing demand for English-speaking graduates in these and other industries in the young developing nation, mirroring micro- and macro-level discourses that

¹ Tetun: 'About this research'

² Also known as 'East Timor'.

³ Also spelled 'Tetum' when written in English. Multiple orthographies are in use for Tetun, which disagree over the spelling of common words, including Tetun/Tetum. In this thesis I use the orthography developed by Williams-van Klinken (2008), as it is the most closely aligned with the way the lecturers who participated in this study pronounce Tetun words.

point to English as the language of regional and global job markets (Williams, 2010; Duchêne & Heller, 2012), in addition to its status as the international language of scientific and academic research (Lillis & Curry, 2010). Meanwhile, some (limited⁴) research suggests that Tetun is likely to be the strongest language for students who are entering tertiary education now, though most will have experienced primary and secondary schooling in a mixture of all four languages, with some use of local indigenous languages in academic domains also possible (Quinn, 2013).

Having identified this complicated sociolinguistic setting as a particularly challenging context for the delivery of higher education, I took an exploratory approach to this research project. My aim was to understand the linguistic views, choices and practices of lecturers working in higher education related to four different industries and, through this close-up study of practitioners in higher education, to contribute new perspectives on issues of language planning and workforce development in multilingual, developing contexts. This research also aimed to show how the historical, institutional and cultural settings of lecturers' work as vocational educators shape and constrain their practices, as well as being reconfigured in those practices.

The complex and politically charged sociolinguistic context in Timor-Leste has arisen via a long history of colonial – first Portuguese, then Indonesian – occupations, followed by a succession of shifts nationally in language-in-education policy and planning over the past 16 years since an independent East-Timorese (hereafter 'Timorese'⁵) constitutional government was first formed in 2002 (Carneiro, 2015; Taylor-Leech, 2013). Adding to the complexity, the presence in Timor-Leste since 1999 of a diverse array of supranational bodies – including the UN and the World Bank, international NGOs, and foreign aid agencies – has introduced an equally diverse range of external voices and discourses with commentary on language-in-education planning for post-colonial reconstruction and development (Cabral, 2013). Since

⁴ There has been almost no research into the preparedness of these students for university study, though unpublished research conducted by one higher education provider in 2012 showed first-year students' strongest proficiencies to be in Tetun and concluded that 'students are way below university level in any of the four languages' (Godinho, Ximenes, Luan and Williams-van Klinken, 2012, p.12).

⁵ Technically the name 'Timorese' should refer to all inhabitants of the island of Timor, which would include those in the Indonesian province of West Timor as well as those in East Timor. However, it has become common in the literature on Timor-Leste and its people to use the term 'Timorese' as shorthand for 'East Timorese'. See, for example, many of the chapters in the published conference proceedings of the Timor-Leste Studies Association (Job, da Silva, Canas Mendes, da Costa Ximenes, Barreto Soares, Niner and Tam, 2018).

the transition to independence, there has also been in Timor-Leste a marked increase in the prominence (and dominance) of English for development-related training and work (Appleby, 2006). As Taylor-Leech (2013) has put it, the result is that medium-of-instruction policy in Timor-Leste 'is a site of tension between struggles to define national identity in the shadow of colonial language ideologies and the globalised discourses of powerful international development aid partners' (p. 109).

These developments in the language ecology of Timor-Leste have had varying impacts on the linguistic and educational experiences of different groups in Timorese society, higher education lecturers obviously included, in turn shaping their language beliefs and attitudes towards the use of different languages in academic domains. There has been, for example, a documented increase over the past 15 years in positive attitudes towards Portuguese as a marker of post-colonial national identity among tertiary-educated youth (Leach, 2012), while other recent research highlights feelings of insecurity around Tetun, in particular its perceived lack of 'development' (Ross, 2017). To date, however, there has been no research into the beliefs and attitudes of lecturers working in different academic disciplines and different institutional settings concerning the use of different languages in the communication of vocational and professional knowledge. These are key variables considering the work expected of higher education for workforce production and the seemingly increasing commodification of language in the context of national development in Timor-Leste.

There are empirical things to uncover here about lecturers' beliefs and practices, as well as analysis to be done regarding the impacts of the many ideological forces at play. How do lecturers in higher education in Timor-Leste work within these conditions? What language and communication skills and resources do *they* emphasise and to what ends? What tensions do they recognize and what tensions are evident in their actions and comments? And to what extent do the answers to these questions vary according to different industry fields? The sociolinguistic complexities of Timorese higher education have far-reaching implications for lecturers' very understandings of their own professional practice, what it is that constitutes the work of tertiary educators in their respective fields in Timor-Leste at this moment in its history. It is the goal of this research to better understand the specificities behind these complexities, to untangle the various discursive and ideological forces woven through them,

and to analyse their impacts on Timorese tertiary lecturers' language and communication beliefs and practices in the context of multilingual, disciplinary teaching and learning.

Kona ba Timor-Leste: About Timor-Leste

Some additional contextual information will be useful here with regard to the demographics and geopolitics of Timor-Leste, before I go on to construct a multi-layered sociolinguistic profile of the country as a foundation for further discussion about multilingualism in Timorese higher education. Timor-Leste is a small country of approximately 1.2 million people (DNE, 2016), located to the north of Australia, between the Indonesian provinces of West Timor and West Papua, at the intersections of the regions of South East Asia and the Pacific. Roughly 70% of the Timorese population is engaged in subsistence agriculture and, with nearly 42% living below the poverty line, it is one of the world's poorest countries (ADB, 2018). Timor-Leste is also one of the most petroleum-dependent nations in the world, with oil and gas accounting for around 90% of government revenues and nearly 80% of GDP (Scheiner, 2015). A national sovereign wealth fund known as *Fundo petrolífero de Timor-Leste* ('Petroleum Fund of Timor-Leste') was established in 2004, shortly after the newly independent Timorese government was established in 2002. This fund finances many development- and infrastructure-related projects in the country, including a *Fundo de Desenvolvimento do Capital Humano* ('Human Capital Development Fund') that provides scholarships to public officials – including lecturers at the national university – for tertiary study abroad (FDCH, 2016).

Timor-Leste is also heavily reliant on sources of foreign aid and overseas development assistance (ODA), with the largest ODA donor being Australia, followed by the World Bank, Japan and the Asian Development Bank (OECD-DAC, 2017). China has also been a major contributor to Timor-Leste's development, spending more than half a billion dollars on large infrastructure projects between 2009 and 2015, with construction contracts going to Chinese companies (Hutt, 2016). Timor-Leste's small size and population, its poverty, and its geopolitical location position it potentially at the mercy of its larger and more powerful neighbours, especially Australia and Indonesia, as well as regionally and globally on the periphery of transnational economic markets. As an example, for the past several years the country has been in an international dispute with Australia over maritime boundaries,

negotiated between Australia and Indonesia under the Indonesian occupation, which affect access to offshore oil resources. Timor-Leste has also experienced a long history of colonial intervention (some of the linguistic and educational legacies of which I discuss below) and, more recently, some violent internal conflict.

In spite (and, possibly, because) of this situation, there is a fierce national pride among the Timorese people, as well as a resourcefulness and determination in resistance to foreign domination. Wigglesworth (2016) has remarked on these qualities in the current generation of Timorese youth, who have grown up in an era of ‘activism and aid’ and in an environment of ubiquitous foreign intervention in national development. The national pride and the resourcefulness and determination are both manifest in and fuelled by comments made by Timorese political leaders, such as this one:

We may be a small nation, but we are part of our interconnected region. Our nation shares an island with Indonesia. We are part of the fabric of Southeast Asia. And we are on the crossroad of Asia and the Pacific.

- Xanana Kay Rala Gusmao, former President and Prime Minister of Timor-Leste, Singapore, 2013

This strategic discursive positioning of Timor-Leste within wider regional and international trade and cooperation networks has been a key part of its foreign policy agenda for several years and across multiple changes in government (through which former President Gusmao has been a constant presence). Sousa-Santos (2015) argues that Timor-Leste is constantly ‘acting West and looking East’ as it seeks influence and engagement with regional intergovernmental organisations in South-East Asia as well as Oceania. Indeed, Timor-Leste has been actively seeking membership of ASEAN for nearly ten years (Kapur, 2016), and is already a member of several multilateral organisations in the Pacific, including the Pacific Islands Forum, Melanesian Spearhead Group, Pacific Islands Development Fund, and the Small Islands Developing States (Sousa-Santos, 2015). Balancing these regional relationships with more global ones among, for instance, other Lusophone nations, Timor-Leste has also been a very pro-active member of the CPLP (*Comunidade dos Países de Língua Portuguesa* or ‘Community of Portuguese Language Countries’). This has been especially evident in recent years, with Timor-Leste hosting a CPLP heads of government summit in 2014, chairing the association from 2014-2016, and hosting the CPLP Global Economic Forum in 2016. The observation has been made in connection with these activities that Timor-Leste is ‘betting on Lusophone ties’ for its economic growth and development (Mariz, 2014).

This research also comes at a time when, nationally, the ‘production’ of a highly skilled workforce has been identified as a major priority for the development of Timor-Leste, specifically in the ‘strategic industry sectors’ of agriculture, petroleum, and tourism (RDTL, 2011, p. 23). Expectations are high that a new generation of tertiary educated industry leaders will transform these industries for the growth and prosperity of the nation. According to some, transformation is needed of the current, subsistence-focussed national agriculture industry into large scale production of food crops and livestock in order to avoid such high expenditure on imports from neighbouring Indonesia (ADB, 2015). In the petroleum industry, there is a strong desire to reclaim control over the exploitation of Timor’s rich natural oil resources, a desire that is linked to national tensions over the Australia/Timor-Leste maritime boundary dispute. The tourism industry is expected to become the major source of national income for Timor-Leste if and when oil reserves run out, as it is predicted will happen by 2022 (ADB, 2015). And, through these various transformations of industry, local community development continues to be a major industry in itself in Timor-Leste, with national and international funding for development projects expected to continue to be high for decades to come (Scheiner, 2017). Through such a lens, the purpose of higher education is framed in terms of the production of human capital for these and other prioritised industries.

Language, of course, plays a significant role in all of this. The point has been made that nationally in Timor-Leste, as well as regionally and globally, there is the increasing use of language as ‘a strategic tool in the construction of international relations in the new global political economy’ (Carneiro, 2015, p. 206). This is of pivotal consideration to an analysis of multilingualism in Timor-Leste in its varied manifestations in higher education settings and in relation to workforce production.

Dimensions of Timorese multilingualism

Depending on how ‘multilingualism’ is understood, there are a range of different dimensions to the multilingual reality in Timor-Leste that surface in debate and discussion about what is to be done in the national consolidation and development of the country.⁶ For the purposes of this thesis, and as a foundation for the sociolinguistic analysis and discussion of Timorese

⁶ The constructed nature of multilingualism and different ways of knowing multilingualism is discussed in depth in Chapter 2, in the section entitled ‘Epistemologies of multilingualism’.

higher education that will follow, I will highlight here three key dimensions of Timorese multilingualism. It should be noted that these are quite disparate interpretations of the sociolinguistic reality in Timor-Leste.

Firstly, by way of providing an overview of the various named languages recognised to be used in Timor-Leste, I highlight the issue of how languages are counted, and how these countings tend to signal different ordered hierarchies of language, in which certain languages are included (and prioritised) while others are excluded. Secondly, there is the heterogeneous nature of the Tetun language and how this impacts its current and future potential role as the national lingua franca. An understanding of this is important for an understanding of the habitual mixing of language(s) that occurs in the everyday communicative use of Tetun, and in the specific domain of higher education. The variability and heterogeneity that characterise Tetun are also connected to the variable status and prestige attributed to Tetun as a language, in particular for academic and scientific communication. Lastly, there is a story to be told about the heteroglossic nature of individual words and the dynamic and at times political histories of use and transformation that they may carry, especially in the context of frequent translation back and forth across different linguistic codes mobilised by different plurilingual repertoires.

Counting the languages that count

There is considerable disagreement over which languages ‘count’ as languages of Timor-Leste, especially over whether colonial and other foreign languages should be considered Timorese languages, which native ones are dialects or varieties, and which ones, as reported by speakers, are ‘non-standard’ spellings of named Timorese languages (Bowden & Hajek, 2007). This is an issue about what is considered an indigenous language and the status that indigenous languages are afforded.

The results of the 2004, 2010 and 2015 population censuses in Timor-Leste listed 32 indigenous languages, ‘as named by respondents’ (DNE, 2006, 2011, 2016). The 2010 census explained that: ‘a list of *all* the 32 languages spoken in the country was prepared and used. For non-Timorese people, the person’s main language was recorded’ (DNE, 2011, p.11; my

italics). These 32 languages⁷ include two forms of Tetun – Tetun Praça and Tetun Terik – and do not include Portuguese, Indonesian, Chinese, or English, which are the main non-indigenous languages spoken in Timor-Leste. According to Ethnologue (Simons and Fennig, 2018), there are 20 ‘living’ languages used in Timor-Leste, including Portuguese, Tetun Praça and Tetun Terik but not including Indonesian, Chinese, or English. Hull (1998, 2002) identifies 16 indigenous languages in Timor-Leste, counting Tetun Praça and Tetun Terik as dialects of a single Tetun language, though they have been identified by several others as structurally different and mutually unintelligible (see, e.g., Thomaz, 1981; Williams van-Klinken 1999; Hajek, 2006). Hull also notes the use of four non-indigenous languages: Portuguese, Indonesian, Hakka Chinese, and Cantonese (2002, p.11), bringing his total to a different 20 than that of Ethnologue.

The most often cited enumerations of Timorese languages have come from foreign ‘language experts’. Specifically, Geoffrey Hull (1998, 2002), an Australian academic with a background primarily in Romance and Celtic languages, is the most frequently cited expert on the number of languages spoken in Timor-Leste, particularly in research examining bi/multilingual, mother-tongue-based education (see, e.g., Quinn, 2013; Taylor-Leech, 2011, 2013; Taylor-Leech & Caet, 2012). Hull was also hired as a consultant by the Timorese Government to establish the official grammar and orthography of *Tetun Prasa*, the co-official language of Timor-Leste with Portuguese, and to help to set up the *Instituto Nacional de Linguística* (National Institute of Linguistics or ‘INL’) at the National University (cf. Hull and Eccles, 2005; Saunders et al., 2006). Reportedly, Hull conducted most of his research on the Tetun language with diaspora Timorese living in Melbourne who had been isolated from inevitable evolutions in the language since the 1970s (Peake, 2013).

Again, the reference here is to what is considered ‘indigenous’ and what is ‘foreign’; what is recognised as legitimate language and what is ignored and silenced, and who gets to draw these boundaries. In my discussion of the literature on language ideology in chapter two, I will again take up this issue of the counting and naming of languages, with particular regard to the historical construction of the modern nation state. In the case of higher education in Timor-Leste, this boundary-drawing has significant implications for how the politics of language of instruction policy continues to play out. It plays out especially in the dismissal of

⁷ Due to lack of ‘scientific study’ Atauran languages were not recognised at all until the 2015 census, where they were then grouped together as ‘Atauran’ (DNE, 2016).

autochthonous languages as legitimate in higher education, in the prioritising of Portuguese for this domain, and in the lack of investment in the formal development of Tetun as an academic language (Carneiro, 2015).

The heterogeneous nature of the lingua franca, Tetun

Tetun, Tetum, Tetun Dili, Tetun Praça, Tetun Terik, *Sobaida* Tetun, (Catholic) Church Tetun, Parliamentary Tetun, Press Tetun.... To some linguists who have done important language planning work in Timor-Leste, these are all essentially the same language (cf. Hull, 2002). To most Timorese people, the differences are numerous and substantive. Some forms of Tetun are mutually unintelligible (Williams-van Klinken, Hajek, & Nordlinger, 2002), some forms are seen as different registers within the same language variety (Williams-van Klinken, 2001), some represent different orthographic and corpus planning work that has been done at different higher education institutions within Timor-Leste.⁸ All of these forms of Tetun are markers of different localized Timorese identities (Fox, 2000), and all may be mobilized in different communicative contexts and with different implications for stylized performances of the self (Le Page and Tabouret-Keller, 1985; Rampton, 1995).

One of the numerous problems that this situation creates is that it is not always clear *which* Tetun is being referred to when the language *Tetun* is named. The national constitution, for example, identifies Tetun as the ‘co-official’ language of Timor-Leste alongside Portuguese, but it does not specify *which* Tetun⁹ (CAET, 2002, section 13). In education, too, where there is a need for clarification around the form of *academic* Tetun that is to be developed in students, no guidance is given (Taylor-Leech, 2011). What is officially stated, however, is that ‘Tetun is at a preliminary stage of development’ and so should only be used as a ‘pedagogic aide’ (MECYS, 2004, p.11).

⁸ A decree law introduced in 2004 (RDTL, 2004), designates the National Institute of Linguistics (INL) at the national university as ‘the scientific custodian of Official Tetun’ (Article 4). It also states that ‘the official spelling of Official Tetun shall be the phonemic system promoted, regulated and developed by the INL according to scientific criteria’ (Article 2). Concurrently, an alternative, competing orthography has been developed at the institution that I am calling, for the purposes of this thesis, ‘Timor Technology College’. There the teaching of Tetun to foreigners has resulted in a Tetun-English dictionary that records Tetun words in orthographic forms that are phonetically closer to how Tetun is commonly spoken. In practice, neither orthography is used wholly consistently in any social domain, including government, and substantial variation in the spelling and orthography of Tetun is common.

⁹ Indeed, national policy statements tend not to go into this sort of detail, which signals one of a number of issues with their characteristically generalised framings.

It is generally understood that the form of Tetun that is meant when people or institutions refer to the language by its singular name is *Tetun Dili* or *Tetun Praça* ('market Tetun') – the national lingua franca but a second language for many Timorese people, particularly in rural areas (DNS, 2016). This dialect or variety of Tetun itself shifts and changes depending on the linguistic and educational background of the speaker or writer. Mixing in Tetun may also shift with social domain and communicative purpose, with more Portuguese loan words entering the vocabulary in more formal and usually more academic domains (Williams-van Klinken, 2001), and more Indonesian loan words for informal and 'market' contexts (Fox, 2000; Williams-van Klinken et al., 2002). The transglossic nature of Tetun Dili has led to some claims that it is 'undeveloped' as a language for academic purposes (e.g., Nicolai, 2004), and there has been much debate in recent Timorese history over the use of Tetun as a medium of instruction at all levels of education (Taylor-Leech, 2013). Yet, despite these concerns, there is substantial evidence that Timorese teachers are relying heavily on Tetun as a language of academic instruction in the early years of schooling (Quinn, 2011), as well as in higher education in combination with Indonesian (Godhino, et al., 2012; Williams-van Klinken, 2014).

A traditional language planning approach to this problem would be to have goals established for Tetun with regard to its roles in different social domains and in relation to potential 'rivals' (Portuguese, Indonesian, English). However, the principal focus of this study is not language planning but, rather, the beliefs and practices of tertiary educators who are already using Tetun as a resource in the communication of disciplinary and vocational knowledge. It is oriented towards pragmatic questions about how flexibly, creatively, or strategically Tetun is being used in academic settings by the lecturers in the four aforementioned fields, which form, or forms are being used for which communicative functions, and how a particular imagining of multilingualism manifests in the use of Tetun in Timorese tertiary classrooms.

Multivoiced multilingualism and the story of 'Maubere'

In addition to the named, counted languages of Timor-Leste, and the heterogenous nature of the lingua franca, Tetun, a third dimension to Timorese multilingualism – and one especially relevant to this thesis – relates to the deployment of language in and through voice. Attentiveness to language use as voice refocusses and rehumanises 'language users' as living, speaking subjects and animates language itself as the vehicle by which identity as

well as knowledge are socially constructed. There is also a crucial temporal aspect to voice, in that an utterance cannot be understood outside of the historical as well as social, cultural and political context in which it is made. With regard to this research, a voice-oriented perspective on what is going on with multilingualism in higher education in Timor-Leste has particularly significant implications for recognising and understanding what lecturers are doing with language in their classrooms and what they expect their students to be able to do with language for study and work purposes. It also demands a keen attention to the negotiation of meaning around individual words and an awareness of how acts of translation can bear consequences for identity, as well as for the transfer of knowledge and expertise.

In order to illustrate these points, and as a way to narrate this third dimension of Timorese multilingualism, I will relate a brief story of the word '*Maubere*'. *Maubere* was originally a common family name among the Mambae (also Mambai, Manbae) speaking people of central Timor-Leste (Traube, 1986). During the Portuguese colonial occupation (~1516-1974), the word *Maubere* was appropriated from the Mambae language into Portuguese, coming to be used by the colonial occupiers as a derogatory and class-oriented designation of 'the Timorese peasant' (Fox, 2000, p.24). Soares (2000) notes that the word, under the Portuguese, was used 'to distinguish the native East Timorese from the upper class, educated Portuguese and [also] the *mestizos* – the half-caste group' (p.60; author's italics). Thus, linguistically, the word *Maubere* retained use as a proper noun, but with some important semiotic shifts: an increase in scale of reference (from one family name in one ethnic group, to all Timorese 'peasants' under Portugal) and added pejorative connotations of lower socio-political status. According to Traube (1986), through its appropriated use within the colonial vernacular of Portuguese Timor the word came to be equated with illiteracy, a lack of education, and with being 'uncivilised'. The appropriation into Portuguese (as well as the creole Tetun Dili) of this single word from one among many indigenous Timorese languages constituted a language-based shift from local to colonial authority over the naming and the knowing of the Timorese people, including their education and literacy levels.¹⁰

¹⁰ Today, the word is evidently still 'claimed' by Portuguese, but with the class connotations less explicit. For instance, the second to top result in a Google search for the word *Maubere* is a link to an online, Portuguese-English dictionary page that provides a definition of the word as 'a Portuguese word'. The definition provided is 'indigenous people from East Timor'. The top result is a link to the Wikipedia entry for the *National Council for Maubere Resistance*, the relevance of which I discuss above.

During the Indonesian occupation of Timor-Leste (1975-1999), the word *Maubere* was reappropriated, again with potent implications for the identity and status of the Timorese people. In 1987, Xanana Gusmao and José Ramos Horta quit FRETILIN and formed the CNRM: *Conselho Nacional da Resistencia Maubere* ('National Council of Maubere Resistance'; Dunn, 1996, p.281). The use of *Maubere* in this context signalled a shift in the thinking of the resistance leadership around how it represented and connected with the oppressed rural majority of the Timorese people. At the same time, however, the Portuguese naming of these and other resistance organisations¹¹ signalled the colonially educated status of many of the leaders of the Timorese resistance.

According to a number of authors (Joliffe, 1978; Soares, 2000), the term *Maubere* was used frequently by FRETILIN, a proletariat-based political party, in order to attract supporters 'among the common people, who saw themselves as victims of colonialism' (Soares, 2000, p.61). However, the other parties, such as the pro-Portuguese 'UDT' and the feudal-oriented 'KOTA', were also made up of Portuguese-educated *mestizos*, those who were 'dusted over by colonial culture' (Fanon, 1961, p.46), and these factions preferred to distance themselves from the proletariat connotations of the word *Maubere* (Soares, 2000, p.61). In 1997, to reconcile these differences among the disparate resistance groups and to attract greater international support for the Timorese independence movement, all factions agreed to rename CNRM as CNRT: *Conselho Nacional da Resistencia Timorense*, or 'The National Council of Timorese Resistance' (Carey, 1999; Soares, 2000). This move *translated* the cause of Timor-Leste for a global audience and established the national identity of the Timorese people in internationally recognisable terms, but, in the process, exiled the word *Maubere* from future official namings and identifications of the Timorese people on a world stage. At the same time, the use of Portuguese for both international and clandestine communication and later in preparing the ground for independence 'transformed the symbolic value of the language from that of a code solely associated with the Portuguese colonial order' to one of great prestige (Cabral & Martin-Jones, 2008, p. 165).

The story of the word *Maubere* demonstrates that it is not only named languages but individual words that may carry complex, ideology-laden histories. It illustrates the identity-

¹¹ FRETILIN is an acronym for *Frente Revolucionária de Timor-Leste Independente* (Revolutionary Front for the Independence of Timor-Leste). CNRM is an acronym for *Conselho Nacional da Resistência Maubere* (National Council of Maubere Resistance).

and knowledge-production work constantly being done via the deployment of certain words at certain times and in particular places in and through the utterances of living, speaking subjects. As Bakhtin (1981, p. 293) put it:

there are no 'neutral' words and forms - words and forms that can belong to 'no one'; language has been completely taken over, shot through with intentions and accents. [...] All words have the 'taste' of a profession, a genre, a tendency, a party, a particular work, a particular person, a generation, an age group, the day and hour. Each word tastes of the context and contexts in which it has lived its socially charged life; all words and forms are populated by intentions.

In Chapter 2 I will return to Bakhtin's theories of language and voice as they relate to the conceptualisation of this research.

Timorese colonial history and its legacies for language and (higher) education

As the above story of *Maubere* demonstrated, an understanding of the Timorese relationship with language and literacy (which incorporates their relationship with multilingualism and with academic literacy in higher education) requires an appreciation of the ongoing history of colonialism, class struggle, and nationalism in Timor-Leste. Several helpful and quite comprehensive studies have been done on the legacies of the Portuguese and Indonesian colonial occupations of Timor-Leste on the local language ecology (Gunn, 1995; Hajek, 2000) and on the Timorese education system (Boughton, 2011; Earnest, Beck, & Supit, 2008). There have also been a number of revealing studies on the ideological influences of the Timorese resistance movement (1975-1998) on literacy education (Cabral & Martin-Jones, 2008; Da Silva, 2011), including the pre- and post-independence versions of the popular adult literacy campaigns modelled after the Cuban '*Yo sí puedo*' program (Boughton, 2012; Fernandes, 2010).

What is perhaps lacking in the literature, however, is intensive research, analysis, and discussion of the multilayered and historically evolving processes of colonisation, resistance,

and decolonisation of the minds¹², imaginations, and identities of the Timorese people, particularly as they have been manifested in and through multilingualism. This study aims to provide some close-up analysis of these evolving processes in the specific cases of lecturers in higher education in Timor-Leste. To that end, it is appropriate here to give a brief background regarding the legacies of both the Portuguese and the Indonesian colonialisms on Mol policy discourses and on the current higher education system in Timor-Leste.

The concept of the 'coloniality of power' developed by the Peruvian sociologist Aníbal Quijano (2000) and later expanded on by Walter Mignolo (2007) is useful for an understanding of how ways of being and ways of knowing in and through language remain 'colonised' long after the colonial administration has been formally dismantled. Below, I argue that two distinct experiences of 'coloniality' (Quijano, 2000, 2007) have produced in Timor-Leste concurrent and competing ways of doing higher education, in addition to being productive of many of the language attitudes and ideologies that dominate in higher educational settings.

Portuguese Timor

To begin with, it is important to recognise how narrations of Portuguese colonialism are tied up with narrations of Timorese national identity, of what it means to be Timorese, and that attitudes towards the Portuguese language in higher education are also connected to these narratives (Leach, 2012). For instance, in 2015, the Timorese government decided to mark 500 years since the first arrival of Portuguese navigators to Timor island, framing it as the '500th Anniversary of the Affirmation of Timorese Identity' (RDTL, 2015). This suggestion that Timorese national identity owes its very existence to the arrival of the Portuguese is based on a fiction. A formal Portuguese settlement at Dili, now the Timorese capital, was not

¹² One of the arguments put forward for Portuguese as the language of academic literacy (at least for research and scholarship) in Timor-Leste is the wealth of anthropological and 'natural sciences' research written in Portuguese from the ~500 years of Portuguese colonial occupation (see, e.g., Gunn, 1999, 2007; Boughton 2011). To my knowledge, this argument is yet to be rigorously challenged, though it speaks almost directly to the post-colonial writing of Ngũgĩ (1986), and his arguments for the use of indigenous African languages for African literature and scholarship. The work of other postcolonial and comparative literature theorists such as Spivak (1988) and Said (1978), along with the critiques of and additions to their writing that have come subsequently, might also provide useful sources of response to this argument, especially given that Gunn's summaries of scholarship on Timor-Leste appear in publication, respectively, by a publisher called 'Books of the Orient' (cf. Gunn, 1999) and in a journal entitled 'Journal of Contemporary Asia' (cf. Gunn, 2007). Arguably there is value in Timorese indigenous scholars being able to read Western accounts of their history/ies, their lives, their land, and their identities, written in Portuguese and English 'as an integral part of [Timor's] intellectual heritage' (Boughton, 2011, p.180). However, it is a non-sequitur that *all* Timorese scholars should be trained in these languages by default, let alone allowing colonial languages to dominate all levels of education at the expense of developing academic and scientific registers of Tetun.

established until 1769 and present-day borders were not finalised until 1916, following many years of conflict and negotiations with the Dutch, who controlled much of what is now West Timor as well as parts of what is now south-eastern Timor-Leste (Fox, 2000). Indeed, it was a Portuguese Governor of Dili, Affonso de Castro, who said himself in 1860, even as he was negotiating with the Dutch over the West/East division of the island of Timor: 'Our empire on this island is nothing but a fiction' (de Castro, 1862, p.472). Nonetheless, this 'fiction' has had powerful consequences for the narrating of a homogenous, 'Portuguese-Timorese' identity domestically; a narration that continues to be reproduced internationally via, for example, the introduction of a commemorative two Euro coin in Portugal to celebrate '500 years of Portugal in Timor'.

Figure 1: 2015 two Euro coin commemorating 500 years of Portuguese presence in Timor-Leste



One of the most problematic consequences of the narration of a continuous, unified Portuguese-Timorese identity is that it serves to mask (if not to completely discount) both the heterogeneous reality of Timorese identity and the many historical influences that have contributed to the rich ethnic, cultural, and linguistic make-up of Timor-Leste today. Gunn (1999) writes of '500 years' of successive waves of immigration and colonisation that have produced a diverse ethnic mix of Melanesian, Malay-Polynesian, Chinese, Indian, Portuguese and African heritage among the Timorese population (pp.12-14). Indeed, regional mixing and diverse foreign influences, particularly in connection with international trade, were arguably a more distinct feature of Timorese identity from the 16th to the early 20th centuries than a

homogenous, 'Portuguese-Timor'¹³. There is earlier evidence, too, in the form of 14th century Chinese and Javanese documents referring to Timor in relation to the trade in sandalwood; evidence of foreign presence and influence (including linguistic influence) on the island long before the arrival of either the Portuguese or the Dutch (Fox, 2003, p.6). Yet there are no coins commemorating the long history of a Chinese presence in Timor-Leste, the centuries-old Chinese-Timorese community, or their connections not only with the sandalwood trade but also with the introduction and control of the coffee industry (Fox, 2003, p.19), an industry that now accounts for the majority of Timor's non-oil economy.

I make these points about the diverse historical influences on Timorese society and culture to highlight both Timor's long heritage of interventions from multiple and competing foreign entities, and the subversive power of the narrative of a singular 'Portuguese-Timorese' identity. Both are important to understand the present-day sociolinguistic context of Timor-Leste. While a substantial amount of mixing of languages occurs in everyday communication, officially this hybrid approach to communication is little recognised and Portuguese continues to enjoy privileged status, particularly as a language of higher education and in other formal domains. One significant manifestation of this in more formal language planning efforts is the recognition of Portuguese as a 'co-official' language (alongside of Tetun) in the national constitution of Timor-Leste (CAET, 2002, section 13), though less than a quarter of the population report an ability to speak it (in comparison to over half claiming to speak Tetun) and, as detailed above, as many as 32 other named languages are reported to be spoken. These numbers are shifting, however, as Portuguese-focussed medium-of-instruction policies in Timorese education – yet another result of the narration of Portuguese-Timorese identity – are having their effect on the production of more Portuguese-literate high school graduates.

Boughton (2011) argues that the effects of Portuguese colonial rule continue to impact on the current educational culture in Timor-Leste, and he highlights in particular the impacts on language and literacy education. Boughton points out that while the Portuguese state 'made

¹³ According to Fox (2003), although there were Portuguese speaking peoples on the island of Timor from the 16th Century, the majority of these peoples were 'Topasses' or 'Black Portuguese' - 'a mixed, part-Portuguese population of local Christians ... involved in the sandalwood trade with Timor' (p.7). Fox explains in some detail the complexities of the 16th and 17th century politics around this thriving international trade in sandalwood: between these independent 'Topasses' who dominated Timor and the surrounding islands, the Dutch, governing patches of Timor island from 'Batavia' on Java island (present-day Jakarta, Indonesia), and the Portuguese, governing from Malacca in Malaysia.

no effort to educate the local population' for most of the period that it occupied Timor-Leste, from the early 1900s it gave more or less complete authority to the Catholic Church over what was minimal delivery¹⁴ of 'only the most rudimentary education, all of it in Portuguese'¹⁵ (2011, p.179). Boughton asserts that, as a result, the Catholic Church continues to enjoy significant influence over educational matters in Timor-Leste today. By the 1970s, just prior to independence, the Portuguese colonial government was providing some post-primary education independent of the Catholic Church, but only to so-called *assimilados* or *mestizus* – people of mixed background, mostly living in the capital, who could speak Portuguese, who had adopted the colonial lifestyle, and who would go on to work in the colonial administration (Boughton, 2011). There were even a small number of scholarships awarded to a privileged few Timorese students to study at university in Lisbon (Hill, 2002); an elite group who fit neatly with Fanon's description of 'colonized intellectuals' (1961, p.46). Also in line with Fanon's view of the role of such colonized intellectuals in national liberation movements, many of these Portuguese-educated Timorese elite later played a key role in the relatively peaceful decolonisation from Portugal (1974-1975) and also in the following resistance to and violent conflict with the Indonesian occupation that lasted from 1975 to 1999 (Carey, 1999). Many of those who survived later came to hold key leadership positions in the new independent government.

In this way, Portuguese colonial education 'produced' a Portuguese educated, national political elite and, by exclusion and contrast, also 'produced' mass rural illiteracy in Timor. As Boughton puts it: 'the intellectual and cultural formation of educated Timor-Leste nationals was intimately bound up with the Portuguese language and Lusophone culture and history' (2011, p.180). By the time the Portuguese administration withdrew from Timor in 1974, the vast majority of Timorese people living outside the capital remained illiterate. Boughton (2011) points out that this Portuguese colonial legacy of 'extreme educational neglect' still remains in the high illiteracy among older adults throughout Timor, and 'the absence of a strong culture of education in many rural areas' (p.179).

¹⁴ Carey (1999, p.78) reports 17 primary schools across Timor-Leste by 1909, run by the Catholic Church.

¹⁵ It was during this time that the Church introduced a Missionary Statute that enforced a Portuguese-only rule for language use in the schools (Hill, 2002, p.18).

The Indonesian colonial administration (1975-1999) sought to change this educational trend by dramatically increasing provision of primary and secondary schooling in rural areas (Hill, 2017). There was a clear agenda of teaching the Indonesian language and also steering the majority of the Timorese populace towards vocational education with the establishment of vocational high schools and polytechnical colleges where, as with all educational institutions during this period, only the Indonesian language was allowed (Boughton, 2011; Hill, 2017). The first university in Timor-Leste was also established during the Indonesian colonial era, which after independence became the national university. 'UNTIM' (*Universitas Timor Timur* or University of East Timor), established in 1986, was affiliated with the University of Gadjah Mada in Indonesia (which still retains strong connections with universities in Timor-Leste today) and offered just four courses: agricultural science, for the production of agricultural extension workers, English and pedagogy, for the production of school teachers, and social and political science, for the production of colonial administrators (Jones, 2003). Thousands of Timorese students also went to Indonesia for tertiary study during the occupation, though many are reported to have dropped out and/or to have sought employment outside of Timor-Leste (Jones, 2003, p. 46). Saldanha (1994) also reports that there was a systematic program of sending educated Timorese to other parts of Indonesia to work.

With the building of schools, polytechnic colleges and the university under Indonesian colonial rule came a distinctively Indonesian model of education that, like with Portuguese colonialism, has produced its own post-colonial legacies. Hill (2017) argues that 'the objectives of the Indonesian education system were to make Timorese forget that they were Timorese, to imbue them with Indonesian nationalism and to cream off the high achievers and send them to good jobs in Indonesia, in an effort to undermine the clandestine resistance movement' (p. 8). This view is also confirmed by the report of the Timor-Leste Commission for Reception, Truth and Reconciliation (CAVR), which states:

The use of schools for propaganda and indoctrination severely interfered with the education of an entire generation of East Timorese youth. Education was used in this way as part of an integrated security approach whose overriding objective was to ensure that pro-independence sentiment did not take root in a new generation ... teaching children the skills that would enhance their prospects and enable them to fulfil their human potential was secondary. (CAVR, 2006, ch. 7, p. 9)

This had a contradictory effect, especially among many Timorese youth. The reaction from many Timorese families was to send their children to Catholic schools, many of which still taught the Portuguese curriculum and used Tetun as a medium of instruction (until the Indonesian authorities shut them down in the early 1990s), while other children and young people simply refused to attend Indonesian schools (Boughton, 2011).

Boughton (2011) also notes that the Indonesian colonial education system had a contradictory effect in that it helped 'produce and educate a new generation of independence activists' (p. 183). Timorese university students studying in Indonesia were especially instrumental in mobilising international support for the resistance movement, including within the Indonesian pro-democracy movement, via clandestine student organisations coordinated under RENETIL (*Resistencia Nacional dos Estudantes de Timor-Leste*, or 'National Resistance of Timorese Students'). Indeed, as Bexley and Rodrigues Tchailoro (2013) have argued, Indonesian tertiary education helped to shape a resistance mentality among an entire generation of Timorese:

Timorese students participated in discussions on campus and off campus with Indonesian activists and became involved in pro-democracy underground media such as *Kabar dari Pijar*. This underground media highlighted not only the human rights abuses in Timor but held within it the realisation that both the Timorese and Indonesians were victims of the same regime. (p. 411)

In 1999, following a positive result from an UN-supervised referendum on independence, the Indonesian colonial authority departed, destroying as it did so a large amount of educational infrastructure in Timor-Leste, including the national university (CAVR, 2006). There was also a mass exodus of tertiary qualified teachers during this time, significantly depleting the available human resources needed to build a new tertiary sector in the country (Hill, 2017).

The Portuguese and the Indonesian colonisations of Timor-Leste were each quite distinct in their management of colonial relations, especially with regard to language education, and each has left its own post-colonial legacies, producing different layers of postcoloniality on the language ecology of the country. This is perhaps most evident in the generational differences in linguistic repertoire and language affiliation manifest among the Timorese population. Many among the political elite are of an older generation, who gained privileged access to the limited educational opportunities available during the Portuguese colonial era prior to 1975. Many current university lecturers in Timor-Leste, by contrast, are of the

*Pemuda*¹⁶ generation – those who were educated during Indonesian times and in the Indonesian language.

The relationship between these generations is complex, as tensions have played out between them since independence in debates over language policy, national identity, and pathways to economic and social development (Bexley, 2007, 2009; Leach, 2012). Many of those educated under Indonesia feel dissatisfied with their marginalisation from Timorese political processes and the continuing political dominance of the *Geração '75* ('Generation of '75', those Portuguese-educated Timorese elite who led the decolonisation movement against Portugal and the Resistance against Indonesia). Some of those who played active roles in the fight against Indonesia, such as Naldo Rei (2007), are now challenging the narratives of national unity promoted by Xanana Gusmao and other Portuguese-era leaders as part of a 'post-colonial reflexive turn' (Bexley and Rodrigues Tchailoro, 2013). The educational experiences of the current tertiary student generation, though they have attended schooling in an independent Timor-Leste, are still coloured by these colonial legacies, as their teachers and lecturers bring their linguistic backgrounds, educational experiences, and associated communicative repertoires and practices with them to classroom communication.

The current context of higher education in Timor-Leste

During the period of the UN transitional administration (October, 1999 – May, 2002), while primary and secondary schooling were the main priorities, much work was done on developing curriculum guidelines for the new higher education system in Timor-Leste. The national university was re-opened and parts of it were rebuilt with the help of various foreign aid donations. Despite this progress, this period of UN governance also laid the foundations for some future problems. Different ideas about how the Timorese tertiary sector should be set up and different perceptions of the relationship between higher education and national development accompanied the arrival of competing foreign aid agendas, as well as different individual expat workers in the transitional administration, each bringing their own unique experiences and ideas, especially with regard to language (Cabral, 2013; Hill 2017; Shah, 2012).

¹⁶ '*Pemuda*' meaning 'youth' in the Indonesian language.

Over the past 16 years since independence, the number of higher education institutions (HEIs) in Timor-Leste has risen quickly from one (the public, national university, with its origins in the Indonesian colonial period) up to around twenty by 2010, before falling back down to eleven over the past few years with the establishment of the ‘National Agency for Academic Assessment and Accreditation’ (ANAAA)¹⁷. The Timorese tertiary sector, administratively divided into ‘technical’ and ‘university’ higher education (MECYS, 2004), now includes nearly a dozen different providers of bachelor degrees. All but one of these are private, and the majority have their main campuses located in the Timorese capital, Dili.¹⁸ There are also a growing number of publicly and privately funded polytechnic institutes scattered throughout the country, particularly church-funded institutes (RDTL, 2011, p.23).

Such rapid growth and change in Timor’s tertiary education sector has presented a number of challenges. Such challenges include quality control and regulation, clear articulation and implementation of strategic development goals for the sector, the recruitment and retention of suitably qualified and experienced teachers and, arguably most important of all, uncertain learning and employment outcomes for Timorese tertiary students. In 2007, Gunn described the Timorese tertiary sector as:

... a dismaying situation where private universities have proliferated, where facilities are primitive, where standards are low, where teachers are under-credentialled or not trained, where text books are lacking ... a situation where a host of other factors – not excluding language choice – contrive to choke the rational allocation of education resources, not to mention the production of knowledge (2007, p.110)

Although the sector has evolved and developed substantially since independence (and since Gunn’s highly critical 2007 review), higher education in Timor-Leste still reaches only about 2% of the population.¹⁹ Those who do graduate with either a bachelor’s degree or a

¹⁷ The 2009-2013 Country Programming Report produced by UNESCO in collaboration with the Timorese Government reported 17 universities and polytechnic schools registered with the Timorese Directorate of Higher Education (UNESCO, 2009, p.14). Boughton (2011) states that there are twenty tertiary institutions currently operating in Timor-Leste but does not give a source for this figure (p.191). The National Agency for Academic Assessment and Accreditation (*Agência Nacional para a Avaliação e Acreditação Acadêmica*, or ANAAA), established in 2010 by the Timorese Ministry of Education, currently recognizes only eleven functioning higher education institutions, of which nine are accredited with the ANAAA (ANAAA, 2018).

¹⁸ There is, however, a recent trend by some Timorese higher education providers towards establishing ‘satellite campuses’ in regional areas.

¹⁹ This figure is based on total enrolments, not the number of graduates. The 2011-2030 Strategic Development Plan for Timor-Leste reported 27,010 university enrolments for 2011 (RDTL, 2011, p.22), which was, at the time, 2.23% of Timor’s total population of 1.21 million.

*licenciatura*²⁰ often struggle to find work. Part of the problem is a small private sector and a lack of graduate entry programs in the public service in Timor-Leste (DFAT, 2018). It is noteworthy that the average seasonal worker from Timor-Leste in Australia is university educated (DFAT, 2018, p. 26).

Over the past decade, Timorese government and foreign aid priorities in education – as well as much research on education in Timor-Leste to date – have understandably²¹ been focused on achieving basic literacy and numeracy nationwide through emphasis on universal primary education (Boughton, 2011; Earnest, Beck and Supit, 2008; Taylor-Leech and Caet, 2012) and, for adults, the national adult literacy campaign (Boon and Kurvers, 2015; Boughton, 2012; Corte-Real and Kroon, 2012; Fernandes, 2010). However, tertiary-level education and training are becoming a higher government priority as Timor-Leste struggles to meet the national human resource demands brought by an increase in the number of primary and secondary schools, a fast-growing Timorese gas and petroleum sector, and a rapid increase in the construction of public infrastructure (RDTL, 2011). The polytechnic institutes being planned throughout the country are an indication of this government priority, as they include ‘one for each of our strategic industry sectors [... an] engineering polytechnic related to the petroleum industry, [... a] service industry polytechnic to cover tourism and hospitality ... and one polytechnic for agriculture’ (RDTL, 2011, p.23).

The Timorese government, like many governments in developing nations throughout the world, has identified the ‘production’ of a highly skilled workforce as a major priority of the next twenty years, but it also acknowledges substantial challenges in supporting students to access and graduate even from secondary schooling, let alone from vocational and tertiary education (RDTL, 2011, p. 16). Part of the government’s response has been to channel resources into teacher education for secondary schools, and, especially, technical secondary schools, in order to improve enrollments in technical and vocational programs in higher

²⁰ A four-year undergraduate degree modelled on the old licentiate’s (*licenciatura*) degree in Portugal, which changed to a three-year program following the Bologna Process reforms. In Timor-Leste, the *licenciatura* is considered more theory intensive than the three-year bachelor’s degree and requires an independent research project and the writing of an undergraduate thesis in the fourth year. Most undergraduate programs in Timor-Leste are offered as *licenciatura* programs.

²¹ According to the Timorese Government’s 2011-2030 Strategic Plan, over 70% of children leave school before reaching grade 9 (RDTL, 2011, p.18). The highest rate of dropouts occurs in the first two years of primary school. The quality of primary and secondary teaching is also of ongoing concern (RDTL, 2011, p.17), with many challenges in the recruitment and training of school teachers qualified and confident to teach in the two co-official languages (Quinn, 2013).

education (RDTL, 2011, p. 22). However, as Timor-Leste is still in the process of implementing its recently developed national training and qualifications framework, institutionally set educational outcomes do not always match either local or international industry standards (UNEVOC, 2012). The result appears to be that those relative few who do presently graduate with tertiary qualifications in, for example, petroleum engineering are often unable to secure work with the foreign, private petroleum, engineering and construction companies contracted by the Government (personal communication, D. Thomas, teacher, Engineering Faculty, TTC, October 2012). To bridge the gaps, large multinational companies like ConocoPhillips are now offering their own training and internship programs for graduates from Timorese HEIs (Lobato, 2014). Notably, the ConocoPhillips program is being taught in English, by an Australian university, and includes six months of ‘foundational skills training’, which incorporates training in ‘computer literacy and communication skills’ (Lobato, 2014, p.1).

The Timorese tertiary sector appears to be turning increasingly towards a vocational education and training model oriented towards human capital production, and one chiefly focused on technical trades and industries.²² Concerns have been raised over this model elsewhere in the world where it appears to preclude debate ‘about how [it constructs] a particular and impoverished understanding of the roles and purposes of education in the twenty-first century’ (Bathmaker, 2011, p.105). There are, for instance, arguments to be made for higher education and training in Timor-Leste towards a more politically-informed populace to ensure more democratic participation in all development-related decision-making in Timor (Boughton, 2012). For example, serious concerns have recently been raised over the sustainability of the Timorese government’s approach to post-conflict peace building and development, with the increasingly solidified centralization of political power among only a few former revolutionary leaders who continue to focus spending on the armed forces (ICG, 2013). If these concerns are warranted, they would seem to contradict the Freirian philosophies that informed the mass popular literacy campaigns organized by some of the same Timorese revolutionary leaders in the 1970s and 1980s (Cabral & Martin-Jones, 2008). There is a need in Timor-Leste for more discussion and debate about the kind of higher

²² At the university level, the most commonly offered degrees are in teaching, engineering, business (which includes tourism) and accounting, and agricultural and environmental sciences, with only the publicly funded national university and one or two others offering degrees in disciplines like political science, sociology, and anthropology (ANAAA, 2018).

education, academic language, and/or professional communication training that should prepare the new generation of leaders in Timor-Leste.

It should also be noted here that the perceived low quality of education and training being delivered at Timorese HEIs and the limited range of courses on offer are driving factors behind many Timorese tertiary students (and lecturers, who seek post-graduate qualifications) choosing to study abroad, usually on scholarships, in Indonesia, Australia, Europe and elsewhere (Boughton, 2011, p.191).²³ In the past, the Timorese government offered scholarships only for study in universities in Lusophone countries, in particular Portugal and Brazil, but this restriction has been lifted and scholarships are now being offered for tertiary study in other countries, including the Philippines, Korea, and Thailand (MDE, 2014). The majority of government-funded scholarships that are provided to lecturers go to those at the National University (NU), Timor's only public university, and most of these are for study in Portugal (FDCH, 2016). Private higher education providers, by contrast, tend to send their lecturers for master's and doctoral level studies in Indonesia or, more recently, the Philippines (for English medium-of-instruction), which are cheaper options than Portugal or Australia. Processes of globalisation and internationalisation – and the national, regional and global competition that they bring with regard to the creation of degree programs that will attract students – are evidently at work on the Timorese higher education sector, as they are throughout East and South-east Asia. Powerful language ideologies are being brought to bear on Timorese higher education institutions and those who come to work and study within them, specifically 'Englishisation' trends (Kirkpatrick, 2017) alongside what might be called 'Portuguesation' trends.

Trent iha Timor: Some personal background to this study

I first visited Timor-Leste in 2012 for an information gathering trip related to an interdisciplinary academic literacies class that I was teaching at the time at Charles Darwin

²³ A significant external provider of tertiary education scholarships in Timor-Leste has been Cuba, with 648 Timorese medical and allied health students recently having been trained on full scholarships in Havana...and in Spanish (Leach, 2009). Lecturers who participated in the research for this thesis spoke of their own and students' experiences studying abroad in other countries like Korea, where they needed to learn the local language. An emerging picture of the Timorese graduate in coming years may therefore be one of a multiliterate and multicultural Timorese university graduate, multilingual not only in local Timorese terms, but also with varying (perhaps even conflicting) learned language and communication proficiencies from abroad.

University (CDU) in collaboration with Engineers Without Borders Australia (EWB). My role on this trip was to advise on opportunities to embed the teaching of academic literacies to first year CDU students within a course on sustainable engineering design for a community development context, specifically Timor-Leste. Knowing my experience and interest in language and communication at the tertiary level, my EWB counterpart on the visit introduced me to two foreigners working on language related issues at Timor Technical College (TTC)²⁴, a private higher education institution on the outskirts of the capital, Dili. The first was an engineer from a foreign (Western) university on placement with EWB at TTC tasked with helping them to develop their civil engineering curriculum. I was intrigued by his frustrated claims about the ‘mess’ that Timorese higher education was in, specifically because of ‘the language issue.’ He told me that employers – mainly foreign companies in control of infrastructure projects – wanted English speaking engineering graduates, yes, but, more importantly, they wanted graduates with industry relevant knowledge and skills. Teaching industry knowledge and skills was nearly impossible, he said, when most of the lecturers speak Indonesian and use textbooks from Indonesia, while the students arrive from high school with low academic literacy levels in any language, but with strongest proficiencies in Tetun.

This last point was confirmed to me by the second foreigner working at TTC introduced to me by my EWB colleague, the director of the School of Languages there. Her job was to lead a team of language teachers at TTC, separated into the departments of Tetun, English and Portuguese (I noted the absence of Indonesian), in delivering compulsory first-year courses in these languages. Her concerns were related to those of the engineer whom I had spoken with but, being a linguist by training, were framed somewhat differently in terms of students’ reading, writing and speaking proficiencies. The director of the TTC language school and some of her colleagues had conducted a preliminary study into first year students’ proficiencies in Tetun, Portuguese, Indonesian and English. The study, which the director shared with me, showed first-year students’ strongest proficiencies to be in Tetun and concluded that ‘students are way below university level in any of the four languages’ (Godinho, et al., 2012, p.12). The research tested students’ listening, reading, writing and grammar skills in each of the four languages and used the Common European Framework

²⁴ Pseudonyms are used for all institutional names, as well as for the names of interviewees, in order to protect the identity of those who participated in this study.

(CEF) to categorise students' language competencies in these areas.²⁵ Oral/speaking proficiencies were not tested, and neither was knowledge of any specialised disciplinary vocabulary relevant to the courses they were taking.

I was struck by the juxtaposition of these two non-Timorese ('Western') tertiary educators, one a disciplinary expert and one a language expert, each working at the same, small, private higher education institution on the outskirts of Dili, each narrating to me a subtly but substantively different take on 'the language issue' in Timorese higher education. The engineer was concerned with language learning with regard to the communication of relevant disciplinary knowledge; named languages (English, Indonesian) entered into this concern insofar as it either enabled or interfered with the clear and consistent communication of this knowledge. The language school director was concerned with language learning as measurable competence. She wanted to know what reading level students were at in each language, and she needed a target 'university reading level' for them to get to (provided by the CEF) so that she could calculate how many hours of language teaching would be required for first year students and how many teachers she would need.

For my own part, coming from an academic literacies perspective, my interest was in how students learn to write a report or to give an oral presentation of the genre and style needed for work in their field, especially with all this concern over which named language to use. Each of these concerns framed the 'problem' of multilingualism at TTC differently, as each was centred on what constituted the core work of these individuals (myself included) or, at least, what they understood to constitute their core work. Each of these concerns was also originating from an 'outsider' perspective, specifically Western ones. The presence at TTC of the engineer, the SoL director and myself, our readiness to provide critical commentary on the language arrangements there, these were evidence of different foreign/Western educational values and language learning paradigms entering into the institutional space of TTC. How did these perspectives from foreigners compare with those of local educators at TTC? How might lecturers at TTC who focussed on the communication of disciplinary

²⁵ Within this framework, language users require a minimum level of B2 to be able to study at high school or university. The research showed that students achieved B2 for reading in Tetun and Indonesian and for listening in Tetun only, and below B2 for all other languages and skills tested (Godhino, et al., 2012). Note that oral/speaking skills were not tested.

knowledge frame their own questions and concerns about multilingualism in tertiary education?

In late 2014, some two years after this first visit to Timor-Leste and these initial conversations with the two foreigners at TTC, a colleague and I from CDU were invited to join a key curriculum planning meeting with staff from the tourism faculty and the school of languages at TTC. The motivation for the meeting stemmed from the decision at TTC to change to English-only medium of instruction (EMol) for the tourism, petroleum and computer science faculties there. As has already been suggested, the faculty-based EMol decision itself is significant as it would seem to contradict the national educational decree that states that Portuguese should be the language of all post-primary education (MECYS, 2008). In doing so, it re-orientates Mol policy-making to the level of individual institutions, even individual faculties, and implies a substantial role for industry in decision-making about language use in tertiary education.

The meeting also exemplified localised practices of language policy interpretation and appropriation in multilingual education settings, highlighting the role of lecturers as language policy 'arbiters' who 'instantiate' top-down policy decisions within their classrooms (Johnson, 2012, p. 58). In this case, the lecturers who participated in the meeting included both disciplinary and language lecturers at TTC as well as foreign ESL teachers and academic literacies experts (myself included), signalling the incursion of the transnational and the global into these localised, situated instantiations of language planning and policy-making.

As with my initial meetings with the two foreigners at TTC, what stood out to me in this meeting were the different discursive framings and multilayered paradigmatic approaches to the discussion about implementing English for the tourism faculty at TTC. Concerned about how best to prepare incoming tourism students with little or no English for academic study in English, lecturers from the TTC English department asked the tourism faculty lecturers about the 'language needs' of their students and about what their students need to *do* with the different languages. The initial response of the dean of the tourism faculty was to reference Tetun and Portuguese as 'the national languages' and to justify the move to English by the claim that students need English to speak with tourists. Seeking more details, the SoL director asked what students need to read and write when they need to use English in their studies for tourism. The head of the department of hotel management responded in Tetun, saying that students need to know the English vocabulary that would commonly be found on

menus, guest check-in forms, housekeeping checklists. The head of the tours and travel department added to his colleague's list, saying students need to know how to produce tourism brochures, how to read and respond to online reservations. Hearing these examples, I made my own notes about the need to teach students to recognise and use different genres and modes of communication, to identify distinct target audiences and to tailor communication appropriately.

Manifest in this meeting were subtly different ways of conceptualising the communication challenges facing tourism students at TTC with the move to EMol. They signalled quite different orientations to things that might be called 'academic language' or 'vocational language', the teaching of which was partly being negotiated in the context of this meeting. They also signalled different orientations to expertise as expressed in and through language and different layers of language planning discourses being brought to bear on the negotiation of what should be done in tourism classrooms at TTC.

Throughout the period from my initial visit to Timor-Leste in 2012 until the meeting at TTC with the tourism faculty in 2014 I had been in discussion with the SoL director at TTC on the matter of how best to frame a larger project that might track progress in implementing new faculty-based EMol policies at TTC. The present doctoral research project eventually evolved out of these earlier plans to trace the implementational trajectories of EMol policies at TTC, though it is no longer a study of medium-of-instruction policy implementation. This will be discussed further in Chapter 3, in relation to the evolution of my research design. My visits and ongoing communications with various foreign and local educators at TTC and at other institutions, my experience of the meeting with the TTC tourism faculty and my reflections on my own participation in it, these all led me to larger and more complex questions about what is happening with language and communication in Timorese higher education.

Research questions

My exploration of the critical problem of university lecturers working in the complex sociolinguistic context of Timor-Leste was focussed on their beliefs and practices in disciplinary communication with their students. The following two central research questions drove this study:

- I. *How do lecturers in development-related disciplines in Timor-Leste conceptualise the communication skills and resources needed by their students to succeed at university and to find work in their respective industries?*
- II. *What kinds of teaching strategies and multilingual communication practices do these lecturers engage in to support their students in developing these skills and resources?*

The first of these questions relates to the beliefs and attitudes of lecturers regarding the linguistic and communicative skills and resources of their students. It is important to note that the word ‘communication’ frames this question while the words ‘language’ and ‘literacy/literacies’ do not, and that both ‘skills’ and ‘resources’ are mentioned. These were strategic choices in the articulation of the focus of this research that enabled:

- a) an alignment with a critical interpretive approach to the study of multilingualism in education (a sociolinguistic approach that I discuss in more detail in the next chapter), and
- b) a framing of questions to participants in terms of the situated, social practice of language use and literacy production in the context of the communication of vocational knowledge and the transformation of student-apprentices’ voices for participation in disciplinary discourse communities. This will be discussed in more detail in my discussion about my methodological decisions in Chapter 3.

My first research question also encompasses two different characterising aspects of students’ communication: communication at university and communication for work. Lecturers’ beliefs about communication for work – what they believe they are preparing their students to do with language in the workplace – will be discussed in Chapter 4 of this thesis. Lecturers’ beliefs about communication for tertiary study and the skills and resources that students require to succeed at university will be discussed in Chapter 5.

Following this description and analysis of Timorese lecturer’s conceptualisations of their students’ communication skills and resources in chapters 4 and 5, I address the second research question in Chapter 6. There I discuss the diversity of multilingual and multisemiotic communication practices characterising lecturers’ disciplinary teaching and research supervision activities.

The structure of this thesis

This thesis is divided into seven chapters and takes a somewhat traditional approach to the ordering of these chapters, though the exploration of the central research questions is non-linear. As a guide to the reader, I provide a brief summary of each of the chapters, two through to seven, below.

Following this introductory chapter, I discuss the literature that has most influenced my thinking about, and therefore my approach to, the problems with which this research wrestles. I divide my discussion of relevant literature into three sections, one focussing on literature about multilingualism, one focussing on literature about higher education, and one focussing on literature about the language planning and knowledge production roles played by disciplinary lecturers.

In chapter three, I outline and justify the methodological decisions that I made in conducting this research. I provide an overview of my methods of data collection and analysis, and I explain and justify my research design. I explain my understanding of what Martin-Jones (2007) calls a 'critical interpretive approach' to the study of multilingualism in education and I justify the need for ethnographic methods of inquiry to get at lecturers' everyday beliefs and practices, embedded as they are within disciplinary, institutional, and national cultures of teaching and learning. I explain my choice of research sites and my methods of entry into their varied communicative worlds. I describe and critique my own processes for recruiting lecturer participants from these different research sites and negotiating their informed consent. I outline the processes for conducting focus groups, interviews, and observations of teaching and learning over the multiple sites, across the multiple disciplines, and via their associated language repertoires. I conclude the methods chapter with a critical reflection on the challenges of doing this kind of cross-cultural, multilingual, multi-sited, interdisciplinary research, arguing that it is in the interrogation of misunderstandings as much as in understandings that important lessons are learned.

Chapters four to six present and discuss my research findings. As outlined above, each of these three chapters addresses one, or a part of one, of the two central research questions. Chapters four and five respond to my first research question, which relates to how lecturers conceptualise the voices and communicative resources of their students for undergraduate study in their field and also for work in their respective industries.

In chapter four, I first critically examine lecturers' 'visions of industry'. I discuss lecturer-participants' conceptualisations of the communication skills and resources that students ideally should have by the time that they finish their university studies and the kinds of educated voices needed by graduates to be 'job-ready' for communicative work in their industries. This chapter is divided into four sections, one for each of the four disciplines case-studied, with each section describing lecturers' varying visions of future workplace communicative contexts into which they see their students entering. Drawing on heavily value-laden statements by lecturers about the kinds of communication practices that they hope to see their graduates involved in, I make the argument that discourses of development – industry as well as national – to which lecturers are exposed shape their beliefs about and understandings of what they think they are preparing their students to be able to do with language for work; the styles and performances of language that are most germane to their industry, as well as which individual named languages carry the most worth in their industries. The chapter reveals how lecturers' diverse visions of transformation of their industries in the context of national development act as lenses via which they approach the planning of expert graduate voices.

Chapter five addresses lecturers' conceptualisations of the communication resources that students bring to academic study in general, and in specific relation to the distinct kinds of teaching and learning that occur in different institutional and disciplinary settings. In my analysis of comments from lecturers from different disciplines and institutions, I note a generally pervasive deficit view of the various communication resources that students bring with them to university. It is a view that students come to university ill-equipped because they are either lacking in these resources or that the resources themselves (such as the Tetun language) are deficient. I present the argument that these deficit views from lecturers are grounded in their interpretations of the post-colonial, developing context in which higher education delivery in Timor-Leste occurs.

Chapter six deals with lecturers' multilingual disciplinary communication practices, in response to my second research question. The chapter provides a sampling of what lecturers told me that they do and what I observed them doing to help their students to develop their communication abilities for work (as discussed in chapter four), and for tertiary study (as discussed in chapter five). Whereas chapters four and five were arranged according to dominant themes that emerged in the data, I arrange chapter six according to the different

types of data collected that revealed something about lecturers' 'mixed' communication practices. The data presented in this chapter reveal how lecturers' beliefs and attitudes with regard to language at university and for work in their industries do not always correspond to their enacted language and communication practices in the classroom. This chapter also provides extensive evidence of substantial 'mixing' in the communication of disciplinary and industry-specific knowledge, combining features of named languages with other semiotic resources across a range of modalities.

The seventh and final chapter of this thesis focuses on the contributions of this research to knowledge in the fields of educational linguistics and language policy and planning, as well as some of the practical and policy-related implications of findings from this study. These implications relate especially to the intellectualisation of Tetun, approaches to workforce development in Timor's strategic industries, and the implementation of institutional language policies for the lecturers and institutions that participated in this study.

Chapter 2:

Buka hatene liu husi sira nia lian²⁶

A review of relevant literature

Chapter overview

In this chapter I discuss the academic literature that has informed this study. This research project was informed by a wide range of literature from the somewhat disparate fields of applied linguistics, anthropology, educational sociology and (to a lesser extent) development studies. Applied linguistics alone is an expansive field, incorporating many subfields within it. To say that this is a study of multilingual education in Timor Leste immediately hails several subfields of applied linguistics, including but not limited to: sociolinguistics, educational linguistics (incorporating ‘second language acquisition’, (academic) literacy studies, language pedagogy), and language policy and planning. In addition, the specific focus on higher education and on the beliefs and practices of tertiary lecturers in different disciplines calls for an appreciation of the particular roles that post-secondary education plays in a society – the sociology of what universities are for (especially in a post-conflict, developing context) and how they are set up to achieve those objectives (Altbach, 2007; Marginson, 2006; Yates, 2012). The tertiary focus also calls for attentiveness to the embeddedness of these lecturers’ voices within localised communication cultures of specific departments, faculties and institutions, though each voice also brings its own unique experiences, beliefs, and ‘multivoiced multilingual’ (Higgins, 2009) communication practices to these cultures. That this is all situated more widely in the post-colonial, developing context of Timor-Leste, at the intersection of the geo-political regions of South-East Asia and Oceania, demands an appreciation of the nature of the relationships (cultural, political-economic) and discourses (especially development and aid discourses) that are operative within the nation as well as external to it.

²⁶ Tetun: ‘Learning from their words’. The phrasal verb *buka hatene*, used to refer to learning, transliterates as ‘to search to know’. The word *lian* can be used to mean ‘word’, ‘language’, or ‘a way of speaking’. I use it here to refer simultaneously to the words of different scholars and also the ‘languages’ of different fields of research represented in the literature reviewed in this chapter.

To structure my review of this diverse range of literature, I divide this chapter into three sections:

2.1 Epistemologies of multilingualism

2.2 Higher education as a social process of language production

2.3 Lecturers as planners of disciplinary language and knowledge

In section 2.1, I discuss different ways of knowing multilingualism as both a societal level and individual/interactional level phenomenon. This first section achieves two key objectives: 1) it sets up the background in the literature to a critical sociolinguistic approach to the study of multilingualism in education, which I adopt in this research, and 2) it identifies different discursively constructed understandings of multilingualism. The different, discursively constructed understandings of multilingualism are part of what will be revealed by the data for this study, as lecturer-participants articulate different beliefs and hail various discourses to justify different practices with regard to multilingual disciplinary communication.

In section 2.2, I focus more closely on higher education as an especially significant social domain in which different ways of knowing language and communication are tied up with processes of knowledge production and workforce production. The literature reviewed in this section highlights the importance of the three universities case studied for this research as spaces in which lecturers' beliefs and practices about multilingualism are subject to particular institutional discourses, as well as wider national and global ones.

In section 2.3, I discuss the literature that recognises a role for university lecturers in the planning of disciplinary language use and, by extension, in the very construction of disciplinary knowledge in the fulfilment of their everyday professional work as disciplinary educators. Appreciation of the performative and iterative nature of this role is central to this study of lecturers' responses to multilingualism in higher education in the complex sociolinguistic context of Timor-Leste, and their diverse, at times contradictory approaches to disciplinary communication.

2.1 Epistemologies of multilingualism

As this is a study of Timorese lecturers' conceptualisations of multilingualism, specifically their beliefs and practices regarding their students' communication skills, it is relevant to

consider the literature on multilingualism and what it reveals about the different epistemologies of multilingualism that exist. It is also important to recognise the particular histories of evolution associated with these epistemologies. Many are connected to certain ideologies about the bounded, monocultural nature of communities of communicators, the development of the modern nation state with its regulation of language policy and education, and to fixed ideas about individual linguistic and communicative competence. In this section I argue, in line with a number of researchers in the field of language ideology, that ways of understanding, conceptualising and *knowing* multilingualism are historically and politically situated and discursively constructed.

Societal multilingualism: constructions of language, the nation-state and the post-colony

One of the earliest and most enduring of the ways that multilingualism has been understood is at the societal level and in connection to the creation of the modern nation-state. Named, bounded languages are directly associated with named, bounded communities of speaking citizen-subjects. This view is historically connected to the European, modernist projects of nation-building, especially from the nineteenth century onwards, through which the ideal form of the territorially bounded nation-state came to be known as a linguistically as well as culturally homogenous entity (Hobsbawm, 1990). Understood in these terms, multilingualism posed a threat to the unity of the nation-state and its boundaries, as it threatened the 'imagining' of the nation as a single, homogenous community (Anderson, 1983). Multilingualism thus needed to be 'explained and evaluated' (Heller, 2007, p. 5), controlled and contained, leading to the birth of the field of language policy and planning (Wright, 2004). The work of describing, codifying and standardising languages was ideologically linked to the discursive construction and naturalisation of different politically recognised communities, both internal to the nation-state and also beyond it in the form of colonial empire (Errington, 2001).

Preceding the creation of nation-states was the history of the creation of national languages, marked by the establishment of national language academies such as the Real Academia Española in Spain and the Académie Française in France. Using 'national languages' as a kind of raw material for state-making, it was a process that ultimately came to dominate, at the end of the 19th and for much of the 20th centuries, the disciplinary work of social scientists across a range of fields, including linguistics, anthropology, sociology and demography (for

an in-depth discussion, see Gal and Irvine, 1995; Gal and Woolard, 1995; Heller, 2007). The enduring impact of this work is reflected in the aspiration that new nation-states still have today. The first constitutional government of Timor-Leste, for example, accompanied the formation of the new Timorese nation-state in 2002 with the creation of its own language academy modelled on the European ones, the *Instituto Nacional de Linguística* (INL) or 'National Institute of Linguistics'. One of the main mandated functions of the INL in Timor-Leste is the development of the 'official' grammar, spelling, and orthography for Tetun Dili (RDTL, 2004).

The 'science' of linguistic differentiation is thus historically tied to the differentiation of peoples and nations. It remains an ideological practice by which sociolinguistic complexity becomes rationalised and hierarchical, and linguistic varieties become identified with particular persons and groups (Gal and Irvine, 1995). Understandings of multilingualism in this tradition of thinking tended to equate one language with one culture, in turn making, as Gal and Irvine (1995) put it, 'the division between linguistics and social science a seemingly natural one, based on the apparent fixity and self-evidence of the split between language and social life as distinct, if correlatable, objects of inquiry' (p. 971). Making a similar point, Blommaert (2012) observed of this era of 'Fishmanian sociolinguistics' that 'social and linguistic features were members of separate categories, between which stable and linear correlations could be established' (p. 11).

Strong critiques of this approach to sociolinguistics came in the latter decades of the twentieth century with the work of researchers in the field of language ideology, such as Woolard and Schieffelin (1994), Gal and Irvine (1995), and Kroskrity (2000), who highlighted the complicity of the fields of linguistics and anthropology in the construction of the one language/one community paradigm. Gal and Woolard (1995), for example, argued that the work of linguistic representation 'produces' social groupings and that 'such representational processes are crucial aspects of power, figuring among the means of establishing inequality, imposing social hierarchy, and mobilizing political action' (p. 1). Indeed, the ideological force of thus imagining multilingualism as 'parallel monolingualisms' existing within the territorial nation-state arguably even subverted the language rights and revitalisation movements of linguistic minority groups. Heller (1999), for instance, has made the point that groups of linguistic minorities were in significant ways themselves 'created by the nationalism which excludes them' (p. 7). This way of thinking about multilingualism was also manifest in early

language planning work located in developing, postcolonial settings, such as the work of Fishman and others concerned with resolving the language ‘problems’ of developing nations (Fishman, Ferguson and Dasgupta, 1968; see Blommaert, 2012, for an epistemological critique relevant to this point).

The work of sociolinguistic researchers focussed on post-colonial contexts (Timor-Leste, of course, being one such context) has advanced critical thinking about the ideological forces involved in the naming and delineation of boundaries between languages and between their associated communities. Scholars such as Fabian (1986), Makoni (1998) and Errington (2001) have drawn attention to the work of missionaries, anthropologists and colonial administrators in the naming and counting of languages within colonial boundaries resulting in the ‘invention’ of named languages as well as of named groups of non-European peoples (Makoni, 1998). Makoni and Pennycook (2007) have further argued that this ideological practice persists today in the ‘countability’ of languages that reflects a ‘census ideology’ that reproduces the tropes of colonial invention and the imagining of colonized societies. It has also been pointed out that resistance to colonialism and the transition to independent, postcolonial states have often been mediated through constructions of ‘linguistic citizenship’ (Stroud, 2001; Stroud and Heugh, 2004). Associations with the colonial language(s) or different local languages differently position citizen-workers within newly independent nations, as well as positioning the new nations within the wider global order (Stroud, 2007).

The literature on language ideology and the literature on language and (post)coloniality draws attention to the constructed nature of multilingualism at the societal level in Timor-Leste and the enduring legacies of multiple waves of colonialism. It encourages a critical gaze on, for example, the discursive construction of Timorese multilingualism via the disciplinary work of Portuguese linguists, missionaries and anthropologists in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Early dictionaries of Tetun were produced (e.g., da Silva, 1887), etic accounts were made of local languages (e.g., Domingues, 1947), and boundary construction work was also done less directly via other sciences, such as in the production of glossaries of Timorese plant and animal names in indigenous languages (e.g., Gomes, 1954). Makoni and Pennycook’s (2007) point that these practices have enduring legacies in the knowing of multilingualism in the post-colony is evident in the ongoing, conflicting claims, chiefly made by outsiders, to the naming, boundary-making and numeration of linguistic communities existent in Timor-Leste (see Chapter 1, ‘Counting the languages that count’). Stroud’s (2001) notion of ‘linguistic

citizenship’ is also relevant to the case of Timor-Leste as boundary construction work has certainly been brought to bear on Timorese national identity via narrations of linguistic community. Cabral and Martin-Jones (2008) have shown how first Portuguese and then Tetun became symbols of differentiation and independence from Indonesian colonial rule via the mass popular literacy campaigns of the resistance movement in the period of 1975 to 1999.

While the work of Makoni and Pennycook, Stroud, and others who have examined multilingualism in post-colonial contexts is certainly relevant to the multilingual post-colonial setting of Timor-Leste, much of it has tended to focus on the legacies of European colonialism in Africa. Part of what makes the case of Timor-Leste unique is that it has experienced both European colonialism from Portugal, and a kind of ‘second wave’ colonialism from Indonesia, layering different colonial traditions, different cultures of coloniality upon one another. This has produced some complex and often conflicting narratives of linguistic identity. The story of *Maubere* (see Chapter 1) is part of this picture, with the different namings of the resistance movement reflecting different strategic framings of a Timorese national identity. Perhaps most significantly for the current study, the constructed nature of societal multilingualism in Timor-Leste and the legacies of colonialism have also affected discourses surrounding language policy and planning activities, an issue to be discussed in more detail later in this chapter.

In summary, the literature reviewed in this section informs a critical view on language in education in Timor-Leste, in particular its role in nation-building. Research in language ideology and critical sociolinguistic studies of the discursive framing of multilingualism see colonial power and nation-building as maintained via the conflation of language and community, and the treatment of multilingualism as parallel monolingualisms. I adopt a similar perspective in my understanding of the political, historical background against which the higher education sector in Timor-Leste has been built, and in my approach to analysis of lecturers’ beliefs and practices relating to multilingualism.

Multilingual communication: Language use, bilingual education, and the construction of the multilingual subject

A conventional way of understanding multilingualism that emerged out of the Saussurrean, structuralist tradition of linguistic scholarship was the ‘structural-functionalist’ approach. It

is concerned with how people use different languages, and/or different varieties and registers of a language, for different social functions and within different 'sociolinguistic domains' of social activity (Fishman, 1972). An early example of this is Charles Ferguson's (1959) initial formulation of the concept of diglossia, in which different language varieties are afforded different levels of prestige, 'high' and 'low', via their differentiated use for more and less prestigious kinds of communication. An illustrative example of this in the case of Timor-Leste is the use of Portuguese, or else a 'high register' of Tetun that incorporates more Portuguese, for prestigious social activities such as the practice of law and parliamentary proceedings, or, indeed, in higher education, contrasted with the use of 'market Tetun' or *Tetun Prasa* for informal, everyday conversation (Williams-van Klinken, 2001). The term 'diglossia' has since been picked up and significantly extended upon by others, including Fishman (1967), with his notion of 'extended diglossia', Myers-Scotton (1987), with his arguments about connections between code-switching and forms of diglossia, and Schiffman (1991), with his explication of homogenous and heterogenous forms of diglossia.

Structural-functionalist approaches to multilingualism had far-reaching implications for the field of applied linguistics, especially in the decades from the 1960s to the 1990s. Attention was drawn, in particular, to the domain of education as a location where important decisions are made and significant action is taken about the use of different languages for different social purposes. The term 'educational linguistics' was coined during this time (Spolsky, 1972) and it was revealed that education is a key location for language planning (Cooper, 1989).

With the emergence of such critical concepts as the 'speech act' (Austin, 1962) and the 'speech community' (Gumperz, 1964), language was increasingly understood as a social activity. A major methodological contribution to the field that emerged in this period was Dell Hymes' 'ethnography of communication' (1964), although it is arguable whether Hymes' approach strictly fit into a structural-functionalist paradigm. It was developed as a method for discovering the 'functions of language in the classroom' (Cazden, John and Hymes, 1972) and for examining the relationship between language use and teaching and learning in particular educational settings. Perhaps most significantly, the method drew attention to the idea that, as Hymes himself put it, 'what is crucial is not so much a better understanding of how language is structured, but a better understanding of how language is used; not so much what language is, as what language is for' (Hymes, 1972, p. xii).

It was the ethnomethodological approaches that emerged out of this era that led to more social approaches to conceptualising multilingual communication as a sociolinguistic phenomenon, where the use or performance of language is inextricable from its social context (Heller, 2007). Hymes, writing in response to Chomsky's 'theory of syntax' (1965) and the structuralist approach to linguistics, was a major critic of the notion that language can be separated from its social context of use (see, for example, Gal and Irvine, 1995, p. 969, who give Hymes this credit). To be competent in language, Hymes argued, does not mean to master the grammatical rules and lexicon of any single language but to acquire 'communicative competence' (1966), which includes knowledge of the socially defined rules of use of language. The study of language, therefore, as Hymes further argued, requires an 'ethnography of communication' (1964), in order to understand how linguistic form and function exist in relationship with one another within a given 'speech community'. Ethnographic approaches to the study of language, which combine anthropological methods of enquiry with linguistic analysis, have since come to dominate much of the field of applied linguistics, as has the understanding that linguistic form and function are intimately intertwined.

Drawing from this literature, the methods of ethnographic enquiry and data analysis selected for this research are certainly informed by a focus on how language is used and an understanding that form and function are indelibly interconnected. However, more recent studies have emphasised that bi/multilingual communication focussed approaches also require a critical element. Martin-Jones (2007) has argued that a defining feature of the bilingual education research of the 1970s and 1980s was that "'what" and "how" questions predominated, instead of "why" questions' (Martin-Jones, 2007, p. 165). Moreover, despite an apparent shift from societal-level analysis to domain-level language use, there remained in the early, structural-functionalist and interactionist approaches to multilingualism a 'linguistics of community' (Pratt, 1987, cited in Martin-Jones, Blackledge and Creese, 2012, p. 3), in which categorisations of groups of people within a society was made possible by the identification of shared rules of language use for those groups. To know and to name a variety or register of language in connection to a particular social function was to know and to name its corresponding community, such that 'types of multilingual communities' could be identified and categorised, along with the language norms and behaviour that supposedly characterised them (e.g., Kloss, 1966; Myers-Scotton, 1987).

Heller (2007) has pointed out that although the tradition of thinking about bi/multilingualism in terms of different language features mapped on to different social functions has produced some benefits, especially with regard to identifying cases of marginalisation and discrimination of linguistic minority groups, it has also reinforced old problems in the perceiving of multilingualism. She states:

The structural-functional paradigm has been extremely productive, allowing in particular the development of a discourse regarding the relative advantages or disadvantages of specific forms of bilingualism for specific groups. It has, however, remained resolutely committed to a paradigm in which languages are understood as whole, bounded systems, associated, moreover, with whole, bounded communities. (Heller, 2007, p. 11)

Breaking away from this paradigm has proved to be a considerable challenge for the field of applied linguistics generally and for research on bi/multilingual education in particular, as a number of scholars have noted (Heller, 2007; Blommaert, 2012; Martin-Jones, Blackledge and Creese, 2012).

A discourse emerged in the field of bi/multilingual education, in line with a broadly structural-functionalist approach, about 'models' of bilingual education to be studied, as Martin-Jones (2007) put it, 'as if they were discrete, fixed entities and readily transplantable ... from one sociolinguistic context to another' (p. 164). One of the strongest programmatic manifestations of this discourse was the 'language separation approach' advocated by Swain (1983) and others, which understood bilingual education as a task of developing separate, 'parallel monolingualisms' (Heller, 1999, p. 271). This discourse about formulaic and measurable ways of doing bi/multilingual education both derived from and reinforced wider structural-functionalist notions of fixed and bounded languages mapped onto similarly stable social functions. This helps to explain why such discourses about language in education continue to predominate in Timor-Leste, as indeed they do in many parts of the world.

With regard to the current study, a 'language separation approach' to multilingual education, rooted as it is in structural-functionalist traditions of thinking about multilingualism, can be seen in the arrangements made for language learning in the first year of university in Timor-Leste. Separate language classes are provided for Portuguese, English and Tetun, with each course examining only its own language divorced, as findings from this research will highlight, from the reality of mixing and code-switching that occurs in everyday communication, including classroom communication (see next section below). Indeed, separated bilingual

education has been identified as the common approach for ‘foundation language’, ‘academic language’ and ‘language support’ programs in multilingual higher education contexts around the world (Shohamy, 2013; Mazak, 2017). Doiz, Lasagabaster & Sierra (2013) have argued that the ‘compartmentalisation’ of languages in higher education is a manifestation of ‘the hegemony of the monolingual mindset’, which dominates schools and universities (p.218). Yet such compartmentalizing of languages, it has also been argued, sits in contrast with the more fluid ways that multilingual language learners draw on their entire linguistic repertoire for acquisition of third or additional languages (De Angelis, 2007), and in learning in tertiary settings (Mazak, 2017).

Structural-functionalist thinking (from an applied linguistics perspective) and the ‘language separation’ approach to bilingual education have had significant implications for ways of knowing multilingualism at the societal level in connection with different domains of social activity. They have also influenced the knowing of multilingualism at the individual level, with ‘the construction of what it means to be a competent person’ (Heller, 2007, p. 3). Models of bilingual education born out of the structural-functionalist paradigm, such as those discussed above and currently implemented in Timorese tertiary institutions, are brought to bear on the learned identity of ‘the multilingual subject’ (Kramsch, 2009).

Where approaches to language in education are dominated by conceptualisations of language as fixed and bounded and corresponding to fixed and bounded communities, what is at stake is the construction of students’ identities as multilingual individuals, and as language learners (Le Page and Tabouret-Keller, 1985; Shohamy, 2014). It has been pointed out, for instance, that this kind of thinking still persists in some understandings of the concept of ‘plurilingualism’, with its origins in the Common European Framework of References for Languages (Council of Europe, 2001), where the focus is on functionally defined linguistic competence (Lüdi and Py, 2009). There are those, however, who argue that understandings of individual plurilingualism and experiments in bi/multilingual education are to be rescued in approaches that privilege voice and ‘plurilingual repertoire’ (Moore and Gajo, 2009).

Multilingualism as ‘mixing’: Repertoire, voice, performance and the ‘trans’ turn

Those who have arguably most progressed the cause of challenging thinking about multilingualism in terms of fixed, bounded languages connected to fixed, bounded communities are those who have studied closely and struggled to make sense of diverse

forms of *mixing* of different languages and language varieties in different social contexts. Ethnographic studies of code-switching and other forms of 'simultaneity' (Woolard, 1998) have highlighted the complex ways that people draw on their entire linguistic and semiotic repertoires in order to communicate and, crucially, the ways that these practices both reproduce and resist, both conform to and transgress established norms or rules of communication in given social settings, such that social domains are seen to 'leak' (Blom and Gumperz, 1972). As Heller (2007, p. 11) put it: 'the constant emergence of traces of different languages in the speech of individual bilinguals goes against the expectation that languages will neatly correspond to separate domains and stay put where they are meant to stay put.'

Building on the work of these early ethnographic studies of code-switching, in recent years there has been much experimentation with alternative terms to name what is happening when multilinguals mix languages in their communication: 'language crossing' (Rampton, 1995), 'polylingual languaging' (Jørgensen, 2008) and 'code-meshing' (Canagarajah, 2011), to name a few examples. Applied linguistics research and, especially, research in multilingual education settings have also seen a turn to the 'trans' as in 'translanguaging' (Garcia, 2009; Creese and Blackledge, 2010; Li Wei, 2011) and 'translingual practice' (Canagarajah, 2013), signalling an attempt to capture the dynamic and transgressive nature of multilingual communication. In grappling as they have with what it is that multi/plurilingual individuals do with language when 'mixing' in communication, these various approaches have moved the study of multilingual phenomena towards a more critical and interactional sociolinguistics (Martin-Jones, Blackledge and Creese, 2012). Research on bi/multilingual education has moved towards more 'critical interpretive approaches' (Martin-Jones, 2007, p. 171), as more detailed, ethnographic research has been conducted in situations where complex language mixing practices are occurring. This has shifted thinking about multilingualism away from fixed and stable variables and towards dynamic notions of fluidity and transgression of boundaries with, crucially, awareness of the wider social forces that are brought to bear on the utterance.

Multiple recent studies, including those by Garcia (2009, 2011), Hornberger and Link (2012), Makalela (2014), Li Wei (2011) and Shohamy (2014), have revealed that notions of additive bilingualism and stable diglossia have 'lost space in the global world owing to their separatist orientation towards languages' (Makalela, 2014, p.90). In search of an alternative way of thinking about multilingual higher education, researchers have begun examining pedagogic

practices that draw on multilingualism as a teaching and learning resource, most notably the practices of ‘translanguaging’ (Canagarajah, 2011; Hibbert & van der Walt, 2014; Makalela, 2014) and ‘resemiotisation’ (Stroud & Kerfoot, 2013). Li Wei (2011) describes translanguaging practices as multilingual speakers ‘making context-sensitive, strategic choices about the language systems they use to achieve a particular communicative goal’ (cited in Makalela, 2014, p.91). Michael-Luna and Canagarajah (2007) have argued that the same kinds of translanguaging practices that are useful for developing academic literacy skills in multilingual primary school classrooms can and should be used to develop academic literacies in the ‘high stakes’ environment of university classrooms.

Some background to these developments is useful here. Early research on code-switching departed from the structural-functionalist tradition within applied linguistics to adopt an ‘interactionist’ approach, in which increased focus was put on the motivations and intentions of individuals in their language mixing practices. While structural-functionalist approaches to multilingualism brought attention to language use at the level of social domain, interactionist approaches, such as those of Blom and Gumperz (1972), brought attention to language production at the individual level and to the level of the utterance. In what proved to be a provocative publication for debate about the nature of language mixing, Blom and Gumperz (1972) identified two kinds of code-switching: ‘situational’ and ‘metaphorical’ (p. 409). While some subsequently criticised this formulation, in particular the limitations of the notion of ‘metaphorical code-switching’ (see, e.g., Auer, 1998; Maehlum, 1996), it proved pivotal in the development of an understanding of *meaning-making* as a social process and of ‘discourse itself as a key site of meaning-making’ (Heller, 2007, p.12). For the present study, such an understanding informs analysis of moments of disciplinary communication between lecturers and their students in Timorese universities as pivotal sites for the construction of disciplinary knowledge *via* the construction of meaningful multilingual utterances.

Distinguishing between different kinds of code-switching, associated with different communicative ‘strategies’ in bilingualism (Woolard, 1998), also led to the recognition that, whatever the rules of language use dictated by the social domain, individuals are involved in crucial processes of ‘selecting’ from available linguistic resources in communicative interaction with one another. Selecting certain linguistic resources for the communication of disciplinary knowledge in a Timorese university classroom, for example, positions the language user in relation to certain social identities associated with particular kinds of

expertise and particular ways of knowing. 'Accounting for the occurrence or non-occurrence of codeswitching,' as Woolard has pointed out, 'then becomes a question of accounting for what social identities are simultaneously inhabitable' (1998, p. 181).

Evolution of the idea that language is performative (Austin, 1962) has also proved extremely productive, alongside of ethnographic studies of 'code-switching', for understandings of language mixing in connection to presentations of the self in processes of meaning-making. Goffman's (1981) early development of the concepts of 'footing' and 'frame' introduced the critical understanding that uses of language have important implications for presentations of the self in social contexts of communication. More specific to the context of multilingualism, Ben Rampton's (1995) study of 'language crossing' built upon Blom and Gumperz's initial conceptualisation of 'metaphorical code-switching' to develop the idea that language choice has implications for styles of speech and, by extension, for identity production.

More recently, the term 'languaging' has come to replace 'code-switching' in an effort to avoid the fixed and bounded connotations of 'code' and in recognition of the fluid and dynamic ways in which individuals are constantly engaged in both identity construction and meaning-making via language use. Ofelia García, often cited in research on multilingualism for her work on expanding the notions of language and bilingualism beyond traditional approaches to languages as discrete codes, has credited the Latino biologists Maturana and Varela with first coining the term 'languaging' (García & Leiva, 2014). Maturana, Varela and Paolucci, though not linguists themselves, capture succinctly the idea that everyday, interactive language use continuously constructs both the self and knowledge:

It is by languaging that the act of knowing, in the behavioural coordination which is language, brings forth a world. We work out our lives in a mutual linguistic coupling, not because language permits us to reveal ourselves but because we are constituted in language in a continuous becoming that we bring forth with others. (Maturana, Varela & Paolucci, 1998, pp.234-235)

In the context of higher education in Timor-Leste, this performative aspect of language is central to an appreciation of the identity work being done with students when lecturers 'mix' languages in disciplinary communication. Students in these settings are not only learning content knowledge in their disciplines, they are also learning what it means to speak and write like a disciplinary expert, to (re)produce the language that makes disciplinary knowledge intelligible. For instance, lecturers' 'choices' or 'selections' of English words over Portuguese or Indonesian words for technical terms when communicating with students in

Tetun have implications for the learned performance of disciplinary expertise and for the production of multilingual expert voices.

Connected to the presentation of the self and the negotiated construction of knowledge in and through language is the notion of communicative repertoire. It was from the interactionist tradition and fine-grained studies of instances of code-switching that Gumperz developed the notion of repertoire – first ‘verbal repertoire’ (Gumperz & Naim, 1960) and, later, ‘linguistic repertoire’ (Gumperz, 1982) – which has subsequently come to be considered part of ‘the core vocabulary of sociolinguistics’ (Blommaert and Backus, 2013, p. 12). Repertoire, Gumperz proposed, ‘contains all the accepted ways of formulating messages. It provides the weapons of everyday communication. Speakers choose among this arsenal in accordance with the meanings they wish to convey’ (1964, p. 138). This concept has helped to move social research on language and communication resolutely away from the idea that whole, bounded languages are neatly tied to whole, bounded communities. Indeed, in a significant development for thinking about multilingualism and, especially, multilingual education, Gumperz argued that the mixture of languages produced in communication among multilingual individuals must be understood to ‘form a behavioural whole, regardless of grammatical distinctness, and must be considered constituent varieties of the same verbal repertoire’ (Gumperz 1964: 140).

The notion of repertoire has, however, raised some new questions in the applied linguistics literature, particularly in connection to performative and stylistic ‘choices’ made by individuals in the mixing of languages in communication. One question is about the extent to which individuals are in fact free to ‘choose’ or ‘select’ from the communicative resources available to them. Gumperz, in his early conceptualisation of ‘repertoire’, seemed to suggest that there was some level of conscious decision-making occurring, arguing that:

Ultimately it is the individual who makes the decision, but his freedom to select is always subject both to grammatical and social restraints. [...] The power of selection is limited by commonly agreed on conventions which serve to categorize speech forms as informal, technical, vulgar, literary, humorous, etc. [...] The social etiquette of language choice is learned along with grammatical rules and once internalized it becomes a part of our linguistic equipment. Conversely, stylistic choice becomes a problem when we are away from our accustomed social surroundings. (1964, p. 138)

Although there are echoes here of the structural-functionalist paradigm, the emphasis on individual language practices – ‘selection’ of communicative resources – in relationship with

social constraints and categories is significant. Calling for a 'revisiting' and 'expansion' of the notion of linguistic repertoire, Busch (2012) has observed that 'already contained in Gumperz's concept of the repertoire is the realization that speech style not only refers indexically to social categories but that it can also be employed by speakers as a means of moving beyond normative and constraining categorizations' (p.2). While the question of individual agency may have been left somewhat unresolved by Gumperz' original notion of repertoire, what is at stake in the multilingual disciplinary communication to be examined in this research is less about freedom to choose and more about the construction of subjectivities through participation in discourse regimes.

Glyn Williams, in his 'sociological critique' of sociolinguistics in the early 1990s, argued that a key flaw in many social theories of language at the time, including those of Hymes and Gumperz, was that they did not adequately account for the roles played by power and conflict in the co-constructive relationship identified between linguistic and social phenomena. For Williams (1992), this drove to the heart of what the interactional approaches advocated by Hymes, Gumperz and others were trying to get at: did they assume that the culturally embedded uses of language being observed and recorded were the products of free-thinking, rational individuals, or the products of ideological struggle expressed in discourse? Williams argued for a Marxist, 'conflict orientation' to the study of language in society as an alternative to what he viewed as a dominant 'consensus orientation' held by many sociolinguists, asserting that features of social structure, class and unequal access to modes of production constrain the freedom of the individual to consciously and rationally use language (1992, p. 241). In this can be seen an important connection between the historical and political forces in Timor-Leste discussed earlier, which have served to construct dominant 'orders of indexicality', and an individual lecturer's language use in disciplinary communication.

Another pivotal question that has been raised by the notion of repertoire is about the 'stuff' of communicative repertoire, about what constitutes the resources that are being 'chosen' from, about what is and is not contained within one's repertoire. Does it only include linguistic or, indeed, verbal resources, or are other forms of semiotic resource also to be included? While Gumperz originally defined *linguistic* repertoire as 'the totality of distinct language varieties, dialects and styles employed in a community' (1982, p. 155), others have since come to use the term 'semiotic repertoire' in acknowledgement of the multimodal

nature of communication (Kress and van Leeuwen, 2001). More recently, it has also been argued that space and place are agentive forces in communication (Otsuji and Pennycook, 2010), such that physical and social spaces may be considered communicative resources and 'embodiment' part of one's 'polysemiotic' repertoire (Canagarajah, 2017, p. 5). Expanding the notion of repertoire to this extent significantly complicates the task of studying lecturers' multilingual disciplinary communication practices in Timorese tertiary classrooms. Recognising the availability of communicative resources beyond linguistic 'codes' enables a vastly more nuanced and multidimensional understanding of the 'mixing' that habitually occurs in disciplinary communication.

This is an ongoing and complex debate in applied linguistics but for the purposes of this research it is useful to note that the more expanded view of language as 'semiotic repertoire' has in recent years gained significant traction in sociolinguistic research. Otsuji and Pennycook (2010), for example, in their study of 'language in the city' or 'metrolingualism,' write of communicative repertoires as 'conventionalized constellations of semiotic resources for taking action that are shaped by the particular practices in which individuals engage' (p. 248). Blommaert (2008) argues that communicative resources are, like their human users, constantly mobile and uses the term 'polyglot repertoire' explaining that it is 'not tied to any form of national space, and neither to a national, stable regime of language' but, rather, is 'tied to an individual's life [... to] the peculiar biographical trajectory of the speaker' (p.16). Making a similar point, Moore and Gajo (2009) conceptualise the 'plurilingual repertoire' as resulting from differing 'educational biographies and social trajectories' (Moore & Gajo, 2009, p. 142). Understanding the plurilingual repertoires of Timorese lecturers in this way – as resulting from differing educational biographies and social trajectories – is helpful to understand how these individuals then come to value different styles and forms of communication for teaching and learning purposes.

Though language as semiosis is not new (cf. Halliday, 1978), research into multilingual communication and (more specifically central to this thesis) research into multilingual learning and teaching, have been significantly enriched in recent years by the conceptualisation of language use as an inherently social activity involving the deployment of diverse semiotic resources. The understanding of literacy as a social practice (Street, 1984), for example, has been extended by analysis of discourse practices as 'multi-semiotic' (Iedema, 2003) as well as multilingual, involving processes of 'resemiotisation' (Stroud and

Kerfoot, 2013, p. 401). Like linguistic repertoires, communicative repertoires are not fixed (and, therefore, 'acquired' once and for all) but, rather, exist in dialectic relationship with the social contexts in which they are deployed and develop over the course of an individual's lifetime and out of the various cultural experiences and social contexts of communication in which s/he engages.

It should also be said that the contemporary era of globalisation has been recognised as having significant bearing upon the development of communicative repertoires. Noting recent global trends in migration and mobility, as well as the rise of technology-mediated communication, Blommaert and Backus (2013, p. 11) refer to 'superdiverse repertoires' arguing that:

In a super-diversity context, mobile subjects engage with a broad variety of groups, networks and communities, and their language resources are consequently learned through a wide variety of trajectories, tactics and technologies, ranging from fully formal language learning to entirely informal 'encounters' with language.

Here the everyday practice of communication is understood to be a vital source of learning and development of one's communicative repertoire. The sociolinguistic concept of 'superdiversity' (Blommaert, 2010; Blommaert and Rampton, 2011; Blommaert and Backus, 2011), as it has developed out of the initial coining of the term by Vertovec (2007), highlights the positioning of the individual simultaneously in local economies of language use that connect in complex ways to much wider process of globalisation, migration, and the mobility of people and communicative resources (Blommaert and Backus, 2011). The concept of 'superdiverse repertoires' thus draws attention not only to the mobility of the subjects who use language, but also to the dynamic nature of language learning and the social and historical forces that are brought to bear in the development of one's semiotic repertoire, especially in an era of rapid globalisation (Blommaert, 2010).

Some consideration of the concept of *voice* provides an opportunity to reconcile these questions about repertoire; what it is made up of and how it is deployed. Bakhtin's (1981) conceptualisation of the heteroglossic nature of the utterance is useful here, along with his notion of centripetal and centrifugal forces that are 'brought to bear' on the utterance. Pivotal to Bakhtin's conceptualisation of heteroglossia in communication is *indexicality*, the idea that 'language points to or "indexes" a certain point of view, ideology, social class,

profession, or other social position' (Blackledge and Creese, 2014, p. 4). As Blackledge and Creese (2014) put it, heteroglossia is:

...not only – in fact not principally – about the simultaneous use of 'languages', but rather refers to the coexistence of different competing ideological points of view, whether constituted in a single national 'language'...or within the complex communicative repertoires in play in late modern societies.' (p. 5)

In this there are parallels with a performative view of language, in that the performance of an utterance may hail belonging to a social group via the 'socio-ideological' stratification of language into "'professional" and "generic" languages, languages of generations, and so forth' (Bakhtin, 1981, p. 271). Bakhtin's notion of the heteroglossic nature of 'voice' is thus helpful for an understanding that mixing 'languages' in communication *is* communication by definition. With this view of voice, one might even argue that all communication is 'multilingual' in that communication is always necessarily the negotiated interaction between multiple and diverse forms of linguistic consciousness.

As Bakhtin put it:²⁷ 'every concrete utterance of a speaking subject serves as a point where centrifugal as well as centripetal forces are brought to bear. The processes of centralisation and decentralisation, of unification and disunification, intersect in the utterance' (p. 272). Bakhtin highlights in this much quoted statement the utterance as the location of discursive, social forces that seek to homogenise and standardise communication existing in tension with forces that seek to diversify and pluralise it. Formal, national-level statements of language policy and the normalising discourses that surround them are examples of the former, as in the case of Portuguese and Tetun being named as the 'co-official' languages in Timor-Leste. An example that has been given of decentralising, centrifugal forces is the localised appropriations and transformations of English in the construction of new, creative forms of identity (Pennycook, 2007; Higgins, 2009; Li Wei, 2010). In post-colonial contexts this has been characterised by some as a form of resistance, a kind of 'writing back' in the language of the oppressor (Ashcroft, Griffiths & Tiffin, 1989), which may or may not exist as an accessible technology of voice for some, depending on their position in the post-colony (Spivak, 1988). A similar point has been made about localised appropriations of Portuguese in Timor-Leste existing in tension with powerful national and global discourses on the use of standard forms of Portuguese (Carneiro, 2015). Again, the key point is that the individual

²⁷ Noting, as befits the current discussion, a translation from Russian to English by Holquist of Bakhtin's original utterance.

utterance is the location of this tension. In this study, it is the individual lecturer, engaged in multilingual disciplinary communication with her/his students, who is 'the meeting point', as Gee (1990) puts it, 'of many, sometimes conflicting, socially and historically defined discourses' (p. 132).

Understanding language use in this way perceives it as a tension-filled enterprise, where competing ideological points of view, competing forms of linguistic consciousness, co-exist. Such an understanding has significant bearing on analysis of 'mixed' multilingual utterances like those that constitute the primary data for this study. As Bailey (2007) observes, ideas such as 'heteroglossia' and 'indexicality' encourage us 'to interpret the meanings of talk in terms of the social worlds, past and present, of which words are part-and-parcel, rather than in terms of formal systems, such as codes, that can veil actual speakers, uses and contexts' (p.272). In the course of conducting this research, analysing Timorese lecturers' statements – about their students' communication, about their own communication, and about the communicative worlds of higher education and industry – required a deep immersion in this immense complexity of the utterance. Specifically, examples of lecturers' strategic and not so strategic translations of technical and abstract disciplinary terms were analysed as pivotal moments of knowledge construction and identity production.

Section summary

In this section I have presented a wide range of literature concerned with different ways of 'knowing' multilingualism. For the purposes of this study it is important to note that:

- Diverse ways of knowing multilingualism exist, often in conflict with one another.
- The view of named, bounded languages correlating to named, bounded communities of speakers has been long discredited in the field of applied linguistics, yet it often persists in national language policy discourses, and especially in language-in-education policy discourses.
- Interactionist studies of language in use have revealed different language forms connected to different communicative functions in different social and cultural settings. Such studies have highlighted the usefulness of ethnography as a method for understanding the diversity of language practices that occur in different educational contexts and institutional settings.

- The ideological nature of language and the heteroglossic nature of the utterance frame language use and 'voice' as important markers of identity, and as essential tools both in the construction of the self and in the production of knowledge.

This section has examined the literature on what is central to this thesis, which is the discursive construction of different ways of knowing multilingualism and the ways that these may be brought to bear on the beliefs and practices of lecturers in Timor-Leste. This literature lays the groundwork for later analysis and discussion of the various 'multilingualisms' implied by lecturers in their comments about disciplinary and vocational communication, and for understanding lecturers' enactment of different discourses in and through these comments.

2.2 Higher Education as a social process of language production

Building on the previous section, this section narrows in on the discursive forces operative in higher education and examines some of the ways that higher education has been understood as a social process of language production. I begin by discussing critical sociological understandings of higher education as a process of human capital production for national and global economies, connected to the discursive construction of language as object and literacy as skill. I then examine what the literature says about how this plays out in developing, post-colonial settings, noting especially the strong influence of foreign aid funding on the language related activities of higher education institutions in countries like Timor-Leste. Lastly, I discuss the relevance of social theories of literacy, which treat higher education as a process of socialisation into academic and disciplinary/professional discourse communities. Discussion of this literature shifts the focus from the institution level to the level of the disciplinary fields, seen from a critical and post-structuralist perspective as distinct 'discourse communities' (Duff, 2010) and, thus, as productive of distinct ways of communicating knowledge in and through language.

Language as object and literacy as job skill in national and global economies

By 'language as object' I mean the way that languages and language varieties (usually presented as neatly bounded) are understood and/or treated as attributes or 'objects' carrying value in the 'knowledge economy' (Williams, 2010). In addition to drawing on Bourdieu's (1986) notions of language as 'symbolic capital', the idea has its origins with

research in language ideology increasingly examining the relationship between political economy and the distribution and management of linguistic resources. Irvine (1989), for example, noted at the time she was writing that while the idea that linguistic signs may have an economic and political dimension was well established, many articulations of this idea ‘omit a consideration of linguistic phenomena as possible *objects of exchange* – exchanged against what we consider to be material objects, not only against other linguistic signs’ (p. 4; author’s italics). This view of language, which tends to permeate discourses on workforce production as well as aid and development discourses, has important implications for how higher education is understood as a process of human capital production and, consequently, how lecturers are positioned as actors within this social process.

The transition to English for the tourism and petroleum faculties at TTC is a good example of this (see Chapter 1). English, with its status as the global *lingua franca* of business and commerce, is of course valued especially highly in this economy of language as an object (Marginson, 2006). This has been shown to be especially the case in higher education in Asia (Gill and Kirkpatrick, 2013). Glyn Williams (2010) writes ‘this preoccupation with English derives from a belief that social mobility within the global economy will involve an essential knowledge of that language’ (p. 22). Williams also notes higher education as a particular social domain where we are already seeing national languages being supplanted by English due to national and regional workforce demands (2010, p. 60).

One of the consequences of framing language as an object in this way is that the purpose of language learning in higher education (and, indeed, at all levels) is articulated in terms of the ‘acquisition’ of languages as skills (once again countable, bounded). Drawing on the sociological theories of Bourdieu (1986), who presented the idea that linguistic practice is ‘convertible’ to economic capital (p. 176), a number of scholars have observed the ways that this plays out in language education geared towards the production of citizen workers who can contribute to national and global economies. Heller (2010), for instance, has observed that language is often not only an integral part of the work *process*, it is also frequently the work *product* (p. 350). This has significant implications for the way that the individual graduate is positioned, along with their learning. Heller argues:

Following Alexandre Duchêne’s adoption of the phrase *parole d’œuvre* to replace the idea of the *main d’œuvre*, we might think of a transformation of the ‘workforce’ into a ‘wordforce,’ retaining the idea that what counts is not the individual as a

whole, but his or her ability to produce certain kinds of standardised products.
(Heller, 2010, p. 353; author's italics)

Thus, the job seeking graduate is 'reimagined', as Urciuoli and La Dousa (2013) put it, as 'an assemblage of commodifiable elements ... a bundle of skills' (p. 176).

This 'reimagining' of the graduate places a significant amount of pressure on educational institutions generally, and higher education institutions specifically, to perform the function of 'producing' graduates with these recognisable skill sets. It then becomes the task of tertiary educators in these institutions – lecturers such as those who are the focus of this research – to transform their students into work-ready human capital, literate in the languages required by industries, and competitive at not only national but also regional and global levels.

Higher education in development, and in the post-colony

As the framing of the purpose of higher education in the national strategic development plan of Timor-Leste illustrates, Timorese tertiary students are potential 'human capital' for the national economy (see earlier discussion in Chapter 1). In development and aid publications, too, this discourse can be seen, as in a recent UNDP National Human Development Report for Timor-Leste, which encouraged investment in education to enable the transformation of a 'youth bulge' into a 'youth dividend' (UNDP, 2018, p. iv). In relation to language in this kind of development discourse, Rassool, Canvin and Heugh (2007) write:

... the significance of language in development lies in the fact that it provides the medium through which skills and knowledge are acquired, and is therefore central to the concept of human resource development. In consequence, the linguistic dilemmas faced by developing countries regarding the choice of language(s) of teaching and learning, have implications for their relative ability to sustain adequate levels of HRD – and, de facto, to accumulate enough 'cultural capital' to be exchanged within an increasingly knowledge-based, highly competitive, international labour market. (pp. 15-16)

Laying aside, for the moment, the impoverished view of language learning and disciplinary communication at university implied by an understanding of higher education as the production of human capital, there are particular challenges to performing this function facing tertiary institutions in developing, post-colonial settings.

As Altbach (1998, 2007) has argued for some time, universities in the developing world exist on the periphery of a complex and competitive global academic system centred on Western cultural contexts. In this system, Altbach argues, there is a form of neo-colonialism (1998, p.

23) and 'structural dependency' (2007, p.126), where academic institutions in developing countries like Timor-Leste are forced to depend on the 'centres' – universities in Western, industrialised countries like Australia and the US – 'for research, the communication of knowledge, and advanced training' (Altbach, 2007, p. 125). This perspective is supported by literature on the sociology of higher education curriculum that recognises the Western context as taken for granted in curriculum development in the tertiary sector (Young and Muller, 2014). A major consequence is that universities in developing countries, like the three institutions that are the sites for this research, experience 'a loss of intellectual and cultural autonomy' (Altbach, 2007, p. 126). Donor and aid agencies that provide funding to higher education in contexts like Timor-Leste are especially complicit in this, since, as Altbach (1998) puts it, 'the donor nations often have several goals in mind for providing assistance, one of them being the perpetuation of educational and political structures that will ensure stability and a generally pro-Western orientation' (p. 23).

Examples of this in Timor-Leste are quite stark and have significant bearing on arrangements for language teaching and learning. One such example is the establishment of *competing* centres for English language education at the National University in Timor-Leste by the US and Australian embassies.²⁸ The valuing of English as a global lingua franca promoted within the institution by these agencies becomes entangled with the valuing of specific named varieties of English, connected to distinct national aid agendas. Again, as Altbach notes, the use of English in higher education 'tends to orient those using it to the main English-speaking academic systems, and this further increases the influence of these countries' (2007, p. 128).

Another potent example (and one especially relevant for this research) is professional development and graduate study scholarship arrangements for lecturers for study abroad in Australia, Portugal, Indonesia and elsewhere, which are usually funded (if not directly managed) by foreign embassies in Timor-Leste. Both the Rural Coffee Institute (RCI) and Timor Technical College (TTC), each a private higher education institution, have MoUs with universities in Indonesia and Australia for professional training of lecturers, including graduate study. At the national university (NU), public funding and overseas aid funding

²⁸ The first English language centre at NU was established by the Australian government in 2010. More recently, USAID has established the *Uma Amerika* ('America House') at NU, which is part of a worldwide program of funding American English learning centres within universities in non-English speaking countries.

combine in the financing of training for lecturers in Portugal (FDCH, 2016). Portugal, Indonesia and Australia of course benefit from the participation of visiting students from Timor-Leste in their national economies, as international students represent a significant source of income for host countries. Indeed, as Altbach (2007) notes, 'the money spent abroad by students from some developing countries more than equals incoming foreign aid' (p. 129).

The foreign donor agenda can also sometimes be obscured by the various layers of institutional identity through which such lecturer scholarship arrangements may travel. At NU, for instance, a number of lecturers in the agriculture faculty (including several participants in this research) have benefitted from Australian overseas aid funding funnelled through the Australian Council for International Agricultural Research (ACIAR) and the 'Seeds of Life' project in Timor-Leste. This project has a special focus on the use of genetically modified seeds towards enhanced crop production. The scholarship program thus promotes the use of English for agricultural research in Timor-Leste as well as a particular development agenda for the agriculture industry.

Understanding higher education as a process of human capital production in Timor-Leste must take account of the developing, post-colonial context there and the ways that higher education policy and expectations of the roles of lecturers are produced by discourses of political economy in this context. Studies of language in relation to higher education policy have tended to focus mainly on questions of language policy and medium-of-instruction and, especially, English medium-of-instruction (cf. Doiz, Lasagabaster and Sierra, 2013). Saarinen (2016) observes that a focus only on language as medium-of-instruction misses the political role played by language in the development of higher education policy (i.e., discursive productions of what higher education is for). Specifically, Saarinen argues for closer attention to the ways that language (broadly understood) *indexes* the national and international roles played by higher education. 'A focus on the political role of language,' Saarinen argues, 'helps make visible the tensions between the national and nation-state-oriented roles of higher education on the one hand and international and global roles on the other' (2016, p. 555). This need not lead, however, to a 'linear and dichotomous policy view', where phenomena like 'globalisation' and 'internationalisation' are treated as 'self-evident layers that can be added on top of national and local structures of higher education policy' (Saarinen, 2016, p. 556). Rather, it should encourage, as Ball (2012) suggests, an understanding of 'networks' of

local and supranational actors impacting higher education. Higher education policy is thus seen as ‘taking place at different levels and in different times, being formulated as it is enacted’ (Saarinen, 2016, p. 557).

Through this lens, the complex, layered and networked processes of higher education policy creation and ‘enactment’ intermingle with forces of globalisation, internationalisation, and national economic development in the post-colonial, post-conflict context of Timor-Leste. In this framing of higher education as a social process, significant emphasis is placed on what individual tertiary institutions do in responding to these policy forces, ways that they ‘act’ from the periphery to reproduce or resist these forces (Altbach, 2007), and how these institutional actions may impact upon curriculum design and the work of tertiary educators. This literature informed my understanding of and approach to the different research sites where I collected data, indicating some of the ways that external social relations constantly ‘enter in’ to these institutional settings (Smith, 1987, p. 155). It also further complicated questions of lecturer agency and their freedom to ‘choose’ from available communicative resources, as discussed in the previous section.

Academic literacies and socialisation into disciplinary discourse communities

When lecturers at universities in Timor-Leste (or anywhere in the world, for that matter) teach disciplinary and vocational knowledge to their students, a significant part of what they are doing is developing students’ ability to identify, decode and interpret language used in their field and to communicate learned knowledge using that language. Studies of this process often refer to the development of ‘academic literacy’ and/or to the process of socialisation into disciplinary discourse communities.

As noted in the earlier discussion of epistemologies of multilingualism, the concept of ‘literacy’ has for some time been understood in language education research as a social practice (Street, 1984; Gee, 1990; Barton and Ivanic, 1991; Barton and Hamilton, 1998). This theoretical development was born out of the turn to the social in applied linguistics of the 1980s and 1990s already discussed and was particularly influenced by the work of Street (e.g., 1984, 1995, 2004), who brought anthropological and ethnographic lenses to the study of the academic writing of students.

Studies of pluralised ‘academic literacies’ emerged from this tradition of research (Lea and Street, 1998), as did an understanding of linguistic and communicative ‘representational

resources' being distributed across different modalities in communication in academic settings (Kress and van Leeuwen, 1996). The term 'academic literacies' has also been associated with the 'ideological model of literacy' (Street, 1984, 2004), in which negotiations of power are a central consideration, and language and literacy conventions are 'viewed as contested, meaning-making as a site of struggle and ... [there is] interest in identifying the potential value of a wider range of representational resources for meaning-making in academia' (Lillis and Scott, 2007, p. 15). Patricia Duff (2010) has argued that 'as a noun phrase, *discourse socialisation* places more emphasis on social processes, negotiation, and interaction than the (arguably) more static noun *literacies* suggests' (p. 171; author's italics). Following Duff (2010, p. 172), I recognise that there is substantial overlap between these terms and, as such, I use the terms 'academic/disciplinary discourse socialisation' and 'academic/disciplinary literacies' more or less synonymously (though, also like Duff, I prefer the first term).

In a related effort to acknowledge different approaches to academic literacies/academic discourse socialisation research, Morita and Kobayashi (2008) have identified three 'orientations' to the study of 'second language' academic literacies or academic discourse socialisation. According to Morita and Kobayashi, within the first 'orientation' are those studies, 'particularly in the area of EAP' (English for Academic Purposes), which seek to identify and describe 'the academic and linguistic knowledge and skills that students need to master to meet their academic demands' (2008, p. 243). Studies from this orientation tend to focus on identifying the genres and discourses that characterise communication in academic settings, as well as in specific disciplines. Morita and Kobayashi argue that such research 'tends to essentialise disciplinary practices that are in fact in constant flux...[and] to treat disciplinary socialisation predominantly as one-way assimilation rather than a more complex negotiation' (2008, p. 244).

While these criticisms may be justified for much of the EAP literature, studies of quite stable disciplinary communication practices have proved very useful in understanding dominant patterns of language use characterising certain academic fields and industries. Examples relevant to this research include Jay Lemke's (1990) seminal work on 'talking science' and Michael Halliday's (2004) in-depth analysis of the 'language of science'. Although these studies were not strictly studies of academic literacy, they provide substantive detail on the discursive features of language use in scientific communication, as may be expected to be

found in agriculture and petroleum studies classrooms. Relevant, too, are accounts of the specific lexicon of professional fields, such as the vocation- and even region-specific jargon used by oil rig workers (Mor, 2016). Morita and Kobayashi's point stands, however, that these work-specific communication practices should not be seen as pre-existing 'languages' but, instead, it must be understood that they are constantly being reproduced in and through the transfer of disciplinary and professional knowledge in educational and work settings.

A second group of studies into second language academic discourse socialisation identified by Morita and Kobayashi are those that employ ethnographic methods to document 'the socially and temporally situated process of socialisation' or 'how newcomers negotiate not only their academic and linguistic demands but also the various contextual aspects – social, cultural, institutional, interpersonal, historical, and pedagogical aspects – of a given academic community' (2008, p. 244). What many of these studies lack, however, according to Morita and Kobayashi, is a critical perspective that 'foregrounds the issue of power' (2008, p. 245). Grouped within the third orientation are studies that do incorporate such a critical perspective, as exemplified in the work of Sarah Benesch (2001) and Hilary Janks (2009). These studies explore 'how sociocultural, historical, and institutional forces, particularly in terms of power relations, impact disciplinary socialisation, as well as how individuals accommodate or resist such forces in different ways' (Morita and Kobayashi, 2008, p. 245).

Critical understandings of literacy as the social negotiation of power frame disciplinary teaching and learning in higher education as the site of reproduction of 'discourse regimes' (Lillis and Scott, 2007). This view has important implications for analysis of what is happening with language and communication in tertiary classrooms. Specifically, the understanding that 'by engaging in an existing practice we are maintaining a particular type of representational resource; by drawing on a particular type of representational resource, we are maintaining a particular type of social practice' (Lillis and Scott, 2007, p. 12). In multilingual settings, as Duff (2010) recognises, 'the language or code used in classrooms, and the norms related to whether, when, and with whom other linguistic codes are allowed are themselves important aspects of socialisation' (p. 173). Questions about the social interests at work in language and literacy education at the tertiary level, about 'what is at stake in textual and social practices' in these settings (Janks, 2009, p. 12), are complicated further with 'language' understood as 'available semiotic resources' (see earlier discussion, this chapter) and with the increasing use of technology in tertiary classrooms around the world. The use of different modalities of

communication in the higher education classroom – the white board, PowerPoint slides, online forums – as well as processes of ‘resemiotisation’ across different communicative contexts (Iedema, 2003; Stroud and Kerfoot, 2013) are also modelled by lecturers and are thus part of disciplinary socialisation processes.

A critical perspective also reminds us, however, that not everyone has equal access to technology and, by extension, to these ‘new literacies’. As Janks (2009) demonstrates, access to technology in literacy learning is intricately linked to questions of power on local, national, and global scales. Lecturers at universities in Timor-Leste, as in other developing countries, simply do not have access to the teaching and learning technologies available to lecturers in countries like Australia or the US. Inequality is also evident at the national level in Timor-Leste, in the unequal distribution of material resources at each of the higher education institutions selected as research sites for this study. Teaching and learning technologies such as data projectors, computer labs, and internet access differ in availability and quality at the National University, which receives substantial funding from the Timorese government, at Timor Technical College, which relies on a number of private funding sources, and at the Rural Coffee Institute, which is much smaller and remotely located compared with the other two institutions.

A final observation to be made about the literature on processes of academic and disciplinary discourse socialisation is that they tend to be focussed on practices bound within educational institutions. Brandt and Clinton (2002), in their discussion of the need to ‘expand perspectives on literacy as a social practice’, have asserted that ‘more is going on locally than simply local practice’ (p. 338). They argue that more attention needs to be paid to ‘the transcontextualized and transcontextualizing potentials of literacy ... particularly its ability to travel, integrate, and endure’ (p. 337). The notion of ‘essayist literacy’ (Scollon and Scollon, 1981; Farr, 1993) is an illustrative example for the domain of higher education. Farr (1993) describes essayist literacy as ‘the style of discourse underlying writing instruction ... grounded historically and culturally in Western civilization’ (p. 4). Global, neo-colonial forces thus enter into the ‘local practice’ of literacy in universities worldwide since, as Lillis (2001) has observed, ‘in order to be successful in higher education, students must gain access to, that is, learn the conventions of, essayist literacy’ (p. 53). This has high stakes implications in universities in Timor-Leste, where students are required to write a lengthy undergraduate thesis in their final year in Tetun, Portuguese, or a mixture of these and other languages.

Industry specific, disciplinary language and communication practices that originate in different eras and far off locations also ‘travel’ and enter into localised literacy practices in higher education institutions. For instance, in agriculture faculties in Timor-Leste, the teaching of agricultural extension for the purposes of communicating agricultural science to rural farmers has its historical origins in the development of land grant universities in the United States, imported to Timor via the colonial influence of Indonesia which adopted that model. The current teaching of community development studies at NU is directly influenced by a participatory model of community engagement taught at Victoria University in Australia (where several of the lecturers in the NU community development studies department have studied), and this model in turn originates in the popular education pedagogy and critical literacy campaigns developed by Paulo Freire in the *favelas* of north-eastern Brazil in the 1970s. As this research seeks to understand the beliefs and practices of Timorese lecturers engaged in multilingual communication of disciplinary knowledge, it must also be attentive to how these communication practices have ‘travelled’. It should ask, as Brandt and Clinton suggest, ‘what is localising and what is globalising in what is going on?’ (2002, p. 337). Or, as Smith (2003) puts it in his discussion of transnationalism and the extraterritorial citizen, attention is needed to ‘how everyday practices of ordinary people produce cultural meanings that sustain transnational networks and make possible enduring translocal ties’ (p. 468).

As Lillis and Scott (2007) have argued, the use of ethnography for studies of academic literacy/academic discourse socialisation has helped to shift focus away from the text itself to the practices that surround the production of particular kinds of texts, embedded within particular institutional regimes, ‘as well as [to] participants’ perspectives on the texts and practices’ (p. 11). As a result of this shift in focus away from texts as the objects of academic literacy research and onto the social production of them, Lillis and Scott observe that there has been a foregrounding of individual experiences with literacy production that were previously ignored or made invisible:

... these include the impact of power relations on student writing, the contested nature of academic writing conventions, the centrality of identity and identification in academic writing, academic writing as ideologically inscribed knowledge construction, the nature of generic academic as well as disciplinary specific writing practices, [and] an interest in an archaeology of academic practices (Lillis and Scott, 2007, p. 12).

I seek to adopt this ‘archaeology of academic practices’ in this study of lecturers’ responses to multilingualism in higher education in Timor-Leste. My analysis of the beliefs and practices

of individual lecturers is animated by close attention to their individual experiences of disciplinary discourse socialisation work with their students. As will be discussed in more depth in the next chapter, this approach was applied in one-on-one interviews when asking lecturers to select a sample of student's work – a written homework task, a fieldwork report, a PowerPoint presentation, a draft final year thesis – and to discuss what they thought was good about the text and what needed improvement. It also enabled stimulated reflection on their methods of feedback and assessment.

Section Summary

In this section I have highlighted some of the major arguments made about higher education being an increasingly important pathway to national development via the production of highly skilled, job-ready human capital for participation in 'the knowledge economy' (Williams, 2010). Drawing on the literature, I have connected this trend to the rapid increase in processes of globalisation, contributing to increasing mobility of individuals for education and for work, regional and global competitiveness in the job market, and the internationalisation of higher education. I have noted a general dominance of Western, developed contexts in the literature on higher education and a lack of attention to tertiary educational cultures in peripheral, multilingual developing and post-colonial settings like Timor-Leste. I have drawn attention to the influence of foreign aid funding on higher education institutions in these settings, with specific regard to the development of medium of instruction policies and localised approaches to knowledge production and discipline construction.

I have also reviewed some of the literature on academic literacies and academic and disciplinary discourse socialisation. With regard to this literature, I noted an emphasis on understanding disciplinary communication as situated social practice and a preference for ethnographic approaches to more emic understandings of what is happening with language in higher education in different settings.

Perhaps most significant for this study is the point that knowledge production happens in and through language, situated in localised institutional cultures of teaching and learning, as well as wider national and global systems of education. Thus, the disciplinary language practices of lecturers in Timor-Leste have implications not only for language planning but also for the planning of disciplinary knowledge and, indeed, the 'planning' of the disciplines

and vocational areas themselves. Literature relating to this pivotal disciplinary language and knowledge planning role of lecturers will be discussed further in the next section.

2.3 Lecturers planning disciplinary language and knowledge

Some points remain to be made about the literature on language planning and the analysis that it enables of the role of lecturers as planners of disciplinary language, and also as planners of disciplinary knowledge and expertise. Although this is not strictly a study of language policy and planning, language planning in particular is deeply present in this research. In recent years increased emphasis has been brought to the languaging practices of educators, localised to social contexts that are themselves constructed in and through language, as being constitutive of language planning and policy-making (Lo Bianco, 2010; Menken and Garcia, 2010). Awareness that there are different ways of knowing multilingualism has also contributed to awareness that language planning itself operates as a discourse (Lo Bianco, 2005) and manifests, often simultaneously, in a range of different forms and across different 'sociolinguistic scales' of activity (Blommaert, 2007; Blommaert, Westinen, & Leppänen, 2015).

As preceding discussion has illustrated, understanding the language-in-education situation in Timorese higher education generally, and within individual institutions in particular, entails understanding the changing macro and the micro social conditions that are shaping language and communication practices in different contexts. As in other post-colonial nation-states, language 'choices' in Timorese higher education are being pushed and pulled by the shifting conditions and demands of decolonisation, nation-building, globalisation, regional participation, and social and economic development. These conditions produce language ideologies and discourses that are in constant tension and transition, indexing competing hierarchical orders of languages and lingualisms (Silverstein, 2003; Blommaert, 2010).

Lo Bianco (2005) argues that in studies of educational settings involving language policy and planning it is crucial to consider how discourses around language problems are also 'planned' and manipulated by different actors. As he puts it, discourse planning is to be located 'at the points where the broader social planning of conscious and less conscious types encounters situated realities with local histories and their impact on possibilities and constraints' (p.262). Such an approach recognises substantial influence over the discursive framings of language-

related issues exercised by educators – individuals in pivotal decision-making roles regarding the use of language. These framings bear repercussions for the construction of the ‘linguistic citizenship’ (Stroud, 2001) of different groups within society, for their social and political identities, and for their access to and treatment in education and work. This understanding of ‘discourse planning’ as a kind of language planning informs my analysis of the ways that disciplinary lecturers in Timor-Leste conceptualise the communication skills needed by their students for study and work purposes.

As Lo Bianco points out, the educational institution is a key location for the analysis of discourse planning, since ‘a great deal of language policy and planning is conducted not at macro social levels but at micro levels of daily interaction in social contexts’ (2005, p. 262). For Canagarajah (2005), it is at the micro level of individual classrooms that educators must constantly navigate and accommodate tensions between ‘top-down’ language policy and local sociolinguistic realities, with varying degrees of agency and flexibility of choice. In higher education worldwide, this navigating and accommodating of tensions often means struggling to find a place for local languages alongside of dominant languages, such as English and, in the case of Timor-Leste, also Portuguese and Indonesian.

One of the more practical tasks facing language planners in the domain of higher education in multilingual settings is that of ‘intellectualisation’ of languages not previously used for formal academic or scientific communication. As Sibayan (1991, 1994) has showed with regard to the intellectualisation of Filipino in the ‘controlling domains’ of higher education and scientific research, substantial effort and resources are required to build up populations of disciplinary experts who are knowledgeable in the registers of the target language relevant to their disciplines. It then becomes the role of these disciplinary experts to promote use of the intellectualised register of the language in communications and textual production within their disciplinary fields (or ‘sub-domains’, as Sibayan refers to them). This includes both teaching and research activities in universities, publication in academic journals, and various communications within professional associations. This places substantial responsibility for language development and modelled language use on individuals who are experts in disciplinary and vocational knowledge but not necessarily language experts. For this reason, Sibayan (1994) argues that the process must be accompanied by the development of supporting institutions such as language academies, publishing houses, and translation

services to support the usage planning work done by disciplinary experts in their regular professional activities.

In Timor-Leste, despite allowance made in the national constitution for the development of Tetun (CAET, 2002; see also Chapter 1 discussion), the language is yet to undergo anywhere near the kind of ambitious and comprehensive process of intellectualisation that Sibayan describes. As this study will show, university lecturers in Timor-Leste who are disciplinary and vocational experts are not necessarily familiar with intellectualised registers of Tetun for their fields, since they have learned their disciplinary knowledge in other languages. This has important implications for the kind of ‘usage planning’ of Tetun that they do with their students in tertiary classrooms and the disciplinary sub-domains that they inhabit, as well as for their conceptualisations of multilingualism in higher education as a kind of discourse planning. Furthermore, institutional supports for the intellectualisation of Tetun have not been adequately developed in Timor-Leste and, unlike Filipino, which only had to compete with English, Tetun must compete with Portuguese, Indonesian, and English as existing intellectualised languages in multiple controlling domains including higher education.

It has been demonstrated that the development of indigenous and marginalised languages for academic and disciplinary communication requires strong political will combined with ample resources in order to shift not only the practices of lecturers and academics but also their language attitudes and ideologies relating to the use of non-dominant languages for academic purposes. In Malaysia, for example, powerful post-colonial, nationalist discourses drove a 26-year transition away from English to Bahasa Malay as medium of instruction in universities (Gill, 2004). According to Gill (2004), this transition involved a considerable amount of formal language planning – specifically corpus planning – work being done, in addition to the promotion of pro-nationalist sentiment associated with the use of Bahasa Malay at the tertiary level. As Kirkpatrick (2017) has highlighted, however, even this substantial language planning initiative was not able to endure as the perceived demands of internationalisation of the tertiary sector as well as regional and global economic and political participation motivated a return to English medium of instruction in Malaysian higher education in the mid 1990s. The case of Malaysia highlights the triumph of internationalisation and ‘Englishization’ (Kirkpatrick, 2011, 2017) discourses in higher education over discourses connected to national identity. It also serves as a reminder that

disciplinary lecturers engage in their language modelling and knowledge production work at the meeting point of these competing discourses.

Scholars focussed on language planning in developing and post-colonial settings, particularly in Africa and South Asia, have drawn attention to the ways that a 'logic of coloniality' and the 'rhetoric of modernity' (Mignolo, 2007) are reproductive of inherited colonial language ideologies. Nkonko Kamwangamalu (2016) has argued that policies promoting the use of indigenous languages for medium of instruction in schools and universities in Africa have tended to fail because of the persistence of colonial language ideologies beyond national independence. Kamwangamalu argues that this occurs as a result of three interconnected factors:

- 1) 'linguistic instrumentalism', or 'the market value of former colonial languages compared to African languages' (p. 125),
- 2) the economic dependency of most African economies on Western countries, including former colonial powers, and
- 3) 'elite closure' or 'institutionalising the linguistic patterns of the elite' (Scotton, cited in Kamwangamalu, 2016, p. 140).

The institutionalisation of the linguistic patterns of the elite is especially present in the domain of higher education, where the elite intellectual class is produced.

At the micro level of Timorese higher education institutions, administrators and teachers must navigate and 'accommodate' (Canagarajah, 2005) these tensions, with varying degrees of agency and flexibility of choice. While the global hegemony of English is clearly apparent in the medium of instruction policies of many higher education institutions around the world (Shohamy, 2013), Pennycook reminds us that these are also a product of 'local hegemonies of English', that are 'filled with complex local contradictions, with the resistance and appropriations that are a crucial part of the post-colonial context' (Pennycook, 2000, p.117). In Cambodia, for example, Clayton has revealed how university administrators and lecturers in francophone institutions funded by French foreign aid money, were able to respond to shifts in the relative 'utility' of French and 'construct their advocacy for multilingualism' around regional economic and political participation demands for English (Clayton, 2006, p. 230). In South Africa, by some contrast, explicit multilingual education policies have been in place for some time, but there the struggle is to develop successful pedagogies for the

multilingual classroom that combine instruction in African languages with the colonial languages of English and Afrikaans (Hibbert and van der Walt, 2014).

As Johnson (2011) points out, discourses surrounding language policies have the power to ‘hegemonically normalize particular ways of thinking, being, and/or educating’ while also delimiting others (p. 268-269). However, as the above examples reveal, local actors – like the Timorese disciplinary lecturers involved in this study – do have agency in the localised processes of creation, interpretation and appropriation of language education policies within their own institutional and disciplinary contexts. As an extension of this view, some have argued that the real constraints on possibilities for multilingual models of tertiary education lie not so much in the hegemonic domination of English or other colonial languages, but in the localised devaluing by educators and administrators of the linguistic repertoires that students bring to the classroom (Hornberger, 2002) and a ‘monoglossic bias in how academic transformation is conceived’ (Stroud & Kerfoot, 2013, p.400).

Understanding the institutional and classroom-level decisions, choices, beliefs and practices of lecturers in this way *as* language planning and policy making evokes a critical conceptualisation of language policy in general, and of language-in-education policy in particular, as a mechanism of power by which discursively constructed hierarchies of language and literacy forms, functions, and uses are institutionalised and/or resisted and reappropriated (McCarty, 2011; Shohamy, 2006; Tollefson, 1991). This conceptualisation is in line with the now widely accepted view in the language policy and planning (LPP) field that: 1. language policies are to be studied not only in official government and institutional texts but also in the multilayered and context-defined discourses, ideologies, and practices or performances pertaining to language and its use (Lo Bianco, 2004; Spolsky, 2004); and 2. LPP activities cannot be understood without accounting for the historical, social, political, and economic circumstances in which they occur (Tollefson, 1991).

While it was not the case with most early conceptualisations of language policy and planning, understanding language beliefs and practices *as* policy has become commonplace in the LPP literature. Research in LPP in Timor-Leste has been no exception to this trend, with language attitudes, beliefs and ideologies getting perhaps the most attention, particularly with regard to the discursive construction of national identity (see, for example, Leach, 2012; Taylor-Leach, 2008; Ross, 2017). Some limited fine-grained ethnographic research into teachers’ multilingual language practices in Timorese primary schools has also been done (Da Costa

Cabral, 2015; Quinn, 2011, 2013). In each case, LPP processes are understood to be present in, and localised to the beliefs and practices of individuals.

So far, however, much of this LPP research in Timor-Leste and elsewhere has been concerned with identifying and naming certain practices as instantiations or enactments of language policy implementation. There is little detailed examination of the varied and performative ways that language practices serve to produce normalised uses of language in the social and discursive construction of professional knowledge and disciplinary boundaries. For instance, there has been relatively scant analysis of the pedagogical motivations or kinds of ideologically driven intentionality that may underlie common teaching tasks like translating a technical or industry-specific term. When translations are occurring from one or more colonial languages that carry academic prestige into a local creole lingua franca, like Tetun in the case of Timor-Leste, it brings into sharp focus the roles played by disciplinary lecturers in the modelling of language use for disciplinary and vocational communication purposes, and, indeed, in the modelling of knowledge construction and meaning-making in and through language. As Airey (2011) has astutely observed, 'all university lecturers are teachers of disciplinary language' (p. 4).

Despite Airey's assertion, most disciplinary lecturers are unlikely to identify as language teachers, let alone as language planners. They would frame their communicative intentions in the classroom not in terms of language planning but in terms of the transfer of professional knowledge and skills germane to their field. Recognising that language planning often involves this kind of 'planning of the self', Lo Bianco (2010) draws on Bakhtin (1981) to advocate for a dialogical and 'activity-centred approach to LP' (p. 170), specifically one focussed on the professional activities of teachers as 'performative action' constituting a source of language planning (p. 157). Lo Bianco asserts that:

We are all engaged in continual language planning as we converse, and this personal programme of planning our subjective self is located on a continuum with the collective, public action of institutions. (p. 165)

This iterative, micro-scale type of language planning is intensely performative since 'performativity', in the post-structuralist gaze, relates to ideological constructions and positionings of the self in and through discourse (Butler, 1997, 2010). This view of language planning recognises language as something that is used, enacted, *voiced* by speaking, writing, communicating subjects. In the context of disciplinary and vocational teaching and learning

in higher education, what is therefore at stake in lecturers' 'performative language planning' activities is the production of graduates' expert disciplinary voices via processes of disciplinary discourse socialisation.

It is precisely because their professional and pedagogical activities are focussed on knowledge transfer that lecturers' performative language planning roles should also be seen as connected to their 'planning' of disciplinary discourse and, by extension, of disciplinary and professional knowledge. The literature on language policy and planning tends not to take account of the literature on processes of academic and disciplinary discourse socialisation, as outlined in the previous section, with limited notable exception (Stroud and Kerfoot, 2013). While much of the recent LPP literature does tend to view language practices as forms of language planning and policy-making, the relationship between disciplinary educators' meaning-making practices and the social construction of knowledge is also rarely considered in that literature. Findings from this research will help to bridge these gaps between these disparate bodies of literature in the field of applied linguistics.

Chapter summary

This chapter has reviewed three broad areas of literature relevant to this study: literature relating to diverse epistemologies of multilingualism, literature that examines how processes of knowledge production and language production are intertwined in the social domain of higher education, and literature that recognises the roles played by disciplinary educators in the planning of language and knowledge.

With regard to disciplinary lecturers' beliefs and practices in multilingualism, the first section of this chapter lays a strong foundation in what the literature has to say about different ways of knowing multilingualism, which in turn have implications for different ways of being multilingual/different ontologies of multilingualism. Given the post-colonial context of Timor-Leste, it is especially helpful to understand how enduring colonial legacies contribute to the dominant conceptualisation of multilingualism as 'parallel monolingualisms' or different named languages existing side by side within a society and within the communicative repertoires of individuals. This literature will inform a critical analysis of lecturers' comments relating to the 'problem' of multilingualism in Timorese higher education and the perceived deficiencies of their students' plurilingual repertoires, to be

discussed in Chapter 5. The literature reviewed in the sections on multilingual communication and multilingualism as ‘mixing’ informs my analysis in Chapter 6 of lecturers’ multilingual communication practices – what I observed them doing and what they told me that they do with language for the communication of disciplinary knowledge. It enables a significantly expanded gaze on these communication practices, beyond named, bounded languages to language as available semiotic resources.

The literature discussed in the second section of this chapter contributes to an understanding of the discursive forces active on language use and knowledge production processes in the domain of higher education. Noting the recent expansion of higher education in ‘peripheral’ developing countries like Timor-Leste (Altbach, 2007), I discussed the human capital production role played by higher education in certain visions of national development, one that is oriented towards competition in the global ‘knowledge economy’ within a context of globalisation. I argued that this framing of the purposes of higher education tends to overlook the social aspects of communication and knowledge production and, instead, positions language as an object and literacy as a skill, both measurable in economic terms (Williams, 2010). This literature informs my analysis in Chapter 4 of lecturers’ statements about the kinds of work they expect their students to do after graduation, and of their underlying assumptions about the role of higher education and training in the development of Timor-Leste. The literature on processes of disciplinary discourse socialisation informs my selection and analysis of data from lecturers related to students’ sociolinguistic competencies to be discussed in Chapter 5, as well as my discussion of lecturers’ modelling of disciplinary communication to be discussed in Chapter 6.

In the third section of this chapter, I discussed literature that positions the lecturers who participated in this study as pivotal actors in the planning of disciplinary language and disciplinary knowledge. I focussed especially on the problem of ‘intellectualisation’ of minority languages for their use in academic and scientific communication and the key role to be played by disciplinary experts in such language development. This is especially relevant to an understanding of lecturers’ attitudes towards and individual habits in the use of Tetun for disciplinary and professional communication, to be discussed from different angles in each of the findings chapters of this thesis. The literature reviewed in section 2.3 of this chapter lays the foundation for some of the core arguments to be made in this thesis about lecturers’ roles in the ongoing development of communication practices for the transfer of

disciplinary knowledge in higher education in Timor-Leste. It accounts for a recognition of the beliefs and practices of disciplinary lecturers as instrumental to the discursive construction of disciplinary knowledge in the context of multilingualism.

In the next chapter, I explain and justify how I went about capturing empirical data that revealed these beliefs and practices of lecturers. I also discuss my methodological approach to this research, in particular the social and relational aspects to this approach.

Chapter 3:

Saida mak halao no tanba saa²⁹

A discussion of research design and enacted methodology

‘Because education is a moral endeavour, educational researchers should be scientists as well as citizens who are committed to promoting democratic ideals.’
(Banks, 2010, p. 52)

Chapter overview

In this third, methodology-focussed chapter, I outline and justify the methodological decisions that I made in approaching and conducting this research, and I provide details of the processes by which I collected and analysed what I consider to be relevant and revealing data. Following a summary of my research aims and objectives, I provide some background to the design of this research, recounting how my understanding of the nature of the research problem evolved and deepened along with my evolving relationships with Timorese people and places, informing a gradually unfolding research design. It is via this discussion that I explain and justify a multi-sited ethnographic approach to this study, emphasising my intention to understand how the wider social order plays out in the micro level contexts of Timorese tertiary classrooms. I then outline the investigative steps that I took to conduct this research across three institutional sites and four different disciplines, describing my use of a mixture of focus groups, interviews, classroom observation and document analysis to get at the beliefs and practices of disciplinary lecturers. I also account for my choices of research sites as well as my methods of entry into their varied communities of communicative practice for recruiting lecturer participants and negotiating their informed consent.

In the second half of this chapter, I outline the processes of multilingual translation, organisation and analysis that evolved somewhat organically as I sought to first make sense of and then to represent the overwhelmingly rich and complex data that was ultimately collected. I also discuss in more detail some of the more significant challenges that arose in the practice of conducting this research in multiple languages across the four disciplines and

²⁹ Tetun: ‘What I did procedurally and why.’ The verb *halao* is used to mean ‘carry out’, ‘execute’ or ‘implement’ with regard to a plan of action and is thus intended here to refer to the execution of my research design.

three institutions case-studied. I note especially that one of the biggest methodological challenges also constituted one of the most significant findings to come out of this research: the challenge of negotiating meaning across individual, disciplinary, institutional and national cultures of communication. I describe the steps that I took to address the challenges encountered, and I reflect on the learning that came out of the inevitable errors of judgement, adjustments, and compromises that I made. I conclude the chapter with a discussion of the need for balanced, critical self-awareness in the conduct of multi-sited, multi-disciplinary, multilingual and multivoiced research.

3.1 Summary of research objectives

Before proceeding with discussion of the ethnographic methods employed in this research, it will be helpful to first clarify the aims of this study as well as the main methodological problems that I understood it to present. My intention with this is to articulate up front my own construction of self-as-researcher, alongside my 'construction of the research object' (Grenfell, 2012). It is also to make clear what my intentions in this research were *not*, as much as to make clear what they were, as a foundation to explaining my thinking behind my research design and the rationale for how I approached things.

My principal aim in this research project was to understand how higher education lecturers in development-related disciplines in Timor-Leste conceptualise the academic and professional transformation of their students in and across multiple languages, including their own role in it, and what these conceptualisations reveal about the relationship(s) between multilingualism, tertiary education, and national development. In seeking this understanding, I adopted an interpretivist approach to the study of multilingualism. Such an approach draws on ethnographic methods in order to explore, as Monica Heller (2008) puts it, those 'aspects of socially constructed reality' (p.250) that constitute how particular people are using language, what their beliefs and ideologies are about language, and the reasons behind these practices and beliefs.

Within this broad aim, my project had two more specific objectives, each presenting its own methodological challenges. One objective was to document the ways that disciplinary lecturers describe the communicative skills and resources that Timorese students bring to tertiary-level study and which they believe students need to develop for success at university

and in their future work in their respective industries. This objective relates to my first research question. While focus groups and interviews provided means to elicit such descriptions and articulated beliefs, issues were raised pertaining to the communication and translation of metalinguistic reflection on the part of participants. Discussions with participants regularly involved discipline-specific lexicon and/or reference to quite specific, domain-dependent notions such as ‘academic literacies’ or ‘workplace communication’ articulated across languages, cultures, and academic fields. These issues presented challenges to my capacity to develop and maintain ‘theoretical sensitivity’ (Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Glaser, 1978), that is, my capacity to understand and give meaning to the data that I collected, and even simply ‘to separate the pertinent from that which isn’t’ (Strauss & Corbin, 1990, p.42). I discuss my strategies for overcoming these challenges in my analysis of collected data in the second half of this chapter.

A second major objective was to identify and to trace the practical, multilingual communication strategies employed by Timorese lecturers in the academic and professional discourse socialisation of their students within particular institutional and disciplinary contexts. With this objective, challenges arose again in relation to translation, but of a different kind: these were difficulties discussing teaching methods – and specifically *language* teaching methods – with lecturers who were for the most part untrained in language pedagogy and/or without a strong educational background in teaching and learning methods. There were also, of course, the more pragmatic challenges associated with access to sites and the variable willingness and ability of participants to be observed and interviewed and to discuss in detail their own pedagogy and/or their opinions about multilingualism, the tertiary education sector, and development agendas in Timor-Leste with a young, white, male Australian researcher. More will be said on these challenges and my attempts to overcome them in my discussion of data collection methods below. Suffice it to say here that these difficulties – and especially the ‘ethnographic misunderstandings’ (Fabian, 1995) that inevitably arose when I neglected to remember my own ignorance – often proved to be my greatest sources of learning and evolution as an independent, cross-cultural and *translingual* researcher.

It should also be made clear here that this project was not at any point intended to be an *evaluative* study of language teaching practices in Timorese higher education institutions. As will be discussed further below, some comparison was helpful to understand the different

contextual bases for lecturers' responses, but it was not intended to be comparison for the purposes of identifying which institution, which faculty, or which individuals were doing things 'better' or 'worse'. It was essential that participants understood this as part of their informed consent to participate and so that their responses were not affected by preoccupation with being judged. It was also at least as important that I remembered this qualification myself as I proceeded with analysis of the data.

This research project was also not intended to be a *comprehensive* study of language socialisation processes in the different institutional sites, although I was hoping to get at least a broad sweeping sense of these processes. The focus, instead, was on describing, analysing, and explaining in detail specific instances of, and localised approaches to, plurilingual academic and professional discourse socialisation in different disciplinary and institutional contexts at this point in Timor-Leste's history. This was in order to understand and document some of the pivotal social, cultural, and political forces that are currently shaping lecturers' beliefs and practices with regard to disciplinary communication in different institutional settings in higher education in Timor-Leste.

3.2 Evolution of the research design

When does social research begin and what are the boundaries for the phase to be identified as the 'data collection phase'? My interactions with the higher education sector in Timor-Leste happened in several phases, across multiple spaces and communication modes, and the growth in my understanding of multilingual tertiary education in the Timorese context was fed by the full extent of these interactions. As will be described in more detail below, the main round of data collection for this study occurred in 2015 over the course of three months. However, 'data collection' more broadly defined also preceded and followed this three-month visit. There were earlier visits to, and collaborative work with, one Timorese university – 'Timor Technical College' – from 2012 to 2014 prior to the formal commencement of this research project. For several months prior to my main data collection phase in 2015, I worked intensively with a Timorese language teacher colleague, based in Melbourne, who assisted me in the re-articulation and translation of written communication about my research for institutional leaders and lecturer-participants. This work proved invaluable in coming to think about my research in and through the Tetun language.

Throughout the period from 2014 to 2018, semi-regular contact was maintained with key informants over email, messaging applications and social media. I also conducted a month-long, follow-up visit in 2017, the purpose of which was to share findings with participants, check for misunderstandings or misinterpretations, and to check whether there had been any change in the circumstances for the different departments, faculties and institutions.

Reflection is part of my method, which is why I include it in this chapter. I reflect here deliberately on the range of overlapping activities that might be understood as forms of ‘data collection’, and the relationships and communications that characterise them. I raise the above question about the boundaries of data collection partly to highlight my approach to research as a social activity, which is not always confined to a single time or place. It is an activity that emerges from a relationship between the researcher and participants and that extends before and after the focus group and the interview as individual data collection events. This broadened, ethnographic view of the research process recognises that research, being a social activity, transforms both the participants and the researcher, especially in ethnographic studies of multilingualism (Heller, 2008).

In keeping with the literature discussed in the previous chapter on ‘epistemologies of multilingualism’, underlying most ethnographic work on multilingualism are interpretivist assumptions about the nature of ‘multilingualism’ as a social construct. As such, multilingualism needs to be, as Heller (2008) puts it, ‘described and interpreted as an element of the social and cultural practices of sets of speakers, rather than a fixed object existing in nature, to be discovered by an objective observer’ (p. 249). An interpretivist approach to the study of multilingualism in society has its origins in the work of Dell Hymes and John Gumperz towards ‘ethnographies of communication’ (Hymes, 1964; Gumperz and Hymes, 1972). As Hymes (1964) eloquently argued: ‘it is not linguistics, but ethnography – not language, but communication – which must provide the frame of reference within which the place of language in culture and society is to be described’ (p. 3).

In recognising the research process as a social activity, I also acknowledge my own action as researcher in the construction of meaning of the utterances of participants. As Heller (2008) has observed, ‘researchers are active participants in the construction of knowledge about bilingualism [...]. Bilingualism is not a neutral concept, and researching bilingualism is not a neutral act’ (p.250). Like Luttrell (2000), I take the view that as a researcher I am never able to eliminate the tensions, contradictions, power imbalances, and crises of representation

that I encounter in this kind of work, but I can and should name them. The intention, therefore, is to communicate my reflexive processes, 'not just in general terms such as class, gender and ethnic background; but in a more concrete and nitty-gritty way in terms of where, how and why particular decisions are made at particular stages' (Mathner & Doucet, cited in Luttrell, 2000, p. 499).

Origins of this study in early work at TTC

As I described in the introductory chapter, my relationship with Timor-Leste began with a visit to a private higher education provider there, which I am calling 'Timor Technical College' (TTC). From these early interactions in 2012 with staff at TTC, I understood there to be some significant language- and communication-related challenges facing teachers and students at that institution. Conflicting, top-down language policy pressures – from tourism and petroleum industry employers seeking English-proficient graduates, and from the National Government towards Portuguese Mol for all tertiary education – were clashing against the daily practical constraints facing lecturers working with mostly Indonesian teaching resources and communicating discipline-specific academic content to students whose best competencies were in Tetun.

At first, this appeared to me to be a question of understanding the localised, institutionally delimited responses to national language policy statements seemingly at odds with the sociolinguistic reality. My initial intent, therefore, was to focus only on what was happening at TTC and to gather a cross-section of perceptions of students, teachers, and institutional leaders regarding the kinds of language skills and communicative competencies needed by students for the different faculties undergoing Mol policy shifts, as well as the perceived affordances and constraints of the different languages and 'lingualisms' at play for providing these skills and competencies. The research was to take the form of an interview-based institutional ethnography, with the interviews supplemented by student reading diaries, institutional policy and curriculum documents, and participant observations of Portuguese- and English-for-Specific-Purposes classes.

However, in late 2014, shortly before my confirmation of doctoral candidature and after more than two years of ongoing communication and various collaborative work with TTC and its School of Languages (SoL), my plans fell apart. A key informant, the director of SoL at TTC, confided to me that she was not willing to be a participant in my research as she felt that it

could put her at risk of social ostracism or even expulsion from the country. Specifically, her concern was that a focussed study of the implementation of institutional language policies at TTC – the introduction of English-only Mol for certain faculties as well as the teaching of an unofficial orthography of Tetun – could implicate her and SoL in directly contradicting national education laws, and could single out TTC as a rogue, non-compliant institution.³⁰ To communicate this risk to me, the director shared with me a copy of a 2004 government decree law, which states that ‘research and developmental work relating to Tetun and the other national languages of the Democratic Republic of East Timor must be conducted in strict co-operation with the INL ... or else face the penalties relating to illegal activities’ (RDTL, 2004). Though she had lived in Timor-Leste for over 15 years, this person was not a Timorese citizen and, as such, she perceived a risk that my research could lead to her being deported from Timor-Leste, perhaps even permanently exiled.³¹

This turn of events at the very time that I was preparing both for confirmation of doctoral candidature and to seek ethics approval for data collection led me to a number of important realisations about my approach to this research. First and foremost, the experience reinforced in me an already strong sense of responsibility to ‘first, do no harm’ as an international and intercultural researcher, particularly in a somewhat fragile socio-political setting, and when interacting with individuals directly involved in the institutional implementation of educational language policy. In this I am concerned especially with Kubanyiova’s (2008) ‘ethics of care’ doctrine, where she argues that the ability to reflect on the contextualised ‘microethics’ of research practice should be a core competency of applied linguists engaging in ethnographic style research. Though I felt frustrated that the SoL director had not disclosed to me sooner her reservations about participating in the research as I had framed it and as we had long discussed, I felt a greater sense of frustration with myself for not having been sufficiently attuned to the sensitivity of not only the Timorese

³⁰ In fact, it had been the institutional leaders and heads of faculty at TTC who had made the decision to move to English Mol for certain faculties and who then went to the SoL director for help in facilitating the transition process. This informant did already have a history of disagreement with the INL on the official orthography of the Tetun language.

³¹ I narrate this story here confident that this individual no longer perceives this risk. Following the reframing of this research that I describe below, the SoL director later agreed to participate in an interview. I have chosen not to use this data in this thesis.

context but specifically *her* context as one of my key informants, and the real vulnerability that she felt for her position.

Another important learning outcome of this relational shift with TTC was that my research design was resting too heavily on a single key informant – and one who was not East Timorese. That my research plans had so easily fallen apart with the removal of just one participant alerted me to my over-reliance on an anticipated (but never formally agreed upon) reciprocity from the work that I was doing with the TTC School of Languages. This brought into rather sharp focus for me the problematics of the idea of research ‘giving back’ to a community or an institution in which research is being done, along with the complex and ongoing nature of the negotiation of cooperation in cross-cultural and transnational research. I also realised that in order to access a wider perspective on the ‘*what’s happening here?*’ question, I needed to broaden my networks and to build more diverse relationships with Timorese people involved in the higher education sector.

A third major realisation to emerge from this experience for me was a troubling of my single institutional case study approach. I began to question whether the introduction of new Mol policies at TTC – or at other institutions for that matter – were but one manifestation of a sector-wide struggle with ways of doing multilingual tertiary teaching and learning amidst competing development agendas. To better understand the dynamics of this struggle, I realised that I needed a clearer sense of how educators across disciplines and across institutions were thinking about and responding to these faculty and institutional language policies amidst diverse other pressures influencing their conceptualisations of students’ competencies as well as the teaching and communication strategies that they practiced with students. This shifted the focus of my research gaze towards a general sense of how individual lecturers in different disciplines and different institutions were making day-to-day decisions about the use of language, influenced by faculty, institutional, industry, national, etc. discourses, particularly development-related ones.

Through this adjusted lens, understanding the introduction and implementation of faculty-based language policies at TTC was still relevant and important, but within a wider understanding that it was just one, formalised institutional response to ‘the language question’, which needed to be analysed alongside other, simultaneous responses both within TTC and at other institutions. The industry-related justifications for the changes in Mol at TTC (e.g., English for tourism and for petroleum studies) characterised a particular vision of the

role of language in tertiary education towards national development and in connection to industry. Rather than a single-sited case-study, I decided that something like Marcus' (1995) multi-sited ethnographic research method would enable me to explore how this vision – and its transnational (if not global) horizons – might extend and/or vary across sites. Extending my scope beyond TTC would enable if not a comprehensive at least a wider view of the kinds of discourses and activities, along with the language ideologies and visions of national development of which they may be characteristic, playing out in various faculties among the other accredited higher education institutions in Timor-Leste.

In my case I had to reconcile the reality of my geographical and cultural distance from Timor-Leste with this dual need to know deeply the contexts and histories from which my participants spoke and not to be a burden but, instead, to make a positive contribution towards the resolution of the issues. An ideal scenario may have been to live in Timor-Leste and to work at one of the institutions; to conduct participant observer-style research generated out of work that I was already doing. This kind of research is not always possible but, more to the point, it is not the only kind of cross-cultural, ethnographic research that has value or that can enable a close and nuanced study of institutional contexts. An established insider relationship, such as if I was working continuously at TTC, has affordances but also constraints, particularly in blurring my role as a teacher and as a researcher in the minds of my participants. Visiting as an external researcher provided some clarity for them about my intentions and left me free to source other elements of the various settings that were also relevant to understanding lecturers' situated practices.

Selecting and approaching additional research sites

As narrated above, the first institutional site³² for my research – TTC – was identified from existing contact and collaborative, project-based work with the English department there relating to developing a foundation year English program for the tourism and petroleum faculties. Later, I came to learn that TTC had one of the best reputations in the Timorese tertiary sector for courses in these two disciplines and played a leading role in the production of new syllabi within the course accreditation processes connected to the national qualifications framework introduced in 2014. It was via this work at TTC that I gained a

³² See above discussion regarding problems with the boundedness of institutional sites, and also the discussion below on 'sites within sites'.

gradually increasing understanding of the wider Timorese tertiary sector. It was also through this work that I began to perceive the connection (and tensions) between approaches to language in higher education in Timor-Leste and different national development agendas, particularly in relation to key strategic industries.

In choosing additional research sites, therefore, I was primarily concerned with two things:

1. Identifying institutions with unique characteristics that would add new dimensions to those already offered by TTC as a case-study institutional setting;
2. Recruiting lecturers from disciplines associated with other 'development-related' industries, specifically agriculture and community development.

As explained in Chapter 1, for the purposes of this study I chose to focus on those 'strategic industries' identified in the Timor-Leste National Strategic Development Plan (RDTL, 2011) – agriculture, petroleum and tourism – with the addition of community development studies. Petroleum studies and tourism are both taught at TTC, which left two more disciplines to be included.

I chose the National University (NU) as my second institutional site for several reasons. It has the largest and oldest agriculture faculty in the country, with many of its graduates in the past having found employment in the Ministry of Agriculture and elsewhere in the Timorese Government. As the only public university, NU was also an important choice as a research site because of its close connection with the Timorese government, with the potential to reveal quite different language attitudes and policy discourses, not to mention different institutional language policy arrangements. Unlike at private institutions like TTC, lecturers at NU are technically government employees and so I was interested to see whether and how the voices of participants recruited there might speak with some echoes of that government connection. Moreover, as a research site, NU had the potential to provide access to other development-related disciplines not offered elsewhere that also had unique medium of instruction practices, such as law – one of the very few higher education programs in Timor-Leste currently taught exclusively in Portuguese – and medicine – the only course to be

taught in Spanish. In the end, though, I was able to recruit lecturers only from agriculture and from community development studies at NU.³³

Although I was quite wary of a top-down approach to relationship building with my participants, fearing that lecturers would not be as open in their discussions with me if they thought my research was somehow being reported back to their supervisors, pragmatics dictated that I communicate first with institutional leaders. Unfortunately, I did not have the time to invest in building close relationships with lecturers across multiple faculties and institutions and, in any case, I needed to gain permission to do my research from the heads of the faculties and rectors of the institutions. I also came to learn that prior approval (if not also formal introductions) from faculty and institutional leaders lent a weight of respectability to my research when discussing it with lecturers. At TTC, the head of SoL was able to introduce me to the rector, who expressed keen interest in my research and in turn introduced me to the dean of the petroleum faculty (I had already met and worked with the dean of the tourism faculty). It was then via the deans that I was able to set up initial focus groups with these two faculties at TTC.

As it happened, however, the first 'pilot' focus group that I conducted was not at TTC but with the agriculture faculty at the National University (NU). Fortuitously, my Tetun teacher had a close connection with a senior lecturer in the agriculture faculty at NU (her husband), and so she was able to introduce me to him. This lecturer (to be identified in later chapters as 'Prof. Z') introduced me to the vice-rector at NU in charge of external relationships and also the dean of the agriculture faculty. The dean was especially generous: not only did he arrange for me to attend a faculty staff meeting in order to introduce myself and my research, he also provided a desk space on the main NU campus in Dili where the agriculture faculty is located. Having a permanent base on the main NU campus enabled me to passively observe the institutional culture and explore the diverse spaces within the university, affording me access to similar ethnographic insight to that already accumulated at TTC via my work there.

³³ This was not for want of trying to get access to lecturers in other disciplinary fields. I spent a significant amount of time communicating with the deans of the law and health sciences faculties at NU, which included translating information about my research into Portuguese and Spanish. In the case of medicine, I was eventually told that the decision lay with the Cuban Medical Brigade (to which the Cuban lecturers in 'General Medicine' at NU report) and was therefore out of the hands of the faculty. While this may have been a red herring offered to avoid direct refusal of participation, it reveals something of the distribution of direct authority over higher education teaching in Timor-Leste not only beyond institutional borders, but beyond national borders. In the case of law, unfortunately a suitable time could not be arranged with a sufficient number of participants, however the groundwork has been laid for future research opportunities.

A third institutional site was needed. Apart from the potential insight to be gained from yet another distinct institutional setting, I considered it necessary to minimise any risk of the study being perceived as an evaluative comparison of the institutional language policy work of TTC and NU. Such a perception was likely due to significant existing tension between the two institutions relating to their competing orthographies of Tetun.³⁴ Since it was not my intention to do a comparative case study of institutions, I sought a third institutional site.

To this end, I approached multiple other private higher education providers without success before confirming the 'Rural Coffee Institute' (RCI). RCI proved a rather neat option, as it is small and focusses only on degrees in agriculture and education. Although several of the eight other accredited HEIs in Timor-Leste offer courses in some or all of the disciplinary areas I was interested in, they are all large institutions, each with their own complex institutional cultures and internal politics. In order to keep the scope of the study manageable and also to maximise time spent in ethnographic-style immersion in the institutional cultures of the participants, I wanted to avoid additional large sites. RCI also represents a somewhat different model of tertiary education to NU and TTC, being based outside of the capital and offering some of its undergraduate degrees in cooperation with an Indonesian university. It is also the only institution to produce, process, and package its own range of organic coffee and food products, which are sold internationally.

3.3 Methods of data collection

Summary of enacted methodology

This study drew on a mixture of ethnographic research methods, including focus groups, interviews, and passive classroom observations (with the use of an observation tool), to collect rich and diverse qualitative data from lecturer participants in different disciplinary areas and different institutional settings. As has been explained, the intention was not to gather generalizable data but, rather, to get a broad indication of the range of issues, challenges, discourses and ideologies at play in Timorese higher education in relation to the teaching of multilingual academic and professional communication skills in development-

³⁴ The different approaches of these two institutions towards the intellectualisation of Tetun will be discussed further in Chapter 6.

related industries. With this intention in mind, I recruited lecturers for participation in the project via direct contact with the three Timorese higher education institutions already mentioned:

1. 'National University' (NU), a large, public university located in the centre of the Timorese capital, Dili;
2. 'Timor Technical College' (TTC), a large, private technical institute located on the outskirts of Dili;
3. 'Rural Coffee Institute' (RCI), a small, private agriculture institute focussed on coffee production located approximately two hours drive from Dili in the rural district of Ermera.

Participant recruitment was limited to lecturers in faculties and departments in the four 'development-related' industry areas already identified: agriculture (at NU and RCI), petroleum studies (at TTC), tourism (at TTC), and community development studies (at NU).

As mentioned above, the main phase of data collection occurred during a three-month visit to Timor-Leste in 2015. A shorter, return visit to Timor-Leste in February 2017 allowed for follow-up interviews, as well as for checking understandings and interpretations of data with participants. This was done to allow participants control over the interpretation process, in recognition that I, as the ethnographic researcher, cannot claim to be the sole arbiter of knowledge about the settings and activities that I am studying (Angrosino and Rosenberg, 2013). As Pavlenko and Blackledge (2004) argue, such consultation with participants regarding interpretation and analysis of collected data is especially important in cross-cultural and multilingual research.

In both phases of data collection, I facilitated focus group discussions of between one and two hours on-site at each of the three institutions with lecturers by disciplinary area. This was done with the help of an interpreter. For the initial data collection phase, focus group participants were asked to share their impressions of the communication challenges faced by their students in plurilingual study and work contexts relevant to their disciplinary area, and to describe the teaching practices used to help students to overcome these challenges. I then selected some participants for individual interviews of about one hour in length in which I asked them, also with an interpreter present, to share their individual experiences of teaching in their field in and across multiple languages. In these one-on-one discussions,

lecturers described their teaching methods and communication strategies in more detail and discussed their hopes and expectations of graduates in their industries with regard to the future development of Timor-Leste.³⁵ In this way, focus groups served both as sources of data in themselves and also as opportunities for the selection of key informants from within the groups.

For the focus groups, I decided on a minimum of four participants and a maximum of eight, with a preference for around six participants in a group. The reasoning for this was a combination of strategic thinking regarding group dynamics and the pragmatics of gathering together and facilitating discussion among lecturers with busy and divergent schedules. The number of participants in focus groups was to be sufficiently large that interviewees would be encouraged to feel ‘freer and more forthcoming among peers’ (Codó, 2008, p. 163), but also small enough so that facilitation of group discussion of interview questions would be manageable with the assistance of the interpreter. The total number of lecturer participants (not including contextual interviews with institutional leaders, language educators and other stakeholders) was 48, 29 of whom were interviewed following participation in focus groups, with 18 of those interviewed observed in a teaching and learning setting.

For clarity, I have summarised these details about my data collection methods and the numbers of participants with their corresponding institutional and disciplinary affiliations in *Table 1*, below:

Table 1: Numbers of lecturer participants by discipline and institution

	Agriculture			Petroleum			Tourism			Community Devt.		
	Focus Groups	Interviews	Observations	Focus Groups	Interviews	Observations	Focus Groups	Interviews	Observations	Focus Groups	Interviews	Observations
National Uni (NU)	2	6	7	N/A			N/A			1	5	3
Rural Coffee Institute (RCI)	2	7	3	N/A			N/A			N/A		
Timor Technical College (TTC)	N/A			2	7	2	1	4	3	N/A		

Total participants: 48
(Excludes institutional leaders, language teachers)

³⁵ See Appendix 2: ‘Method Tools’ for a list of focus group and interview questions and prompts.

This sample size was appropriate as the data collected was intended to enable an interpretivist stance (Geertz, 1973). That is, for this project, enabling of in-depth inquiry into and analysis of how Timorese tertiary teachers are using language within particular educational circumstances, what they believe about language in higher education, and why. The objective was to get as close as possible to the experiences of participants, ‘grappling with the complexity of their lives as individuals [and] as members of groups,’ as Schostak (2002, p. 92) puts it. The multi-sited and multi-disciplinary range of interviewees allowed for the documentation and analysis of diverse, contextualised viewpoints from multiple sources, without the need for these views to be representative of all Timorese tertiary teachers connected to particular professional fields or particular institutions.

In principle, my selection of key informants (those to be interviewed and to have their teaching practices observed) depended on whether they:

- a) showed a special interest in the research,
- b) expressed strong views about language and communication in their field, and/or
- c) demonstrated an ability to provide relevant and specific examples in response to my questions about students’ competencies or their own teaching practices.

The use of an interpreter and translated plain language statements³⁶ together with a careful avoidance of linguistic or pedagogic jargon helped to avoid these selection criteria precluding those lecturers not confident in Tetun or English (the main languages in which focus groups and interviews were conducted), or those not accustomed to in-depth discussion around language education. I also made a point of including women – as they are a minority in Timorese higher education in general and in the scientific disciplines that I studied (Agriculture, Petroleum) in particular – and of including lecturers of different age groups and from a range of educational backgrounds.

These were the principles on which I planned my selection of key participants. In practice, however, selection often rested on more pragmatic considerations such as participants’ availability and willingness to be interviewed individually and to have their teaching practices observed. Availability was especially an issue, since many lecturers in Timor-Leste have more than one job. One participant, for instance, is a member of parliament as well as a full-time

³⁶ See Appendix 1, ‘Participation permission documents’, specifically: A1.2 and A1.3 for the English and Tetun versions of the Plain Language Statements used for this research.

lecturer at NU. Another participant works as a lecturer at both NU and RCI. At RCI, many lecturers are housed in staff accommodation on campus and would at times need to take time away to attend to their own farms in other districts or to deal with family matters. More than once I arrived at RCI with my interpreter prepared for a scheduled focus group meeting, having hired a vehicle and travelled from Dili especially for the meeting, only to find that some or all of the staff involved were unexpectedly absent that day. I soon learned from these experiences to confirm and reconfirm by phone any scheduled meetings.

Participants were provided with a plain language statement and a consent form, both written in Tetun.³⁷ The plain language statement explained that the research project focusses on the communication skills (*abilidade ba komunikasaun*) that students need for study at university and for work in different disciplines. It further explained that my goal in talking with them was to understand (*buka hatene*) their thinking and experiences on this topic as lecturers and to understand the teaching methods that they use to help students to find success at university and to be prepared for work. The document also outlined what was involved in each of the three stages of participation in the research: focus groups, interviews, and classroom observations. It emphasised that participation was voluntary, that every effort would be made to ensure their anonymity, but that identification remained a possibility, and it explained their rights as research participants.

Both the plain language statement and the consent form were distributed to all participants just prior to the start of focus group discussions. This was so that I could be sure that participants were able to read the information provided in these documents. On reflection (and following some feedback from some of the participants) it would have been better to provide the PLS and a list of questions/prompts to lecturers ahead of time, however this was not always possible since participants were often recruited by me, or by their faculty or department head, the same day that the focus group occurred. After some introductions and a short warm-up exercise, I also spent some time reiterating some of the key information contained in the documents to participants – either in Tetun via my interpreter, or in a mixture of English and Tetun if my interpreter was not present. I was particularly careful to stress that my goal was not to evaluate or to assess them as lecturers. Once it was made clear

³⁷ See Appendix 1.3 for the Tetun version of the Plain language statement, Appendix 1.5 for the Tetun version of the individual participant consent form.

that I was interested in their thoughts and opinions, the lecturers were usually better able to relax and open-up in discussion.

Procedures for focus groups and interviews

My methods and procedures for conducting focus groups and interviews evolved with my experience in conversations with the Timorese lecturers who participated in this study. They changed and evolved especially with my increased proficiency in Tetun over the course of conducting this research, and my sharpened perceptions of what I was uncovering regarding language in higher education in Timor-Leste. As an indication of this evolution, I have appended to this thesis various documents that I created and relied upon when conducting focus groups and interviews during the fieldwork and data collection phase of this research.

These documents can be found in Appendix 2: 'Method Tools'. These method tools include:

- 2.1 Focus group prompts in English and Tetun;
- 2.2 Interview topics and sample questions in English and Tetun;
- 2.3 Tools for working with interpreters.

I have deliberately left these documents in the same format as I used them as an authentic representation of my enacted methodology.

To kickstart discussion in focus groups, I began by asking lecturer-participants to *halo rotasaun rua* ('make two rotations') around the group. The first 'rotation' was for each lecturer to introduce her/himself, their role(s) in the institution, and the main subjects that they taught (see Appendix 2.1). These initial introductions provided an immediate sense of the potential politics/dynamics in the group, as departmental directors and faculty deans often participated in the focus groups. On a more practical level, a rotation of introductions also allowed me to keep a record of who was sitting where in the circle so that, with reference to my notes, I could later identify who was speaking at different stages of the recording. So as not to interrupt the participant speaking, I asked my interpreter to translate where necessary via *chuchotage*. At times, this first rotation of initial introductions from lecturers would take a not insignificant amount of time as, I learned, formal introductions often do in Timorese culture.

The second rotation was for each lecturer to *hatete buat ida kona ba esperiensiha hanorin nian nebee maka ita gosta* ('tell something about the experience of teaching that you enjoy').

This was to lead participants toward a reflective state of mind and to focus their attention on their teaching practice, as well as to approach ensuing discussion via a positive frame. If time was limited and/or if the first rotation had taken too long, I would skip this second rotation.

These introductory rotation activities helped to encourage an equitable and participatory conversational culture in the groups. Initially, I was concerned that the presence of departmental heads and faculty deans in the groups would affect the openness of other lecturers, such that these institutional leaders would dominate discussion. In such cases, I attempted to model equity of participation among the group by actively seeking input from quieter participants. For the most part, however, all participants appeared confident to participate, even in cases of younger lecturers who had only recently graduated from their undergraduate studies. The high rotation of leadership roles³⁸ in all of the faculties case studied, combined with the small sizes of these faculties and their observable cultures of collegiality, helps to explain this general confidence to participate in group discussions.

Following these rotations, I would reiterate that the goal of the focus group was to elicit lecturers' *istorias, esperiensiã no hanoin* ('stories, experience and thinking') about students' *abilidade komunikasaun* ('communication ability'), emphasising the intention for it to be an informal discussion among colleagues. I encouraged participants to give real and specific stories and examples of students whom they had taught and subjects that they deliver. I then prompted such stories and examples with three rounds of open questions:

- i) Tell a story about a student who has 'found success' (*hetan susesu*). What did they do to find success? What were their communication abilities like? What did you do to help them?
- ii) Talk about a student who has needed help with their communication. What communication challenges did they confront? Which specific activities or tasks did they struggle with? How did you help the student overcome these challenges?
- iii) What do you hope/expect (*espera*) of these students following graduation? What shall they do with their acquired knowledge for themselves, for the industry and

³⁸ In the case of the Agriculture faculty at NU, it is faculty policy to rotate departmental leadership every three years. At TTC, the role of Dean for the Petroleum and Tourism faculties has changed hands multiple times in each case over the past several years as lecturers have left to complete their PhDs and master's abroad.

for the nation? What work will they be doing? What communication abilities will they need to achieve these objectives?

As my data collection proceeded and my experience with the focus groups evolved, my request to participants for specific stories and examples in response to the above prompts became more and more direct. This was because I found that participants tended to speak comfortably in generalities – about the value of one language or another for the nation or for academic and scientific communication in higher education, about the challenges (for them) of communicating with students in one language or another – but that they needed active encouragement to provide detailed anecdotes to illustrate these points. Such anecdotes were more easily elicited in one-on-one interviews and, indeed, were often the bases for the majority of discussion in interviews. The willingness to share specific examples and detailed stories in focus groups was also a motivation for my selection of these individuals for follow-up interviews.

One-on-one interviews allowed for deeper and richer discussion with lecturers about their varied experiences with different types of students, adding significant nuance to the general impressions communicated in the focus groups. They also provided opportunities to discuss samples of student work, which I asked lecturers to bring with them to interviews. Participants would explain why they had chosen that sample; because it was an example of ‘good’ writing or ‘poor’ writing, or because it was an example of how they had provided feedback to the student. In some cases, I was also able to conduct interviews following an observation of the lecturer’s teaching and so could ask questions about the lecturer’s use of teaching and learning resources like (most commonly) PowerPoint and (less commonly) textbooks and printed handouts. Some examples of these teaching and learning resources were also provided to me by lecturer-participants with their consent to use them in this research.

Focus group discussions and interviews were audio-recorded. This proved essential as there were, at times, significant parts of the discussion that I could not follow, even after my Tetun improved considerably during the course of conducting the research (a pivotal methodological challenge to which I return later in this chapter). Unfortunately, parts of recordings were also often rather poor due to noises and interruptions from a range of sources: other staff and students entering the room; lecturer-participants suddenly being called away to meetings or choosing to take phone calls mid-discussion; sounds from outside

such as loud vehicles and (at RCI) repeatedly crowing roosters. In one case there was even a power black-out in the middle of an interview, in which the participant and I were left in pitch darkness since his office was closed and had no windows.

My approach to such interruptions, frustrating as some of them were, was to view them as part of the experience of conducting qualitative research in developing contexts, and especially in remote and rural settings, such as where RCI is located. From another perspective, these experiences also gave me first-hand 'participant observation' insight into the material factors influencing the communicative worlds of Timorese higher education, since focus groups and interviews were usually held in classrooms, these being the only available spaces. Fortunately, the amount of audible and intellegible data captured in the audio-recordings proved to be more than sufficient for the purposes of the study.

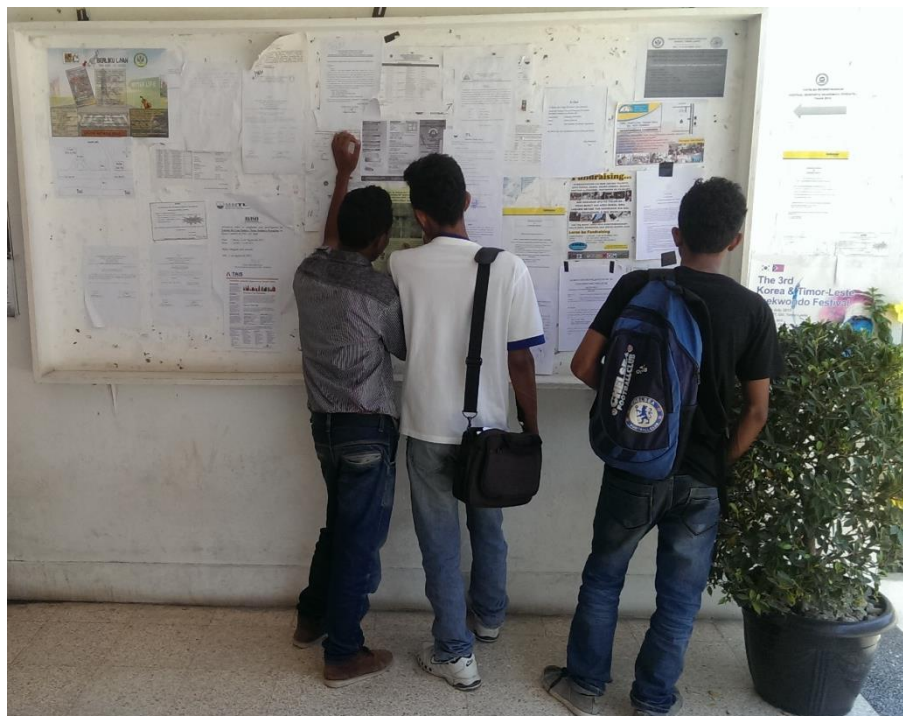
Recording observations of academic and disciplinary communication

Although the primary data cited in this thesis is drawn from the focus groups and interviews that I conducted, observation of various kinds constituted a crucial part of this research. Indeed, as some researchers have articulated it, observation forms 'the fundamental basis of all research methods' (Adler & Adler, 1994, p. 398) and is 'the mainstay of the ethnographic enterprise' (Werner & Schoepfle, 1987, p. 257). In addition to focussed observations of classroom communication, the process for which I detail below, observation and investigation of the wider institutional settings illuminated important contextual information. For each of the institutions where I conducted my research, this involved, for instance, finding out what teaching and learning resources were available and their accessibility, including the availability of libraries and computer labs with internet access. It also involved comprehending the size, campus distribution and inter-campus relationships, sources of external funding, and the nature of external relationships – especially those with foreign universities and aid or development entities. These insights proved extremely helpful to my analysis of other collected data, and I gained them from many hours of 'passive' observation wandering around the different campuses, from observation and analysis of the textual presences in institutional documents and websites, as well as from interviews and informal discussions with faculty and institutional leaders and administrators.

As one record of these institution-level observation activities, I took photographs of the institutional and socio-geographical settings in which teaching and learning practices were

taking place, focussing especially on the ‘linguistic landscape’ (Shohamy & Gorter, 2008) of these places and spaces. An example of this can be seen below in *Figure 2*.

*Figure 2: Students at NU read from a noticeboard outside the agriculture faculty.
Notices appeared on this board in all four dominant languages.*



While these photographs were not used as direct sources of data for this research, they helped to inform my awareness of the unique sociolinguistic context of each of the institutions case studied. With participant consent, I also took photographs during some observations of classes and supervised fieldwork, capturing a visual record of momentary instances of classroom communication. These photos form part of the data analysed with respect to lecturers’ multilingual communication practices, discussed in Chapter 6.

The main record of my in-class observations was an observation tool that took the form of a matrix of communication events set against five-minute time segments. A blank copy of the observation tool is provided in Appendix 2.4.1 and some completed examples are shown and discussed in Chapter 6. For each time segment field, I recorded data at the top and bottom of the field. At the top of the field I recorded who (coded as ‘T’, ‘S’ or ‘AS’ for ‘teacher’/lecturer³⁹, an individual student, or all students, respectively) was communicating with whom. A lecturer speaking to all students, for example, would be recorded at the top

³⁹ I realised too late that ‘L’ would have been a potentially less confusing choice.

of the field as 'T/AS'. At the bottom of the field, I recorded which language or languages (coded as 'T', 'B', 'E' or 'P' for Tetun, Indonesian (*Bahasa*), English or Portuguese) were being used. This was done for each communication event listed on the tool.

For instance, for a period of five minutes in which the lecturer 'lectured' (spoke didactically) to all students in Tetun with some technical terms in Indonesian, this would be recorded as 'T/AS; TB' for that communication event under that time segment. The language used most within the time segment came first in coding of the mixed communication, such that 'TB' indicated predominant use of Tetun with some Indonesian. In cases where only a single word or phrase was being borrowed into Tetun (as was often the case with English and Portuguese), this would be represented as 'T(E)' (=Tetun with minimal English). Interactions with different modalities (such as writing on the whiteboard or reading from a PowerPoint slide) were each recorded as separate communication events.

After a few initial 'pilot' observations using the tool, I saw the need to make some adjustments, collapsing some of the more similar or co-active communication events into single events and adding those that I had been regularly observing and writing into the tool. I also added numbers (N) and drawings/images/graphics (G) as observable 'languages' used in communication events alongside or instead of T, B, E and P. I did not video record my class observations and did only audio record two observations, with the lecturers' consent. Participants who consented to having their teaching observed were not asked to do anything other than they normally do in these sessions.

My aim in conducting these observations was to view participants' teaching methods and communication strategies in practice and to see whether lecturers made the kinds of language choices in their teaching that they said that they did in interview. As I will discuss in Chapter 6, the truly dynamic nature of the multimodal and translingual communication in the classrooms that I observed significantly transgressed the capacity of the observation tool to represent it. Notwithstanding, the tool enabled me to get a general sense of the differential use of the four dominant languages for different communicative functions in the classroom, highlighting especially the ubiquitous use of Tetun, as well as enabling me to identify trends in the combination of the languages with one another and with other semiotic resources, deployed across different available modalities.

Working with interpreters

Working with interpreters was an instrumental part of the data collection process for this research. At the recommendation of a key informant at NU, two interpreters were recruited from among the senior (3rd and 4th year) students of the English department at NU. This source of interpreter recruitment resulted in some significant challenges, which I discuss later in this chapter. As for the professional translators based in Melbourne who assisted me with translation of consent forms, plain language statements and, later, data transcripts, the two interpreters were required to sign work contracts and confidentiality agreements in accordance with ethics protocols for research involving human subjects.⁴⁰

My process for recruiting and selecting these interpreters involved orienting them to my research objectives and inviting them to comment (in English) on why this research was of interest to them. I also asked them to explain how they would communicate to participants potentially ambiguous concepts related to the research. I provided them with a list of terms that my Timorese teacher friend and colleague had helped me to produce, which included words and phrases extracted from my English list of focus group and interview prompts that were not easily translatable into Tetun. Some of these words and phrases were quite central to the discourse characterising my research, such as ‘communication challenge’ and ‘communication strategy’ (see Appendix 2.3.1 for the full list of these terms). One of the goals was to impress upon the interpreters, who were themselves studying to be language teachers, that the participants for this research were disciplinary experts and, as such, may need additional guidance in conversations focussed on language and pedagogy.

Joint planning, reflection and debriefing around focus groups and interviews was a crucial part of my work with these interpreters. In addition to discussing the institutional and disciplinary context and the known information about expected participants prior to each data collection event, I encouraged the interpreters to see themselves as co-researchers, eliciting their thoughts and opinions on the nature as well as the content of discussions in the focus groups and interviews (see, for example, Appendix 2.3.4). They were an especially valuable source of information about the dynamics of group discussions, with observations about who spoke more and who spoke less, and for what possible reasons, and about the intra-departmental and intra-faculty relationships manifest in the communication. For my

⁴⁰ See Appendix 2.3 for copies of these and other documents related to my work with interpreters.

own learning as a researcher, I also interviewed my main interpreter (I worked with one much more than the other) at the end of the main data collection phase, asking for his reflections on the data collection process as a whole and our successes and challenges in working together.

Translation as research method

Unless participants indicated that an interpreter was not needed, all interviews and focus groups (and, when appropriate, also observations) were conducted with an interpreter present to assist in communication. Even in those activities conducted without an interpreter present, a combination of English and Tetun was usually used and one of the lecturers more confident in English would translate occasionally problematic words or concepts. Plain language statements and consent forms were translated into Tetun, with attention to the use of different orthographies appropriate to the different institutions. At the beginning of each discussion, I invited lecturers to participate in whichever language they felt most comfortable. To demonstrate that I was comfortable with the practice of translanguaging in the interviews, I would attempt to copy the language mixing habits of lecturers, combining Tetun with English, Portuguese and Indonesian.

My spoken Tetun was quite limited, however, especially in the earlier interviews, and so I relied quite heavily on my interpreters to assist in communication. Some participants who had completed their master's or PhD degrees in Australia would assure me that 'we can understand English'. I remained conscious, however, of the mixed educational backgrounds of lecturers across the institutional and disciplinary settings, and actively encouraged those who spoke less English (or, in some cases, more Indonesian than either Tetun or English) to participate alongside of those more confident in English. Rather tellingly, I did not encounter a single lecturer who indicated a preference to speak in Portuguese.

After the initial phase of data collection, audio recordings of focus groups and interviews were transcribed and coded by me, with multilingual transcriptions checked and translated by an experienced translator, fluent in English, Tetun and Indonesian and with a working knowledge of Portuguese. Technical and discipline-specific words and phrases (most commonly communicated by lecturers in Indonesian) were highlighted for further translation work (with dictionaries or with Google Translate) as the translator or I came across them. My own understanding of Indonesian and Portuguese was sufficient to recognise morphemes

borrowed from these languages, that is, when Indonesian or Portuguese entered a lecturer's utterance. It was not always sufficient, however, to understand certain technical and discipline-specific words and phrases used by lecturers, especially when non-standard forms were used. The experienced translator who assisted me also encountered this problem at times, which served to highlight the barriers to comprehension that students must also be facing.

As Ochs (1979) has observed, 'transcription procedure is responsive to cultural biases and itself biases readings and inferences. [...T]he central concern is the researcher's awareness of this transcriptional act and its potential consequences' (p. 51). The act of transcribing recordings of lecturers' utterances drew my attention to the diversity of individual plurilingual repertoires among participants, as well as to diverse individual styles of 'mixing' in communication, all of which are part and parcel of the sociolinguistic reality in higher education in Timor-Leste. Much more so than in more homogenous communication contexts, interlocutors habitually reach mutual understanding without necessarily comprehending every individual word in each utterance. I was therefore highly attentive to the potential representational challenges presented by the tasks of transcription and translation. For the purposes of presenting for discussion in this thesis data marked by significant language mixing practices, my approach was to display the transcribed original of what was said, with spelling following the phonetic sounds uttered, and, when relevant to discussion, to mark in the English translation any borrowed words or phrases.

3.4 Methods of data analysis

Data gathered from the focus groups and interviews was analysed via a combination of content and discourse analysis. This was complemented by analysis of the results of observations of lecturers' teaching methods and communication practices in classroom and supervised fieldwork settings, as well as of relevant institutional and faculty documents (curricula, course outlines, lesson plans, sample teaching resources, sample student assignments, etc.). In this section I explain what this combination of different data analytic methods looked like in the practice of conducting this research.

As with the data collection process, analysis of collected data occurred in and across multiple phases of this research. Successive 'sweeps' of the data each contributed to my ability to

identify and pursue emergent themes. The main phases of data analysis for this project may be summarised as follows:

1. A first phase of data analysis (late 2015-mid 2016) was in the process of transcription and translation of interview and focus group recordings. Initial observations were noted about stand-out chunks of data where tension was apparent – e.g., conflicting points of view expressed by lecturers about the relative affordances of named languages for disciplinary communication – along with my initial impressions/assumptions about the source of these tensions. Focus in this early phase was on mentions of named languages in relationship with one another, including the status or prestige being afforded each language, by whom, and in the context of making what point about students’ proficiencies for disciplinary communication. In analysis of lecturers’ statements about the *use* of these languages for the social performance of communication I was attentive to the values implied by key action words in lecturers’ descriptions of students’ or their own communicative behaviours, such as *ativu* (‘active’ or ‘engaged’), or *foti* (‘to grasp, pick-up’).
2. A second key phase of data analysis (mid-late 2016) was in the identification and articulation of ‘preliminary findings’ from this research. These were organised around the following themes:
 - a. The plurilingual repertoires of students in relationship with those of lecturers;
 - b. Tetun as the location for tension/debate over its affordances and limitations as a language of academic and disciplinary communication;
 - c. Connections between lecturers’ beliefs about the communicative demands of their respective industries and their visions of industry transformation in a national development context;
 - d. Divergent language planning processes evident within institutions, and within faculties;
 - e. The contingency of individual lecturers’ pedagogies and disciplinary communication practices upon the coming together of these many variables.

The practice of articulating these findings at international conferences (in Myanmar, New Zealand and the US) and in two chapters published in edited books helped to

refine my thinking about what I was seeing in the data. A key objective of data analysis in this phase was also to frame inquiry for follow-up fieldwork in Feb 2017.

3. Follow-up fieldwork in early 2017 also served as a process of data analysis. Conducting follow-up focus groups and interviews allowed me to confirm with participants whether my analysis of collected data was valid for each institutional setting and each disciplinary context. These discussions also provided me with opportunities to co-construct meaning from the data in dialogue with participants. Lecturers' opinions about what was said by others from their same discipline, as well as by those from other disciplines, confirmed my suspicions about intra- and inter-disciplinary tensions in their beliefs and practices related to multilingualism, and also highlighted new ones. Translation stories from other lecturers proved especially valuable as prompts for these discussions.
4. A final phase of data analysis occurred during the organisation of data excerpts into the structure of three findings chapters for this thesis and in the process of writing each of these chapters. This was a process of validation of initial assumptions and proposed chapter structure, incorporating the identification of sub-themes within each chapter. As part of this process of moving data excerpts into structured chapters, more detailed translation revealed more nuanced complexity across the data sets.

Throughout these four phases, data analysis across data sets (disciplinary, institutional) included intertextual and interdiscursive analysis (Johnson and Ricento, 2013). This was done in order to examine the implicit and explicit values and ideologies connected to individual languages, monolingualism, and different forms and functions of plurilingualism articulated across the different types of data collected (focus groups, interviews, observations, documents) as well as in relationship to national, industry, and institutional language policy documents and discourses. For example, statements made by both tourism and petroleum lecturers at TTC about the value of English for institutional as well as national 'competition' indicated a shared discourse that transcended disciplinary boundaries and suggested a strong institutional influence in this regard on TTC lecturers' ways of conceptualising their students' communication skills and resources.

Understanding and interpreting what lecturer-participants said to me about their students' communication skills and resources involved understanding and interpreting the many

heteroglossic voices with which my participants speak – the classed, gendered, generational, disciplinary, and academic voices (Bakhtin, 1981) - and being able to ‘read’ the histories behind these voices. Such an approach is in line with what Martin-Jones (2007) has called a ‘critical interpretive approach’ to the study of multilingualism in education. That is, an approach that seeks to:

link insights from the close study of the interactional and textual fine-grain of everyday life in educational settings with an account of specific institutional regimes, the wider political economy and the global processes of cultural transformation at work in contemporary society. (Martin-Jones, 2007, p. 163)

I understand lecturers’ individual accounts of their students’ communication skills both as reflective of the interactional construction of the institutional order, and as embedded in wider social and historical contexts. This means analysing lecturers’ statements with attention to their individual linguistic and educational biographies, and to the implications of the various ‘I-positions’ of the ‘multivoiced self’ (Aveling, Gillespie and Cornish, 2014).

Analysis of collected data for this research project thus involved close attention to both content and form in the utterances of individual lecturer-participants, as well as attentiveness to the wider disciplinary, institutional and socio-political discourses to which these utterances contributed. This approach was anchored in an understanding of lecturers’ performative roles in the planning of disciplinary communication and the construction of disciplinary knowledge, and a related recognition of the discursive power of their statements about language and communication in tertiary settings. As Blommaert and Jie have pointed out: ‘knowledge of language facts is processual and historical knowledge, lifting single instances of talk to a level of relevance far higher than just the event. They become indexical of patterns and developments of wider scope and significance, and these wider dimensions are part of ethnographic interpretation’ (2010, pp. 9-10).

3.5 Learning from methodological challenges: A summary of key lessons learned

While I encountered a wide range of methodological challenges in the process of conducting this research, in concluding this chapter I have chosen to focus here on three broad challenges that proved to be especially significant in advancing my thinking and research design. These are:

1. Working in and beyond multiple sites, and sites within sites

2. Communicating my research in and across languages and cultures
3. Managing awareness of researcher self-in-context

Working in and beyond multiple sites, and sites within sites

The 'multi-sitedness' of this ethnographic study extended well beyond the selection of the three higher education institutions to be case-studied. Indeed, the more that I explored the institutional worlds of TTC, NU and RCI, the warier I became of the illusion of fixedness and boundedness of the multiple 'sites' evoked in the naming of different institutions or even of different faculties. For example, the agriculture faculty and the community development studies department at NU are on different city campuses in Dili, with different proximity and access to libraries, language labs and computer rooms. Individual classrooms also constituted sites in themselves, with different material affordances for communication, such as the presence or absence (more often the latter) of working data projectors for the display of lecturers' PowerPoint presentations. Evidence of these material conditions were captured along with the 'linguistic landscape' in photos of institutional spaces such as shown earlier in *Figure 2*.

This approach to the 'multi-sitedness' of this research into multilingualism in higher education in Timor-Leste had important implications for my understanding of 'context' in my meetings with participants. Seeing individual faculties and departments as research sites, for instance, involved finding out about their differing histories, politics, and internal and external relationships, which in turn relate to differing prestige held by departments and faculties within an institution. The agriculture faculty at NU, for example, is older, bigger, more centrally located, and has more PhD holding lecturers than NU's rather small community development department. These factors significantly increase the status of the agriculture faculty and the lecturers within it, with the result that several NU agriculture lecturers have been promoted to leadership roles at NU.

I was also constantly aware of the influence of forces and entities external to the named institutional sites. As Dorothy Smith put it in her discussion of institutional relations as generalisers of actual local experience, 'there are social relations that are not encompassed by the setting ... but they nonetheless enter in and organise it' (1987, p.155). To understand and to trace Timorese lecturers' communication strategies for discipline-specific teaching and learning with their plurilingual students, I needed to understand the social relations that

continuously enter in and organise individual as well as institutional choices regarding language in Timorese higher education. In this way the very notion of where my research 'sites' began and ended was problematized for me. There were, for example, connections to be understood between different faculties at different institutions and the (mostly international) government-sponsored and private entities involved in the development of the industry sectors. Entities including:

- aid-funded development programs and agencies, such as the 'Seeds of Life' program funded by the Australian Government that has sponsored a number of lecturers in the NU agriculture faculty towards their PhDs at Australian universities;
- transnational companies, such as ConocoPhillips, which is the primary operator of the offshore Bayu-Undan field for Timor's petroleum industry, and which delivers occasional, ad-hoc training at TTC for petroleum studies staff and students;
- universities, such as Victoria University, which helped to establish the community development studies Program at NU, based on its own program in Australia;

This further widening of frame incorporated disciplinary- and industry-related communication skills in a way that I had not previously considered when focussed solely on the impacts of medium of instruction policies on students' academic literacies at TTC.

Working in and beyond multiple sites for the collection of data for this research entailed a constant awareness of 'context' as a dynamic and multifaceted variable. This awareness was especially needed in processes of relationship building with participants, as well as in the interpretation and analysis of my conversations with them.

Communicating my research in and across languages and cultures

Learning to think about my research in the languages and cultures (including institutional and disciplinary cultures) of my participants was perhaps the greatest and most educational methodological challenge that I encountered. The language in which research into multilingualism is conducted is of course pivotal for a wide range of reasons, not the least of which being whether a participant understands the research in which they are participating, as well as the questions being asked in interviews or focus groups. As Eva Codó (2008) has

observed, language also ‘sends messages about the interviewer’s ethnolinguistic affiliation and educational background, and the formality of the speech event’ and can ‘shape responses in multiple ways’ (p.166). Significantly more weight is added in a post-colonial political and cultural context, such as in Timor-Leste, where language choice is such a politically charged and historically conflicted issue (Fabian, 1986). The higher education focus of my research also meant that I was engaging with a particular class of Timorese people: educated intellectuals and academics, who enjoy significant social status and command considerable respect in Timorese culture.

In approaching this research I was aware, therefore, that my ‘choice of language’ would not only mean which particular language code (e.g., Tetun, Portuguese, English, Indonesian) that I decided to use to inform people about my research and to ask them questions, but also how I might mix and borrow from the colonial languages when communicating in Tetun and what this might signal about me. Tetun was used in the majority of communications with lecturers because it is the most widely used and understood, but it was a formal Tetun, in deference to lecturers’ social status, and I was careful to copy when possible any observed habitual mixing practices, such as the use of Indonesian or English for industry-specific terms. In communicating with institutional leaders as well as participants I needed to consider carefully my (and my interpreters’) choice of style and register, my decisions about how questions were to be phrased and organised, and my use of other communicative strategies like referring to texts or images. All these aspects of language use in communicating a research agenda and collecting data can serve to position the researcher in relationship with participants in different ways.

A crucial methodological lesson that emerged for me from this research was that these different ‘positionings’ of the researcher-participant relationship may significantly impact the kind of data collected as well as the interpretation of that data. This is especially the case when the focus of the research is on participants’ language itself, as it is in this project; namely their descriptions, narrative accounts, and opinions. As Blommaert and Jie (2010) have asserted so provocatively: ‘language *is* context, it is the architecture of social behaviour itself’ (p.7; italics mine). Ideally, then, in making language choices in my communications for this research, I would be aware of and attentive to those culturally determined and locally contextualised forms of information seeking with which each individual participant would be most familiar and comfortable (Codó, 2008, p.167). I would establish the conditions required

to enter into what Hymes (1980) called a 'democratic' researcher/participant relationship, 'a mutual relation of interaction and adaptation ... that will change both' (p.89).

It is for this reason that I detailed above the substantial assistance provided by language teachers, interpreters, and translators who were familiar with Timor-Leste, its languages, and its higher education sector. Working with these individuals helped me to develop a plurilingual, Timorese lens on my own research, to broker relationships with institutional leaders and participants, and to decode subtle distinctions in the language 'choices' of lecturer-participants. In this endeavour I had a range of successes and failures. One of the best experiences was my work with the Timorese Tetun teacher, with whom I now enjoy an ongoing close friendship. Her mentoring and instruction in the use of Tetun for formal and academic communication was of immense help in learning to think about my research in Tetun and to communicate it to participants. The process of drafting with this teacher formal letters of introduction to institutional leaders and consent forms and plain language statements for participants – all in Tetun – was an invaluable learning process in itself. We had lengthy discussions about, for example, the need to use different orthographies of Tetun in communications with different institutions, the implications of using the Portuguese loan *abilidade komunikasaun* when translating 'communication skills' into Tetun, and the untranslatability of 'academic literacies'.

As mentioned earlier, the use of final year English students from NU as interpreters in focus groups and interviews was a much less successful part of my relationship building and communication with participants. The students had little experience with methods of interpreting and lacked the confidence and assertiveness needed to stay abreast of dialogue and to keep me similarly across the communication, especially in focus group discussions with senior lecturers from their own institutions. Some of these senior lecturers, for their part, also appeared uncomfortable with a student brokering the communication between us, especially the more mature aged lecturers and especially at NU. Some of these lecturers would tell me that they could understand English and that an interpreter was not needed, only to demonstrate during discussion that they plainly did not understand what I was saying. Another issue, particularly early on in my data collection, was that both the participants and my interpreters would overestimate my ability to follow lecturers' spoken responses in Tetun, forcing me to interrupt the flow of conversation and ask for translation.

These issues were overcome (to some extent) with the student interpreter with whom I worked most often through our regular practice of debriefing and reflecting on the focus groups and interviews that we conducted together. In these debriefs, we discussed not only the content of the conversations with lecturers but also our impressions of communication dynamic, indications of how the interpreter and I were perceived, whose voices dominated, and who they directed their comments to. Both his confidence and mine grew with the experience of working together, as we learned one another's communication styles and cues, and as we both began to see patterns in the communication habits of lecturers across the research sites. As my Tetun improved, I became better able to follow discussions for myself, to articulate my questions in a mix of Tetun and English, and to recognise appropriate places to interrupt to confirm my understanding with my interpreter. As he became more familiar with the kinds of data that I was seeking to collect from lecturers, he also became better able to recognise when lecturers' responses were not addressing my questions and follow-up questions were needed. His confidence and assertiveness also improved dramatically when conducting focus groups and interviews away from his home institution, NU, at the other research sites where his position as interpreter was less likely to be undermined by his student identity.

A key lesson learned from my work with the Tetun teacher and with the interpreters is that communication in cross-cultural, multilingual research is always necessarily a brokered practice. This brings sharp focus onto the conduct of qualitative research as a social activity, where data collection mediated by multilingual communication involves the negotiation of multiple subjectivities simultaneously with the negotiation of meaning. Methodologically, this requires careful attention to processes of relationship building and identity construction in and through language.

Managing awareness of researcher self-in-context

Wendy Luttrell (2010) asserts that 'the preeminent skill for conducting qualitative research is reflexivity' (p. 3). Especially in educational research in multilingual contexts, the collection, selection, coding, and analysis of empirical data is 'not a neutral act', as Heller (2008, p. 250) puts it. My capacity as a researcher to make judgements about how to proceed as my data collection and analysis unfolded was always to be constrained by the many lenses and filters colouring and directing my gaze. I came to this research already with an interest in the role

of language in education in the democratic development of Timor-Leste. This was informed by a mixed professional background in peace education and community development, language teaching, intercultural communication, and academic literacies. My early project-based work at TTC, as narrated earlier, was connected to my work at the time in academic language and learning at Charles Darwin University; work that focussed my gaze on multilingualism in Timorese higher education specifically on what language was be used for in academic and disciplinary communication. A critical awareness of the impacts of wider historical and socio-cultural forces on micro-level language behaviours was heightened by earlier Masters research in social and cultural studies in education at UC Berkeley.

As Luttrell (2010) points out, researcher reflexivity is a process of self-awareness and scrutiny that is bi-directional; ‘it demands an “other” through which we develop a more self-conscious awareness’ (p. 14). The lecturers who participated in this study provided this ‘other’ through which I could develop this self-conscious awareness of my researcher self. I considered myself to be in dialogue with them in the *halao* (‘execution/conduct’) of this research. Engagement with lecturers’ recorded utterances was a continuous process, involving constant checking of my own assumptions about what was going on.

Becoming more sensitive to lecturers’ different ways of talking about multilingualism entailed more than the anthropological goal of ‘thick description’ of human behaviour embedded in multilayered context as elaborated by Geertz (1973), though I hope it is by now clear that that was certainly my intention in laying the foundations for this research. My goal was also theorising about the nature and complexities of the conditions in which Timorese university lecturers are making daily pedagogical and communicative movements. What this meant in practice was, for example, starting with an interest in how, pragmatically, lecturers translated technical or discipline-specific terms for/with students, using early examples provided in interviews (or even in unrecorded corridor conversations) to springboard discussion with other lecturers about similarities and differences in the ideas they had about the process, and in the methods that they used. These translation stories became one identifiable set of empirical data across sites and participants that I was able to code and analyse, though not without a critical element of reflexivity and significant alertness to the constraints and effects of language on the data collection process as well as my own interpretation of the data.

As my collection grew of translation stories from lecturers in different disciplines and from different institutions, I stayed attentive to the particularities of the approaches that lecturers took to the translation of key disciplinary terms, as well as to the assumptions that underpinned these choices. Assumptions about what an undergraduate degree in this or that field was *for* in contemporary Timorese society; assumptions about who students would be communicating with after graduation and about *that* target audience's communicative competencies; assumptions about the connectedness of particular languages to ideal pathways to national development and/or social change. These kinds of assumptions from lecturers were evident in the highly specific instantiations of their decisions about specific vocabulary terms as significant; teaching *this* translation not that one, or correcting a student's use of *this* loan word in *this* context when it belongs in another.

Talking with disciplinary lecturers about their communication practices was a complex metalinguistic task. Indeed, it was made even more complex for the considerable difficulties in establishing and maintaining a shared language of interaction given the variation in linguistic resources, communicative competencies, and educational backgrounds between me and the research participants, as well as among the participants themselves. Productive ways forward in these discussions were found by focussing on specific, practical examples of vocational communication provided by lecturers' themselves – in anecdotal accounts, in observed classroom interactions, and in corrections and feedback provided on samples of students' work. The inevitable miscommunications, misunderstandings and methodological missteps that I encountered were not avoided but incorporated into the process of conducting this research. I recognise them as an essential part of the sense-making that occurs in any qualitative research in multilingual settings that adopts a critical interpretive approach. I also see that they demand a foregrounding of researcher reflexivity in the presentation of research methods as has been the intention in this chapter.

Chapter summary

In this chapter I have provided an explanation and justification of my research design and an account of my enacted methodology. My discussion of my research design deliberately focussed on its evolution alongside of developing relationships with key individuals and institutions involved in this research. This was to highlight my approach to this research

project as a 'social approach'. Similarly, my discussion of the methods that I adopted for data collection and analysis included reflection on the affordances and constraints of these methods, as well as providing important details about how I went about this research. I concluded this chapter with a discussion of how I dealt with some of the main challenges that I faced during the course of conducting this study, re-emphasising the value of a reflexive researcher stance for interpretive, qualitative inquiry in such a deeply complex and multifaceted research setting.

I turn now to the presentation of my research findings, and to discussion of what I uncovered in pursuit of my main research questions.

Chapter 4:

‘Ami nia mehi’⁴¹

Visions of industry transformation & the planning of expert graduate voices

Chapter overview

In this chapter, I present and discuss research findings concerning the employment-focussed part of my first research question. That is, how lecturers in development-related fields conceptualise the disciplinary and vocational communication skills and resources needed for work in their respective fields. The reader will recall that with ‘development-related’ I refer specifically to four fields: the field of community development together with the three industries identified in the 2011-2030 National Strategic Development Plan developed by the Timorese government: agriculture, petroleum, and tourism/hospitality (RDTL, 2011, p. 10). I therefore divide this chapter into four sections, one for each of the fields/disciplines case studied.

In each section of this chapter, I provide an outline of lecturers’ ‘visions of industry’. These are narrated descriptions of current industry context, focussed especially on lecturers’ visions of ideal industry transformation in the context of national development and the roles that they would like to see their graduates play in affecting this transformation. Lecturers’ descriptions of industry context include what they see are the main challenges facing their industry, who they see are the main actors and interlocutors, how they wish to see their industry transformed in the context of national development, and the roles that they see their graduates playing in facing said challenges and/or affecting this transformation of industry.

Discussion of lecturers’ ‘visions of industry’ for each discipline is followed by sociolinguistic analysis of the various framings of language and communication that they either implicitly or explicitly identify as part of the work of their graduates in industry. I intentionally draw on

⁴¹ Tetun: ‘Our dream’. This is part of a direct quote from a NU agriculture lecturer (See NU-FG1, Appendix 3 (A3), A3.1.9, 01:08:20). The ‘our’ (*ami*) is an exclusive plural possessive pronoun, specifying that the dream belongs to lecturers in the field of agricultural science.

lecturers' own conceptualisations of industry language and the communicative 'frames' (Goffman, 1974; Gumperz, 1982) that their descriptions of industry context provide to structure my presentation and analysis of their perspectives of the communicative demands of industry facing graduates.

The first section focusses on the field of agriculture. I discuss the hopes of lecturers from the National University (NU) and the Rural Coffee Institute (RCI) that their graduates will 'apply' the agricultural science that they have learned, either by teaching rural farmers improved methods of production, or by setting up their own agribusiness enterprises. This discussion focusses especially on the identified task of 'communicating the science' to rural farmers – an important professional challenge for agricultural science graduates throughout the world. I note that different agriculture lecturers even within the same faculty at NU have different ideas about the nature of this task.

The second section turns to the discipline of petroleum studies taught at Timor Technical College (TTC). I discuss the discursive positioning by TTC petroleum lecturers of English as the key language resource in competition over jobs in the offshore oil and gas industry in Timor-Leste, currently controlled by foreign companies. I observe how this preoccupation with 'English as object' in national and global economies (Williams, 2010) appears to obscure recognition of the need for petroleum graduates to develop specific communicative skills in English as well as in Indonesian and Tetun.

In the third section I discuss the perspectives of lecturers in the tourism faculty at TTC. From responses among these lecturers I note a similar preoccupation with English for national and regional competition in the tourism and hospitality industry. I also note that, by some contrast with the perspectives of their petroleum colleagues at TTC, there is some quite nuanced appreciation of communication as central to work in the tourism industry, and specifically to the performance of 'service'. I highlight the tensions between the global and the local evident in discussions with TTC tourism lecturers about the future of community-based tourism in Timor-Leste. I argue that these tensions serve to significantly complicate the language learning objectives of university students in tourism degrees as framed by these lecturers.

Lastly, with regard to community development studies (CDS), I discuss different approaches to communicating with rural communities as articulated by different CDS lecturers at NU. I

point out that the different educational backgrounds and biographical trajectories of individual lecturers have been productive of different views of the communicative relationship between community development workers and communities. I observe that these different views correspond to different ideas about what it means to speak ‘the language of community’.

Across these distinct industry contexts, this chapter explores what lecturers believe their work as disciplinary and vocational educators is about by examining their comments about the communicative worlds that they are preparing their students to enter and to participate in. Data for this chapter is drawn from focus group discussions and interviews with lecturers from each of the four disciplines case studied, focussing on responses to questions and discussion prompts that related to graduate employment outcomes. Particularly fruitful were the focus group discussions among lecturers about the perceived attributes of those students who are seen to be successful in finding work after university, as these discussions often turned to collective analysis of current industry conditions. In analysing the different ways of talking about language and communication for the different industries, some comparisons are drawn among lecturers within the same field, as well as between the different fields, highlighting the significance of individual lecturers’ beliefs and values. Thus, a key feature of the data presented in this chapter is its diversity, not only among the different industries case studied but also within them.

4.1 Agriculture

The industry context of agriculture

*‘Small scale is not [...] our vision. I can make small scale: ten chickens.
It’s nothing. Ten pigs. It’s not industry.’*

- Prof. Z, NU agriculture faculty⁴²

As was noted in the introduction to this thesis, although the largest industry in Timor-Leste in terms of GNP is the petroleum industry, the largest industry in terms of the number of

⁴² For a longer, contextualised excerpt, see the appended excerpts from the first focus group conducted at NU with agriculture lecturers (NU-FG1): Appendix 3 (A3), A3.1.10, 01:11:00. Contextualised excerpts for all data cited in this thesis from focus groups and interviews with agriculture lecturers can be found in Appendix 3.

people engaged in work is agriculture. Nearly 25% of the Timorese population is engaged in subsistence agriculture, though this number is down substantially from 10 years ago, when it was over 50% (FAO, 2017). The faculty of agriculture at NU is also the largest and oldest faculty at the national university and in the country. Agricultural science in Timor-Leste has its origins in Indonesian times with the training of agricultural extension workers, a model itself inherited from land grant universities in the US and connected to an approach to rural development that positions farmers as learners and agricultural science graduates as teacher-experts. The teaching of agricultural extension at NU is a vivid example of how certain kinds of ideas ‘travel’ and are imported through colonialism (Said, 1983). I return later in my discussion to this role of agricultural extension workers, as it is characteristic of the kind of work that many NU agricultural lecturers envision their graduates doing.

Agriculture lecturers at both NU and RCI reported that a major problem characterising the agriculture industry in Timor-Leste is insufficient production, necessitating the importing of food to support the population. As one NU animal science lecturer put it, ‘we have no meat, no nothing; our farmers still subsisting’ (Prof. Z, NU-I4, A3.4.7, 01:49:55; original English). Since most NU agriculture lecturers were educated to master’s level or above in Indonesia or Australia, their vocational training will have been in places where the study of agricultural science reflects national industries already set up for mass production. Similarly, lecturers from the Rural Coffee Institute were educated either in Indonesia or at NU as students in the same NU agriculture faculty case studied for this project. Therefore, from many of these lecturers’ perspectives, small scale subsistence agriculture is ‘not industry’ (See: NU-FG1, Appendix 3 (A3), A3.1.10, 01:11:00). The goal of these lecturers is thus to teach their students to modernise and commercialise existing farming methods ‘in order to stop food coming from other lands’ (Prof. E, interview data, RCI-I8, A3.7.5, 00:57:45; translation from Tetun). ‘Our dream,’ said one NU lecturer, ‘is that our students will do it. We want them to change it.’ (Prof. Z, NU-FG1, A3.1.9, 01:09:26; original English).

‘Changing it’ means agriculture graduates either starting their own commercial agriculture enterprises or working in government-paid positions encouraging subsistence farmers in rural communities to change their current food production practices. Each of these kinds of work has certain implied communication tasks associated with it, however lecturers were often rather vague and/or inconsistent about what these communication tasks might be, suggesting an unclear vision of workplace communicative contexts. Moreover, although

agriculture lecturers at both institutions articulated the same vision of agriculture graduates transforming the industry from subsistence level to commercial food production, they differed in their perspectives of graduates' capacities to make this vision a reality. At RCI, a small, regionally located, and relatively new institution, there appeared to be a rather more hopeful view of their graduates being able to improve their industry, with one RCI lecturer saying 'we have the big hope that the things that we teach them, they can do something real, to truly apply in community and even to the level of the nation; [...apply] the science that we give them' (Prof. E, interview data, RCI-I8, A3.7.5, 00:57:45; translation from Tetun). From only a few small cohorts of students who had so far graduated from RCI⁴³, another lecturer there was able to provide an example of a graduate who has started their own NGO producing coffee in another district (see: RCI-FG1, A3.6.4, 00:30:15).

By contrast, at NU, where the agriculture faculty has been established since Indonesian times, the tone of related comments from lecturers is more despairing. There was clear frustration that their graduates have not yet managed to affect any changes to the scale of national food production:

Seidauk sai hanesan ami nia mehi. They haven't become what we dream. Why this faculty of agriculture exist in this country? Because we are concerned of the food. Agriculture production. We need food, we need to eat.

[...]But, in reality, we produce...uh...ami produs ema. [...M]atenek nain iha agrikultura, iha agro-pekuaria, maibee hakaan la too nafatin. [*...we produce people. [...S]killed people in Agriculture, in animal science, but there's still not enough food.*']

- Prof. Z, NU agriculture faculty;
(see: NU-FG1, A3.1.9, 01:09:10)

In this excerpt, Prof. Z appears to question whether tertiary degrees in agriculture are 'productive' for the Timorese agriculture industry, producing skilled agricultural scientists who do not in turn contribute to the production of food for the nation. Prof. Z's comment also implicitly identifies a crucial gap between graduates having the 'skills' in terms of disciplinary knowledge or *agro-pekuaria*, and their having either the skill or the inclination to start their own enterprises or to communicate their learned knowledge to rural farming communities in such a way as to transform subsistence agricultural practices.

⁴³ At the time that this data was collected in late 2015, a third cohort of students were due to graduate from RCI. RCI was founded in 2003 but took several years to develop degree programs accredited with ANAAA.

For the goal of graduates establishing their own commercial agriculture enterprises, lecturers identified the need for training in entrepreneurship, an individual character to be *ativu* (pro-active) and show initiative, and opportunities to put the agricultural science that they learn into practice.⁴⁴ However, agriculture lecturers at NU reported that many students would rather wait for jobs with the ministry of agriculture than to *hahuu buat ruma* ('start something'), which is a problem since such jobs are few and far between openings and 'not everyone can become an extension worker' (Prof. Br, NU-FG1, A3.1.8, 00:57:48). Part of this problem, at least at the more prestigious National University, is a negative attitude among graduates towards manual labour and a preference for office work over farm work, so that 'when they finish, they put "Ohh! We *sarjana* [*Ind.*=graduate]! Yes!" in the frame, then nothing.' (Prof. Z, NU-I4, A3.4.8, 01:58:20; original English + Indonesian). Hill (2017) has recently noted this kind of elitist attitude among graduates is a legacy of Indonesian colonial influence on the Timorese tertiary sector, arguing that 'the way the Indonesians created the higher education system in Timor-Leste [...] helped create an attitude where university graduates were made to feel they were an elite and need not concern themselves with development at the local level' (p. 17). As will be discussed in the next chapter, most of the agriculture lecturers at NU are products of the Indonesian tertiary system in the 1980s and 1990s.

This reported aversion to rural farm work among graduates may be inadvertently encouraged by lecturers in the way that they frame the other kind of work that they deem important for the agriculture industry: teaching farmers improved methods of food production. This frame identifies the rural farmer engaging in subsistence agriculture (in Tetun: *agrikultor*) as the primary interlocutor with whom tertiary educated agricultural scientists need to communicate in order to affect a transformation of industry. The graduated agricultural scientist is positioned as the knowledgeable expert, while rural farmers are positioned as having outdated ways of thinking (*mentalidade*), and being overly dependent on the government for support, with lecturers making comments like this one:

⁴⁴ This last factor may partly account for the differences between the two institutions of lecturers' views of graduate outcomes, since the Coffee Institute has ready access from its classrooms to farmlands on campus, whereas the NU agriculture faculty is located at its main city campus in Dili. As one NU animal science lecturer commented: 'I have a vision that students, when they finish, they have to be able to open a chicken farm. But, in the reality, they don't have chicken farm in this university. So how can they engage with this practically? So, [my] vision is really remaining a vision.' (Prof. Z, NU-I4, A3.4.7, 01:49:22).

Mentalidade povu nian. Povu agrikultor nebee maka, ho ninia mentalidade, nebee maka uza metodu tradisional. Ida nee maka oinsaa maka ami nia graduadus sira bele, iha sira nia leet, moris iha sira leet: muda mentalidade ida nee. Para hanoin, para oinsaa maka sira sistema nebee mak sira uza nee – sistema halai ba agrokomersiu. [...H]au senti ida nee importante tebes para oinsaa maka bele ajuda sira bele moris mesak.⁴⁵ La bele dependente ba governu; la bele dependente ba sai funsionariu publiku.

The rural people's thinking. Rural farmers, the ones that have the mentality of using traditional methods. It's this that our graduates can [do], being among them, living among the community: shift this mentality. To think about how the systems that they use – how these systems can be transformed into agribusiness. [...] I feel that this is very important in terms of how we can help them [graduates] to be able to live by their own means.⁴⁵ They can't be dependent on the government; they can't be dependent on becoming public servants.

- Prof. Br, NU agriculture faculty
(see: NU-FG1, A3.1.8, 00:58:52)

Here Prof. Br⁴⁶ is setting up a very particular frame for communication between educated agricultural scientists and the *povu agrikultor* ('rural farmers'); one in which there is already a significantly unequal footing (Goffman, 1981) between the interlocutors.

In the remainder of this section, I will examine how some agriculture lecturers further contribute to this framing by reifying scientific terminology over pragmatic communication in relation to how they conceptualise communication in their industry. Specifically, I identify and discuss two different and somewhat dichotomous framings of the communicative work involved in being able to 'shift the mentality' of rural farmers, as conceptualised by agriculture lecturers at NU:

- i) Conceptualising agricultural science as language
- ii) Conceptualising 'farmer speak' as language

⁴⁵ Though I have translated here *moris mesak* to mean 'live by their own means', a more literal translation would be to 'live alone'.

⁴⁶ It is important to point out here that in addition to her role as a lecturer in animal science at NU, Prof. Br was also a member of parliament at the time she made this statement; a role that would surely influence her consideration of a 'dependence' among agriculture graduates on government employment. Her privileged position in the Timorese government potentially also adds another layer of differentiation and distancing from the *povu agrikultor* (rural farmers).

The agriculture faculty at NU offers just one subject on how to communicate agricultural science to rural communities, listed in the timetable as *Extensão Agrícola* ('Agricultural Extension' [Port.]). Although this activity is now named in Portuguese (at least in NU timetables), the role was established in Timor-Leste during Indonesian times, with the appointment of *pekerja penyuluhan pertanian* (agricultural extension workers)⁴⁷. As one NU agronomy lecturer put it, 'their job is to introduce whatever new farming system or information to the local people, to the farmers, and then whatever problems or information from farmers back to the government' (Prof. M, NU-I5, A3.5.4, 01:50:35; original English). This lecturer, Prof. M, went on to tell me that people in these roles

are expected to have good communication skill[s], with scientific terms as well as [to] transfer those terms into the local ... terms so they're easily understand[able] by local people.

(NU-I5, A3.5.4, 01:51:12; original English)

What Prof. M is describing is essentially a specialist interpreter role, one that requires content knowledge in combination with the communication skills to bridge three quite distinct and separate social worlds, each with their own registers of language and cultures of communication: academia, the rural community, and government. Graduates in such a role may need to translate (or 'transfer', as Prof. M put it) into rural dialects and registers of Tetun scientific terms and concepts that they may have learned themselves in Indonesian, Portuguese or English, perhaps with some explanation in a high, academic register of Tetun, depending on the background of their lecturers.⁴⁸ This assumes, of course, that the 'local people' with whom they are communicating understand even a rural register of Tetun, which may not be the case. If not, then the interpreter role of the extension worker becomes an even greater challenge, requiring knowledge of the target community language and/or the ability to recruit and work with a professional interpreter fluent in the local language. As Prof. M said, the extension worker also needs to communicate 'problems and information from

⁴⁷ As an etymological aside, while the Indonesian word *pertanian* by itself does mean 'agriculture', *penyuluhan* by itself can mean either 'counselling' or 'espionage'. Questions arise about what this etymology may indicate about an Indonesian cultural approach to communication with farmers about agricultural methods.

⁴⁸ I will return to this point about the significance of the linguistic and educational backgrounds of lecturers in the next chapter.

farmers back to the government’, demanding still further translation work across social boundaries and cultures of communication.

The potentially immense difficulty of such multidirectional, transcultural interpretive communication work appeared to be lost on many agricultural lecturers whom I interviewed, at least at NU. For many of them, learning the language of science itself – that is, scientific terminology – was the more significant challenge. For example, Prof. Y, an animal science lecturer at NU who teaches mainly biochemistry and animal nutrition subjects, made it clear that she thought it was much easier to ‘shift the thinking’ of farming people in rural communities than to teach and learn about metabolism. She told me: ‘if you want to teach them how to change their attitude, then you just ... talk about how to change from ... bad to good, without, you know, any pure science ... terminology’ (NU-I3, A3.3.2, 00:10:25; original English). Prof. Y appears to view the learning of ‘science terminology’ as more central to the work of agricultural scientists than being able to communicate to farmers the implications of that terminology for their food production methods. It positions language as disciplinary lexicon in unequal opposition to language as pragmatic communicative capability.

This comment from Prof. Y references Barton and Hamilton’s (1998) distinction between ‘dominant’ and ‘vernacular’ literacies. According to Barton and Hamilton, vernacular literacies are developed locally, to meet local needs, and are learned informally. Dominant literacies, by contrast, serve the needs of institutions and need to be taught formally. In preferencing one set of literacies over another in the disciplinary discourse socialisation of her students, Prof. Y’s comment brings a value-laden perspective to the distinction, devaluing vernacular literacies in the communicative repertoire of the agricultural scientist.

The framing of the learning of scientific language as the acquisition of ‘terminology’ or vocabulary also overlooks the discursive power of ‘grammatical metaphor’, as in Halliday’s (2004) conceptualisation of the language of science for the construction of abstract, theoretical worlds. As Jay Lemke (1990) famously put it, to learn science is to learn to ‘talk science’, which means ‘a specialised way of talking about the world’ (p.150). For both Halliday and Lemke, the language of science necessarily involves a shift in communicative frame to a more abstracted, meta level of commentary and analysis of how and why things happen in the world in particular ways. ‘Communicating the science’ to non-scientists, therefore, requires ‘the interplay between language as social action and language as thematic resource, between using language to build relationships among people and using it to create

relationships among ideas’ (Lemke, 1990, p. ix). This means that communicating scientific concepts to Timorese farmers in relation to agricultural production cannot happen successfully without embedding it within communication about the significance and relevance of these concepts to the target audience. ‘When we talk science,’ argues Lemke, ‘we are helping to create, or re-create, a community of people who share certain beliefs and values’ (1990, p. x).

Yet this understanding of teaching science as teaching a form of communication was not evident among many agriculture lecturers at NU or RCI. Indeed, even the NU lecturer who teaches the agricultural extension subject at NU, Prof. K, placed greater emphasis on ‘teaching the science’ than on teaching language and communication skills. Prof. K told me more than once⁴⁹ that his ‘objective’ is ‘not to transfer language, but to transfer that [knowledge] that I have, [...] the science that I have’ (NUFG1, A3.1.3, 00:27:55; translation from Tetun). Students’ language can be *sabraut* (‘messy’), Prof. K told me, provided that they understand and *akompanha* (‘accompany’) his teaching of scientific concepts (NUFG1, A3.1.5, 00:31:32).

These kinds of comments from agriculture lecturers have important implications for their approaches to disciplinary discourse socialisation. At best, they may underestimate the need to explicitly teach different strategies for communicating scientific knowledge to different audiences. At worst, they may assume that ‘knowing the science’ will somehow automatically enable graduates to communicate it to whoever they may engage with – a particular concern with regard to Prof. K in his role as agricultural extension lecturer. Lecturers are also working within an educational culture and a curriculum structure that appear to heavily preference the teaching of scientific knowledge over the teaching of strategies for communicating that knowledge to different audiences. That there is only one subject offered in an entire four-year undergraduate agriculture degree that explicitly addresses communication of agricultural science to farmers is an all too clear indication of this.⁵⁰

⁴⁹ See full excerpt: NUGF1, A3.1.5, 00:31:32; also: NUI2, A3.2.1, 00:31:30.

⁵⁰ Students at NU are required to take two semesters of Tetun in their first year, however these subjects focus on teaching the correct (official) orthography and grammar, rather than on any kind of ‘Tetun for Specific Purposes’ related to workplace communication. See Chapter 6 for further discussion of these institutional arrangements for language learning.

Furthermore, the current, Indonesian model of ‘agricultural extension’ taught in Timorese tertiary institutions inevitably creates unequal footing between graduates and rural farmers, positioning the agricultural scientist in a hierarchical position of authority and expertise in contradistinction to the Timorese *agrikultor*. As Prof. K put it: ‘extension workers are teachers to farmers’ (NU-I2, A3.2.1, 00:38:22). The ‘community’ being created through the practice of scientific discourse at NU, as per Halliday’s and Lemke’s aforementioned conceptualisations, is one of elite, university-trained agricultural scientists, distinguished from (rather than positioned in solidarity with) farmers. Indeed, as Freire (1973) has pointed out, the notions of ‘extension’ and ‘participation’ are arguably mutually contradictory.

Conceptualising ‘farmer speak’ as language

At least one agriculture lecturer at NU, however, did see it as important that graduates should understand the change of register and frame involved in communicating with rural farmers. Prof. M, the same agronomy lecturer who described to me his understanding of the extension worker’s role quoted above, gave me an illustrative example of his teaching the lexicon of rural Timorese farmers to his students as part of teaching about the growth and development of food crops.

Prof. M told me that he learned to talk about plant development as *pertumbuhan* (the Indonesian word for ‘growth’), signalling his *pemuda* generational identity and a dominance of Indonesian in his disciplinary repertoire. In Tetun, a common translation for ‘growth’ is *kresimentu*, from the Portuguese *crescimento*. However, Prof. M told me that he teaches his students to use the Tetun word *moris*, meaning ‘life’, as a more appropriate translation for ‘growth’ in the context of the study of plant science in Timor-Leste. Prof. M explained to me his choice of *moris* over *kresimentu* like this:

Moris [Tet.=life], it is like, you know, ‘changing over’ ...-/ I think the word *kresimentu* [Port-Tet.=growth], I think it [is] mostly applied in economic terms. [...] I feel quite strange when [laughs] I see like this economical term into the agriculture.

(NU-I5, A3.5.2, 00:53:50; original English)

Prof. M’s preference that students should learn to use *moris* is based on substantial justifications that correspond to two different kinds of metalinguistic analysis that he is doing. The first is a distinction of disciplinary lexicon evident in the above quote: Prof. M is observing that the loan word *kresimentu* is semantically more connected to economic growth

and therefore has the wrong kinds of connotations when describing and analysing plant or crop growth in agronomy. In relation to agribusiness, for example, it may be necessary to distinguish between discussion about growth in profits and related discussion about crop growth and subsequent harvest yield; distinguishing *moris* from *kresimentu* may facilitate this.

Secondly, and perhaps most significant to agricultural extension work, Prof. M recognises the need for a shift in register when communicating agricultural science to rural farmers who, Prof. M believes, would not speak about plant growth as *kresimentu*:

[I]f you come to, like, the people in the village, they can only tell you: “Oh, this is good growth.” “*E moris diak*.” [“It’s good life/growth”] They only refer to “*moris diak*”. They don’t know what is *kresimentu*. [...] If you talk to them, they say: “*Oh, ida nee moris diak. Ida nee moris laduun diak. Laduun furak*.” [“Oh, this one has good life/growth. This one’s growth is not so good. Not so tasty.”]

(NU-15, A3.5.3, 01:16:45 - 01:17:30; original English)

This second justification by Prof. M reveals an intentionality in his use of *moris* in Tetun that can be seen as a strategic example of translanguaging within a context of transglossia. ‘Transglossia’, as García (2013) argues, ‘releases ways of speaking of [and with] subaltern groups that had been previously fixed within static language identities and constrained by the modern/colonial world system’ (p. 161). Unlike some of his colleagues, Prof. M clearly demonstrates that he is concerned with how people in the village speak ‘if you talk to them’. He is asserting that good agronomists learn the lexicon of farmers with the goal of communicating with them in their own ‘language’ (as lexicon) and culture of communication. In this way, Prof. M is also more broadly challenging (albeit perhaps unconsciously) dominant perceptions among the NU faculty of expertise as being located with the educated intellectual and the transfer of knowledge as one-way from agricultural science graduates to farmers. In doing so, he is claiming a space for the register and style of Tetun used by farmers as an ‘other tongue’ by which ‘other thinking’ can occur to ‘question and transgress the colonality of power and knowledge’ (García citing Mignolo, 2013, p. 161).

By contrast, other lecturers in the same agriculture faculty as Prof. M at NU were not at all forthcoming with ideas about how rural farmers may talk. Instead, they tended to focus, as Prof. Y did, on the limitations of Tetun to carry translations of their own repertoires of scientific terminology, acquired in Indonesian, English, and Portuguese – a preoccupation to be discussed in more detail in the next chapter. When Prof. M’s example of ‘growth’ as *moris*

was presented to them, some NU agriculture lecturers directly disagreed with the idea that *moris* can be used in this way. Prof. Z, for instance, stated that ‘you cannot use *moris* for ‘growth’ (NU-I4, A3.4.3, 00:51:00). Perhaps most notably, Prof. K, the agricultural extension lecturer, emphasised to me that *kresimentu* is ‘a proper Tetun term’ so, if farmers do not understand it, then ‘they do not understand Tetun’ (NU-I12, A3.8.1, 00:07:08).

Although Prof. M would perhaps not identify his role as a teacher of communication (students should learn this, he told me, in the agricultural extension subject taught by his colleague, Prof. K – see: A3.5.4, 01:51:20), Prof. M’s story nonetheless reveals his keen sensitivity to the need for graduates to build communicative relationships with farmers. Viewed in contrast to the beliefs and attitudes of his colleagues in the agriculture faculty at NU (and specifically Prof. K), Prof. M’s relatively unique conceptualisation of the relevance of learning ‘farmer speak’ as part of the learning of agricultural science also highlights the dominance in the faculty of a more elitist paradigm.

Section summary

Agriculture lecturers at NU and at RCI articulated visions of the transformation of the Timorese agriculture industry occurring via the teaching or modelling to rural farmers of improved, science-based methods of food production. Such a vision frames language and communication in terms of register and lexicon. Except for one, stand-out example, most lecturers seemed to overlook or ignore the need for explicit teaching about how to translate scientific concepts, learned mostly with Indonesian loan words, for direct communication with a largely illiterate rural farming population. With strong connections to the Indonesian era model of agricultural extension, agriculture lecturers at NU were especially vocal about why graduates are failing to realise this vision, with comments about their lack of ‘scientific Indonesian’ and a lack of initiative. These conceptualisations of students’ deficient communication resources are to be discussed further in the next chapter.

4.2 Petroleum

The industry context of petroleum

‘Should our human resources not be well prepared, everyone will come here [and] we will become spectators. We will become spectators in our own land.’

- Prof. S, TTC petroleum studies faculty⁵¹
(translation from original Tetun)

Jobs for Timorese petroleum graduates in the national petroleum industry are currently extremely competitive. This is chiefly because it is not really a ‘national’ petroleum industry at all. All current oil and gas operations in Timor-Leste exist offshore in the ‘Joint Petroleum Development Area’ (JPDA), located between Timor-Leste and Australia, and are managed by the Australian branch of the multinational corporation ConocoPhillips (ConocoPhillips Australia, 2018). Although ConocoPhillips have a program of proactive recruitment and vocational training of Timorese nationals, only 325 Timorese are currently involved in training and employment programs with the company, and as few as five of these are graduates from Timorese universities.⁵²

Lecturers in the petroleum faculty at Timor Technical College (TTC) describe this situation as one in which there is ‘no access’ for Timorese petroleum graduates to these offshore petroleum operations. In many of these comments, the skills and resources (linguistic as well as financial/material) of both the individual petroleum graduate, and Timor-Leste as a young, developing nation are pitted against those of ‘megacompanies’ (TTC-FG1, A4.1.6, 01:26:20). One head of department told me, in response to my question about where TTC petroleum graduates are finding employment:

[...]da nee mak sai obstakulo mai hau. I, hanesan agrikultor bele, tanba ita iha lapangan, ita iha natar, ita iha toos [...]. Mais, iha petroleum, hanesan hau foo

⁵¹ For a longer, contextualised excerpt, see the appended excerpts from the first focus group at TTC, conducted with petroleum lecturers (TTC-FG1): Appendix 4 (A4), A4.2.3, 01:09:45. Contextualised excerpts for all data cited in this thesis from focus groups and interviews with petroleum lecturers can be found in Appendix 4.

⁵² Figures as at 31st December 2016. ConocoPhillips reports establishing a ‘Graduate Internship Program for Timorese nationals’ in 2014, ‘aimed at developing the skills of recent Timor-Leste university graduates to enhance their competitiveness for future employment’. The program is reported to have recruited 12 Timorese graduates to attend a six month ‘Foundational Skills’ course customised by ConocoPhillips and delivered through Charles Darwin University. Five of the twelve participants were then chosen to undertake a 12-month placement within ConocoPhillips operations and, at the conclusion of the program in mid-2016, ConocoPhillips reports that ‘a number of the interns were offered roles in Dili and in Perth’. (Source: ConocoPhillips, 2016.)

ezemplu iha offshore - offshore, tuir loos, Australia ho Timor nian, mais ami la iha akses ba iha nebaa. Kali⁵³ Australia bele akses mai ba, mais Timor la iha akses. Entaun, tenki ba iha saida mak iha Indonesia.

For me, this is what the obstacle is: a farmer can [make their own employment], because we have land, we have fields, we have rice paddies [...]. But, in petroleum ... I'll give the example about it being offshore: it should be that the offshore area is shared by Australia and Timor, but we don't have access to it. Maybe⁵³ Australia can access it, but Timor doesn't have access. So, we have to go to that [industry] that's in Indonesia.

- Prof. S, TTC petroleum faculty
(See: TTC-FG1, A4.1.6, 01:26:27)

There are several significant characteristics of the current situation with the Timorese oil and gas industry that are being referenced in this statement. Firstly, note how Prof. S contrasts the perceived individual autonomy of the agricultural worker afforded by Timor's land resources ('we have land, we have fields') with the constrained capacity of the worker in the petroleum industry to access work opportunities offshore. There is a quite clear sense of injustice at play, specifically labelled so in Prof. S' statement that the offshore area 'should correctly be shared', referencing the long, ongoing international legal dispute between Timor-Leste and Australia over maritime boundaries. Prof. S is also making a claim about Timor's development status with his claim that they are reliant on Indonesia for on-the-job training opportunities with its existing *onshore* oil and gas infrastructure. Thus, Prof. S' framing of the industry context into which TTC petroleum graduates are entering entangles their potential participation in industry within processes of international political economy, including relative development/industrialisation, boundary negotiation, and transnational workforce mobility; processes that characterise the petroleum industry on regional and global scales.

This entanglement carries over into the conceptualisation of the graduate employability skills and particularly the language and communication skills and resources needed by petroleum graduates for work in their industry. The pragmatic need to gain practical, industry experience in Indonesia exists in tension with the need to apply for work in an Australian-dominated, English-speaking petroleum industry located offshore. Lecturers in the TTC petroleum faculty thus see two, somewhat conflicting pathways to employment for their graduates, given the inaccessibility of Timor's oil and gas industry:

⁵³ *kali* = 'maybe' [uncommon Indonesian loan]

1. attaining competency in English, and
2. learning ‘mud’ science, or geological knowledge related to *onshore* oil and gas prospecting.

English is identified as providing (even being constitutive of) a competitive edge for Timor-Leste as a developing nation, for higher education providers like TTC, and for the individual graduate, indexing multiple levels (Blommaert’s ‘sociolinguistic scales’) of activity at which English presents its dominance. However, the petroleum lecturers’ visions of industry transformation complicate this dominance, as the pragmatics of learning ‘mud science’ at TTC call for the use of Indonesian and Tetun alongside of English.

Figure 3: A TTC petroleum lecturer unlocks the door to the ‘Mud Lab’



Although the study of petroleum geology at TTC focuses on onshore production processes in Indonesia, English dominates the linguistic landscape on campus. In addition to the sign over the door to the ‘Mud Lab’, all of the equipment and mineral samples inside are labelled in English.

In addition to using an on-campus ‘Mud Lab’ (shown above in *Figure 3*), TTC petroleum students learn ‘mud science’ via study tours ‘to the industry that’s in Indonesia’, as Prof. S put it in the excerpt above. This is so that students can ‘learn about geology [... and] about industry equipment’ and so they can ‘see for real’ the onshore drilling operations there (Prof. H, TTC-FG1, A4.1.5, 01:04:00). This focus on onshore oil and gas prospecting is part of a vision of future industry shift, in which lecturers foresee significantly more ‘access’ for their graduates to participate in an expanded Timorese oil and gas industry focussed on ‘land oil’⁵⁴:

Agora industria ba oin nee-nee, ba futuru, Timor iha rekursus naturais nee-nee,
halai liu mak, fokus liu ba mina rai. Ya. Mina rai ida nee-nee, ita tenke iha ona
hanesan ema geologi tenke iha, ema petroleum rasik iha, ema management

⁵⁴ In Tetun *mina* (oil) + *rai* (soil/land) may refer generally to petroleum, or sometimes more specifically to kerosene. Here I have translated it directly as ‘land oil’, since the noun phrase is being used in the context of the speaker making a distinction between offshore and onshore petroleum production and thus it is likely that the lexical item in Tetun here is specifically signifying petroleum sourced onshore, hence ‘land oil’.

mos iha. Jurusan⁵⁵ hotu-hotu iha. [...] Kuandu sira nee-nee akumulá iha fatin ida mak ita bele foin halo servisu boot iha industria. Tanba agora kan, hanesan ita nia rekursu, rekursu umanu sei limitadu.

Now the industry, going forward, Timor has natural resources, and there will be a bigger focus especially on land oil. For this land oil, we're going to need to have people who are geologists; we have [already] petroleum specialists, we also have people in management. We have all of the majors/departments⁵⁵. [...] When we have these people in one place, only then will we be able to do substantial work in industry. Because, after all, at the moment our human resources are still limited.

- Prof. L, TTC petroleum faculty
(See: TTC-13, A4.4.1, 00:10:25)

Note the contrast between Prof. L's hopeful vision of a near future onshore petroleum industry for Timor-Leste for which diverse Timorese human resources will be needed, and the preceding rather dire perceptions of Prof. S that lecturers and their students are currently shut out from an offshore industry inaccessible to them.

More than merely a sense of hope for better opportunities to come, Prof. L's comment expresses an expectation that there *will* be demand for Timorese petroleum graduates in a range of fields related to onshore oil and gas production. There is a near simultaneous referencing of both the national and the institutional subject positions⁵⁶, framed in readiness for the transformation of the petroleum industry 'going forward': the natural resources ready for extraction from the Timorese land juxtaposed with TTC's institutional arrangements for producing 'human resources' in the form of industry-ready graduates. Significantly, the other 'majors' or 'departments' that Prof. L referred to, 'civil engineers and IT specialists', correspond to the other departments at TTC that are also in the process of transitioning to English as main medium of instruction.⁵⁷

In the next section, I examine lecturers' justifications for the prestige that they attribute to English for the petroleum industry, noting as I do so that the focus of these petroleum lecturers is on 'language as an object rather than on how the subject uses language'

⁵⁵ *jurusan* [Indonesian loan] can be used to mean both disciplinary 'major' or 'field', and institutional 'department'. From Prof. L's use of the institutional 'we' in this excerpt it would appear that he intends *jurusan* here to mean 'department'. However, as he has also been speaking at the national 'we' level with regard to Timor's natural resources, the word *jurusan* may also be enabling a straddling of both national and institutional subject positions here. At very least it provides a neat discursive transition between the two levels indexed in Prof. L's talk.

⁵⁶ See previous footnote.

⁵⁷ For further discussion of the transition to English at TTC, see Chapter 1 and also Chapter 6, section 6.5.

(Williams, 2010, p.22). I then briefly discuss the impact of this conceptualisation of a singular, instrumental English as the language of the Timorese petroleum industry on TTC petroleum lecturers' conceptualisations of other languages for Petroleum-related work, specifically Indonesian.

Conceptualising the English(es) of the Timorese petroleum industry

Seeking to uncover what the TTC petroleum lecturers believe are the characteristics that distinguish the few successful graduates that do get jobs in industry, I asked the lecturers in a focus group discussion what it is that companies like ConocoPhillips are looking for. I was told, first and foremost, that graduates must have an industry 'standard' in English:

Sira tenki iha standard. Standard nee, nia tenki hatene Ingles. Ida ne'e ma ConocoPhillip nia standard: Ingles diak. Depois, nia bee area especialista ninia area saida? Foo ezemplu, nia iha nebaa kona ba oil and drilling.

They must have the standard. The standard is that they must know English. This is ConocoPhillip's standard: good English. After that, what is their area of specialisation? For example, those in oil and drilling.

- Prof. L, TTC petroleum faculty
(See: TTC-FG1, A4.1.2, 00:37:50)

Observe here how specialist technical knowledge – 'their area of specialisation' – is deprioritised in favour of 'good English', discursively positioning knowledge of a foreign language very clearly ahead of specialist knowledge. From the outset, then, English is given primacy as the key attribute that grants access to work in the petroleum industry. It is this 'preoccupation with English' that Williams (2010) says derives from 'a belief that social mobility within the economy will involve an essential knowledge of that language' (p.22). This is a sign, certainly, of this lecturer's recognition of the power and prestige of English in the global economy, but it is also a sign of his attentiveness to the language-in-education policy making power of industry, with 'industry' in this case read as the Australian-based multinational corporation that manages the JPDA. This is clearly evident in the discursive force with which ConocoPhillips is identified by Prof. L in the excerpt above as the one who decides – indeed, *owns*⁵⁸ – 'the standard' of English, instead of some ESL or ESP⁵⁹ experts at TTC or elsewhere.

⁵⁸ Note the use of the strong possessive marker *nia*, as in '*ConocoPhillip nia standard*' in the original Tetun.

⁵⁹ English as a Second Language; English for Specific Purposes

This 'language as object' (Williams, 2010) notion of English as something needed but external to the petroleum worker who uses it – a fixed attribute to possess, an item for the CV – this conceptualisation was also expressed by several other lecturers from the TTC petroleum faculty in focus group discussions and in one-on-one interviews. One lecturer, for example, expressed it to me most strongly in interview, saying 'there is no way when you don't know English' (*la iha dalan kuandu ita la hatene Ingles*; Prof. S, TTC-I1, A4.2.3, 01:09:10). The belief that English will provide mobility within the global economy is thus reinforced by a corresponding fear of being left stuck, without movement or progress for the individual as well as for the nation that does not 'know English'. This sentiment is also evident in the quote at the beginning of this section, in which Prof. S expressed a fear of becoming 'spectators in our own land' without adequately 'developed' (read as English literate) human resources (Prof. S, TTC-I1, A4.2.3, 01:09:45).

This framing of English as the key attribute for graduates seeking work in the petroleum industry has important implications for how TTC petroleum lecturers conceptualise the nature of their work as tertiary educators. Since 'good English' is understood as something identified and even *owned* by industry, it is therefore located externally both to the job applicant, the speaking subject who uses language, and also to the lecturers and the educational institution normally tasked with preparing the student for work in industry. This has real world consequences for TTC graduates seeking work in the petroleum industry. Prof. L told me that 'of ten students we produce, only one or two will enter ConocoPhillips' (translation from original Tetun; see: TTC-FG1, A4.1.2, 00:38:45).

What a good petroleum degree program must provide students, then, is this 'ConocoPhillips' standard' of English, which immediately places TTC and its lecturers and students at a disadvantage, which Prof. L went on to explain:

Maibee kompetisaun iha ne'e agora ne'e-ne'e kan, ita haree ema balun mai husi Australia, foti petroleum iha Australia, mai iha ne'e. Depois, balun mos Amerika, Filipina, nebee mai hotu iha ne'e. Nebee seleksaun atu tama iha bee ConocoPhillips ne'e-ne'e makaas.

But, of course, there is competition here; we see some people coming from Australia, majoring in petroleum in Australia and coming here. Then some also from America, the Philippines, they're all also coming here. That's why the selection to get into ConocoPhillips is so tough.

- Prof. L, TTC petroleum faculty
(See: TTC-FG1, A4.1.2, 00:38:18)

There are at least two layers of ‘competition’ that Prof. L is referring to here that warrant identifying to help to distinguish some of the centripetal forces at work on this lecturer’s vision of the English that his petroleum graduates will need for work in industry. Prof. L tells me that TTC petroleum graduates will be competing with others who are ‘coming from’ overseas for employment with ConocoPhillips. These others⁶⁰ could refer to foreigners who already work for the company, signalling the transnational nature of the workforce in the petroleum industry and the inequitable struggle for Timorese forced to compete against native speakers of English. But the ‘others’ perhaps more likely refers to other Timorese nationals, the elite few who get the opportunity to study petroleum abroad⁶¹ and then return to seek work on the offshore rigs. The implication is that a petroleum graduate from TTC, one of Prof. L’s students, will not only need ‘ConocoPhillips’ standard’ English to compete for jobs in the Timorese oil and gas industry, s/he will also need English that is equal to or better than those who have studied petroleum in immersion contexts at English medium universities in countries where English is a dominant language.

There is a vision here of the petroleum industry in Timor-Leste characterised by competition over jobs played out in and through relative competency in English. This vision was further reinforced by some lecturers in the TTC petroleum faculty who also suggested that the English classes provided to petroleum students there were not adequate to enable graduates to win jobs in the offshore oil industry. For example, one lecturer, Prof. H, told me that the successful students sought additional language learning opportunities outside of university. He cited two of his graduating classmates as examples of individuals who were successful in finding work with ConocoPhillips, even though they applied alongside of Timorese who had studied in Australia, the US, and Indonesia. As if to make clear that the English component of the TTC petroleum degree is not yet adequate, Prof. H attributed the success of these students to their looking for extra opportunities to learn English outside of TTC:

[...S]ira nia kapasidade iha lian English ne'e diak. Maibee [...s]ira nia English diak laos tanba hetan materi English iha universidade. Maibee sira buka tempu iha liur atu tuir kursu Ingles. Tanba sira haree area petroliferu English mak importante.

⁶⁰ *ema balun* in the original Tetun. Lit: ‘some people’

⁶¹ Scholarships are offered, for example, as a product of partnerships between ConocoPhillips and Australian HEIs, such as CDU (ConocoPhillips, 2016). If Australia is not an option, others seek scholarships to study in the US or, if there is no scholarship, some choose the Philippines as a cheaper option for an EMol degree.

[T]heir capacity in English language is good. But [...]their English isn't good because they get English subjects/material at university. Rather, they find time outside [of university] to take English courses. Because they see that, in the area of petroleum, English is what is important.

- Prof. H, TTC petroleum faculty
(See: TTC-FG1, A4.1.3, 00:48:15)

Some evidence towards Prof. H's claim can be seen by walking around the Timorese capital, Dili, where, in recent years, there has been a proliferation of private English language schools. These English schools have moved in to fill this demand for an English-speaking workforce for petroleum as well as for other industries.

There is an important point to be made here about 'Englishes'. Since Kachru's (1992) initial coining of the term 'world Englishes' in recognition of the multiple dialects and varieties of English in use around the world, understanding and insight have evolved considerably regarding the hegemonic power of English as a global language (cf. Seidlhofer, 2001; Guo and Beckett, 2007), and the spread and use of diverse, localised forms of English in connection with processes of globalisation (Pennycook, 2007). 'ConocoPhillips standard' of English, in addition to its industry-specific lexical characteristics, is likely to be a derivative of Australian English, given that it is *ConocoPhillips Australia* which manages the Bayu-Undan/Timor Gap petroleum operations (ConocoPhillips, 2018). There is also a significant amount of jargonistic naming of the parts and operations of an offshore oil rig (Mor, 2016)⁶², which is likely to be influenced by Australian vernacular slang. For instance, some examples of vocabulary provided to petroleum students at TTC in their 'English for Petroleum' class include: 'possum belly', 'doghouse' and 'knowledge box'.⁶³

The 'competition' that Prof. L identifies in the excerpt cited earlier, 'majoring in petroleum [...] and coming here', further complicate the picture of the 'Englishes' of the Timorese petroleum industry, adding American English and Filipino English into the mix. It is also possible that Filipino English may enter into the teaching of petroleum students at TTC, since an increasing number of lecturers there are being sent to the Philippines to study for their master's and doctoral degrees, the Philippines being a cheaper option than Australia for

⁶² Mor (2016) observes that oilfield jargon is highly standardised and much more commonly known than the alternative technical terminology.

⁶³ See: Appendix 7, A7.1.1, for a sample PowerPoint slide from an observed English for Petroleum class that illustrates this point. The TTC English department acquired these vocabulary lists from 'English for Petroleum' textbooks published in Australia.

English-medium post-graduate education. Given the increasing use of English in Timor-Leste, and more and more of the intellectual class obtaining higher research degrees in different English-speaking countries, there may even be a 'Timorese English' that emerges as a recognisable variety in the coming years.

TTC petroleum lecturers appeared unaware of these diverse 'Englishes' that their referral to 'ConocoPhillips' English' indirectly hailed. For them, it is a singular, monolithic 'English' that, once acquired, affords invaluable access to job markets. Indeed, while the TTC petroleum lecturers were certainly ready to emphasise (and re-emphasise) the importance of a broadly stated 'capacity' in English, there appeared a reluctance even to comment on communication skills in terms of what exactly English would be used *for* in industry.⁶⁴

One answer from Prof. L was that graduates would need to be able to answer questions about equipment and mining processes in the context of a job interview:

Hau hanoin basic ba Ingles nee sira iha ona, liu-liu iha hanesan bainhira ita ba interview ruma iha industry kan, paling nia husu konaba ekipamentu, ka ou prosesu ba mina nian nee too. Nebee sira, sira la barak, maibe sira hatene ona. Hatene ona ba sira nia area nee. Liu-liu sira nia area.

I think they already have a basic [level] of English, especially for when they go to an interview in industry, they will at least ask about equipment, or about processes of oil [extraction]. This isn't a lot [of English], but they already know these things. They already know [these things] for their own area. Especially [for] their own area.

- Prof. L, TTC petroleum faculty
(See: TTC-13, A4.4.3, 00:32:45)

A crucial relationship between language (specifically English) and specialist expert knowledge is being articulated here. Prof. L is saying that petroleum graduates need knowledge of specialised English vocabulary in order to perform, in and through language in an interview context, their technical knowledge related to a specific area of professional specialisation. Yet this vision of language use in an industry context remains somewhat limited in its focus on knowledge of English as vocabulary, as it does not extend to a view of the pragmatic, communicative competency required to construct and to exchange meaningful workplace utterances.

⁶⁴ This is possibly because many of the lecturers themselves have little or no direct industry experience, having graduated with undergraduate degrees in petroleum studies from TTC and then advanced directly to lecturing in the TTC petroleum faculty.

Conceptualisations of English as object of ownership and exchange in the global political economy tend to mask its pluralistic, dynamic and mutable character, which is otherwise revealed by an understanding of language production as a social activity (Blom & Gumperz, 1972). A 'language as object' view of English in relation to competition for jobs in the petroleum industry in Timor-Leste sees individual graduates as competitive human resources for the nation and Timorese higher education as competition-ready human capital production for the nation. The TTC institutional policy decision to move to English-only medium of instruction for the petroleum and tourism faculties reflects this view, as well as exemplifying the national and global levels of competition that have accompanied the internationalisation of higher education at the institutional level (Marginson, 2006). TTC as a higher education provider must compete with other providers to attract students with a degree 'product' that will deliver employment outcomes – that is, a petroleum degree delivered in English. As a consequence, 'knowledge of English' is framed with limited attention to the pragmatics of its use in different workplace communicative contexts and greater emphasis is placed instead on more quantitatively measurable competency.

Conceptualising other languages in petroleum-related work

An instrumental, language-as-object conceptualisation of English in the petroleum industry in Timor-Leste not only obscures appreciation for the varied forms that English may take in workplace communication, it also impacts petroleum lecturers' views of the relative prestige and affordances of other languages that may be mixed into this communication. For instance, when I asked Prof. S whether any other languages besides English are useful in the petroleum industry in Timor-Leste, he answered:

No. If you want to work in this field, you must know English and understand English. [...] Jadi sekalipun maske o hatene buat ida nee, domina nee, o bele matenek, o bele domina, mais o hatene fali lingua Indonesia la bele. Kecuali o ba servisu iha Pertamina bele. Mais se industry oil and gas multi-national, sira uza Ingles, la uza Portuguese. Karik Portuguese iha Portugal bele uza, mais here you cannot.

No. If you want to work in this field, you must know English and understand English. [...] So, even though you may know something, you've mastered something, or you're clever, you may have mastered it but if you [only] know the Indonesian language you won't be able [to find work]. Unless you go to work for Pertamina⁶⁵. But, as the oil and gas industry is multinational, they use English, they don't use Portuguese. Perhaps in Portugal you can use Portuguese, but here you cannot.

- Prof. S, TTC petroleum faculty
(See: TTC-I1, A4.2.3, 01:07:50)

Prof. S is making a clear statement in this excerpt that English is essential for the oil and gas industry and, echoing Prof. L's earlier cited comment, that it is 'these companies' that are setting this industry language policy. He is also going much further than this, however, to frame the power and prestige of English in different comparative relationships with the two former colonial languages as its named rivals. It is as though Prof. S speaks directly to the status planning work of the national constitution, directly dismissing the relevance of both Portuguese (as an official language) and Indonesian (as a 'working' language) for the Timorese petroleum industry.

The dominance of English notwithstanding, TTC petroleum lecturers did acknowledge to some extent that other languages are also needed for communication in the Timorese petroleum industry, namely Indonesian and, indirectly, Tetun. As will be discussed in Chapter 6, Tetun was identified as a language of instruction alongside of English, though there was no mention of its usefulness for workplace communication in any of my discussions with lecturer-participants from the TTC petroleum faculty. By contrast, the Indonesian language was explicitly recognised as necessary for communicating with and learning from geology and drilling experts in the onshore oil and gas industry in Indonesia.

TTC petroleum lecturers reported that their students go for short, 3-5 day 'study tours' as well as for longer, 3-month 'on-the-job training' placements, and where some petroleum graduates reportedly also find work (Prof. H, TTC-FG1, A4.1.3, 00:47:20). In these contexts, Indonesian may be used in combination with English in a kind of 'simultaneity' (Woolard, 1998), where English is deployed for specific lexical items such as the names of equipment and production processes, while Indonesian is used for other morphological items and syntax. As Prof. W explains:

⁶⁵ Pertamina is the state-owned national oil and gas company of Indonesia.

[I]f they go to the Cepu,⁶⁶ they also using Bahasa, speak with their supervisor.
But for the equipment, everything's in English.

- Prof. W, TTC petroleum faculty
(TTC-I8, A4.5.1, 00:26:35; original English)

Beyond 'knowledge of English' and knowledge of Indonesian as named languages, there are some pivotal pragmatic multilingual communication skills being demanded of TTC petroleum students in these fieldwork settings. As Woolard (1998) asserts, this form of bilingual communication phenomenon is best seen as a kind of 'translingualism' involving not so much 'alternation between rigidly discrete systems' as it does 'live, unresolved copresences' (p. 170).

Yet, as argued above in relation to conceptualisations of English, TTC petroleum lecturers tended to view languages as fixed and separable, overlooking the dynamic mixing of language as a key feature of the pragmatics of communication in the Timorese petroleum industry in favour of 'English as object'. For these lecturers, any mention of 'communication skills' for work in petroleum necessarily meant 'knowledge of English', dismissing the learning of other languages as much less relevant. For instance, with regard to the knowledge of the Indonesian language that graduates are likely to need for work, Prof. W seemed to feel that watching TV was a sufficient source of learning:

Because, as we know that satellites we use, we're watching TV, the all of program is from Indonesia [...]. So, they can learn a lot of Bahasa from that.

- Prof. W, TTC petroleum faculty
(TTC-I8, A4.5.1, 00:26:30; original English)

One of Prof. W's colleagues, Prof. S, also made a similar comment about the 'influence' (*pengaruh* [Ind.]) of Indonesian television enabling students to pick up Indonesian used at university quickly (TTC-I1, A4.2.2, 00:27:25).

Such comments suggest that TTC petroleum lecturers may perceive listening skills in Indonesian, learned informally via satellite television, to be sufficient for spoken, technical communication with industry experts (and presumably also with co-workers) in the field, involving translanguaging specific to certain lexical items. Once again, greater importance is placed on the learning of English vocabulary, since the names of tools and equipment and

⁶⁶ Cepu is a city in Central Java, Indonesia, and the location of a massive onshore oil field operated by Exxon Mobil.

drilling processes are usually communicated in English, even though ‘the lecturer in the field uses Indonesian language, not English language’ (Prof. V, A4.5.1, TTC-I8, 00:25:45). The higher status attributed to English (along with its acquisition planning consequences) is further reinforced by its use in more formal, theory-focussed presentations that students may need to attend on their trips to Cepu. There English may be used even more frequently in written PowerPoints and in spoken presentations ‘in the class, or with some director, or with someone [whose] level of education is too high’ (Prof. V, A4.5.1, TTC-I8, 00:25:55).

Section summary

TTC petroleum lecturers’ visions of the transformation of the petroleum industry see improved access for graduates to jobs in offshore operations managed by ConocoPhillips Australia via the learning of English. Unlike the agriculture lecturers at NU and RCI, who envision industry transformation occurring out of the initiative of graduates themselves, TTC petroleum lecturers see access to their industry as determined by attaining competitive advantage in the global job market, in which English is positioned as a key commodity. The majority of TTC petroleum lecturers’ comments about the communicative world into which their graduates would be entering were about the overwhelming importance of English in the context of competition over jobs within the global petroleum industry. These comments often framed graduates not as individuals but as human resources for Timor-Leste in competition with its neighbouring nations Australia and Indonesia, as well as with nations further afield like the United States and the Philippines. In these cases, the ideal graduate voice is framed as an English-speaking voice and the character of that English remains ambiguously monolithic.

This preoccupation with a singular, commodified English as the most important attribute for petroleum graduates potentially obscures appreciation of the dynamic, localised ways that English and other languages may need to be mobilised in workplace communication. It also potentially underestimates the complexity of processes of ‘resemiotization’ occurring across languages and modalities (Iedema, 2003), as petroleum students are expected to adapt Indonesian language learned from watching television to an in-person lecture on onshore drilling practices specific to Indonesian geology where Indonesian grammatical structures are mixed with industry lexicon in English. In this there are echoes of the lack of awareness evident among NU agriculture lecturers regarding the language intensive translation work

involved in transferring to a workplace setting scientific knowledge that has been learned in an academic context. Lecturers in the other two disciplines case-studied – tourism and community development studies – demonstrated higher levels of awareness of this role for language in industry, indicating a division in this regard between these two social science fields and the ‘hard sciences’ of agriculture and petroleum studies. As will be discussed below, a uniting concern for the sustainability of development also emerges for both tourism and community development studies, in contrast to the expansionist, industrialisation-oriented visions of industry articulated by agriculture and petroleum lecturers.

4.3 Tourism

‘This is the essential: how to communicate. Because all the names of the facilities in English, but how to communicate with the guests?’

- Prof. C, TTC tourism faculty (original English)⁶⁷

The industry context of tourism

According to lecturers in the tourism faculty at TTC, without a sustainable tourism industry there will be no source of revenue to support the Timorese economy ‘when the oil and gas [is] finished’ (TTC-FG2, A5.1.4, 01:14:10). Emphasising that the oil and gas resources are ‘unrenewable’ (A5.1.4, 01:14:00), these lecturers framed the development of a community-based tourism industry in Timor-Leste as the sustainable alternative due to the country’s many natural resources and ‘tourism objects’ in rural areas being relatively untouched by urban development. More than once⁶⁸ in my discussions with these lecturers they reminded me that the Timorese government has already identified tourism alongside of petroleum and agriculture as one of the three ‘strategic industry sectors’ for their twenty-year strategic development plan for Timor-Leste (RDTL, 2011, p.23). In our initial conversations they were concerned, however, about the lack of government ‘focus’ on and regulation of the tourism industry, which has allowed for the construction of large, foreign-owned hotels in Dili and on

⁶⁷ For a longer, contextualised excerpt, see the appended excerpts from transcribed recordings of data collected with TTC tourism lecturers in Appendix 5 (A5). Specifically, see: TTC-I7, A5.4.4, 00:42:48. Contextualised excerpts for all data cited in this thesis from focus groups and interviews with tourism lecturers can be found in Appendix 5.

⁶⁸ See, for instance: A5.1.3, 01:08:25; A5.1.4, 01:13:55.

some parts of the coast (TTC-FG2, A5.1.3, 01:09:00). The lecturers described the development of mass tourism in Timor as an *ameasa* ('threat'; TTC-FG2, A5.1.4, 01:12:15), arguing that the focus should instead be on eco- and community-based tourism as the 'uniqueness', or the 'brand' of Timor-Leste (TTC-FG2, A5.1.4, 01:12:42), a view shared by local tourism associations outside of the capital (James, 2017).

In contrast to the agriculture lecturers whom I interviewed who want to promote big industry for national food production, tourism lecturers at TTC want to keep the development of the Timorese tourism industry focussed on the small and the local. Note, however, that the theme of regional/international competition that came through so strongly in discussion with petroleum lecturers emerges again in visions of a sustainable tourism industry for Timor-Leste:

It's, I think, about the sustainable. Because tourism is small; it's small country. [...] The tourists come not only for the good hotel! [*laughs*] If they come only for the good hotel, they don't come to Timor-Leste. They take another place, [with] more hotels better than in Timor. [...] This is the uniqueness from Timor-Leste. The base of tourism is the uniqueness. And service.

- Prof. R, TTC tourism faculty
(TTC-I5, A5.2.2, 00:41:05 – 00:41:50;
original English)

The combination of 'uniqueness' and 'service' that Prof. R positions as 'the base of Tourism' is key to understanding TTC tourism lecturers' conceptualisations of the communication skills and resources needed by graduates for work in their industry.

As Jaworski and Thurlow (2010) have argued, national tourism industries are themselves complex economies of languages and communicative relationships. Taking the delivery of 'service' and the preservation and promotion of 'uniqueness' as the two key communication activities for the Timorese tourism industry, the TTC lecturers identified quite diverse potential interlocutors and articulate a range of corresponding languages and styles of communication that they attribute to those activities. For service delivery, lecturers emphasise the importance of English both as an international lingua franca for the industry that allows pragmatic communication with foreign tourists, and as the language needed for regional competition among ASEAN nations. In terms of the preservation and promotion of Timor's 'uniqueness', TTC tourism lecturers seek to gain both community and government buy-in to their agenda of developing a community-based tourism industry. For tourism graduates, this vision of industry transformation calls for the use of different registers of

Tetun as well as community languages in consultation and advocacy activities with multiple stakeholders.

Conceptualising the language of service delivery

Like their colleagues in the petroleum faculty, tourism lecturers at TTC were very supportive of the move to English-medium of instruction for the two faculties.⁶⁹ For them, the vision of industry transformation via a focus on community-based tourism still requires attracting international tourists and tourists, according to TTC tourism lecturers, speak English. For TTC tourism lecturers, the language of service delivery is English. There was also a strong perception articulated by these lecturers of the need for Timor-Leste to be able to ‘compete’ regionally both as a tourism destination and as a source of tourism graduates, which again references the dominance of English in the framing of national development. Once again, too, higher education is framed as human capital development for national participation in the global economy, and as one might expect in a study of vocational programs in the current era.

Timor-Leste’s anticipated joining of ASEAN (Kapur, 2016), which also came up in conversations with petroleum lecturers at TTC, is seen as a particular motivator for tourism graduates to learn English. One lecturer, Prof. C, told me most emphatically:

Because next year Timor-Leste will go to the ASEAN Economic Community. In ASEAN Economic Community we should compete with the ASEAN nations. ASEAN nations. That's big competition for the economic. So, uh ... the students of [TTC] can work in ASEAN nations. In Indonesia, Malaysia, Philippines. How to compete with them? If we want to compete with them, we should learn English. Because the ASEAN nations no ... don't understand any Portuguese. How to compete with them? We have to learn English.

- Prof. C, TTC tourism faculty
(TTC-17, A5.4.3, 00:38:52;
original English)

Competition is clearly a dominant unifying theme across the levels in Prof. C’s response here: Timor-Leste competing globally via multilateralism and regionally within ASEAN; TTC as an institution identifying an English-medium tourism program as its point of difference for competition among higher education providers in Timor; TTC graduates competing with other intra-ASEAN mobile, tourism graduates for jobs, specifically in Indonesia, Malaysia, and

⁶⁹ Indeed, the move was piloted in the TTC tourism faculty first (see Chapter 1: *Trent iha Timor*).

the Philippines. There is also competition among repertoires as the options for 'how to compete' are framed as either English or Portuguese, with Portuguese being quickly dismissed 'because ASEAN nations don't understand'. This echoes the earlier cited dismissal of Portuguese for the petroleum industry by TTC petroleum lecturer Prof. S.

Similar to the role of English perceived by TTC petroleum lecturers for competition over jobs in the oil and gas industry, Prof. C frames English as an essential graduate employability attribute. Language itself is thus framed as the pivotal resource in Timor's export of human capital in the context of a national service industry that is on the verge of being integrated into a regional, transnational economic zone (the 'ASEAN Economic Community'). The logic of the existent hierarchical ordering of Timor's co-official and working languages in the national constitution (Tetun and Portuguese first, then Indonesian and English) is called into question with this shift of boundaries from the national to the regional. Portuguese is positioned in dichotomous relationship with English, while Tetun and Indonesian do not earn a mention at all.

A clear preferencing of English over other languages with regard to workforce production for competition in 'service' beyond Timor's national boundaries is also evident in the way that TTC tourism lecturers view their own post-graduate study options and future employment prospects. For example, Prof. C told me that he plans to study for his PhD in the Philippines:

Because Philippines all in English, so I can learn more about English. [...] So easy to me to come to [TTC] to teach again. If I go to Indonesia, just learn Indonesian.

(TTC-I7, A5.4.5, 00:50:11; original English)

Once again English is positioned in dichotomous relationship with another language: Indonesian. In this case, language learning options are tied to options for post-graduate study being dictated by the institution. Unlike NU, TTC as a private institution does not have the funds to send its lecturers to Australia on scholarships to do their PhDs, so the cheaper and easier option is Indonesia, where many of its lecturers have been sent on institutional scholarships to study to Master's level. More recently, however, TTC has begun plans to send tourism lecturers to the Philippines. The desirability of English thus reinforced by institutional policy serves to overshadow even pragmatic vocational considerations, as Prof. C admitted to me that 'For tourism experience, Indonesia is better than the Philippines. ... Especially Bali.' (TTC-I7, A5.4.5, 00:50:22; original English).

Wherever one is trained, TTC tourism lecturers believe that the ‘tourism experience’ occurs in English. This belief highlights their conceptualisation of English in terms of its role as a global lingua franca for tourism. Tourists and hotel guests who visit Timor-Leste, it is assumed, either come from English-speaking countries or at least speak English and therefore good service in hotel management, for example, means speaking English well enough to ‘link the facility with the guest’:

If the guest come from Australia, come from America, if they ask some [...] guest supplies we don't know, what we can provide for the guests? [...] This is the essential: how to communicate. Because all the names of the facilities in English, but how to communicate with the guests, [...] how to *be* with the guests, or some visitors, or some tourists. Because if you know the name of the facility in English but if we never talk in English, sometimes it's hard for us to deal with the guest. So, the essential: if you know about the name of the facility but you have to talk English, how to ... how to link the facility with the guest. So, we changed the curriculum to English.

- Prof. C, TTC tourism faculty
(TTC-17, A5.4.4, 00:40:50 - 00:42:48;
original English)

While on the one hand Prof. C is recognising here that English is the international lingua franca for tourism ‘because all the names of the facilities [are] in English’, note too that he makes it clear that it is not enough merely to know industry-specific lexical items in English like the names of hotel facilities. The goal is pragmatic communicative competence as knowledge of how to ‘be with’ and ‘deal with’ guests.

This marks Prof. C’s conceptualisation of the kind of English needed for work in the Timorese tourism industry as qualitatively different to those of his colleagues in the TTC petroleum faculty. The envisioned uses of English for vocational communication in the petroleum industry relate to vocabulary – ‘tools and equipment’ – whereas the pragmatics of professional communication for the tourism industry, while they are seen to include knowledge of vocabulary, are also presented as characteristically relational. Prof. C’s repetition of ‘how to communicate’ as ‘the essential’ distinguishes his vision of English for the tourism industry as one requiring communicative competence (Hymes, 1972). This is not only recognised within Prof. C’s account of the pragmatics of English-based communication with visiting foreign tourists, it is central to it.

This emphasis on the quality of communication necessary in the tourism graduate’s use of English was also born out in a focus group discussion about how the English word ‘service’ is

translated into Tetun as *atendimentu*. In this discussion, a tension was revealed between the recognised value of English for the global tourism industry, manifest in the *delivery* of service, and the local pragmatic value of Tetun for metacommunication about the nature of service. Tourism lecturers at TTC pointed out that while they can use the English word ‘service’ itself when talking about service delivery, articulating the nature of service as a professional activity structured by particular industry-stakeholder relationships requires Tetun. That is, if service as communication with tourists should be via English, metacommunication about that service with coworkers or, in the case of training, with students, should be via Tetun. As Prof. R put it:

We can use 'service', but we can't explain what does service mean in tourism area economics. So, we can just explain it in Tetun.

(TTC-FG2, A5.1.2, 00:56:22)

With this statement, Prof. R is making a distinction between knowing the English word ‘service’ and being able to relay a nuanced description of what the concept of service means as enacted socially, which is beyond the reach of lecturers’ capabilities in English.

In most Tetun-English dictionaries the Tetun translation for ‘service’ is given as *servisu*, a loan from the Portuguese *serviço* (see, e.g., Hull, 2001; Williams-van Klinken, 2008). This dictionary translation signals Tetun’s origins as a contact language from Portuguese colonial times and constitutes more formal corpus planning processes that have been occurring for Tetun. In spoken Tetun, however, the word *servisu* is most commonly used to mean ‘work’ or ‘job’. Conscious of this, I sought to probe further into how these tourism lecturers explained their particular understanding of ‘service’ to students and its distinction from *servisu* as ‘work’. Their response was not an explanation but a Tetun translation drawing on an alternative Portuguese loan word:

Speaker	Original utterance	Translation	Time
Trent	Oinsaa esplika konseitu nee? Because ... tanba, iha Tetun 'servisu' – it can mean work, it can mean job. Entaun, oinsaa esplika 'service' iha Tetun?	<i>How do you explain this concept?</i> <i>Because ... because, in Tetun,</i> <i>'servisu' – it can mean work, it can</i> <i>mean job. So, how do you explain</i> <i>'service' in Tetun?</i>	00:53:20
Prof. Az	In Tetun, 'service'...		
Others	'Atendimentu.'		
Prof. Az	- 'atendimentu.'		00:53:35
Prof. F	[affirming] Atendimentu.		
Trent	//Atendimentu?//		
Prof. Az	//Atendimentu.// Yeah.		00:53:40

(See: TTC-FG2, A5.1.2)

Atendimentu does not yet appear in any Tetun-English dictionary as the Tetun word for 'service', though it does appear as the word for 'attendance' (Hull, 2001). It does not even appear in a 2016 'Tourism and Food' glossary created by the English department at TTC, where the Tetun translation of 'service' is given as *serbi* (TTC, 2016).

The translation of 'service' as *atendimentu* in Tetun is an intentional (if not entirely conscious) language planning move on the part of TTC tourism lecturers. It signifies the nature of the kind of communicative work that they expect their graduates to do in the tourism industry: service as 'attendance'. As one tourism lecturer, Prof. Az, told me:

Dala ruma ema dehan: "Service! Service!" Service nee dehan atendimentu ba kliente. La iha diferente tuir ba atendimentu ba kliente iha Australia ou Indonesia ou Timor - ne'e hanesan deit.

Sometimes people say: "Service! Service!" This 'service' tells you to attend to the customer. There is no difference in attendance of the customer in Australia or Indonesia or Timor - it's just the same.

- Prof. Az, TTC tourism faculty
(TTC-FG2, A5.1.2, 00:58:20)

This statement by Prof. A indicates a view of both *servisu* and *serbi* as inappropriate translations of 'service' in Tetun; the labour-related connotations of these words being inconsistent with Prof. A's vision of what characterises the relationship between a tourist or guest and someone who 'attends' them. *Atendimentu*, by contrast, is etymologically linked to 'attendance' and carries connotations of being present, engaged, attentive, marking a nuanced but nonetheless significant semantic distinction from 'service' as 'work'.

The translation of the English ‘service’ as *atendimentu* in the training of tourism graduates represents an expansion and an innovation with the Tetun language that is being driven by language use in industry and confirmed by disciplinary experts. It is happening even at the very moment that English is supposed to be replacing it in that domain, and in contradiction of language planning efforts with Tetun being made by language experts at the same institution (i.e., ‘service’ as *serbi* in the TTC Tourism and Food glossary). This amounts to more than just the continuing use of Tetun alongside English for teaching and learning, it is the carving out of its own space and rules for Tetun’s functions as a language of the Timorese tourism industry. Lecturers’ conceptualisations of ‘the language of service’ are thus caught up in tensions between the global market value of English and the evolution of Tetun as a local lingua franca.

Conceptualising the communication of ‘Community-Based Tourism’

Whereas developing ‘service’ was conceptualised by TTC tourism lecturers in terms of achieving communicative competence with tourists in English, developing Timor’s ‘uniqueness’ is about communication framed as relationship building and consultation with multiple industry stakeholders within Timor. As outlined earlier, for TTC tourism lecturers, developing Timor’s ‘uniqueness’ is about promoting community-based Tourism, which involves developing ‘understanding from the community [and] regulation from the government’ (Prof. Az, TTC-FG2, A5.1.4, 01:10:40). This vision of the development of the national tourism industry involves convincing government of the need for tighter regulations and more support for community-based tourism initiatives.⁷⁰ Developing a community-based tourism industry also involves collecting information from communities in rural areas about potential tourism objects and gauging local community support for tourism development. Yet TTC tourism lecturers do not seem to see their graduates in significant planning and implementation roles, with one lecturer telling me:

We just introduce them to how to identify the tourism potential. And some ask the perception of the community: “Do you agree to develop this place to be a tourist destination, or not?”

(Prof. R, TTC-I5, A5.2.3, 00:45:20; original English).

⁷⁰ Prof. R, for instance, expressed the hope that some TTC tourism graduates will get jobs with the ministry of tourism and in this way influence government to move the development of tourism in this direction (see: TTC-FG2, A5.1.4, 01:11:40).

Despite Prof. R's suggestion that these are simple tasks, identifying tourism potential and, in particular, asking 'the perception of community' are potentially quite complex and demanding communication practices in themselves.⁷¹ Indeed, they are likely to require similar intercultural and translingual (traversing registers) skills to those identified earlier for agricultural extension workers (see earlier discussion, section 4.1). However, TTC tourism lecturers appeared to view communication with rural communities as quite straightforward; mainly a matter of choosing between English and Tetun:

Speaker	Original utterance	Time
Prof. C	[I]f we go to the hotel industry, we have two questionnaires, two versions [of] questionnaire. Tetun and English.	00:33:45
Trent	English?	
Prof. C	English. But if we go to the community, we use Tetun.	00:33:55
Trent	[...] So, that's difficult, I think, to explain and to ask questions if the local people don't understand what they mean by 'tourism development'? [...] How do the students communicate that, their research ideas to the local people?	
Prof. C	They have to explain. Explain. Because many of our students or most of our students that go to [do the] research, they go back to their district. [...] So, they know about the characteristic of the community, and they know the local dialect. So [it's] easy for them to communicate with the respondents.	00:34:43 00:35:14

(see: TTC-I7, A5.4.2)

There is commentary here on both the capacity of the students to perform this communication task and the affordances of languages to enable it. Prof. C seems to suggest that the main requisite skill for communicating with rural communities is the ability to produce a questionnaire and to survey people in Tetun or 'the local dialect'. There is no suggestion that either Tetun or a local community language may offer challenges to communication about the concept of tourism development, despite my prompt of Prof. C in this direction. It is noteworthy, too, that Prof. C frames the interaction less as a consultation and more as a kind of educating of the community about tourism opportunities with his comment that 'they have to explain' (and with repetition on 'explain'), a frame reminiscent of the top-down approach to agricultural extension articulated by several agriculture

⁷¹ Identifying tourism objects is seen as 'the main focus' of the community engagement work that students do as part of their undergraduate tourism degree at TTC. It is only some students who take the extra step to gather the 'perception' of community 'about can we build the Tourism facilities like the hotel, restaurant, in these places; they agree or disagree with this' (see: Prof. R, TTC-I5, A5.2.3, 00:46:45; original English).

lecturers. There is some cultural knowledge implied with the statement that ‘they know about the characteristic of the community’ since students tend to ‘go back to their [own] district’, but the general perception is that communicating with rural communities about tourism development is not a challenging task.

Notwithstanding this perception of community consultation as a straightforward communication task, the way that TTC tourism lecturers framed communications with rural communities did also indicate the need for metapragmatic skills, such as being able to identify a reliable expert community voice. For the goal of identifying tourism potential, for example, Prof. R told me that students are helping to contribute to an ‘inventory’ of potential tourism objects in villages and sub-districts with their undergraduate thesis research (TTC-I5, A5.2.3, 00:48:15). To identify tourism potential, students are expected to use their own observation skills, take pictures, and ask for information about the sites from local leaders ‘who know the stories’ (Prof. R, TTC-I5, A5.2.4, 00:55:25), framing community voice as one among multiple sources of knowledge about community assets. There was suggestion from some of the tourism lecturers that what members of rural communities may have to say about tourism development may be inconsistent and therefore less than reliable. Prof. R, for instance, expressed doubt about the value of oral histories provided by community representatives, telling me: ‘I think it's not enough the...narrated source. Because, in every one place, maybe another man we ask, maybe he will tell another story’ (TTC-I5, A5.2.4, 00:55:50). Students’ own approaches to communicating with rural communities are being informed by this distrust of local knowledge and expertise, even as they are required to include the rather high order metapragmatic communication skill of identifying who may be a reliable source of local knowledge.

A final point remains to be made about the way that tourism lecturers at TTC framed communication with government for the promotion of a community-based tourism agenda. While the majority of comments from these lecturers regarding the communicative work involved in tourism related either to English for service delivery or, to a much lesser extent, community consultation around tourism development, there was also limited mention of the need for ‘political communication’. There was some discussion in the focus group about the need to ‘influence’ politicians to advocate for the agenda of community-based tourism and to resist developments towards mass tourism. This was perceived to be a particular challenge since many in the ministry of tourism ‘do not have a background in tourism’ (TTC-FG2, A5.1.5,

01:24:20) and ‘the environment is political’ (A5.1.5, 01:27:55). The Timorese government was thus identified alongside ‘industry’ as an important interlocutor for graduates to be able to communicate with, ‘because the industry is important, but the government is also very important. Because the general procedure of tourism is prepared by the government [...] the general infrastructure of tourism’ (Prof. R, TTC-FG2, A5.1.5, 01:28:25).

For this kind of communication work, the requisite resources were conceived in terms of social capital (Bourdieu, 1986), including membership of the right political party. Prof. R explained in a follow-up interview that the dynamics of Timorese social relations are such that graduates, even with advanced degrees, are likely to be ineffective in their communications with government if they do not have this ‘influence’:

Speaker	Original utterance	Time
Prof. R	Because ... we must meet the strong people [with] the power [...] and they don't appreciate whether you are lecturer or whoever. [...] You must have a good relationship and you must have strength to influence the people.	01:05:30
	[...] Political means ... it means the power. If you have knowledge and you can't influence the people, it's a problem. What you want, it's will not to do. Will not realise.	01:06:15
Trent	So what kind of influence do you hope they will have?	01:06:35
Prof. R	[...] I mean that if you want to develop, like, eco-tourism. [...] But, if you not have the power in how to influence the institution, organisation, government, political party, it's very hard. <i>[laughs]</i> Even if you have good knowledge. This is the Timorese problem. Because our staff are from another party. And ... uh ... this is a problem. <i>[laughs]</i>	01:08:30 01:09:15

(TTC-I5, A5.2.6; original English)

In an interesting contrast to the expert, educated voice described earlier that authoritatively consults rural communities and assesses their tourism potential, the tourism graduate voice here is positioned as weakened and in a struggle for recognition. Note, too, that Prof. R is positioning himself in a kind of solidarity with graduates in this struggle, identifying the knowledgeable, academic ‘we’ who ‘must meet the strong people’ who ‘don’t appreciate whether you are a lecturer’. Indeed, he emphasised to me that ‘even we, with the master’s in tourism...even doctoral [level], like [the] rector’ struggle to have their eco-tourism agenda heard (Prof. R, TTC-I5, A5.2.6, 01:08:25), suggesting that it is because TTC lecturers ‘are from

another party'.⁷² This tension that Prof. R described as characterising the relationship between the academic/educated voice of TTC tourism graduates and the ears of partisan politicians complicates still further the picture of the communicative world into which these graduates are entering. It reveals how the social capital of institutional and political affiliation may shape how graduate voices are heard in policy and planning conversations about the future of the industry.

Section summary

As with their colleagues in the petroleum faculty at TTC, English as a named graduate attribute dominated discussion with TTC tourism lecturers about the communication skills needed for their industry. English was again positioned as a vital resource at multiple levels: for Timor-Leste as a nation in competition with its ASEAN neighbours, for TTC as a higher education provider, and for the individual tourism graduate. Yet, despite the discursive strength of the direct statements made by TTC tourism lecturers about the importance of English for the Timorese tourism industry, there was also demonstrated awareness of the need for pragmatic communication skills across multiple languages.

Communicative competence in English was identified as necessary for quality service provision. Tetun was revealed as a valuable resource alongside of English in metacommunication about the nature of service. Competency in Tetun and/or a 'local dialect' and an ability to discern who may be a reliable source of local knowledge were identified as necessary for community consultation in relation to the development of tourism objects. Political affiliation and social capital were identified as instrumental to effective advocacy of a community-based tourism agenda with politicians. These other, more nuanced conceptualisations of the communication skills needed for tourism work unsettle the dominance of English. They also indicate a deeper appreciation for the social nature of language present among the TTC tourism faculty compared with lecturers from agriculture

⁷² In keeping with the constantly changing political climate in Timor-Leste, participants reported a marked shift in this relationship with government between my initial field visit in mid 2015 and my follow-up visit in early 2017. Most notably, the former rector of TTC (the same person to whom Prof. R refers in the previously cited excerpt) had become the new minister of tourism, and members of the TTC tourism faculty were employed part-time to work on a national project in collaboration with the ministry of tourism and the World Tourism Organisation to educate rural communities about tourism.

or petroleum. This appreciation appeared deeper still among lecturers who I interviewed from the community development studies department at NU.

4.4 Community Development

'The outsider thinks [...] that we are weak, that they should develop our country based on what good or strong experience that they have. [...] This is the big problem.'

- Prof. Ab, NU community development studies department
(original English)⁷³

The industry context of Community Development

NU lecturers in community development studies (CDS) located themselves and their graduates in a context of post-colonial, social and economic national development, one dominated by a recent, post-independence history of overabundant foreign aid and investment. Several of them voiced the belief that a combination of foreign intervention and government misspending in Timor-Leste has cultivated a dependence mentality among Timorese people. One lecturer, Prof. Ab, told me that this is a result of a lack of forward planning combined with foreign actors ignoring Timor-Leste's capacity as a nation to be an agent of its own development. I quote Prof. Ab below at some length to show how he frames the dichotomous transition from the Timorese being 'heroes' of the resistance against Indonesian occupation, to them being 'victims' in the context of post-colonial development dominated by foreign actors:

When we got independence, we realised that in the resistance times we didn't have enough opportunity to think about how to [...] develop Timor-Leste as a state. So, when we got independence, many actors come to Timor-Leste. [...] The resistance actors, outsider actors, [...] UN, veterans, political parties, World Bank, IMF, ADB - many of them!

[...] And, at that time, we don't have power to decide. [...] We should negotiate with the other power that's very strong than us. [...] Many of outsider come and think that Timor-Leste is victims, not the hero. They don't realise that we stand up, or we make a resistance to the Indonesian army ... based on our small capability that we have. But we can stand up.

⁷³ For a longer, contextualised excerpt, see the appended excerpts from transcribed recordings of data collected with NU community development studies lecturers in Appendix 6 (A6). Specifically, see: NU-I11, A6.3.5, 01:14:15. Contextualised excerpts for all data cited in this thesis from focus groups and interviews with community development studies lecturers can be found in Appendix 6.

- Prof. Ab, NU community development studies department
(NU-I11, A6.3.5, 01:11:05 – 01:13:20; original English)

The two main tasks of community development work identified here by Prof. Ab include negotiating with 'other powers' that are stronger, and, still more obtuse, solving the 'big problem' of Timor-Leste and its people being positioned as weak victims. Note, too, that the task of negotiating with 'other powers' need not necessarily mean only foreign actors. Indeed, while the 'we' that Prof. Ab hails in the above excerpt is broadly a collective national 'we', he also names certain Timorese groups among the 'many actors' who came to influence national development after independence; specifically, 'resistance actors...veterans, political parties'. As a CDS lecturer, Prof. Ab is most concerned with Timorese communities as the primary interlocutor in conversations about development, and here he has identified that communities are impacted not only by foreign actors, but also by these other groups within Timorese society.

Given this context, the ideal goal of the community development studies graduate is transformation of these relationships between communities and 'outsider actors' via the facilitation of community-centred communication about development. One of Prof. Ab's colleagues, Prof. I, explained that CDS students are being prepared to effect a shift from the passive positioning of community as 'object' of development towards an agentic positioning of community as 'subject':

We try to prepare [...] the young people [who] join this department [...] to change the society or community to community as an actor of development. We try to change the old paradigms [that] consider that people are the object of development. We try to change this concept, this paradigm, to [make] the people, the community as actors, as the subjects of development. [...] We try to implement [...] sustainable development, to create the situation [where] the people are active. Involved from planning to implementation.

- Prof. I, NU community development studies department
(NU-FG3, A6.1.7, 01:27:15 – 01:29:20; original English)

This framing of the goal of community development work by Prof. I mirrors now well-established thinking in the field of development that communities must be actively involved in processes of development in order for that development to be sustainable.⁷⁴ The practice of development itself is thus framed as a communicative practice, where the main

⁷⁴ There is, for example, a clearly stated focus on community participation within many of the goals of United Nations' Agenda for Sustainable Development (UN General Assembly, 2015).

communication activity is community engagement and facilitated consultation. How CDS graduates approach community engagement is thus central to the communicative work of their industry. The issue, however, is that they may be receiving somewhat different messages about what community engagement means and how it positions the graduate in discursive relationship with community as interlocutor.

CDS lecturers at NU anticipate diverse work roles for their graduates related to community-based employment, most of which involve engagement with community. These include work with local and international NGOs, as well as work for the Timorese government on projects such as the *Programa Nasional Dezenvolvimentu Suku* (PNDS or National Program for Village Development) or as village or district level government officials (as collaboratively listed in focus group discussion; see: NU-FG3, A6.1.5, 00:54:14 - 00:55:45).⁷⁵ In these positions, lecturers hope that graduates will act as ‘community facilitators’, with several interviewees using this term in multiple separate discussions.⁷⁶ Broadly, this envisioned role of community facilitator appears to represent a liaison role between community and other stakeholders in community development, including the Timorese government and foreign development agencies. The facilitation aspect of the nomenclature signals the kind of enabling of community voice and participation in development processes as described by Prof. I in the excerpt above.

However, from their varying descriptions in focus group discussion and in one-on-one interviews, different CDS lecturers appear to have subtly different ideas about what the role of community facilitator might look like, reflecting differences of perspective within the CDS department at NU about what engagement and communication with community may mean. In the remainder of this section, I identify and discuss three distinct visions of the communicative work entailed in community development as described by CDS lecturers at NU:

1. Community development as interpretive communication work;
2. Community development as welfare-oriented, one-way communication work;
3. Community development as adaptive dialogue.

⁷⁵ According to one lecturer, however, it is only ‘the really excellent student who got the job ... there’s a lot of student not getting a job’ and ‘we don’t know how many per cent [...] not yet got a job’ (Prof. T, NU-FG3, A6.1.5, 00:59:00 - 00:59:25; original English).

⁷⁶ See, for example: A6.1.6, 01:01:35 (Prof. I); A6.1.7, 01:25:16 (Prof. D); A6.3.2, 00:16:30 (Prof. Ab).

As Prof. Ab identified, one of the core activities of community development work is negotiation between developing communities and ‘outsider actors’ that are ‘stronger’. One of the roles of the CDS graduate, therefore, is, ideally, to facilitate this negotiation between community and its interlocutors in development. Another NU CDS lecturer, Prof. T, put it like this:

[W]e need a group of people to analyse the *impact* of the project on the community, [...] how the industry, how the developing agency - or, I mean, the investors - how their work in the future, in terms of exploit[ing] the natural resources, or whatever - ... impact on the community or society itself. We need a group where they have critical thinking about this issue [...] to support the society and to protect the community from those impacts.

*- Prof. T, NU community development studies department
(NU-FG3, A6.1.7, 01:29:35 - 01:30:40; original English)*

This is an interpretive role that Prof. T is describing, one that requires analysis of and critical thinking about the potential impacts of development projects on communities. Prof. T is positioning CDS graduates in a crucial niche that she identifies between ‘the community’ and the target interlocutor: ‘the industry’ or ‘the developing agency’, whom she clarifies are the ones that finance the development project (‘the investors’). The focus of the communicative work that Prof. T is suggesting is on reviewing and interpreting proposals for development projects (‘exploiting the natural resources, or whatever’). However, what is also implied in Prof. T’s assertion is the preceding communication work required to do the analysing and critical thinking, reviewing and interpreting. This ‘group of people’ who are needed in development work would presumably need access to written proposals of said future projects, and they would need to be able to read and understand them. Given the role of English as lingua franca of the international development industry, it is likely that CDS graduates will need to be literate in English, or else in whatever is the language of ‘the investor’, through which information about the project is communicated. Even if the information should be translated into Tetun, there remains the issue of technical jargon and/or of particular, industry-specific styles of reporting information about development projects that may demand literacy in discipline- and industry-specific registers and also modes and formats of development communication.

Prof. T’s use of the word ‘protect’ is also significant, as it potentially signals her positioning of community as ‘victim’, an approach that her colleague Prof. Ab saw as problematic (see

earlier excerpt). This raises questions about the directionality of the interpretive work involved in Prof. T's vision of community impact assessment: How is potential impact, once analysed, then communicated back to community? How might a possible response from community be elicited and subsequently communicated back to 'the investors'? While Prof. T did not articulate a vision of these communication activities in my discussions with her (suggesting, possibly, for her a greater emphasis on 'the investors' as central interlocutor, rather than community), other CDS lecturers in her department did have things to say about them.

Among those CDS lecturers who focussed on the community as interlocutor in the communicative world they described, most tended to emphasise mainly a didactic, information-sharing role for the graduate community development worker. The approach described was a welfare-oriented approach, in that the central concern was the welfare of the community, and the community as interlocutor was regularly positioned in a non-expert role requiring advice and guidance from the educated, community development expert. The advice and guidance was often directed at eliciting participation in development processes as the lecturers conceived of them, thus characterising community as typically passive, in addition to their position as non-experts. One lecturer, for example, used the word 'educate' in reference to encouraging people to participate more actively in the development of their own communities. He spoke specifically of war veterans on government pensions who 'don't want to work more in their farm, just sit and talk and talk' (Prof. N, NU-FG3, A6.1.7, 01:34:20; original English). Prof. N's desire to 'educate' people in rural communities out of this perceived combination of passivity and ignorance about what is in the best interest of the community for its own development positions them as interlocutors already defined by these traits.

In keeping with this vision of an 'educator' role for the community development worker, another lecturer, Prof. D, spoke at some length of the need to inform people living in rural communities of the potential financial benefits of community-based tourism:

When I come to the village, I tell them: "Make better your house. ... And when some visitors come to visit, they will sleep in your house. You give them one room, they sleep one day, ten dollars for you! You don't even need to make something, you only prepare them the tea, coffee, like this. Because many tourists they like the juice." And in my village, I only inform this, and they do!

- Prof. D, NU community development studies department
(NU-I9, A6.2.2, 00:18:27 - 00:19:01; original English)

Again, there is a clear agenda of community wellbeing evident in the content of what Prof. D is saying, but the style of communication modelled points to a kind of moral instruction. Observe the way that Prof. D positions himself in this reported instruction to community as an expert in community wellbeing, with authoritative commands like ‘make better your house’ and ‘prepare them the tea’. It is noteworthy, too, that there is no ventriloquated response from community, reinforcing the didactic, monologic nature of this envisioned communication.

Prof. D’s vision of the welfare-oriented, didactic communication involved in engaging with rural communities about potential tourism development also includes elements of the interpretive communication work indicated by his colleague, Prof. T. Indeed, the information-gathering and analysis done by the expert graduate is a necessary precursor to being able to ‘transfer information’ to community, as Prof. D put it. For instance, Prof. D himself completed his masters research on the tourism potential of *uma lulik* or traditional ‘sacred houses’ in Timor-Leste and in his discussions with me argued the need for specialists able to make assessments about the tourism potential of such sacred sites.

Using the word *aprosimasaun*⁷⁷, Prof. D explained the need to approach and engage communities close to *uma lulik* sites, in order to inform them and convince them of the economic benefits of allowing and even encouraging tourists to visit. He told me:

They [communities] will say that “No, it's sacred, do not come to visit.” But, if tourists visit every day, every year, every week, ... we need [a] stakeholder to inform to the community. We need information, to transfer information for them. About the advantage of tourism.

- Prof. D (NU-I9, A6.2.1, 00:02:35; original English)

In this case there is a ventriloquated voice from the community, quite a clearly oppositional one, and the response remains educative. External, expert assessment of development potential combines with expert evaluation of community benefit to drive the communication activity required of the development worker and described by Prof. D: to ‘explain’ to community ‘what is tourism, why is tourism; if some tourists visit to their village, what is the

⁷⁷ This word does not have an adequate equivalent in English. It loosely translates as ‘approach’ but is used in community development discourse in Timor-Leste to indicate a pro-active engagement with rural communities aimed at winning them over to a particular project or development plan.

value for them’ (NU-I9, A6.2.1, 00:01:50; original English). There is thus not only an educative but also a *persuasive* aspect to this communication work required of the community development graduate; communication that can convince communities that the sacred can remain sacred while also being transformed into ‘the object of tourism’.

The approaches to community engagement described thus far arguably position ‘community’ as the object of development rather than, as Prof. I put it, transforming ‘this paradigm to the people, the community as actors, as the subject of development’ (Prof. I, NU-FG3, A6.1.7, 01:27:50; see earlier excerpt). One lecturer, however, explained in some detail an approach to community engagement that contrasted rather sharply with those of his colleagues who outlined an educative approach. He described the role of ‘community facilitator’ as dialogic rather than didactic and emphasised that communication between the graduate community development worker and the community should start from the assumption that the community has valuable expertise:

They should realise they are outsiders. They come to the community [...] to identify what experiences the community has, what capability the community has, what resource it has, what problem [...] they found.

- Prof. Ab, NU community development studies department
(NU-I11, A6.3.2, 00:16:50 - 00:17:18; original English)

Immediately, Prof. Ab positions the CDS graduate as an ‘outsider’ to community, meaning an outsider to knowledge and understanding regarding the existing and potential agency of community, with its own experiences, capabilities, resources to be identified and understood.

Prof. Ab’s approach contrasts rather sharply with the perspectives of his colleagues, Prof. N and Prof. D, cited above, who spoke of a need to ‘educate’ and ‘inform’ community about the ideal pathways to development. Although Prof. D did acknowledge at one point the value of community experience, saying ‘we consider our library is community’ (NU-FG3, A6.1.5, 00:55:50), his and Prof. N’s other comments firmly position the CDS graduate in the role of teacher-expert in relationship with the community that is lacking in expertise. Prof. Ab inverts this relationship, positioning the community as the expert and making it the job of the CDS graduate to learn from the community, rather than to teach. Indeed, he emphasised:

Do not teach them how they should resolve their problem - no, they have experience! Explore from their experience, not teach them based on your

experience. Because your experience may be very, very different with them. And maybe un-useful, yeah? Maybe un-useful.

- Prof. Ab (NU-I11, A6.3.2, 00:17:55 - 00:18:40; original English)

Not only is the knowledge and experience of the CDS graduate made subordinate to that of the community in this approach, but Prof. Ab also suggested that by the nature of its difference it may also be irrelevant. For Prof. Ab, the goal of the communication work of community engagement must be moved from 'teach' to 'explore'. Moreover, this explorative communication work demands a more dialogic relationship than the framing of community as 'library' or source of reference suggests.

For a dialogic approach to community engagement, Prof. Ab emphasised the importance of adaptability and the development of an emic perspective on community resources and problems by learning to 'speak community's language'. In this he distinguished explicitly between competency in language as code, and the ability to mobilise language as both register and also footing (Goffman, 1981) in performances of the self. He explained the need for graduates to be conscious of how they present themselves to community in order to transform traditional power relations between community and the outsider expert via adaptive, dialogic communication work:

They should speak community's language. [...] If they go to the community, they can't show their language as students for academic society. [...] I don't say that if they go to Ermera they should speak Mambae, no. Or Liquiça, Tokodede, no. But they should think that they are a part of community. Yeah? They should realise that they are outsider, but they are as part of community. So, they should adapt themselves to the community's situation. Yeah? Not push community to adapt themselves. Adapt to them.

- Prof. Ab (NU-I11, A6.3.2, 00:19:40 - 00:21:10; original English)

Although a community development worker may well need to be able to speak Mambae if they visit a community in Ermera, or Tokodede if they visit a community in Liquica, Prof. Ab is adamant in clarifying that it is what he or she *does* with the language that matters. They should not use an academic register, performing their membership of 'academic society'. Rather, they should 'adapt' and communicate in such a way as to perform 'as part of the community'.

This conceptualisation by Prof. Ab of the ideal CDS graduate voice in communication with community is certainly different to the conceptualisations conveyed by lecturers in other disciplines, who emphasise the value of certain linguistic repertoires, notably English, for

their affordances in industry. As has already been pointed out, it also differs from those conveyed by Prof. Ab's colleagues in the same CDS department at NU, highlighting once again the localised diversity of perspectives from lecturers regarding language and communication for work in industry.

Section summary

CDS lecturers at NU spoke of the need for their graduates to be 'community facilitators' in an industry context dominated by intervention from foreign aid agencies. This view frames the practice of community development work as a communication intensive activity focussed on community engagement and facilitated consultation between communities and 'outsiders'. Subtly differing perspectives emerged among the CDS department at NU regarding what community engagement means and how it positions the graduate in discursive relationship with community as interlocutor.

There are both strong similarities and striking differences between the visions of ideal graduate voices articulated by CDS lecturers at NU and those articulated by lecturers from other disciplinary fields and institutions. There are, for instance, clear parallels between the educative, didactic view of community 'consultation' articulated by CDS lecturer Prof. D with regard to community-based tourism and the approach hinted at by tourism lecturers at TTC. There are also obvious similarities there with the top-down approach to communicating with farmers described by several of the agriculture faculty at NU. These parallel visions across the disciplines of top-down communication with communities may be explained by the culture of elitism that Hill (2017) argues characterises the tertiary sector in Timor-Leste and is a legacy of Indonesian colonialism. What does distinguish the conceptualisations of these CDS lecturers, however, is the absence of explicit mention of named languages such as English or Tetun, even though these two languages are surely instrumental for industry communication with, respectively, international development agencies and local (Tetun-speaking) communities. While agriculture lecturers focussed on the language of science and petroleum and tourism lecturers on the affordances of English, CDS lecturers placed emphasis on the communication work involved in 'analysing the impact', 'transferring the information' and persuading rural communities of the benefits of certain kinds of development.

Prof. Ab's adaptive, dialogic approach discussed towards the end of this section bears some similarity to that of the agriculture lecturer, Prof. M, who argued the need for students to learn the register of talk that farmers use to discuss plant growth. Tellingly, these were the only two examples of lecturers who directly identified a form of 'illocutionary performative listening' (Srader, 2015, p. 96⁷⁸) as a key skill in building and maintaining communicative relationships with rural communities. For most of the lecturers whom I interviewed, communication with communities was either not considered relevant to industry work (as with petroleum), or it was framed as a relatively straightforward, unidirectional task and one not central to disciplinary communication as they conceived of it.

Prof. Ab, by stark contrast, placed central emphasis on dialogue. He also appeared to be far more conscious of language as social practice rather than (or in addition to) language as decontextualized skill, and of the act of communication as an act of performance of the self. For Prof. Ab, the ideal graduate voice is not something that has already become, via disciplinary training, competent in Tetun (or English or Portuguese or Indonesian) for specific vocational purposes, or in a style or register of language. It is the voice that has been made more malleable and is therefore ready to adapt and become, in the moment of dialogue with the target interlocutor, whatever is required of it.

Chapter summary and conclusions

In this chapter I presented focus group and interview data related to lecturers' 'visions of industry transformation' and I discussed the implications of these diverse visions for lecturers' conceptualisation of students' disciplinary language and communication; for the planning of graduate voices. For clarity and ease of overview, I provide below a tabularised summary of these 'visions' and their implications as I have discussed them.

⁷⁸ Srader describes three categories of illocutionary performative listening, or 'listening that actually does something in the world' (p. 96): listening toward relationship, toward leadership, and toward fairness.

Table 2: Summary of lecturers' visions of industry transformation and their implications for language and communication

Industry /Discipline	Named languages (Primary = *)	Identified interlocutors (Primary = *)	Vision of graduate voice (GV) in transformation of industry	Manifest or potential communicative tension	Illustrative example
Agriculture	Tetun*; Indonesian; Portuguese; community languages	Rural farmers*; Timorese government	GV communicates agricultural science to rural farmers, affecting shift from subsistence to mass food production	Issue of register: technical and scientific language valued over local vernacular register	Translation of 'growth' as either <i>moris</i> (Tet.) or <i>kresimentu</i> (Port. loan)
Petroleum Studies	English*; Indonesian	Foreign oil and gas companies*; Trainers and supervisors at Indonesian onshore petroleum operations	GV needs 'ConocoPhillips' English' for jobs on foreign-controlled, offshore oil rigs; Indonesian needed for fieldtrips to study onshore production methods in Cepu	Monolithic view of English distracts attention from relevant English varieties and pragmatic needs for Indonesian	Watching Indonesian TV sufficient language prep for study tours to oil and gas fields in Cepu
Tourism	English*; Tetun; community languages	Foreign tourists*; Local experts on potential tourism objects in rural communities; Timorese government	GV needs communicative English for quality service delivery to foreign tourists, growing national industry to compete regionally; GV articulates observed potential for community-based tourism development	English as global lingua franca of tourism industry overshadows local pragmatic need for Tetun and community languages	English word 'service' used but also translated to Tetun as <i>atendimentu</i> (<i>'attendance'</i>)
Community Devt.	Tetun; English; community languages	Rural communities in development projects*; Foreign development agencies and investors; Timorese government	GV should be 'community facilitator' and represent the best interests of communities in communication with government and foreign development agencies	Different perspectives on community devt. work are productive of different (didactic vs dialogic) approaches to community engagement	One NU CDS lecturer tells community to 'make better your house', another says 'do not teach them'

The findings presented in this chapter reveal the wide spectrum of sociolinguistic scales (Blommaert, 2007; Blommaert, Westinen, & Leppänen, 2015) across which Timorese lecturers variously frame graduates' voices in disciplinary and professional communication with other industry stakeholders. Language is framed as object in competitive regional and global job markets, as register in the translation and/or communication of learned disciplinary and vocational knowledge to others, and as an indicator of footing in the interpersonal communicative relationships that lecturers perceive to characterise industry. Lecturers identify (i.e., both name and position) key stakeholders in development processes for their industries – rural communities, the Timorese government, foreigners as tourists or investors – and indicate their perception of the nature of ideal relationships with these groups. In their accounts, lecturers position their own and their students' voices as carrying varying degrees of authority and expertise relative to the voices of these other industry stakeholders, thus articulating distinctive, industry-specific roles for the educated intellectual in conversations about national development. In this way, the identification of key interlocutors for each industry also serves as a process of identification of different frames and scales to industry communication.

The data presented in this chapter illustrate different ways of talking (institutional, disciplinary, lecturer-specific) about language and communication for work in industry as producing different constructions of graduate voices in relationship with industry stakeholders. Professional knowledge and expertise in these voices is discursively positioned in relationship with language and communication in markedly distinct ways:

- Desirable knowledge about farming methods is seen to be articulable only via scientific terminology, with agricultural scientists the custodians of this language and knowledge;
- Technical knowledge in petroleum studies is positioned as secondary to knowledge of a singular monolithic English;
- Knowledge of 'service' in tourism manifests in performed communicative competency in English;
- Knowledge of community development problems and solutions is to be mediated through engagement and dialogue with rural communities.

Within the mentions of named languages, there is (perhaps unsurprisingly) a dominance of English in strong connection to its value in regional and global job markets. In petroleum, this

preoccupation with English also extends over localised forms and functions of English, as well as of other languages.

Lecturers' diverse visions of and beliefs about language and communication in the different industries interact with their varying beliefs about the linguistic and communicative resources that students bring with them to tertiary study, and to the processes of becoming that characterise disciplinary education. In the next chapter, I examine lecturers' conceptualisations of the readiness (or lack thereof) of Timorese students' voices entering university to be socialised towards the visions of industry transformation detailed above.

Chapter 5:

‘Seidauk Iha’

Deficit views of students’ communication resources

Chapter overview

In this chapter, I present and discuss research findings concerning the ways that disciplinary lecturers conceptualise the communication skills and resources that students bring to tertiary study in Timor-Leste. These findings relate to my first research question, specifically focussing on the ways that lecturers conceptualise the communicative capacities needed for success at university.

Data for this chapter is sourced from lecturers’ comments about the communication abilities (*abilidade komunikasaun*) of their students and the communication challenges (*dezafiu kona ba komunikasaun*) that their students face in the communication of disciplinary knowledge. These comments emerged in both focus group discussions and interviews and were motivated by a variety of prompts. Some were in response to general explanations of my research topic or to my stated core research questions, while others were in direct response to quite specific questions about the range and nature of the communication challenges that Timorese students in different disciplines face when commencing and proceeding with undergraduate study. Especially fruitful questions were those about the communication abilities of identified ‘successful’ students (*estudante nebee hetan susesu*) and the characteristics of students whom lecturers identified as needing help with their communication (*estudante mak presiza ajuda ho sira nia komunikasaun*). Lecturers’ responses to these kinds of questions often focussed on students’ linguistic repertoires, indexing different ascribed values for individual languages that they perceived to be necessary for successful disciplinary communication.

Other fruitful questions that focussed on students’ technical communication skills or what I call ‘technologies of voice’ were those targeted at samples of student work (mostly written but also oral presentations), where the lecturer was asked to explain in interview what s/he felt the student had done well and what they needed to improve. Responses to these

questions revealed lecturers' concerns with students' abilities to express themselves and articulate their ideas clearly in particular modes and genres of disciplinary communication.

Given these trends in responses from lecturers to these questions, I have structured this chapter into three main sections. The first section focusses on lecturers' conceptualisations of students' plurilingual repertoires and the ways that they are entangled with lecturers' beliefs about the relative affordances of the four official and working languages of Timor-Leste. I discuss the perception expressed by some lecturers of students' Tetun- and Portuguese-dominated repertoires existing in contrast to lecturers' own, Indonesian-dominated repertoires, identifying this as a kind of 'discourse planning' (Lo Bianco, 2005), in which the 'problem' of multilingualism in Timorese higher education is constructed in terms of the legacies of colonial language-in-education policies. I then discuss lecturers' attitudes towards Tetun as a language of academic and scientific communication, analysing some examples of Tetun's supposed deficiencies provided by lecturers and noting some significant differences in their perceptions of the affordances and limitations of Tetun for academic and disciplinary communication.

The second section of this chapter focusses on lecturers' conceptualisations of students' capacities to be competent 'text users' (Freebody and Luke, 1990) and to *perform* appropriate, recognisable literacy practices germane to each of the fields. I discuss the quality of being *ativu* ('active') as performed engagement in classroom communication, identified by several interviewees across the fields and institutions case studied as a key attribute of successful students at university. I note that the conceptualisation of tertiary students as generally deficient in this quality once again links their communication skills and resources to an underdeveloped education system and, in this case, a culture of passive learning inherited from Indonesian colonial education. Seeking to unsettle such a categorically negative view of students' attitudes towards learning, I discuss some of the academic literacies implied by some lecturers' expressed expectations of students' disciplinary communication: the resemiotisation of learned knowledge and the (re)production of essayist literacy. I observe how these literacies may be hidden by lecturers' focus on a perceived passive attitude towards learning in tertiary settings.

In the third section of this chapter I examine lecturers' statements about the context of national development in Timor-Leste itself as a kind of deficit resource affecting students' preparedness for communication at university.

The title for this chapter incorporates a phrase repeated by several participants in discussions about students' readiness to communicate for tertiary study purposes: *Seidauk iha*, meaning 'not yet there'. This phrase is characteristic of how many lecturer-participants conceptualised the incomplete and imperfect nature of their students' voices for disciplinary communication. The majority of lecturers whom I interviewed perceived students' linguistic repertoires, along with their abilities to mobilise these in performed academic and disciplinary literacy practices, as underdeveloped. Significantly, these perceptions of the underdevelopment of students' communicative abilities for tertiary study were regularly tied to discourses about the developing status of Timor-Leste as a nation. The wider context of post-coloniality and national development in which Timorese higher education exists is thus also evoked by the phrase *seidauk iha*. It highlights lecturers' awareness of the post-colonial, developing context in which they are situated and the perceived impacts of this context on the preparedness of students to communicate successfully in tertiary settings.

5.1 Students' plurilingual repertoires

Indonesian vs. Portuguese educational eras

One of the most common ways that lecturers spoke about the communication resources of their students was in terms of a perceived divide between Indonesian- and Portuguese-educated generations of Timorese youth. Many lecturers saw their own and their colleagues' repertoires as dominated by Indonesian, particularly for academic purposes, and perceived the repertoires of their students entering university now as lacking in Indonesian and dominated instead by Portuguese and Tetun. This contrast in repertoires was often attributed to differences in educational backgrounds corresponding to different pre- and post-independence experiences of schooling, an observation consistent with the literature on plurilingualism that points to different individuals having different 'educational biographies and social trajectories' shaping their plurilingual repertoires (Moore and Gajo, 2009, p.142).

In one focus group, Prof. S, a petroleum lecturer at TTC, added to his colleagues' comments about the challenges of communicating with students by directly contrasting the different educational eras to which he saw lecturers and students belonging:

Mak dezafiu mak hanesan lingua. Lingua. Lingua tanba saida mak lingua sai dezafiu boot ba iha ... laos iha [TTC] deit mais iha sente iha nasaun Timor. Tanba iha parte ami nian, ami eskola iha Indonesia nia tempu, estuda Indonesia nia tempu. Depois labarik sira nebee agora iha eskola, sira eskola tempu Portugues nia tempu.

The challenge is language. Language. Language because which language becomes a big challenge, not only at [TTC] but also for the nation of Timor. Because, for our part, our schooling was in Indonesian times; we studied in Indonesian times. And now the kids that are in school, their schooling is in Portuguese times.

- Prof. S, TTC petroleum studies faculty
(TTC-FG1, A4.1.4, 00:51:10 – 00:51:30)

Prof. S' conceptualisation of 'the language challenge' dichotomises lecturers' and students' linguistic repertoires by presenting each as the product of contrasting colonial eras of language-in-education policy.⁷⁹ There is a key temporal aspect to the framing here: lecturers are the products of an earlier era of Indonesian colonial education, while students are the products of a current, post-colonial era of education perceived to be dominated by a return to Portuguese language-in-education policy. In a separate interview, Prof. S even spoke directly of colonial education as 'productive' of language repertoires, telling me that 'they [students] are not a product of the Indonesian language like we are a product of the Indonesian language' (TTC-I1, A4.2.2, 00:26:25; translation from original Tetun). As a petroleum lecturer, whose disciplinary specialisation is neither language nor education, Prof. S appears nonetheless acutely aware of an ongoing 'coloniality of being' (Maldonado-Torres, 2007) at work in Timorese higher education, and the language-related challenges involved in the decolonisation of knowledge (Mignolo, 2007).

Given the discussion in the previous chapter of the overriding value of English for the petroleum industry, it is significant that English does not feature at all in Prof. S' above articulation of 'which language' as the 'big challenge'. Nor does Tetun score a mention, though it is the co-official language with Portuguese, the national lingua franca, and the language which Prof. S himself identified later in the same focus group discussion as 'the one

⁷⁹ Prof. S' naming of the current era of Timorese schooling as 'Portuguese times' is an especially interesting one considering that the Portuguese colonial occupation of Timor ended in 1974, prior to the illegal annexation by Indonesia. In addition to signalling the Portuguese language orientations of post-independence governments in Timor-Leste, it is also a vivid example of coloniality lingering in the worldview of these lecturers long after the colonial administration has formally ended.

we all understand' (TTC-FG1, A4.1.4, 00:52:00).⁸⁰ There is a discursive framing here of societal multilingualism as 'parallel monolingualisms' (Heller, 1999), with a hierarchical ordering – what Silverstein (2003) refers to as the 'indexical order' – of certain languages over others, informed by national language policy discourses. The omission of English, Tetun and other languages and the focus on Indonesian in dichotomous relationship with Portuguese present a significantly narrowed view of the available national communication resources, constructing at the interpersonal level a conceptualisation of students' repertoires in dichotomous relationship with those of lecturers. In a potent example of 'discourse planning' (Lo Bianco, 2005), Prof. S frames this 'big challenge' of language as one that faces the entire 'nation of Timor', as though these two former colonial languages are the only available options for academic communication not just for Prof. S and his students at TTC, but for Timor-Leste as a whole.

Such a conceptualisation of students' plurilingual resources was not unique either to Prof. S or to the petroleum faculty at TTC. Lecturers from other disciplines and institutions also dichotomised students' linguistic repertoires against their own in a similar way to Prof. S, pitting a perceived dominance of Indonesian in lecturers' repertoires against a perceived dominance of Portuguese in students' repertoires. NU agriculture lecturers, Profs. Br, Y and Z, for example, each made comments like this.⁸¹ Similarly, an agriculture lecturer at the Rural Coffee Institute (RCI) told me that students come to RCI from secondary school where they learn in Portuguese and encounter difficulties understanding the RCI lecturers, who use mainly Indonesian mixed with some explanations in Tetun. Once again, the problem is presented as a national one:

Linguazen importante loos tanba sira husi SMA mai, sira aprende Portuges. Agora mai too iha nee ami la hatene Portuges. Nebee ami ho Bahasa Indonesia maibee tradus ho Tetun. [...] Ami lee ho Bahasa Indonesia, menjelaskan ho Tetun deit.

Sira semester 2 agora nee, sira la kompriende loos Bahasa Indonesia. Lingua Indonesia sira la hatene loos. Tanba iha SMA nee kan, sira hanorin ho Portuges deit. Portuges, Tetun, Portuges, Tetun.

⁸⁰ Community languages are also ignored here and, indeed, scarcely entered into any discussions with lecturers across the disciplines and institutional sites (though see appendix A3.1.6, 00:46:06, for an instance when Mambae scores a mocking mention with regard to mixing languages in communication with students).

⁸¹ See appendices: A3.1.1, 00:11:00 – 00:12:00; A3.1.2, 00:20:55.

Language is very important because they come from senior high school [Ind.], they have learned Portuguese. Now they have come here, and we don't know Portuguese. So, we have the Indonesian, but translate it into Tetun. [...] We read in Indonesian, explain [Ind.] it with Tetun.

[...] The ones here now in semester 2, they don't really understand Indonesian. They don't really know the Indonesian language. Because in senior high school [Ind.] they teach only in Portuguese. Portuguese, Tetun, Portuguese, Tetun.

*- Prof. Fr, RCI agriculture lecturer
(RCI-FG1, A3.6.2, 00:16:14 – 00:17:12)*

As for Prof. S, so too here for Prof. Fr, the issue described is clearly one of finding a shared language of classroom communication, with the source of the problem located in the language(s) of pre-tertiary schooling. Prof. Fr appears to blame the school system for the fact that students 'don't really understand...don't really know Indonesian', suggesting that s/he sees the lack of Indonesian as a deficiency in their education. There is a strongly implied criticism of the national language education policy that excludes Indonesian and prioritises Portuguese, particularly for higher education. There is also, once again, a clear perception that students are experiencing their secondary education in Portuguese, framed as a problem since 'we [lecturers] don't know Portuguese'. Note, too, that the use of Tetun in high school is mentioned almost as an afterthought alongside of Portuguese, granting it some recognition as the co-official language but indicating its subservient status compared with Portuguese.

As in the earlier statement from Prof. S, there is clear commentary from Prof. Fr on the limitations of the Timorese education system in the current post-colonial era to adequately prepare students for university. Moreover, Prof. Fr identified the multilingual education arrangements that characterise the current post-colonial era as a particular issue. In the same focus group discussion among agriculture lecturers at RCI, Prof. Fr went on to acknowledge that students may be exposed to some Indonesian but lamented that it is 'just a subject'⁸²:

Nebée lingua Indonesia nee tama maibee nia laos hanesan Tetum, nia mata pelajaran deit, [...] laos loron-loron mak koalia ho ema, halo buat sira nee, ba

⁸² Prof. Fr is referring here to the Indonesian that is still taught as a compulsory first year subject at RCI, unlike at the other two institutions case studied where it has been either phased out, as in the case of NU, or never offered as a subject at all, as in the case of TTC. See Chapter 6 for further discussion of the 'outsourced language teaching' function of the language support programs at TTC and NU.

ospital ba saida. Tanba ida nee mak lingua susar mai ami iha [RCI]. Hau hanoin laos nee ka, instituto Timor laran tomak hanesan.

The Indonesian they get isn't like Tetun, it's just a subject, [...] it's not like every day they're speaking with people, doing things, going to the hospital or wherever. It's because of this that language is difficult for us here at [RCI]. I think this [problem] is not only here, institutions throughout all of Timor are the same.

- Prof. Fr (RCI-FG1, A3.6.3, 00:17:15 – 00:17:30)

Students' acquisition of Indonesian via a single subject offered at RCI is presented here by Prof. Fr in contrast with the more immersive language acquisition experience of Indonesian that lecturers of Prof. Fr's generation will have had during Indonesian times, 'every day [...] speaking with people, doing things', which is also how Prof. Fr characterises students' current experience of Tetun. In this comment the generational division by era of colonial education appears most strongly, with the current era of mixed, 'Portuguese, Tetun, Portuguese, Tetun' multilingual education identified as a problem.

Comments from lecturers like these from agriculture lecturer Prof. Fr and the earlier cited comments from petroleum lecturer Prof. S entangle conceptualisations of students' plurilingual repertoires in attitudes and ideologies connected to national language policy and planning discourses that separate Timor's languages into parallel monolingualisms. In critically describing the sociolinguistic situation that they observe impacting on Timorese higher education, Prof. Fr and Prof. S are also framing in particular ways the language and communication problems that they say have arisen out of this situation, chiefly the failure of national policy to respond adequately to these problems. Prof. Fr's comment, especially, evidences lecturers' participation in this kind of 'discourse planning' (Lo Bianco, 2005) and suggests that at least some lecturers are disenchanted with national and institutional policies that they see as out of touch with the sociolinguistic reality in classrooms. The suggestion is that disciplinary lecturers in Timor-Leste have to deal with a mess created by multiple policy failures: in relation to the preparation provided to students by schools for university study ('they learn Portuguese ... we don't know Portuguese'), and in relation to the paucity of academic language support programs ('the Indonesian that they get ... it's just a subject').

While a number of lecturers made some similarly direct comments about 'the language challenge' in Timorese higher education being a matter of language-in-education policy at national and also institutional levels, there was some variation in the substance of the

critique, especially among lecturers from the National University. Prof. Z, for instance, an agriculture lecturer at NU, argued that too much ‘flexibility’ in NU’s policy of sending lecturers to study in Portugal has led to the issue that not all lecturers at NU are trained in Portuguese (NU-I4, A3.4.4, 00:59:28). Prof. Ab, a lecturer in community development studies at NU, explained to me that the problem ‘is not about the multi languages [...] because multi languages is good’, and blamed instead the lack of a clear ‘strategy’ for institutional implementation of a multilingual policy (NU-I11, A6.3.8, 01:39:25). The differences in the assessments being made by these and other NU lecturers with regard to national and institutional language-in-education policies are attributable to their somewhat different educational backgrounds compared with lecturers from TTC and RCI, like Professors S and Fr.

Diverse plurilingualisms

A major issue with statements made by Prof. S, Prof. Fr, and others who claimed that ‘the challenge’ is that lecturers speak Indonesian and students speak Portuguese, is that the plurilingual repertoires of both lecturers and students are being oversimplified in line with some generalised assumptions about the linguistic backgrounds and educational biographies of both groups nationwide. One agriculture lecturer at NU, for example, asserted that ‘all professors’ undergraduate is Indonesian background’ and so ‘we understand the Indonesian language really well, [but] Portuguese more or less’ (Prof. Z, NU-FG1, A3.1.2, 00:21:05; translation from original Tetun). Similarly, both Prof. S, at TTC, and Prof. Fr, at RCI, claimed that the reported problem of students’ Portuguese-dominated linguistic repertoires contrasting with lecturers’ Indonesian-dominant linguistic repertoires is a national problem, since, as Prof. Fr put it, ‘institutions throughout all of Timor are the same’. These lecturers conceptualise not only their own students’ but *all* Timorese tertiary students’ linguistic repertoires as deficient in Indonesian, and frame this as a nationwide problem by making generalised claims about lecturers’ educational backgrounds.

Yet these claims are not fully justified, since the picture is more accurately one of complex plurilingual repertoires in contact than of a stable diglossia between Indonesian and Portuguese. There are, for instance, mature age and other students who have been enrolled for many years, having had their studies interrupted by personal and national crises.⁸³ The

⁸³ During my visit in 2015, I was told of one student at NU who recently graduated after 15 years of delayed undergraduate study, which was significantly interrupted by the 2006 national crisis in Timor-Leste.

pre-tertiary education of these students would also have happened during 'Indonesian times' (1975-1999). Currently there is also a 'colonisation' of Timorese television by Indonesian commercial media programs, a phenomenon that some lecturers identified as significant in increasing the Indonesian comprehension skills of the current younger generation of Timorese (see previous chapter discussion on petroleum students at TTC acquiring Indonesian via television).

Significant diversity is also apparent among the linguistic repertoires of lecturers from different institutions, and even from the same department and faculty. At TTC, for example, several of Prof. S's colleagues in the petroleum faculty are much younger than him and have only in the last few years graduated from TTC with their *licenciaturas*, subsequently being recruited directly into teaching positions. Although they are likely to have been taught at TTC with at least some Indonesian (mixed with Tetun) by Prof. S and other more senior members of the petroleum faculty, they cannot really be included as part of the 'we' whose 'schooling was in Indonesian times' and who Prof. S identified as 'the product of Indonesian language'. This is also the case at RCI, where some new lecturers have been recruited from among its own graduates. The generational division between 'us Indonesian-trained lecturers' and 'they Portuguese-trained students' as articulated by both Prof. S and Prof. Fr therefore does not truly hold up, though it is likely to be a broad trend at many universities. It is, however, importantly an explanation of how these lecturers account for 'the language problem' to themselves.

The significant diversity of past educational experiences among lecturers both within and across faculties and institutions in Timor-Leste bears implications for the diversity of ideologies at play in the discursive construction by these lecturers of multilingualism as a problem in Timorese higher education. There are, for instance, many cases of lecturers, particularly at the national university, who are likely to have been exposed to more Portuguese than Prof. S at TTC or Prof. Fr at RCI, and these lecturers tend to conceptualise 'the language problem' in terms of the inadequate instruction that students are receiving in Portuguese prior to arriving at university. Many of these NU lecturers completed secondary schooling 'in Indonesian times' like Professors S and Fr, pursued undergraduate studies in Indonesia and then received government-funded scholarships to study to master's or doctoral level in Portugal or one of the other lusophone countries. As discussed earlier, many NU lecturers also receive Portuguese language classes from foreign language teachers

imported from Portugal and Brazil.⁸⁴ Compared to fully Indonesian-trained lecturers like Profs. S and Fr, there were some differences in responses from these (at least partly) Portuguese-trained NU lecturers about whether the Portuguese (and also the Tetun) that students receive in secondary school necessarily translated to reading, writing, speaking and listening skills in Portuguese at an academic level.

Many NU lecturers, having both Indonesian and Portuguese in their own plurilingual repertoires, were able to comment somewhat more on what students are able to *do* with language for academic purposes compared with their counterparts at TTC and RCI. For instance, an agriculture lecturer at NU, Prof. Br, spoke of students' listening comprehension skills, saying 'if we explain to them in Indonesian, they don't understand, so [...] we try to use Portuguese, [but] 'even Portuguese they don't understand well' (NU-FG1, A3.1.1, 00:13:20; translation from original Tetun). One of her colleagues in the same department, Prof. K, spoke of students' language competencies affecting their writing skills, saying his students struggle to *ekspresa sira nia konyesimentu* ('express their knowledge') in either Indonesian or Portuguese. Prof. K emphasised that students' writing in Indonesian is *sabraut loos* ('really messy') and that their writing in Portuguese mixes past, present, and future tenses such that *hau rasik mos la kompriende* ('even I myself cannot understand it'; NU-FG1, A3.1.4, 00:29:34). It is noteworthy, however, that in both of these examples the lecturers still frame 'the language problem', the breakdown in the communication of disciplinary and professional knowledge, as a result of students' plurilingual repertoires in dichotomous relationship with their own.

A few of these Portuguese-trained lecturers at NU also recognised that, whatever exposure to Portuguese or Indonesian that students may have had in their pre-tertiary studies, there are particular challenges to working with the kind of academic language encountered at university. A lecturer from the community development studies department at NU, Prof. D, having completed his Masters in Portugal himself, told me 'they study [in high school] with the Portuguese but high, high level Portuguese or Portuguese scientific is very difficult for them' and that 'only one student write with the Portuguese – all of them use the Tetun' (NU-FG3, A6.1.2, 00:21:20; original English).

⁸⁴ See Chapter 1 for a discussion of the Portuguese language training opportunities available to NU lecturers in contrast with post-graduate study opportunities in Indonesia available to lecturers at TTC and RCI.

For this lecturer to assert that students struggle with ‘high level Portuguese’ suggests that he may have attempted to use an academic or scientific register of Portuguese in the classroom, as Prof. B claimed to have done, with the result that students have not understood. This may be because, as Prof. D suggested to me, students have not been exposed to substantial amounts of academic or ‘scientific’ Portuguese in high school, and/or because the quality of pre-tertiary training in Portuguese for academic purposes is poor. It may also reflect the increased sophistication of concepts at the level of higher education regardless of language preparation at school. These factors notwithstanding, another reason may also be that the varieties and/or styles of Portuguese used by secondary teachers in different parts of Timor-Leste are qualitatively distinct from those used by Prof. D and other tertiary lecturers who use Portuguese in their teaching at the tertiary level.

As another NU agriculture lecturer admits, tertiary educators have very little information about either the level or the quality of language instruction in primary and secondary schooling:

But what they get from high school we don't know also. Pure Portuguese or mixed Tetun or...? What's the quality? Who make assessment in the secondary school to put exactly what's the level? They only have a national examination and many of them have low mark also.

- Prof. Z (NU-14, A3.4.2, 00:32:45 – 00:33:05; original English)

This being the case, generalisations that some lecturers made about the educational backgrounds of students and their competencies in the former colonial languages for academic purposes need to be understood as monologic products of the centripetal force exercised by national language policy discourses. The post-colonial preoccupation with Portuguese in dichotomous relationship with Indonesian interrupts lecturers’ awareness of the diverse influences on both students’ and lecturers’ plurilingual repertoires.

From the lecturers’ side, there are cases of individuals who have not studied in Indonesia or in the Indonesian language at all. For example, a lecturer in community development studies at NU, Prof. T, is of Vietnamese background, received a masters in community development from a university in the Philippines, and received her PhD from a university in Portugal, where she wrote her doctoral thesis in English. Rather appropriately in the context of telling me how she explains the word ‘stereotypes’ to her students, Prof. T debunks the myths that

students necessarily understand academic Portuguese and that all lecturers are necessarily ‘products of Indonesia’:

[I]f you translate it into Portuguese, *eterutipus*, and they [students] don’t know what is *eterutipus*. Maybe because I don’t have ... another support. Some lecturers, they can use Bahasa to explain the concept. I don’t have Bahasa language, so I have to give example, some story to show [...] ‘stereotype’.

- Prof. T, NU community development studies department
(NU-FG3, A6.1.1, 00:14:48 - 00:15:25; no translation)

Prof. T’s framing of language as a limited resource is separated out from the speaking subject who is the user of language as a kind of possession specifically with the use of ‘have’ as in ‘I don’t have another support...I don’t have Bahasa language.’ Prof. T clearly shows here her preference for Portuguese and English as languages of academic instruction, recognising Indonesian as an additional communicative resource, ‘another support’, that other lecturers may have but that she does not. Interestingly, she also reveals a little of the presence and influence of Tetun in her repertoire by giving the translation of ‘stereotype’ as *eterutipus*, which is a Tetunisation of the standard Portuguese word *estereótipos*. Prof. T herself as an exemplar, with her complex linguistic repertoire, as well as her direct statement that ‘I don’t have Bahasa language’, both highlight the oversimplification occurring in Prof. S’ and Prof. P’s dichotomising accounts of the sociolinguistic landscape and their positionings of Timor-Leste’s tertiary lecturers and students within it.

Tetun as a language of academic and scientific communication

Another major discourse at work on lecturers’ conceptualisations of multilingualism as problem in Timorese higher education relates to the devaluing or even the complete discounting of Tetun as a language of academic instruction. Many of the lecturers with whom I spoke commented on what they saw as the deficiencies of Tetun⁸⁵ as a language of academic and scientific teaching and learning. In some cases, when Tetun was not mentioned at all in the framing of the ‘challenge’ of multilingualism in Timorese higher education and the ‘problem’ of conflict between the former colonial languages of Portuguese and Indonesian, the viability of Tetun as a resource for academic and disciplinary communication was negated, silenced by its absence from the frame. This was a commonly voiced perception

⁸⁵ That is, Tetun Dili or Tetun Prasa. See discussion in Chapter 1 on the heterogeneous nature of Tetun.

of ‘the language challenge’ by many lecturers: that as a communication resource for tertiary teaching and learning, Tetun itself is deficient. Since Tetun is likely to be most tertiary students’ strongest language over and above Portuguese, Indonesian or English (cf. Godhino et al, 2012), lecturers are thus perceiving a deficiency in their students’ repertoires *via* the perceived deficiency of Tetun.

Lecturers especially from the physical science disciplines of agriculture and petroleum identified a problem with the use of Tetun in higher education, saying it has ‘limitations’ in vocabulary (*ninia limitasaun*; Prof. Z, NU agriculture faculty, NU-FG1, A3.1.2, 00:25:55), it is ‘not yet developed’ (*seidauk dezenvolve*; Prof. Br, NU agriculture faculty, NU-FG1, A3.1.2, 00:26:55), and there is ‘not yet a standard’ (*seidauk iha standar*; Prof. S, TTC petroleum faculty, TTC-I1, A4.2.2, 00:26:40). Tetun was often identified by these lecturers as a necessary but less than ideal default language of communication with students; the language that students understand best but the one that is the least ‘developed’ for academic use. Prof. Z, for example, admitted that he and his colleagues in the agriculture faculty at NU must ‘adapt’ to the situation and use Tetun but, he told me, the ‘explanation will be not good if you use Tetun’ (NU-I4, A3.4.2, 00:33:20). In a separate discussion, Prof. Z also commented that ‘it should be that we are already teaching in Tetun, but [...] it’s just that it is complicated because of the limitations of Tetun’ (NU-FG1, A3.1.2, 00:25:50). In this way, lecturers conceptualised what would be the primary communication resource of most students, Tetun, as limiting the possibilities for them to do their jobs effectively as teachers.

The frustrations with Tetun’s ‘limitations’ reportedly come from the need to borrow technical and scientific words from either Portuguese, Indonesian, or English to fill perceived lexical gaps in Tetun. While lecturers across disciplines spoke of what they saw as a general deficiency of Tetun regarding technical and discipline-specific lexical items, some held this up as a justification for their use of one of the other dominant named languages, most commonly Indonesian. One petroleum studies lecturer, Prof H, explained that ‘in Tetun there is a lack of technical language’ and so ‘for technical language, you can’t write in Tetun because you’ll be left short’ (TTC-FG1, A4.1.8, 01:38:00; translation from original Tetun).

In this comment Prof. H not only positions Tetun as a deficient language for ‘technical’ communication, but also as deficient for the specific communicative task of *writing* technical language. The mode- and genre-specific literacy practice of producing a piece of academic

writing demands particular communicative capabilities in any language,⁸⁶ yet Prof. H's conceptualises this challenge for students (and for lecturers) primarily in terms of Tetun's 'lack of technical language'. With the inadequacy of Tetun thus established, Prof. H is then able to justify the TTC petroleum faculty's 'de facto' language policy (Shohamy, 2006) of having students submit written work in Indonesian, claiming: 'whether we want to or not, we are still using Indonesian for writing' (TTC-FG1, A4.1.8, 01:38:20; translation from original Tetun). Once again, the responsibility of choice is removed in the way that the problem is articulated with reference to the named languages of the national constitution, so that Indonesian is positioned as the only option. Prof. H dismissed English as a viable option since, he claimed, 'students' English capacity isn't enough', and claimed that an Indonesian 'model' of academic writing is 'better' than a Portuguese model (see appendix: A4.1.8, 01:39:10). Prof. H is of course making choices in the way that he discusses the language resources available for academic and specifically written communication and appears to be privileging the language that is strongest (at least for academic registers) in his own repertoire.⁸⁷

As a point of contrast, Prof. E, a lecturer in the agriculture faculty at RCI in organic chemistry, was much more inclined to acknowledge her own limited proficiency in Tetun, recognising that words may already exist in Tetun that she simply does not know. She told me: 'I myself also can't explain in Tetun in the way it should be' and 'sometimes I myself look for the words and don't know them, so we do pracs so that they can understand. Then words like sediment [Ind.], sediment they... -/ I don't know how to say [this].' (RCI-I8, A3.7.3, 00:24:30). Although Prof. E may have valid reasons to doubt her own vocabulary in Tetun, in this case, the word 'sediment' does not have a 'native' equivalent in the language and borrows instead from the Portuguese *sediment* (*Tet.* = *sedimentu*), of which Indonesian-born Prof. E is apparently unaware. This illustrates how developing Tetun for academic teaching and learning purposes requires not only 'corpus planning' (i.e., identifying appropriate loan words) but also 'usage' and 'domain' planning – i.e., finding ways for lecturers like Prof. E to learn these borrowed words.

⁸⁶ This will be discussed further later this chapter, with specific regard to the concept of 'essayist literacy'.

⁸⁷ Prof. H is an example of one of Prof. S' younger colleagues, so he is not a 'product of Indonesian' like Prof. S' generation and yet has apparently inherited the negative attitude towards Tetun as well as the preference for Indonesian as a language for academic purposes.

Liddicoat and Bryant (2002) have identified the intellectualisation of the national *lingua franca* as a major language planning problem facing developing, multilingual nations. The process calls for substantive corpus planning and well as usage/domain planning work to be done, often by national language authorities (Sibayan, 1991). Significant time, planning and resources are necessary for the task, as evidenced in the cases of the intellectualisation efforts with *Filipino* in the Philippines (Sibayan, 1991) and with *Bahasa Melayu* in Malaysia (Gill, 2004). Indeed, it was for this reason that the INL was established in Timor-Leste (INL, 2004).

Prof. H's comment that there remains a 'lack of technical language' in Tetun implies that the process of intellectualisation of Tetun and the formal corpus planning work being done by the INL is yet incomplete. That he uses this to support the further assertion that 'whether we like it or not, we must keep using Indonesian' provides yet another example of the nuanced 'discourse planning' work of these disciplinary lecturers. An important part of what is happening when lecturers describe the use of Tetun in higher education as a problem in these ways is that certain ideologies are being reproduced – ideologies that reinforce both formal and de facto language policies at the national and institutional levels away from the use of Tetun.

As is the case for all languages, there are undoubtedly technical and discipline-specific words that do not exist in the corpus of Tetun that need to be borrowed from other languages. Notwithstanding this fact, at least part of the lecturers' discomfort with using Tetun as an academic and scientific language would also stem from a deficiency of Tetun in their own plurilingual repertoires. This would include a lack of technical or scientific vocabulary in Tetun, a general lack of familiarity with or confidence in formal registers of Tetun, and/or a lack of know-how or inclination to be creative with generating and adapting Tetun words for academic and industry-specific communication.

In a rather ironic example of this, Prof. Br, an agriculture lecturer at NU, struggled to produce the Tetun word for 'scientific' even as she explained to me in Tetun that 'scientific communication' between lecturers and students is lacking because of students' lack of knowledge of scientific Indonesian (see appendix A3.1.1, 00:12:35). In response, her colleagues provided several different translations when she asked for help in translating

‘scientific’, one of them providing the English, and another the ‘correct’ Tetun: *sientífiku*⁸⁸. Clearly there are bound to be such gaps in lecturers’ own capabilities in Tetun as well as differences between lecturers in terms of the ways that they may borrow lexical items from other languages into Tetun (an issue to be taken up in the next chapter), which complicates still further the issue of lecturers’ and students’ diverse plurilingual repertoires coming into contact with one another in processes of disciplinary teaching and learning. However, these aspects of the communication dynamic between lecturers and students are potentially obscured by a focus on the perceived deficiencies in students’ repertoires with regard to Indonesian and other colonial languages, combined with a view of Tetun as a deficient language for academic and ‘scientific’ purposes.

Precisely because of the variety of experiences with Tetun being used as an academic language, Tetun itself was revealed as a site of tension and conflict where the divergent discourse planning efforts of different individual lecturers meet. By this I mean that discussion among lecturers about what Tetun can and cannot do as a language sometimes led to debate and disagreement. This occurred as lecturers even in the same department brought different individual language experiences as well as different language ideologies to the framing of Tetun’s affordances and deficiencies as an academic language. Indeed, settling the discourse over the use of Tetun in higher education may necessarily involve disagreement and debate, and may be seen as part of the performative mode of usage planning towards intellectualisation of Tetun in which these lecturers are engaged.

In one particularly striking case, conflict played out quite directly in the context of a focus group discussion. Agriculture lecturers at NU were in the process of providing me with examples of technical terms that come up in their teaching that they are unable to say in Tetun. This was a regular prompt for discussion that I came to use in focus groups across the disciplines case studied as it helped to anchor discussion of the intellectualisation of Tetun in specific examples that lecturers provided. In this example⁸⁹, one lecturer’s claims to certain words not existing in Tetun (he says ‘Tetun doesn’t have’) were disputed by his colleagues in the NU animal science department, specifically, the word ‘reproduction’. Observe Prof. G’s

⁸⁸ ‘Correct’, that is, according to formal language planning efforts in the form of Tetun dictionaries produced by the INL.

⁸⁹ For the longer, contextualised audio transcription excerpt, see: NU-FG1, A3.1.6.

response when one of his colleagues, Prof. K, tells him that there *is* in fact a word in Tetun for ‘reproduction’, which is *reprodusaun*:

Speaker	Original utterance	Translation	Time
Prof. G	Tetun ‘reprodução’ la iha, nee?	<i>Tetun doesn’t have ‘reproduction’ [Port.], eh?</i>	00:46:27
Prof. Z	Mmm. [affirmative]	<i>Mmm. [affirmative]</i>	
Prof. G	Ba Portu-/ Ingles, ‘reproduction’. Bahasa Indonesia, ‘reproduksi’.	<i>To Portu-/ English, ‘reproduction’. Indonesian, ‘reproduksi’.</i>	
Prof. K	Mirip. <i>Reprodução</i> sa, Tetun <i>reprodusaun</i> nee.	<i>Similar. ‘Reproduction’ [Port.], in Tetun is ‘reprodusaun’.</i>	00:46:38
Prof. G	Ah, mais ninian loos la iha.	<i>Ah, but it doesn’t have [a word] truly its own.</i>	00:46:40
Prof. K	Tetun ga? Nee //‘reprodusaun’.	<i>In Tetun? It’s //‘reprodusaun’.</i>	
Prof. G	//‘Saun’// Troka deit letra nee.	<i>//‘Saun’// That’s just changing a letter.</i>	
Prof. K	Não!	<i>No! [Port.]</i>	
Others	[laughter]	[laughter]	00:46:44

There are several points to be made here. Firstly, Prof. G is making quite a value-laden comparison between Tetun and the colonial languages Portuguese, English, and Indonesian, giving translations for ‘reproduction’ in the latter languages but asserting that there is no such word in Tetun. When Prof. K contradicts him, saying that the Tetun word is *reprodusaun*, Prof. G dismisses this word as being ‘not truly Tetun’s own’.

Here is the first important tension located in discourse about Tetun as an academic language: between those who see words like *reprodução/reprodusaun* as ‘loans’ from foreign languages, and those who see them, as Prof. K appears to do, more as appropriations. The former view, apparently held by Prof. G, positions Tetun not only as deficient in vocabulary but also fixed and unmutable in this state, so that any new additions adapted from other languages, such as *reprodusaun*, are seen as ‘just changing a letter’, rather than as a natural innovation and evolution of the language itself. The latter view, held by Prof. K, is more in line with an ‘ecological approach’ to understanding languages as constantly evolving things (Hornberger, 2002). As Hornberger articulates it, ‘languages, like living species, evolve, grow, change, live, and die in relation to other languages and also in relation to their environment’

(2002, p. 33). In such an approach, languages are seen to be constantly appropriating words from one another, just as many words in Portuguese, English, and Indonesian have their etymological roots in other languages.⁹⁰

Another, related conflict playing out in the above exchange is over what constitutes a recognisable and authoritative expansion in the corpus of Tetun. This is a conflict about where and how the boundaries are drawn around what does and does not count as appropriate intellectualisation of the Tetun language. Immediately after the exchange cited above, other colleagues weighed in on the dispute between Prof. G and Prof. K. In response to Prof. K's insistence that *reprodusaun* is Tetun, Prof. Z exclaimed 'It's Portuguese!' and Prof. Y agreed with an emphatic 'Yes!' (NU-FG1, A3.1.6, 00:46:46; translation from original Tetun). To this Prof. K responded:

Não! Memang Tetun ita nian nee Tetun-Portugues!

No [Port.!] Indeed [Ind.], this Tetun of ours is Portuguese Tetun!

(NU-FG1, A3.1.6, 00:46:49)

This appears to be a kind of retreat by Prof. K from the stance of asserting that *reprodusaun* is 'Tetun's own' to the qualification that it is 'Portuguese Tetun'. He identifies 'this Tetun of ours', which may refer to Tetun's status as the national lingua franca. Given the conversation has been about communicating scientific concepts to students, it is equally likely that the 'us' that Prof. K is declaring could be academics like him and his colleagues inclined to use more formal registers of Tetun. Prof. K points to the fact that there has been 'Tetunisation' of the Portuguese word *reprodução* in order to produce *reprodusaun*, whereas no such innovation has occurred with the Indonesian *reproduksi*.

These differences in perspective among lecturers about the borrowing of Portuguese words into Tetun for scientific communication highlight the divergent approaches to the problem of the intellectualisation of Tetun that co-exist in the same faculty at the same institution. While it is a well-established norm that Portuguese words can and should be borrowed for more formal registers of Tetun (Williams-van Klinken and Hajek, 2012), lecturers in the above discussion clearly disagree over what this means for Tetun as a language. There is thus a lack

⁹⁰ The words 'reproduction', *reprodução*, and *reproduksi*, for example, have themselves all evolved, of course, from the Latin *producer*, via the 16th century French appropriation to *reproduire*.

of settlement in the discourse among these lecturers over Tetun's status as a language for academic and scientific communication. The feeds into wider discourses in Timorese society over the settlement of Tetun, including ongoing disputes between universities over spelling and orthography, particularly between that which is sanctioned by the National Institute for Linguistics (INL), housed at NU, and an alternative proposed by the School of Languages at TTC. For many lecturers whom I interviewed, this lack of settlement appeared to be a source of insecurity for them in conceiving of Tetun's use in academic communication. A TTC petroleum lecturer, for example, made a point of telling me that 'there's not yet a standard for Tetun' and that 'we use Tetun Prasa, a hybrid' (Prof. S, TTC-I1, A4.2.2, 00:26:40; translation from original Tetun). Identification of Tetun as a 'hybrid' language reinforces the notion that it is in a state of flux, still developing but not yet complete or fully settled: *seidauk iha*.

As has already been suggested, most lecturers who expressed a view about Tetun as an academic language saw the need to borrow terminology either as a gap or a weakness. Some TTC petroleum lecturers, for example, were quite clear that Tetun's role is only 'to explain' verbally, while writing must be in Indonesian, and English must be used for the names of equipment (e.g., Prof. L, TTC-I3, A4.1.4, 01:01:10), carving out a modally restricted functionality for Tetun within academic discourse. Other lecturers elsewhere went so far as to argue that the limitations they perceived in Tetun also hindered students' ability to think and to process information within the explanations given to them by lecturers in Tetun.

For example, Prof. T, a lecturer from community development studies, argued that she struggles to express abstract ideas in Tetun because 'Tetun is not really a well-structured language ... and [you] have to mix up with Indonesian language or [...] borrow from Portuguese' (NU-FG3, A6.1.1, 00:13:42). Prof. T went further than this, however, and also suggested that students 'cannot distinguish' between words in Tetun that, according to her, have clear distinctions in Portuguese. The implication in this case is a Whorfian one⁹¹ - that students' knowledge and customary use of Tetun, including its reportedly poor 'structure' or grammar, may interfere with their understanding of, and subsequent ability to use, words loaned from Portuguese. Prof. T gave the example of *atitude* ('attitude'), telling me 'they get [it] from Portuguese', and the Tetun word *hahalok* ('behaviour'), telling me 'sometimes they

⁹¹ I refer here to the idea of linguistic relativity advanced especially by Benjamin Whorf (1956), wherein the structure of a language is said to determine the thinking and worldview of its speakers/users.

mix up *hahalok* and *atitude* as the same thing’ (Prof. T, NU-FG3, A6.1.1, 00:15:50; original English).

In Tetun, *hahalok* and *atitude* can both mean ‘behaviour’. The word *atitude* is derived, as Prof. T said, from Portuguese. To articulate ‘attitude’ as distinct from ‘behaviour’ in Tetun one might say *hanoin nebee hatudu ho hahalok* (‘thinking which shows with behaviour’)⁹² but a single word transliteration may not be possible without borrowing from Portuguese. Yet in Portuguese, too, *atitude* may be taken to mean both ‘attitude’ and also ‘behaviour’⁹³, which points to the near-synonymous nature of the signified concepts and unsettles Prof. T’s suggestion that there is necessarily a deficiency in Tetun. Prof. T appears to be apportioning blame to students who ‘cannot distinguish’, and/or to perceived lexical gaps in Tetun, for what is arguably a communicative challenge in any language: making a highly nuanced semantic distinction between ‘behaviour’ and ‘attitude’.

Lecturers’ differing beliefs and ideologies about Tetun’s capacity to act as an academic language also combined with their differing individual repertoires in influencing how they conceived of possible translations in Tetun for technical and discipline-specific terms. For instance, one of Prof. T’s colleagues in the community development studies department at NU, Prof. Ab, told me that it was an affordance of Tetun to be able to borrow from and mix with multiple other languages. He gave the example of ‘naïve consciousness’, telling me he translates this into Tetun as *konsiensia naiv*, using both Portuguese and English⁹⁴ loans in the construction of this phrasal abstract noun. ‘We can borrow from *consciência*, in Portuguese,’ he said, ‘But ‘naïve’ is very difficult. So, they can mix: *konsiensia naiv*.’ (NU-I11, A6.3.6, 01:24:25).

Unfortunately, I missed the opportunity to delve deeper into why Prof. Ab felt that ‘naïve’ is so difficult to translate into Tetun. Perhaps he meant that it is difficult for either him or his students to translate because the Portuguese word for ‘naïve’, *ingênuo*, is a less well-known loan word than *konsiensia*. However, in the INL Tetun dictionary the word *injénuu* does

⁹² Indeed, such a translation is provided in the English-Tetun dictionary produced by Williams-van Klinken (2008).

⁹³ Notwithstanding, the more common word for ‘behaviour’ in Portuguese is *comportamento*, which might also reasonably be appropriated into Tetun as *kumportimentu*, however this does not currently appear to be a commonly used loan.

⁹⁴ Although the word ‘naïve’ is itself a loan into English from French, Prof. Ab identified it as an English loan word in his provided example of *konsiensia naiv*.

appear as a Tetunised form of *ingênuo*, with the meaning given as ‘one who believes too much’ (Guterres Correia, 2005, p.251). As a complete phrase the term *consciência ingênuo* was used by Freire himself in the original Portuguese version of *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, and continues to be used by authors writing about Freire’s theories of pedagogy for critical consciousness in Portuguese (see, e.g., Brayner, 2014).⁹⁵ So, it is not the case that there is no precedent in either Tetun or Portuguese of an inheritable translation existing for ‘naïve consciousness’. It is possible that Prof. Ab was aware of but dissatisfied with the Tetun *konsiensia ingénuu* as an expression of his understanding of what ‘naïve consciousness’ means. Whatever the motivation, Prof. Ab told me quite confidently that students ‘can mix’ Portuguese with English into Tetun to create *konsiensia naiv*.

This example highlights once again the performative role of lecturers like Prof. Ab in disciplinary language planning, in this case with a more positive gaze on the affordances of Tetun as an academic language. Even as Prof. Ab identifies a perceived problem with Tetun, saying it is ‘very difficult’ to translate a word like ‘naïve’, he also asserts Tetun’s capacity to cope with innovation and hybridisation within its lexicon, with the feasibility (at least from Prof. Ab’s perspective) of using more than one foreign language to create a new term in Tetun. Like Prof. K, with his assertion that Tetun can claim as its own the words that it borrows from Portuguese, Prof. Ab seems to claim that Tetun has a unique capacity to function as a carrier of the inevitable ‘mixing’ and translanguaging that will occur in the complex multilingual context of Timorese higher education. Prof. Ab’s use of *konsiensia naiv* is also an example of one lecturer’s performative language planning work clashing with formal language planning processes (the INL dictionary translation of naïve as *ingénuu*, for instance), just as we saw in the previous chapter with the translation of ‘growth’ as *moris* by the agronomy lecturer Prof. M and with the translation into Tetun of ‘service’ as *atendimentu*.

⁹⁵ The practice of borrowing words from foreign languages when citing foreign authors is a common one and, in the case of Freire’s theories specifically, the Portuguese word *conscientização* has often been borrowed into English in literature about Freire’s theories, rather than using the rather awkward English appropriation: ‘conscientization’. One of Freire’s own translators, Donaldo Macedo, has commented that to read the ‘real’ Paulo Freire is to read his work in the original Brazilian-Portuguese. This is both out of respect for the author’s original ‘voice’ and out of a sense that there is always something missing in translation. It has been suggested that the English ‘conscientization’, for instance, fails to fully capture the type of process that Freire was describing (Macedo, 1985).

Section summary

The data presented in this section revealed lecturers' generally negative attitudes towards the plurilingual repertoires of their students entering university. A dominant conceptualisation was of students' Portuguese-dominated repertoires existing in tension with lecturers' Indonesian-dominated repertoires in contexts of disciplinary communication. This conceptualisation was shown to be based on the assumption that most lecturers in Timor-Leste will be of the generation that was educated during the Indonesian colonial era, whereas most current students will be of the generation educated after independence from Indonesia, benefitting from a Portuguese and Tetun language-in-education policy. It was argued that this is a problematic conceptualisation that significantly oversimplifies the complex sociolinguistics of the tertiary sector in Timor-Leste, which is in fact characterised by diverse plurilingualisms. It was further proposed that such beliefs held by lecturers operate as language planning discourses (Lo Bianco, 2005, 2010), which frame the 'problem' of multilingualism in Timorese higher education with regard to a deficit view of students' communicative resources for disciplinary communication.

This section also reported a related but distinct view of students' plurilingual repertoires in terms of the perceived deficiencies of Tetun as a language of academic and scientific communication. This view relates to the problem of the 'intellectualisation' of Tetun, which, as Sibayan (1991) has shown in the case of Filipino, necessitates disciplinary language planning work to be done by disciplinary experts such as the lecturer-participants for this study. Negative beliefs from lecturers about the capabilities of Tetun to function as a language of disciplinary communication both reflect the need to 'intellectualise' Tetun and also operate as potent discourses at work against more coordinated efforts towards such intellectualisation. Meanwhile, more piecemeal, individual efforts towards the intellectualisation of Tetun continue, as evidenced by some lecturers' positive accounts of innovative translation and 'translanguaging' work. These include Prof. A's translation of 'naïve consciousness' for community development studies and, as discussed in the previous chapter, the translations of 'growth' and 'service' for agriculture and tourism respectively.

5.2 Students' sociolinguistic competence

In addition to understanding the ways that disciplinary lecturers conceptualised the plurilingual repertoires of students entering Timorese tertiary classrooms, I was also concerned in this study with lecturers' beliefs about students' abilities to perform appropriate language *use* for given contexts of academic communication. That is, I was interested in how lecturers conceptualised students' communicative competence, and specifically their sociolinguistic competence. This is about how lecturers perceived the readiness of students' voices to participate in academic and field-specific conversations, which includes recognition and mastery of particular genres of communication, as well as performed literacy in the norms of disciplinary communication. Such beliefs from disciplinary educators are especially significant given the processes of language socialisation into academic and disciplinary discourse communities that characterise the social domain of higher education (Duff, 2010).

In discussion of these beliefs, I examine in this section three examples of lecturers' expectations for the performance of sociolinguistic competence:

- i) *Ativu* as performed engagement in disciplinary communication;
- ii) Resemiotisation as context- and genre-specific meaning-making;
- iii) Essayist literacy as capstone achievement/performance of learned knowledge.

Once again, I note a deficiency view dominant among lecturers whom I interviewed regarding students' competencies in these areas. I also discuss some of the ideological forces at work in the discursive construction of these competencies by lecturers.

'Ativu' as performed engagement in disciplinary communication

The majority of conversations with lecturers about the communication resources of their students tended to focus on the language barriers that many lecturers saw impacting communication between them and their students, as well as issues with students' written expression. However, a significant number of lecturers also spoke of students' capacities to absorb and comprehend knowledge and information in terms of their characters and/or attitudes towards academic learning. Again, there was a general deficiency view across the disciplines, whereby lecturers spoke of many students being disengaged, silent, and lacking in initiative and self-motivation.

Such perceived character flaws were regularly contrasted with what lecturers' saw as the most significant attitude or character displayed by the (few) outstanding students: that of being *ativu* or 'active'. Lecturers' descriptions of this quality of *ativu*⁹⁶ revealed it as a kind of performance of the self as an autonomous learner, displayed via particular, socially recognisable forms of reading, writing, speaking and listening practices, often overlapping or interconnected. This suggests that part of the communication toolbox that students need to bring or acquire for success at university is an ability to take on the role of what Freebody and Luke (1990) referred to as 'text user' – the pragmatic and social performance of appropriate participation in a literacy event.

For instance, one participant, a forestry science lecturer from the Rural Coffee Institute, compared the 'few' students who 'can understand, can ask many questions' (*sira balu ... bele kompriende, bele husu pergunta barak*) with the 'majority', about whom she said 'only their bodies are present in the class, but their minds are not there' (*isin lolon deit mak iha klase laran, maibee kakutak la iha*; Prof. E, RCI-I8, A3.7.1, 00:15:21). Particularly significant here is this lecturer's perception of students' ability to listen and comprehend what she is saying as linked to their ability to perform 'presence' in the classroom, specifically by having something to say in response to what the lecturer is teaching and being able to 'ask many questions'. Such a conceptualisation hails Canagarajah's recent discussion of 'materialised competence' (2017), perceiving language practice as historical and embodied social performance, positioned in time and space.

This linking together of listening and speaking skills in a kind of ideal performative and embodied engagement in classroom dialogue was echoed by lecturers across the disciplines and institutions. At TTC, Prof. R from the tourism faculty identified, like Prof. E at RCI did, his 'one or two best students' as those who ask questions and are 'active' (TTC-FG2, A5.1.1, 00:09:30). Similarly, from the petroleum faculty at TTC, Prof. O told me that her one or two students who are *ativu* are the ones who are 'eager to answer' when she asks questions in the classroom (*sira ho antusias hakarak hataan*), noting that these students are the ones who have been educated at schools in the capital (*mai husi eskola iha Dili laran*; TTC-I2, A4.3.3, 00:18:55). And at NU, a community development studies lecturer, Prof. N, extended this emphasis on 'active' communication to graduates entering the workforce. He told me

⁹⁶ Portuguese loan into Tetun. Some also used the Indonesian *aktif*.

that the students who get NGO or government work after graduating are those who 'are very open to talk with the leaders or the seniors in the institution' (Prof. N, NU-FG3, A6.1.6, 01:05:04), framing confidence and assertiveness of voice as a kind of communication resource for both academic and professional success.

There is an important point to be made here about 'voice' as a communication resource distinct from (though certainly connected to) 'language'. A focus on voice brings attention to how language is used in presentations of the self entailed in the social construction of relationships and, in the specific context of tertiary classrooms, in the negotiated construction of expert knowledge. Timorese lecturers' concerns that their students should be *ativu* in the classroom extends their gaze beyond students' competencies in one or another named language, to the ways that they deploy linguistic resources in performed engagement in disciplinary communication. Language competency is required for this, of course, but so too are self-confidence, a socialised awareness of the communicative culture into which one speaks, and an interpellated sense that one has something to contribute to that culture. Prof. Z, for example – a lecturer from the NU agriculture faculty – commented that students were 'better in the past' when they understood more Indonesian, whereas now, he told me: 'we don't really have discussions, [...] it's not very interactive' (NU-FG1, A3.1.2, 00:22:25).

In addition to performing comprehension/effective listening and engagement via confident speaking and asking questions in the context of class discussion, some lecturers also spoke of the quality of *ativu* as manifesting in the ways that students approach independent research, reading, and writing in pro-active learning across different modalities. TTC tourism lecturer Prof. R spoke of his 'one or two' best students who are *ativu hotu* ('all active'), when given course materials they read and *buka informasaun* ('look for information') so that they are ready to *akompanya* ('accompany/follow') his teaching in the classroom (TTC-FG2, A5.1.1, 00:09:30 – 00:09:42). Prof. R is identifying purposeful and selective reading as a key skill here, but he is also highlighting the behavioural characteristic of taking initiative to engage in independent learning beyond the medium of didactic, spoken communication from the teacher, and perhaps also beyond the space of the classroom.

This trait was also emphasised by others, such as Prof. P, an agribusiness lecturer from RCI, who told me that students need to *kapasita sira nia aan* ('enable themselves') by seeking out information from the internet for themselves. However, according to Prof. P, many students

do not take this initiative but, rather, they *hein deit ita dosen sira mak bele fo* ('they just wait for us lecturers to give it to them'; RCI-FG1, A3.6.1, 00:09:56). Similarly, TTC petroleum lecturer Prof. O observed that most students tend not to take notes in class, saying *sira rona deit* ('they just listen') and *hein deit foti husi dosenti* ('just wait to be given [notes] by the lecturer'; TTC-I2, A4.3.4, 00:28:25). Prof. O added that this passive approach to learning and to communication in the classroom is what many Timorese are accustomed to since it is common practice for lecturers to give students notes from their presentations. By Prof. O's own account, students are learning from their experiences in classrooms about whether and how to use their voices to participate in academic and professional communication; to mobilise (or not) their linguistic resources for the communication practices and contexts that they encounter.

Performing resemiotisation of learned knowledge

The ability to demonstrate independence and initiative is clearly prioritised in the above comments from lecturers as a highly valued measure of communicative competence and, indeed, it fits with the *ativu* character that many lecturers described of their ideal student. However, this rather broad emphasis on individual character also somewhat masks implicit expectations of other, more technical communication skills and competencies with regard to multimodal, multisemiotic practices. A particularly significant one, especially given the complex multilingual, multimodal context, is that of 'resemiotisation', which Iedema (2003) says 'is about how meaning making shifts from context to context, from practice to practice, or from one stage of a practice to the next' (p.41). Recognising the multiple and diverse semiotic modes through which knowledge is being constructed brings into focus students' meaning-making repertoires, as well as their capacities to mobilise them appropriately and effectively across different communication contexts (Thesen, 2009; Stroud & Kerfoot, 2013).

Comments from lecturers discussed above with regard to the quality of *ativu* are also relevant for a discussion here on the performance of resemiotisation of learned knowledge. Both Prof. R and Prof. P clearly expect their students not only to be able to internalise information that they search for and read in textbooks or online, but also to adapt and apply that information in the context of classroom discourse. Prof. O expects that her students should be able to write notes while also listening to her lecture and viewing and making sense of her powerpoint at the same time. Although such expectations are of course commonly

held by university lecturers throughout the world, the communication resources required to meet these expectations have been shown to constitute quite complicated, multifaceted and, above all, *learned* academic literacies, especially where multiple linguistic systems are involved (Stroud & Kerfoot, 2013). There is also a taken-for-grantedness, exacerbated by the emphasis on individual attitude, in the implied expectation of computer and online literacy, which, again, is of course a learned skill. Prof. P even acknowledged the technical incapacity of some students to access the internet, saying some students ‘find it difficult’ and ‘don’t know how to access material via the internet’, and yet still concluded that these students do not ‘advance’ because they are not ‘interested’ (*la interese, la meningkat*; RCI-FG1, A3.6.1, 00:09:58).

One of the more powerful examples that I encountered regarding students’ struggles with resemiotisation was in conversation with two lecturers from the tourism faculty at TTC. One lecturer, Prof. C, told me of issues with students’ proactive literacies, saying: ‘Their problem is that sometimes they can’t explain it. [...] In their writing or in oral. In their speaking’ (TTC-I7, A5.4.1, 00:17:45; original English). Earlier, in a joint interview, Prof. C had joined one of his colleagues, Prof. F, in reflecting on students’ ability to communicate in academic form what they had observed and experienced in work placements or on-the-job training. Prof. F explained to me in Tetun that she and her fellow tourism lecturers encounter ‘many’ students who do extremely well in work experience placements, can orally explain, but then struggle to write academic reports about the ‘many things’ that they have learned in industry (TTC-I6, A5.3.1, 00:15:05). Prof. C then sought to translate and emphasise Prof. F’s point to me, confirming in English that the TTC tourism faculty receives positive feedback from industry about students but the register- and genre-specific task of writing an academic report to capture on-the-job learning presents a particular problem for students:

Speaker	Original utterance	Translation	Time
F	Dalaruma, oinsaa sira nia hanoin ida nee, sira *transfer* jadi sira nia tulisan yang baik dan benar.	Sometimes, [they have trouble with] how they can transfer their thoughts into writing that is good and correct [<i>Ind.</i>].	00:15:10
C	[<i>addressing T</i>] Yeah, some students they do best in the industry but, when they make a report, difficult for they transfer to their writing.		
F	Mmm. [<i>affirming</i>] In writing.		00:15:28
T	So... for example? Like, what kinds of difficulties?		

C How to use the good language so the ... so we can understand what they're writing. Sometimes it makes us confused what they're writing. So, when we ask to the industry, they say that he is or she is a good student, a good trainee,

T Right ...

C Yeah, but when he or she writes the report it ... makes us confused.

00:16:05

(TTC-I6, A5.3.1)

Prof. C also commented later in the same interview that the opposite is also true: that other students are strong in their spoken and written communication at university, 'but when go to industry, the industry say 'Oh, she is not good' (TTC-I6, A5.3.2, 00:35:09).

There is commentary here on students' ability to adapt or, as Prof. C put it, to *transfer* their communication for different purposes. One student struggles to translate practical, on-the-job experience into a report genre written in an academic register. Another student struggles with the opposite problem: to apply learned, academic theory and discourse to a workplace communication context. It should be pointed out here that the 'on-the-job training' being discussed by Prof. F and Prof. C is an activity in the later years of the licenciatura degree. By this time, students should already have been exposed to a wide range of discipline-specific terms, as well as some form of modelling from lecturers on mixing these lexical items into explanations in Tetun. They may not have had practice, however, in writing a fieldwork report, or more specifically a TTC tourism style of fieldwork report. Indeed, it is likely that the first time that students will need to produce a fieldwork report will be after their first on-the-job placement. Their first attempt at this literate practice is a high-stakes, assessable one, which some students inevitably find a challenge such that 'sometimes it makes us confused what they're writing'.

As academic literacy scholars have shown, academic literacy needs to be 'scaffolded', which is to say that students need early, low-stakes, supported practice in different types of reading and writing for different purposes prior to being assessed on it (Rose, Lui-Chivizhe, McKnight, & Smith, 2003). Specific styles and genres of assessment, localised to individual institutions, faculties and departments, may also present as new and unfamiliar to students if they have not encountered them before. For this reason, Lillis (2000) has argued for the need to 'look beyond a notion of individual confusion, towards an institutional practice of mystery,' a

practice that 'works against those least familiar with the conventions surrounding academic writing, limiting their participation in higher education as currently configured' (p. 53).

Another issue being highlighted by the example provided by Prof. C is the marked tension over who has authority over disciplinary communication; who gets to say what is 'good language': the industry or the academic. The student whom 'the industry' has identified as 'a good student, a good trainee' must surely communicate most adequately in the context of on-the-job training. But that set of communication skills, that set of literate practices specific to that industry context, does not translate to the valued forms of communication for assessment in the institutional setting of the TTC tourism faculty. With an increasing turn towards industry-dictated learning outcomes in higher education worldwide (Maassen, Nerland and Yates, 2018), students' abilities to perform literacies recognised as 'good' by industry may be more and more likely to out-value their abilities to perform literacies recognised as good by the academy. In such a vision, higher education is revealed as a socially negotiated, language mediated process of constructing what counts as disciplinary literacy and, by extension, a process of constructing what counts as disciplinary and professional knowledge.

One of the ways that lecturers accounted for the deficiencies that they observed in the educated, literate voices of students and their struggles to communicate learned knowledge in the forms and genres expected at university was to frame the problem in terms of deficiencies in the Timorese education system. One lecturer, for instance, blamed students' struggles with writing for academic purposes on their lack of prior practice from high school. Prof. T, an NU community development lecturer, told me:

[S]o far what I've observed is the high school level - even in secondary or primary school - the way they are doing, they give the test or the exam to the students, they don't encourage the students to write. They choose the options: A, B, C, D, [...]. So, if you do the exam, and you just choose ABCD, then you don't have the effort to form a phrase, a sentence or a phrase, to explain your own idea. That's the way of examination. That's not really to encourage the student to write a paragraph, even a paragraph.

(NU-FG3, A6.1.2, 00:22:30 - 00:23:11; original English)

Here Prof. T is talking quite directly about a deficiency that she perceives in the communication resources and literacies that students bring with them to university study. She speaks of prior experience in structured, academic writing as a key resource that students are lacking. If students had this prior experience, she suggests, then they would be

able to extend on their ability to 'explain their own ideas' in sentences structured into paragraphs when writing at university. Note especially that as Prof. T is making this claim about a deficiency in students' communication resources, she is also making a claim about a deficiency in the Timorese education system. The communication resources that students bring to university are being conceptualised via Prof. T's interpretations and analysis of what is affecting and/or shaping these communication resources: in this case pre-tertiary education curriculum and assessment practices.

A lack of experience in or practice with different genres of academic communication was also identified by other lecturers from other disciplinary fields as a problem facing their students. Like for Prof. T, this was considered by several participants to be the result of poor-quality education prior to entering university, and a general lack of scaffolded support towards developing the academic literacies needed for tertiary study. Some also extended this critique of the school system to blame it on students' general ignorance and a perceived lack of maturity. Prof. M, an agriculture lecturer, told me that students come with 'limited understanding', especially 'recent graduates from high school' (NU-I5, A3.5.1, 00:35:45) and Prof. S, a TTC petroleum lecturer, told me that students are still *labarik* ('children') when they come from secondary school (TTC-I1, A4.2.1, 00:14:30).

There is potential here for expectations of quite technical and complex communication skills to be ignored or taken for granted within these lecturers' conceptualisations of students' communicative competence. While focus is fixed on students' individual characters and attitudes, on the supposedly inherent quality of being either 'active' or 'passive', and even on the idea of whether or not students are 'interested' in learning, then the focus is away from what the teachers may or may not be doing, and from potential flaws in the curriculum, in assessment regimes, or in language and literacy support programs.

Following Prof. M's previous comment on students coming to university with 'limited understanding', he went on to comment on students' study habits in the following way:

[T]hey are very lazy, you know? If you look around, they are just hanging around and talking and don't really [do] studying, you know, very serious.

In fact, you know, there's some subjects, I don't think they're very hard, but I would rate most of them quite lazy, you know, to follow up after [the] lecture, they don't, you know? Until the exam. They even write whatever comes into their mind, you know? They don't really care.

(NU-I5, A3.5.1, 00:35:45 - 00:36:21; original English)

In this statement Prof. M references multiple performative acts surrounding the practice of writing in order to identify students as lazy. They are ‘hanging around and talking’ when he thinks they should be studying (suggesting that talking with peers, potentially about course-related topics, does not count as studying), they do not ‘follow up’ after lectures, and in the exam they ‘write whatever comes into their mind’.

While of course it may be true that some students are indeed ‘lazy’, Prof. M’s categorical framing of students’ attitudes to learning risks excluding other valid reasons why students are not participating in the kinds of communication practices that he expects of them. Perhaps they lack skills in study and revision techniques. Perhaps they are intimidated to approach and speak with lecturers and/or they lack the analytical skills to frame ‘follow-up’ questions that address their comprehension issues. And perhaps ‘they write whatever comes into their mind’ because they simply do not know what else to write. Embedded within value-laden comments from lecturers like this one about students’ dispositions towards academic learning are multiple expectations for specific kinds of performances of communicative competency. If students are not being explicitly taught these expectations it should be unsurprising that they do not always meet them.

Essayist literacy: tensions between localised and globalised academic literacy practices

A rather high-stakes example of the struggle of Timorese tertiary students to meet the academic literacy demands being placed them is the task of producing major pieces of academic writing at university. Such writing tasks common to all of the disciplines and institutions case studied include reports on professional and community service placements, and, perhaps most significantly, the requirement to produce an undergraduate thesis in their final year. This thesis task, commonly referred to as the *skripsi* (Indonesian) or the *monografia* (Portuguese), is a legacy of the Indonesian higher education system and also, more broadly, a cultural reproduction of an historically Western approach to the literate performance of learned knowledge (Farr, 1993; Lillis, 2000).

The task of producing a lengthy, structured report on empirical research is arguably a challenge for any student, especially at the undergraduate level. In the context of Timorese higher education, students face the added challenge of producing their thesis in multiple languages, most commonly a mixture of Tetun and Indonesian. Varied comments about this thesis task from lecturers whom I interviewed reflected this tension between the pragmatics

of multilingual communication at the local level in Timorese HEIs and the internationally recognised requirement for university students to acquire essayist literacy. Some lecturers expressed considerable frustration that their students' academic writing was consistently *sabraut loos* ('really messy' – Prof. K, NU-FG1, A3.1.4, 00:29:23), while others expressed doubts about the need for students to produce a thesis at all (see, for example, an interview with Prof. R, TTC-I5, A5.2.4, 00:56:15). Lecturers' responses to students' struggles to produce coherent writing in their theses also varied, with several telling me that they focussed more on the ideas than the use of 'correct' language in students' writing,⁹⁷ and others telling me that they placed more value on students' oral presentations than their written work.

The requirement for undergraduate students in Timor-Leste to produce a formal, written thesis is an imported, high-stakes measurement of learned disciplinary knowledge that is out of step with the local sociolinguistic reality, including the need for the intellectualisation of Tetun. It contributes to a general lack of trust from lecturers towards students' writing and a deficit view of their essayist literacy. From a more positive perspective, it also encourages (in some cases) more critical consideration of the modes of communication and technologies of voice that are to be valued in Timorese higher education, such as when more emphasis is placed on students' oral communication skills in the assessment of learned disciplinary knowledge. As this high-stakes writing requirement is unlikely to be removed in the near future, it will continue to serve as an example of the tension that exists between locally valued forms of academic and disciplinary communication and globalised norms of measurement of academic literacy.

Section summary

In this section I discussed lecturers' views on what students are able to *do* with language and what academic- and discipline-specific literacy *practices* the lecturers appear to value. This includes the technical communication skills and literacies, the technologies of voice that students need in order to mobilise their linguistic resources for the communication of disciplinary knowledge, to show that learning has taken place, and to perform competency in genre-specific learning and assessment tasks. For this kind of communication resource, lecturers described students' struggles to articulate their own ideas clearly in spoken and

⁹⁷ See, for example, comments made to this effect by Prof. M (NU-I5, A3.5.1, 00:36:35) and by Prof. D (NU-FG3, A6.1.2, 00:23:50).

written tasks, and their apparent inability to engage and be *ativu* ('pro-active') in class discussion.

Analysis of the data presented in this section reveals that lecturers across the institutions and disciplinary fields held some quite specific expectations of students' sociolinguistic competence, expectations that were often frustrated. In particular, the expectation that students should be able to translate knowledge and experience gained in one communicative domain (work experience) to another (university) illustrated that students' need to learn about and gain confidence in different genres and norms of communication for different purposes, contexts and audiences. Such learning is especially challenging, however, when the norms and genres themselves are sites of significant instability and tension, as was shown to be the case with lecturers' varied approaches to students' essayist literacy. I will return again to this discussion in the next chapter, with regard to the diverse language and communication practices modelled by lecturers in classrooms.

The third and final section of this chapter examines comments made by lecturers about the human and material resources that impact on students' communication at university, highlighting lecturers' sensitivity to the impacts of Timor-Leste's post-colonial, developing context on the tertiary education sector.

5.3 Kontestu Timor – 'The Timorese context' as deficit resource

As one agriculture lecturer at NU emphasised to me in a focus group discussion, *ita la bele haluha Timor nia kontestu* ('we cannot forget the Timorese context'; Prof. G, NU-FG1, A3.1.7 00:52:03). In this discussion, he referred to the national context of post-colonial, post-conflict development, where limited material resources and the legacies of prior colonial education systems continue to impact upon Timorese higher education. An ever-present awareness of the developing social, political and economic context of Timor-Leste was clearly manifest in lecturers' conceptualisations of their students' communicative abilities, as some comments from lecturers discussed above have already indicated. In this section, I briefly discuss some of the more direct comments from lecturers framing 'the Timorese context' as a kind of deficit communication resource for their students coming to university.

The most common comments in this regard related to the material and institutional constraints within which students' learning occurs. For instance, a TTC petroleum lecturer,

Prof. L, commented on the general lack of teaching and learning resources, including poor internet access, saying: *Sira falta kona ba referensia ... seidauk iha kapasidade o iha falta fasilidade atu asesu ba internet. Hanesan livru - livru barak mak menus* ('They lack references ... they don't yet have the capacity, or they lack the facilities to access the internet. It's the same [with] textbooks – there is a lack of many textbooks.' - TTC-FG1, A4.1.1, 00:30:59). Several other lecturers at TTC identified the problem of lecturers' time and availability being a limited resource, along with the high student-to-teacher ratio.⁹⁸ Another lecturer from the TTC petroleum faculty, Prof. O, commented that there are not enough lecturers to adequately support students and class sizes can reach up to 100 (TTC-I2, A4.3.2, 00:10:35), and a lecturer from the TTC tourism faculty, Prof. R, said that it is difficult to 'control' so many students and to allow equal opportunity to speak (TTC-I5, A5.2.1, 00:18:18).

In addition to these comments, other comments were also made about the socio-economic backgrounds of students and the emotional, financial and other support (or lack thereof) that students may experience at home. A lecturer from RCI, for example, commented on the problem of families not providing time or support for students to study (Prof. P, RCI-FG1, A3.6.2, 00:13:20), highlighting the status of many Timorese university students as 'first in family'. Another RCI lecturer indicated that some students need counselling for their 'problematic' home situations, where they may not have enough food or room to study when staying with relatives or in boarding arrangements closer to the institute while 'their parents are in other places, in the village' (Prof. E, RCI-I8, A3.7.2, 00:18:47; translation from original Tetun). Such accounts from lecturers indicate their awareness that students' performance at university may be affected by a range of factors beyond language competency and prior education. As Prof. Z, a NU agriculture lecturer, put it, 'there is a link also from parents. Not only from school alone.' (NU-I4, A3.4.5, 01:06:14).

Some lecturers also went so far as to identify an impoverished culture of learning in Timor-Leste as a deficit resource affecting students' communication university. Lecturers in NU's community development studies department, in particular, blamed Indonesian colonial legacies and an under-developed education system in Timor-Leste for what they identified as wider social trends towards passivity in learning and a lack of confidence in reading,

⁹⁸ A particular problem at TTC, where class sizes were observed to be the largest of the three institutions case studied.

writing, speaking, listening, and even thinking for academic purposes. Prof. D, for instance, told me that Timorese students ‘don’t have custom or culture to read’ and they find reading ‘very difficult’ because ‘many of our schools don’t have library’ (NU-FG3, A6.1.2, 00:20:00; original English). One of Prof. D’s colleagues, Prof. Ab, also extended this perceived underdeveloped culture of reading and writing to lecturers, saying that they too ‘do not read, nor write, and there’s a really average academic culture’ (NU-I11, A6.3.4, 01:03:30; translation from original Tetun). Prof. Ab also went further to assert that students’ and also *lecturers’* lack of critical thinking is a legacy of past, oppressive colonial systems of education imposed by Indonesia. He specifically blamed ‘the Soharito system of education’ and the *Pancasila* doctrine⁹⁹, saying ‘we never had opportunity to develop our creativity of thinking’ (NU-I11, A6.3.1, 00:01:05; original English).

Prof. I, also of the NU community development studies department, echoed this view, referring to it as a ‘dependence mentality’. Like his colleagues, Prof. D and Prof. Ab, Prof. I’s framing of the problem is not that students are ‘lazy’ but that they lack the quality of *ativu* because:

they still enjoy their old-style learning, dependence mentality to the lecturer
[...] still use the old paradigm: Indonesian style, where the teachers or lecturers
know everything and the students come to get from the lecturers.

(Prof. I, NU-FG3, A6.1.3, 00:30:15; original English)

While there remains an impoverished or *seidauk dezenvolve* (‘not yet developed’) view in these conceptualisations of the communication resources that students bring to university study, the impoverishment is located at the national level, rather than at the level of the individual student or at the level of language itself. Prof. D’s claim that many schools do not have a library is a comment on the impoverishment of Timor’s material resources and infrastructure affecting students’ academic communication skills. Prof. Ab’s and Prof. I’s claims that styles and methods of teaching and learning remain mired in past colonial education practices and ‘old paradigms’ position both lecturers and students alike as victims of a deficiency in post-colonial national development.

⁹⁹ *Pancasila* (lit.=‘five principles’) is the official philosophy and ideology of the Indonesian state, promulgated especially through the Indonesian education system. It encompasses elaborated statements on monotheism, civic responsibility, national unity, democracy and social justice.

Yet another lecturer – not from community development studies but from the TTC petroleum faculty – made a direct statement that it is not students’ capacities that are deficient, it is the failure of the education system to prepare them, as if in preemptive rebuttal to a challenge to the quality of Timor’s human resources:

[Sira] seidak bele atu simu buat ida mak hala’o iha universidade laran [...]. Seidak, tanba mentalidade. Se karik koalia kona ba matenek ka beik, ema hotu-hotu ne’e matenek. [...] Se karik nia beik tanba nia la estuda. Mais-ou-menos ita hotu bele. Maibee, ita nia preparasaun husi kiik too iha universidade, iha Timor mak ... la diak. Seidak hanesan nasaun seluk.

[They’re] not yet able to receive/absorb things that are implemented in universities [...]. Not yet, because of mentality. If we talk about [being] clever/skilled or stupid, everyone [here] is clever/skilled. [...] If perhaps they are stupid, it’s because they don’t study. More or less all of us are capable. But, our preparation from infancy to university in Timor is what is ... not good. It’s not yet like other nations.

- Prof. H, TTC petroleum studies faculty
(TTC-FG1, A4.1.3, 00:44:25 - 00:45:01)

Prof. H’s concluding comment here that Timor is *seidak hanesan nasaun seluk* (‘not yet like other nations’) encapsulates well the aspect of *becoming* that is part of this deficiency view of students’ preparedness for university, which makes the *seidak* (‘not yet’) so pivotal to the conceptualisations cited throughout this chapter.

There is a clear perception that because Timor-Leste as a nation is in an ongoing process of moving away from being under-developed (deficiency view) towards some ideal state of being developed (affordance view), then so too are students’ academic literacies – along with their linguistic repertoires and the national language of Tetun itself – in ongoing processes of development. Indeed, Prof. H was careful to tell me that one cannot compare Timor’s education system to those of other nation’s because *sei iha prosesu ida ... foin atu hahuu* (‘it’s in a process [...] it’s only just begun’; TTC-FG1, A4.1.3, 00:43:10).

A notable few lecturers also recognised *themselves* as ‘deficient’ communication resources for students, since they, too, are caught up in the post-colonial, developing context of Timor-Leste and the institutional manifestations of this context. For instance, NU community development studies lecturer, Prof. Ab, spoke of the challenge for lecturers like him to learn Portuguese to a level that would enable teaching students in the language. Prof. Ab told me that he has been attending Portuguese languages classes offered by NU to lecturers since 2002 but ‘we only learn *bondia* [good day] and *eu chamo-me* [my name is]’, and he

complained that ‘the syllabus, the model is still the same every year!’ (NU-I11, A6.3.8, 01:41:45; original English). While there is recognition here from Prof. Ab that his own Portuguese language skills could be improved to better communicate with students coming from high schools where Portuguese is used, he blames the paucity of classes on offer at NU for his lack of development.

Other lecturers, by some contrast, acknowledged the importance of individual effort for language learning but complained of other difficulties and barriers facing them. At TTC, lecturers in both the tourism and petroleum faculties spoke of their slow progress in learning English, several telling me that they do not have time to regularly attend the classes that are offered. One TTC petroleum lecturer, Prof. O, recognised that it is not only up to students but also lecturers to make special efforts to improve their language skills communication in their industry. She told me that she would like to get more direct industry experience but she does ‘not yet have good English’ (*seidauk iha ingles mak diak*) and recognises that she has to ‘put in her own effort’ (*sei esforsu aan*) to acquire the English skills relevant to her industry (TTC-I2, A4.3.1, 00:04:25).

There were also some revealing comments from lecturers about their own role in learning about, developing, and using Tetun for academic purposes. Prof. Z, for example, acknowledged that the practice of mixing technical and scientific loan words into Tetun is a challenge for him and his colleagues because they are ‘not accustomed’ to it (*ami seidauk toman deit*; Prof. Z, NU-FG1, A3.1.2, 00:26:28), which implies that there may be a need for training in multilingual pedagogy. Only one participant explicitly acknowledged that he might have something yet to learn about Tetun, saying ‘some other colleagues, they say that “Oh no, this is still not appropriate enough to use it for scientific written materials” [... but] I think this is opportunity to learn’ (Prof. M, NU-I5, A3.5.2, 00:59:00; original English). As has already been discussed, and as Prof. M is suggesting in this statement, other lecturers focussed on perceived deficiencies of Tetun when conceptualising it as a communication resource, precluding discussion about any potential limitations in their own Tetun vocabularies and/or in their own past experiences with using Tetun in academic contexts. By some contrast, Prof. M’s comment shifts the attention from the language to the user, framing the development of Tetun as an ‘opportunity to learn’.

Perhaps the most direct comment from a participant about lecturers themselves being deficient communication resources for students was in reference to their role as supervisors

and the work of correcting and giving feedback on students' writing. Prof. Ab, a lecturer from the community development studies department at NU, commented:

How to supervise. This is the problem also. So, I don't want to blame only to the students, yeah? We also have a problem about the supervisors. Many of us, we don't think seriously about how to make a good supervision to the students. [...] And the other problem also is many of us, we don't have good experience on writing. *[laughs]* That's why we can't make good supervising [...] If we don't have a good experience on writing, or we don't have writing experiences, we can't make a good supervisor also. [...] So not only the students problem, but the lecturers problem also.

(NU-I11, A6.3.7, 01:32:00 - 01:33:20; original English)

Prof. Ab is here acknowledging that lecturers as supervisors may lack the academic literacy skills themselves to adequately support students in the development of their academic writing. He is making a direct correlation between the quality of the supervision that students are receiving and the amount and quality of experience that lecturers are likely to have had in writing and in receiving supervision themselves. There are multiple potential issues with lecturers as communication resources for students being identified here. One is with the language most familiar to lecturers as a medium of academic writing and of supervision, given that students in most faculties and institutions are now required to write in Tetun and, as has been discussed, most lecturers are likely to have experienced academic writing and also supervisory meetings in languages other than Tetun. Another issue is with the individual communicative style or approach that the lecturer may adopt, as Prof. Ab is suggesting that the educational systems to which lecturers themselves have been exposed (that is, for most, the Timorese and Indonesian ones) may have impoverished or underdeveloped cultures of writing and writing supervision. Thirdly, Prof. Ab also claims 'we don't think seriously about how to make good supervision', indicating that lecturers lack inclination or capacity to reflect and be self-aware in the task of supervision within their professional practice.

Although Prof. A was certainly the most direct and vocal about Timorese lecturers' own deficiencies as academic literacies support resources for students, a few other lecturers did make similar observations. A lecturer from the TTC tourism faculty, Prof. C, told me that he and his colleagues may need training in academic writing in English because they are 'from the Indonesian method' (TTC-I7, A5.4.3, 00:36:55), suggesting a different approach to academic writing follows a change in the language used for writing. Petroleum lecturers at TTC and also agriculture lecturers at the Coffee Institute confessed to me that they lack skills

in research and referencing needed for academic writing and publication. And with specific regard to ICT skills and computer literacies for the formatting and management of documents, an NU agriculture lecturer, Prof. Y, complained to me about the poor ICT skills of her colleagues, showing me an enrolment list that one of them had produced and pointing to the lack of alphabetical ordering of students' names (NU-I3, A3.4.4, 00:26:22). There was a clear tendency among these few comments on lecturers' academic communication skills to represent them as still in the process of development. Like the linguistic resources and academic literacies of their students, these perspectives on lecturers themselves as role models and resources for students' development of academic and disciplinary communication were framed as *seidauk iha*, or 'not yet there'.

As a final note, it should be acknowledged that at least one lecturer attempted to frame lecturers' diverse linguistic and academic backgrounds as an advantage for students, saying that 'it is a good experience for students to understand ... to see' different styles of academic communication, different ways of 'thinking and transferring information, [and] writing' (Prof. M, NU-I5, A3.5.5, 01:56:35; original English). Prof. M did, however, admit to some bias towards what he identified as the 'Western' style of academic communication that he thinks works best. Having completed his PhD himself in Australia, he told me that students can see that 'lecturers [who] graduate from Australia, the way of teaching and talking and discussing very openly, you know, compared to those that graduated from here, from Indonesia, maybe Brasil' (Prof. M, NU-I5, A3.5.5, 01:57:04). This 'open' style of communication between lecturers and students that Prof. M experienced in Australia is what he identified as the 'Western' style, which he said is 'more straightforward' than the Timorese style, which, he said is 'like Indonesia: [...] talk a lot and sometimes you miss key points' (A3.5.5, 01:58:25).¹⁰⁰

Although Prof. M did state that diversity itself is a kind of resource or learning opportunity for students, his conclusion that the 'Western' style of academic communication is preferable to the Timorese and Indonesian ones diminishes this point. As with the other comments from lecturers cited above, Prof. M's comments paint a deficit picture of lecturers as

¹⁰⁰ Another, more negative aspect of the 'Western style' of academic communication that Prof. M hints at but does not identify directly is time pressure on communication, specifically the pressure for lecturers to maximise the number of students attended to within a given time period. He prefers the Western style of academic communication, he said, 'because everything straightforward and quickly. [...] If you take too much time to speak, to sit down to talk about this, you know, I have some other stuff to do. So, you have to straightforward and you have to, you know, finish it quickly so I can do others. Otherwise I don't finish my job.' (A3.5.5, 01:58:55 - 01:59:27).

communication resources and, indeed, a deficit picture of the academic environment and culture in which Timorese tertiary students are immersed.

Chapter summary and conclusions

This chapter presented focus group and interview data related to lecturers' beliefs about the communication resources that students bring with them to tertiary study. Across the disciplinary fields and institutions, I observed in this data a recurring deficit view expressed by lecturers about the communication skills and resources that students bring with them to university study, juxtaposed against those that lecturers say are necessary to successfully get through a degree in their field:

- Students' knowledge of scientific Indonesian and Portuguese for the communication of disciplinary knowledge: *seidauk iha*;
- The intellectualisation of Tetun for its use in academic and scientific communication: *seidauk iha*;
- Students' ability to reproduce learned disciplinary knowledge in spoken and written modes and task-specific genres of communication: *seidauk iha*;
- Students' learned attitudes towards participation and engagement in disciplinary learning processes: *seidauk iha*;
- The human and material resources necessary to support students' academic literacy development: *seidauk iha*.

From the qualitative data collected, lecturers most commonly identified students' linguistic repertoires as deficient. That is, the most common way that lecturers spoke about the communication resources that students need for university study was in terms of students' competencies in Portuguese, Indonesian, English, and Tetun and the perceived affordances and deficiencies of these languages themselves for academic and disciplinary communication purposes. Lecturers across disciplines and institutions spoke of students' lack of either Portuguese or Indonesian for academic and scientific communication, and perceived Tetun, students' strongest language, as underdeveloped and therefore inadequate for the communication of disciplinary and vocational knowledge. The predominance of this view is significant in itself, as it highlights the power of the monologic, centripetal forces active in

and through discourses related to language-in-education policy, driving lecturers' conceptualisations of their students' plurilingual repertoires as parallel monolingualisms.

The finding that lecturers perceive deficiencies in Tetun as a language for academic and scientific communication is in keeping with the findings of other recent research into attitudes toward Tetun that show it to be a target of much social critique, with perceptions of it 'needing development' (Ross, 2017, p.2). This is the first research, however, to show these attitudes coming from university lecturers as a specific group, and in specific regard to the use of Tetun in disciplinary communication. Given the crucial role to be played by disciplinary experts in the intellectualisation of Tetun, their predominantly negative attitudes towards the language for academic purposes are likely to present a significant barrier to such language planning work being done.

A preoccupation with the relative affordances of the four official and working languages of Timor-Leste for the communication of professional knowledge also potentially obscures appreciation among lecturers of the social and dialectical nature of academic and disciplinary literacy practices. With the conceptualisation of multilingualism as parallel monolingualism in this context there is the potential for a 'closing off' of creative as well as 'implementational space' (Johnson, 2010) for pragmatic, translingual communication between lecturers and students in Timorese higher education. While lecturers were certainly able to identify other variables impacting students' communication at university, as discussed in sections 5.2 and 5.3 of this chapter, their main focus was on perceived deficiencies in students' linguistic repertoires, as discussed in section 5.1. Such a focus restricts the gaze of these educators to students' learning of named languages and diverts attention from the need for students to also learn about particular uses, functions, and mobilisations of repertoire and voice for certain contexts, purposes and audiences.

To the extent that lecturers were attentive to these aspects of language use in higher education settings, they perceived a lack of readiness among students for academic study and an underdeveloped character to their academic literacies. I presented the argument that these various deficiency-oriented views are grounded in particular interpretations of the post-colonial, developing context in which higher education delivery in Timor-Leste occurs – deficit views of the educational context in which lecturers must work. Lecturers' conceptualisations of the underdevelopment of students' voices entering tertiary learning spaces are connected to negative beliefs about students' attitudes towards learning, to direct

experiences of the impoverished material conditions, and to discourses about a deficient culture of learning in Timor-Leste linked to its colonial past.

The data presented in this chapter illustrates disciplinary lecturers' participation in tension-filled discourses concerning national language-in-education policy and planning. Distinct ways of representing 'the challenge' of language in Timorese higher education constitute a form of discourse planning (Lo Bianco, 2005) in which disciplinary lecturers are engaged. Lecturers are constructing multilingualism as a problem in academic and disciplinary teaching and learning contexts with particular, negative implications for how they conceptualise their own relationships with their students in the communication and transfer of disciplinary and professional knowledge; that is, their role in students' socialisation into disciplinary discourse communities. Such a conceptualisation grossly oversimplifies the uniquely complex characters of students' and also lecturers' plurilingual repertoires, informed as they are by diverse educational experiences and biographical trajectories (Moore and Gajo, 2009). Moreover, and as the next chapter will show, a deficiency view of Tetun as an academic and scientific language grossly underestimates the complex communication work that Tetun is already doing in tertiary education spaces.

Chapter 6:

‘Tetun ho gado-gado’

Mixing in the communication of specialist knowledge

*There isn't a standard that says Tetun has to be like this. There isn't this yet.
We don't have it yet. We still use Tetun that is mixed.
- Prof. S, TTC-I2, A4.2.2*

Chapter overview

This chapter is about the multilingual communication practices of lecturers - what they told me that they do and what I observed them doing with language and with other semiotic resources for the disciplinary and vocational education of their students. The previous two chapters have addressed my first research question by exploring different themes that emerged in focus group and interview data of lecturers' conceptualisations of the communication skills and resources needed by their students for tertiary study and for work in their respective fields. This chapter addresses my second research question, examining more closely the performance of these beliefs and ideologies about language and communication in everyday teaching and learning activities. Specifically, I focus on understanding what 'mixing' in the practice of classroom communication may mean for different lecturers in different disciplinary and institutional contexts. This chapter also draws on a much wider range of data sources than the preceding two chapters, including classroom observation records, images of the linguistic landscape of specific classrooms, and excerpts from different texts through which lecturer-to-student communication is mediated. This is in addition to drawing from focus group and interview data for lecturers' own reflections on their practices.

The breadth of ethnographic data collected for this study with relevance to lecturers' multilingual communication practices and teaching strategies is too vast to be comprehensively captured here in a single chapter. Indeed, a key finding from this research is precisely the spectacular diversity of practices that are constitutive of disciplinary communication in Timorese higher education, in and through which features of named languages – Tetun, Indonesian, English, Portuguese – are 'mixed'. I mean 'spectacular' quite literally in that the diversity should be understood as a spectacle to be regarded with interest.

Accordingly, I have structured this chapter somewhat differently to the preceding two chapters, presenting my findings on the various forms of ‘mixing’ in disciplinary communication via a discussion of examples from the different types of data that I collected.

I begin with an analysis and discussion of one lecturer’s description of, and rationale for, his classroom communication as *Tetun ho gado-gado*: ‘Tetun with mixing’. Via sociolinguistic analysis of this lecturer’s utterance, I reflect on both the inherently diverse nature of ‘mixing’ in communication in Timorese tertiary contexts, and questions of intentionality in language ‘choice’ manifest in just one lecturer’s claim about his enacted classroom communication policy. I then present the results of the classroom observations that I conducted, comparing the relative frequency of the four dominant named languages and the functions I observed them to perform in classrooms. I note a strong trend towards the use of Tetun for spoken communication across vocational fields and institutions, though significant variation in the use of the other three languages from one lecturer to another. I provide further insight into this source of variation by analysing several interview-based accounts by lecturers of their intentional mixing of Tetun with Indonesian, English and Portuguese.

Moving beyond a focus on spoken communication, I then discuss the multimodal and ‘polysemiotic’ (Canagarajah, 2017) nature of communication in the tertiary classrooms that I observed. I divide this discussion into three parts. In the first part, I analyse images showing the distribution of semiotic resources across whiteboards and PowerPoints in classroom communication, noting not only a ‘mixing’ of features of named languages across these modalities but also the incorporation of numbers, symbols, diagrams and images. I then discuss the ‘mixing’ that occurs as a result of lecturers’ borrowing excerpts from textbooks and online materials in their production of teaching and learning resources. Lastly, I examine the diversity of approaches across disciplines and institutions to assessing students and providing feedback on their written and oral communication.

In the final section of this chapter, I extend my analysis of the ‘mixing’ occurring in disciplinary communication in Timorese higher education to examples of what I call ‘outsourced’ disciplinary communication.

6.1 'Tetun ho gado-gado': Expanding understanding of language mixing practices

Lecturers across the disciplines and institutions case studied reported 'mixing' language in the communication of disciplinary knowledge with their students. One lecturer from the Rural Coffee Institute explained this 'mixing' in some intriguing detail, as follows:

Entaun hau koalia ho Tetun deit, maske ho gado-gado. Hanesan ba hau, gado-gado nee kahur ba, kahur mai. Bele Portuges oituan, dalaruma Tetun tama Portuges bele tama oituan. Se lae, balu ita haluha, ita bele tama ba Bahasa. Sira nebee hau bele, hau bele esforsu aan, balun nebee hau la bele, entaun ho halo mixtura. Mais esforsu halo nusaa para sira kompriende materia nebee ita foo.

So, I just speak in Tetun, but with mixing[Ind.]. For me, this mixing[Ind.] is mixing[Tet.] from here, mixing[Tet.] from there. There can be a bit of Portuguese, sometimes the Tetun can have a bit of Portuguese in it. If not, for the [terms] we forget, we can go into Indonesian. For those [terms] that I can, I can endeavour [to use them], but for those that I can't, then I make a mixture[Port.]. But I endeavour to find a way for them to understand the subject materials that we give [them].

- Prof. Gm, RCI agriculture faculty
(RCI-FG1, A3.6.3, 00:23:35 - 00:24:00)

Even as he explains that he 'mixes' both Portuguese and Indonesian into Tetun when teaching his students, Prof. Gm's explanation itself is a curious performance of this 'mixing', as he uses three different loan words for 'mix' in his statement. I have marked these in the above translation with [Ind.] for the Indonesian *gado-gado*, [Tet.], for the Tetun *kahur*, and [Port.] for the Portuguese *mixtura*.

Prof. Gm made this statement in the context of describing to me the materiality of multilingualism at RCI. He told me that all of his teaching materials – the faculty-produced subject guides as well as the textbooks from which he plans his classes – are in Indonesian but, if he teaches in Indonesian, *sira la kompriende* ('they don't understand'; RCI-FG1, A3.6.3, 00:24:30). So, he told me, he speaks in Tetun 'with mixing' (*ho gado-gado*).

In Indonesian, *gado-gado* most commonly refers to a dish of mixed vegetables served in peanut sauce, though the phrase may also be used to signify a random or hodgepodge combination of elements, as in 'all mixed up'. Describing his mixed Tetun as *gado-gado* is likely an intentional mixing of language in itself by Prof. Gm, communicating a particular kind of mixing: one that is messy and unpredictable. He goes on to explain his meaning further by using the Tetun word for mix, *kahur*, within the idiomatic phrase *kahur ba, kahur mai* (lit. 'mixing [that] goes, mixing [that] comes' or, more figuratively translated, 'mixing this way

and that'). Thus, although this lecturer appears to demonstrate quite strategic mixing in his very description of his classroom language mixing practice, he makes it quite clear that he sees his own 'mixed Tetun' as *ad hoc* and spontaneous, as if he were trying out different combinations of languages within Tetun until his students understand.

Prof. P's statement that 'I speak Tetun but with mixing' declares upfront two important things about this lecturer's individual medium of instruction policy and the beliefs that inform it:

- 1) That this professor has made a conscious choice to use Tetun at least for spoken communication with his students in the classroom based on his belief that his students understand it best out of the available language options; and
- 2) That he believes he needs to supplement Tetun by 'mixing' it with other languages when teaching his subjects, specifically Indonesian and Portuguese.

The preceding two chapters assist in understanding what is behind this lecturer's explicit statement of language choice for disciplinary communication. This lecturer's rationale for his choice of Tetun is consistent with findings presented in the previous chapter pertaining to NU and RCI agriculture lecturers' beliefs about students' knowledge of (especially scientific) Indonesian being insufficient for 'communicating the science' (see Chapter 5, section 5.1). The second point, too, confirms attitudes and beliefs discussed in the same chapter about the limitations of Tetun as an academic or intellectualised language and the contrasting affordances of the colonial languages.

Yet this statement also raises other questions that further complicate an understanding of the ways that lecturers' language beliefs are manifested in their language practices. What exactly does 'mixing' mean? If Indonesian and/or Portuguese is needed specifically for scientific communication, why does this lecturer use Indonesian to describe the communicative 'mixing' that he does ('*gado-gado*')? And the use of the Tetun *kahur*: is this mixing about mixing intentional and, if so, to what communicative end? Does the mixing only happen in spoken communication, or does it also manifest in and across other modes of communication; on the white or blackboard, in handouts, or when commenting on students' written work? To what extent do these communicative mixing practices correspond to the kinds of communication cultures that lecturers expect students will encounter in industry settings? And how does all of this mixing vary from one lecturer to the next, from one discipline to the next, and from one institution to the next?

While it is beyond the scope of this thesis to attempt to answer these questions, I pose them here to make a point precisely about the extensive scope of potential analysis in this one lecturer's rationale for his own classroom language mixing practices. Indeed, the questions highlight the potential scope of the 'translanguaging as analytical lens' of which Mazak (2017) writes. The questions are all relevant to an in-depth understanding of this lecturer's communicative language practices, his mobilisation of repertoire in communication with his students. They are also relevant, in turn, to an understanding of what is characterising disciplinary discourse socialisation in this context and contributing to students' own repertoires for academic and disciplinary communication purposes in Timor-Leste. That it is Tetun which is being used as the 'carrier'¹⁰¹ of the mixing, that the two languages that are mentioned as combining with Tetun in the mixing are the two former colonial languages; these findings sharpen insight into the complex nature of language 'choice' in disciplinary classrooms in Timor-Leste.

6.2 Class observation results:

The ubiquitous use of Tetun and its functions in classroom communication

In keeping with the above comment made by Prof. Gm, Tetun was widely acknowledged by lecturers from different educational backgrounds, disciplines and institutions as the main language of spoken classroom communication across their different classroom contexts. Lecturers also reported Tetun as the most common language used by students for written communication for homework and assessments.

These reports from lecturers of a prominent role for Tetun in tertiary teaching and learning are confirmed by my own observational data, which clearly shows Tetun as the main language of communication in every one of the thirteen classes observed across the four disciplinary areas (see below: *Table 3*). 'Main language of communication' was determined by frequency of occurrence across the duration of each class observation (i.e., the total number of 5-minute intervals for which Tetun was recorded as the language being used), as well as by frequency across the different types of communication event observed.¹⁰²

¹⁰¹ I evoke this metaphor prompted by Prof. Gm's use of the Tetun preposition *ho* [with].

¹⁰² See Chapter 3 for a more detailed account of my use of the observation tool.

Table 3: Class observation results by discipline and institution

Department/Faculty, Institution	Lecturer	Main language	Other languages (by frequency)	Other semiotic resources used	Modalities
Agriculture, NU	Prof. Y	Tetun	Indonesian, English	Diagrams/drawings	PPT, whiteboard
	Prof. M	Tetun	Indonesian, English	Numbers, symbols, diagrams/drawings	PPT, whiteboard
	Prof. X	Tetun	Indonesian	Numbers	PPT, whiteboard, Course book
	Prof. K	Tetun	Indonesian	Diagrams/drawings, images	PPT
	Prof. Z	Tetun	Indonesian, English	Diagrams/drawings, images	PPT, whiteboard
Agriculture, RCI	Prof. Q	Tetun	Indonesian, Portuguese, English	Diagrams/drawings, tabulated numbers	Blackboard
	Prof. E	Tetun	Indonesian	Diagrams/drawings, projected PDF	Whiteboard
Petroleum, TTC	Prof. L	Tetun	Indonesian, English	Diagrams/drawings, symbols, numbers	PPT, Whiteboard
Tourism, TTC	Prof. C	Tetun	English, Indonesian	-	Whiteboard
	Prof. Ba	Tetun	English, Indonesian, Portuguese	-	PPT
Community Development, NU	Prof. J	Tetun	English	Maps, diagrams/drawings	Handout, whiteboard
	Prof. T	Tetun	Portuguese, English	-	PPT, students' written work
	Prof. D	Tetun	Portuguese, English	Images	Slideshow, video

As the table indicates, the most common language after Tetun that was observed being used in the classrooms was Indonesian. While Indonesian and English were both observed to be used in 10 of the 13 classrooms observed, the use of English was far less frequent within each class than Indonesian and was usually limited to isolated target vocabulary. Portuguese, as the table shows, was only observed to be used in four of the thirteen classrooms. As with English, Portuguese was also used infrequently within the classes observed.¹⁰³ This is a significant finding, given that Portuguese was decreed in 2008 to be the language of all post-primary education by the Timorese government (RDTL, 2008; law no. 14/2008). It is also in accordance with what I reported in the previous chapter about Indonesian being the

¹⁰³ Only one lecturer was observed to use Portuguese as extensively in her classroom communication as others were observed to use Indonesian and English. This lecturer, Prof. T, is the same lecturer discussed in Chapter 5, who reported being unique among her colleagues due to her having 'no Indonesian' in her educational background.

dominant academic language for many lecturers. This evidenced dominance of Indonesian ‘mixed’ with Tetun in these tertiary classrooms also means that many tertiary students in Timor-Leste will be encountering academic Indonesian for the first time when they enter these spaces. At the time that this research was conducted, only one of the three institutions case studied – the smallest, the Rural Coffee Institute – offered formal Indonesian language classes for incoming students.

Other points to note from the observation results in the above table relate to the dispersed presence of English, the use of other semiotic resources (drawings, diagrams, images) alongside of the four dominant language systems, and the manifestation of communication across multiple modalities – especially PowerPoint and the whiteboard, in addition to spoken communication. I will return to the matter of multimodality in these classrooms later in this chapter. As the table shows, the use of drawings and diagrams is heavily concentrated in the physical science disciplines of agriculture and petroleum, signalling the ‘polysemiotic’ nature of communication in these fields (Canagarajah, 2017). English is being used across all of the disciplines and institutions, not only in petroleum studies and tourism at TTC where there has been an announced transition to English-only MoI for these faculties. This is likely to be a result of lecturers being exposed to English in their own graduate studies, their use of teaching and learning resources available in English, and/or their beliefs about the importance of English for higher education and for work.

In order to understand what Tetun and the other linguistic and communicative resources are being used *for* in these classrooms, it is necessary to take a closer look at the communication events recorded in my observations.¹⁰⁴ As is clearly evident in the example observation recording provided below (*Figure 4*), Tetun is being used consistently for all of the communication events observed. More specifically, it is being used as a stand-alone language of classroom communication (i.e., with minimal mixing) for those events not focussed on content delivery. These include: signposting lesson progress, clarifying expectations, eliciting interaction from students, checking students’ understanding and managing behaviour (circled in light blue in *Figure 4*, below; see also the coding key provided below the record).

¹⁰⁴ The use of indigenous languages for classroom communication – specifically Mambae – was reported by agriculture lecturers at both NU and at RCI but was observed in use at these institutions. It was beyond the scope of this study to include the fine-grained analysis of classroom audio recordings by community language experts needed to confirm either the presence or absence of these languages for any function in classroom talk.

As shown in Figure 4, Tetun is also being used in the asking and answering of questions with minimal mixing (circled in light green). This trend for the use of Tetun for these kinds of meta-discursive and behaviour management-related communication events was found consistently across all classroom observations conducted.

Figure 4: Observation record for Prof. L's 'Basic Electronics' class, TTC petroleum faculty

START: 10:45 10:50 10:55 11:00 11:05 11:10 11:15 11:20 11:25 11:30 END: 11:35

Communication event	0-5 mins	5-10 mins	10-15 mins	15-20 mins	20-25 mins	25-30 mins	30-35 mins	35-40 mins	40-45 mins	45-50 mins	50-55 mins	55-60 mins	60-65 mins	65-70 mins
Signposting lesson progress	T/A T									T/A T				
Lecturing on a topic	T/A TB	T/A TB	T/A TB	T/A TB	T/A TB(E)		T/A TB	T/A TB	T/A TB	T/A TB				
Reading from PPT, handout, or text	T/A BE	T/A B	T/A B											
Translating from PPT, handout, or text	T/A T													
Explaining vocabulary or terminology	T/A TB	T/A TB	T/A TB	T/A TB	T/A TB(E)									
Explaining a task						T/A TB				T/A T				
Giving immediate instructions														
Writing on the board		T/A BN	T/A GB	T/A GN	T/A GNBE	T/A B	T/A GNB	T/A GNB	T/A GN	T/A GN				
Clarifying expectations	T/A TE	T/A T								T/A T				
Eliciting questions or interaction		T/A T				T/A T								
Asking a question						T/A T	T/A TB	T/A T						
Answering a question						S/T T	S/T T	S/T T						
Giving feedback														
Checking understanding								T/A T						
Managing behaviour or attention					T/A T									

Communicators
(top of field)

T/A teacher/lecturer to all students
S/T student to teacher

Language(s) used
(bottom of field)

T Tetun
TB Tetun (main) mixed with Indonesian (secondary/occasional)
(E) 1 or 2 repeated English words
G Graphics, drawings, diagrams
N Numbers or mathematical symbols

In keeping with the reports of lecturers and their claims about the deficiencies of Tetun as an academic and scientific language, the main classroom communication events in which language mixing was observed to occur related to the delivery and discussion of course content. This is clearly evident in the class observation recording shown above for the events 'lecturing on a topic' and 'explaining vocabulary or terminology', in which Tetun is repeatedly mixed with Indonesian for technical vocabulary (recorded as 'TB'). The use of Indonesian without any Tetun ('B' and 'BE' when mixed with English) is also recorded for those times

when the lecturer is reading from PPT slides (circled in orange in *Figure 4*, above), which highlights the differential modal distribution of language in these classrooms. As several lecturers told me when describing their own classroom communication practices, Tetun is habitually used to 'explain' or to translate technical and disciplinary terms and concepts that are usually provided verbally or via PowerPoint in one of the three dominant foreign languages: Indonesian, English or Portuguese. These kinds of communication events were recorded in my observations as 'translating from a text, PPT, or handout' or as 'explaining vocabulary, terminology, or concept' and were usually the most frequent communication events recorded (i.e., they usually consumed the bulk of the time in a lesson).

These patterns of language use for disciplinary communication in Timorese higher education are being modelled by lecturers and learned and copied by students. This was confirmed in recorded observations that I was able to make of oral presentations given by students. *Figure 5*, below, shows the observation recording for a student in the TTC petroleum faculty presenting his undergraduate thesis defence. There are obvious similarities compared to Prof. L's patterns of language use distributed across the various communication events as shown in *Figure 4*.

Figure 5: Observation record for student undergraduate thesis presentation, TTC petroleum faculty

Communication event	START: 10:40 10:45 10:50 10:55 11:00 11:05 11:10 11:15 11:20 11:25 11:30 11:35 11:40 11:44														END:
	0-5 mins	5-10 mins	10-15 mins	15-20 mins	20-25 mins	25-30 mins	30-35 mins	35-40 mins	40-45 mins	45-50 mins	50-55 mins	55-60 mins	60-65 mins	65-70 mins	
Signposting lesson progress	T/A; S/A T.B; TB				S/T/A T.								T/A. T.		
Reading from PPT, handout, or text	S/A. B.	S/A. BE	S/A. BE	S/A. BE	S/A. BE										
Explaining (Translating from PPT, handout, or text)	S/A. TB.	S/A. TBE	S/A. TBE	S/A. TBE	S/A. TBE					S/IT TBE	S/IT TBE				
Explaining vocabulary or terminology			S/A. T(BE)	S/A. T			IT/IS. TB.	IT/IS. TB.	IS/IT TB.						
Explaining a task															
Giving immediate instructions						IT/IS. T.									
Writing on the board															
Clarifying expectations							IT/IS. TB.			IT/IS TE					
Eliciting questions or interaction															
Asking or (Ss) answering a question						IT/IS. TB.	IT/IS. TBE	IT/IS. TB.	IT/IS. TB.	IT/IS TBE	IT/IS TBE	IT/IS TBE	IT/IS TB		
Giving feedback							IT/IS. T.			IT/IS TB	IT/IS TB	IT/IS T			
Checking understanding															
Managing behaviour or attention															

* IT/IS = IT/IS/IT (i.e. back & forth) for all 5 min. intervals.

Again, Tetun is clearly the dominant language of spoken communication in this recorded observation. As with the petroleum lecturer's observed use of language shown in *Figure 4*, *Figure 5* shows a petroleum student reading Indonesian (with some English) from a PowerPoint (recorded, once again, as 'B' and 'BE'), and explaining and translating in Tetun what she has read, mixing these other two languages into her communication. Tetun mixed in this way predominantly with Indonesian (recorded as 'TB') and occasionally with Indonesian and English (recorded as 'TBE') was also observed to be used in feedback and discussion between the presenting student and the panel of petroleum lecturers assessing the presentation (recorded as 'asking or answering questions').

The observation records discussed here and shown above in *Figure 4* and *Figure 5* were intentionally both taken from the petroleum faculty at TTC in order to illustrate similar patterns of language use by lecturers and students within the same faculty and institution. Evidence from other disciplines and institutions of the same dominance of Tetun across communication events and its regular mixing with Indonesian and (less regularly) English for the communication of course content and the loaning of technical terms – this evidence is provided in other observation records included in Appendix 2.4. These records highlight the extensive disciplinary communication work that Tetun is already doing in tertiary classrooms in Timor-Leste. They also indicate that students are learning to copy lecturers' modelled mixing of languages for disciplinary communication. However, as the following sections of this chapter will demonstrate, this is by no means a consistent experience of disciplinary discourse socialisation for students. The use of Tetun in written as well as spoken forms, the particular languages mixed into Tetun for different communicative functions, and also the nature and the amount of 'mixing' that occurs all vary significantly from one individual lecturer to the next.

6.3 Interview data:

Lecturers' accounts of intentionality in the use of 'mixed' Tetun

It is this variation among individual lecturers in the nature and the amount of language mixing for communicating disciplinary knowledge that needs to be examined more closely to better understand the range of translingual communication practices occurring in the Timorese tertiary education contexts in this study. To begin with, there was evidence that language mixing by lecturers was not always conscious and strategic, most obviously when lecturers'

claims about the languages that they used for certain disciplinary communication purposes did not match their language practices in classroom observations, in teaching role plays, or in discussions with colleagues. TTC petroleum lecturers, for example, were clear that English should be used to refer to tools, equipment, and processes such as ‘drilling’ (see: TTC-FG1, A4.1.7, 01:28:00). Yet, during focus group discussions about petroleum operations, the English ‘drilling’ was used seemingly interchangeably with the Tetun-Portuguese *profurasaun* and the Indonesian *pengeboran* (see, for instance: TTC-FG1, A4.1.5, 01:10:57). While some lecturers did tend to use ‘drilling’ more frequently than the other loan words, other lecturers scarcely used it at all, seeming to prefer *profurasaun*. This inconsistency brings into question lecturers’ intentionality in the use of particular loan words in in-the-moment translations/descriptions and explanations, and focusses attention on a range of factors that may be limiting lecturers’ agentive power to *choose* the mixing that they are doing.

As was indicated in the previous chapter, one of the key factors influencing a lecturer’s language mixing practices is their individual linguistic and educational background. Lecturers with Indonesian educational backgrounds, for instance, showed tendencies to mix more Indonesian into their spoken and written (on the board and in PPT slides) Tetun, both in class observations and also in communication in Tetun in interviews and focus groups. For example, NU agriculture lecturer Prof. Y is of Indonesian background¹⁰⁵, having moved to Dili with her Timorese husband in the early 1990s. The resultant dominance of Indonesian in her plurilingual repertoire was made clear in a teaching role play that she performed for me in an interview. She gave me the following example of how she might teach her students about ‘metabolism’, a word that she says she must borrow from Indonesian since there is no equivalent in Tetun. Observe, however, that not only does she not borrow from Portuguese, she also borrows several non-technical words in Indonesian; words that do have equivalents in Tetun. In the transcription, I have marked Indonesian loan words with [*Ind.*] in order to highlight the strategic and not so strategic moves that Prof. Y makes in the mobilisation of her plurilingual resources to help students to comprehend the meaning of ‘metabolism’:

¹⁰⁵ In this she would differ from many of her faculty colleagues at NU, who were educated in Timor-Leste during the Indonesian occupation and so would have experienced colonial schooling in Indonesian but familial and other forms of socialisation in Tetun and/or their regional community language. See Chapter 1, ‘Indonesian Timor’.

Speaker	Original utterance	Translation	Time
Y	Uh, I will talk in Tetun and then add some Bahasa, right?	Uh, I will talk in Tetun and then add some Indonesian, right?	00:14:32
T	Okay.	Okay.	
Y	Okay. Erm... "Ohin loron ita atu koalia kona ba <i>metabolisme</i> . " <i>Metabolisme</i> nee katak, bee, kuandu buat ruma tama ita boot nia isin, depois, iha isin nee, nia prosesu nee atu berubah husi bee ... hahaa bee ita haan ... naan sira, depois ya ita nia isin lolon nee, ita ... ita kunyah tiha" Kunyah? I don't know which is - which it mean ... "I depois nia tama ita nia bee - saida? - kakorok talin ... tama tan ita nia usus. Iha usus nee depois bee ... eh, sa? iha nebaa nee proses enzimatis mai berlaku." [Y interrupts her role play to say:] See?	Okay. Erm... "Today we're going to talk about metabolism[Ind.]. " <i>Metabolism</i> [Ind.] is ... when something enters your body [and], afterwards, in your body, this process is going to change[Ind.] [something] from ... food ... you eat ... some meat, then [it is] already[Ind.] inside your body, you ... you ... chew[Ind.]" Chew? [Ind.] I don't know which is ... which it mean ... "And then it enters your ... um, what? throat, then also enters your gut/intestines[Ind.]. In the gut, afterwards ... uh what? - the enigmatic process[Ind.] happens[Ind.]." [Y interrupts her role play to say:] See?	00:14:53 00:15:18

(NU-13, A3.3.3)

Clearly there is awareness and intentionality in Prof. W's use of *metabolisme* and also *enigmatic process*, in that she is doing the work of filling these lexical gaps in the corpus of Tetun with Indonesian words (or, more accurately, Indonesian forms of English words derived from Greek morphology). She is also conscious of some limitations in her Tetun vocabulary with her use of the Indonesian *kunyah* for 'chew' (rather than the Tetun *nata*), acknowledging to me in an aside that 'I don't know which it mean' (00:14:53). However, Prof. Y also uses several other Indonesian words that have ready equivalents in Tetun: 'change', 'already', 'gut' and 'apply'. While speaking mostly in Tetun, Prof. Y is intentionally mixing in some Indonesian words to supply students with new lexical items to be able to communicate about the biological process of metabolism. However, she is also, arguably with less intentionality, mixing in Indonesian words to replace gaps in her own vocabulary. In doing so, she is modelling for her students a somewhat inconsistent approach to language mixing in classroom and disciplinary discourse. In addition to the influence of educational and linguistic background, Prof. Y's performed example of how she explains 'metabolism' to students illustrates that a lecturer's metalinguistic awareness may also affect how controlled and intentional their language mixing may be in classroom communication. As Prof. Y herself admitted in the context of a focus group with her NU agriculture colleagues: 'When I start to speak in Tetun, it ends up coming out in Indonesian!' (NU-FG1, A3.1.2, 00:26:10).

In another example from agriculture, one of Prof. Y's colleagues at NU, Prof. M, told me that he translates agronomy terms into Tetun while also deliberately providing students with the Indonesian and the English forms. This was the same lecturer who gave the example of translating 'growth' as *moris* in Tetun because it is the word farmers would use (see discussion in Chapter 4, section 4.1). He also gave the example of 'soil water content', telling me that he translates this noun phrase into Tetun as follows:

[W]hen I translate this into Tetun, I write: *kadar*/ Uh, I write: *kontedu*/
kontEUdu bee rai. Kadar lengas tanah [Ind.=soil moisture content]. *Kontedu*
bee rai. [Tet.=soil water content].

- Prof. M, NU agronomy lecturer
 (NU-I5, A3.5.2, 01:02:25; original English)

Note the slight struggle and self-correction here, as Prof. M first utters the Indonesian *kadar* ('content'), corrects to a Tetunisation of the Portuguese *conteúdo* as *kontedu*, then corrects again to make it closer to the original Portuguese with *konteudu*. Prof. M is clearly demonstrating intentional use of Tetun for scientific communication and thus exemplifying deliberate, autonomous language planning as a disciplinary expert as well as modelling a Tetun-focussed form of disciplinary discourse for his students. Yet, simultaneously, he is also performing a struggle with the clear, authoritative use of Tetun as an academic language.

Ideological considerations also entered into Prof. M's account of his own mixed classroom communication practices, as he explained to me (less than a minute after the previous comment) his use of both the Indonesian and English forms of 'soil water content' alongside of his Tetun translation:

I always say, 'in Bahasa this is *kadar lengas*'. Or 'water content' in English, for some of them. [...Q]uite often I express in both Bahasa and English. [...]So, if they don't understand this [Tetun], they can look for...the English or Bahasa as an option.

(NU-I5, A3.5.2, 01:02:35 - 01:04:00; original English)

Although Prof. M appears to be describing quite a flexible use of the multiple languages in his classroom – and Tetun in particular – as resources for disciplinary communication, there is nonetheless an implicit valuing of Indonesian and English as more stable or reliable than Tetun, a value that may be passed on to his students. Indeed, Prof. M told me, amidst the same discussion about communicating plant science in Tetun, that he often uses the moment of translation as an opportunity to impress upon students the value of English, saying:

I always tell them: 'English is very important. I'm encouraging you [...] that lots of NGOs, they employ if you have a good ability in English. So, whenever there is opportunity, you also need to learn this [English]. So this very important. Particularly all those who want to continue study in overseas - English is very important.'

(NU-I5, A3.5.2, 01:03:08 – 01:03:42; original English)

In this way, students acquire particular language ideologies as they acquire new vocabulary for communicating about 'soil water content'. The 'mixing' of Tetun, Indonesian, and English in this case involves much more than just a particular, translingual arrangement of words and phrases; it is multilingual disciplinary discourse socialisation as multidimensional, 'performative language planning' (Lo Bianco, 2010, p. 157). Prof. M's case demonstrates that the nature of the language mixing occurring in a moment of explaining and/or translating a disciplinary term may also be shaped by implicit as well as explicit language ideologies being transferred from the lecturer to the students.

The two examples provided above are instances of lecturers mixing languages when translating and/or explaining a technical term in Tetun. A number of lecturers also spoke about mixing Tetun with other languages in terms of using Tetun to provide illustrative examples to help students to understand complex abstract terms, especially abstract nouns for processes. An agriculture lecturer at RCI, for instance, spoke of explaining the Indonesian word *menguap* (vaporise/evaporate) to students by giving the example of boiling water, using the Tetun word *nakali* (boiling) (Prof. E, RCI-I8, A3.7.3, 00:23:45). This lecturer, Prof. E, explained that her knowledge of Tetun terms is limited, being from Flores in Indonesia, and so when words fail her, 'I give an example [...] and do a prac straight away. Something simple, but important for them to understand this word' (A3.7.3, 00:23:35). This combination of providing simple examples in Tetun and also giving students 'hands-on' experience to help them to understand abstract concepts and processes was a key strategy identified by multiple lecturers in the physical science disciplines. Agriculture lecturers at both RCI and NU spoke of the importance of this method of combining verbal explanation in Tetun with direct practical experience, as did petroleum lecturers at TTC, who emphasised the value of students being able to *kaer ho liman* – 'touch with [their] hands' (Prof. L, TTC-I3, A4.4.2, 00:22:03).

Lecturers in the social science fields, and especially in community development studies, placed more emphasis on dialogue and discussion as a means for students to understand

abstract concepts. Prof. Ab from community development studies, for example, told me that he did not directly explain the meaning of the term ‘magical consciousness’ but, rather, facilitated critical, group discussion with his students in Tetun about illustrative examples that he elicited from them. He would start, he told me, by posing a question such as ‘why is someone poor?’ asking students to tell him all the different reasons that people might believe in, and then writing on the whiteboard (also in Tetun) the various answers that he would receive, organising them into three columns. In one column, he would write reasons like ‘it is God’s punishment’ (*Maromak mak kastigu*), ‘he doesn’t perform ceremony at the sacred house’ (*la halo seremoni uma lulik*), ‘he doesn’t bring flowers to his ancestors’ graves’ (*la lori ai funan ba rate*), identifying these as ‘magical consciousness’ type thinking (NU-I11, A6.3.3, 00:46:20). In the next column he would put reasons like ‘he’s a drunk’, or ‘he’s stupid’, or ‘he’s lazy’ (*nia hemu hela deit, nia beik, nia baruk teen*), identifying this kind of thinking as ‘naïve consciousness’ (A6.3.3, 00:46:32). And, in the third column, Prof. Ab would list the explanations for poverty that he wanted students to understand came from a more critical way of thinking, a ‘critical consciousness’/*konsiensia kritiku*: because of a class-based social structure, because of lack of access to resources, because of lack of political power (A6.3.3, 00:45:04).

Among many differences between this approach to teaching types of consciousness and Prof. E’s example-based explanation of the process of evaporation, perhaps the most significant is that Prof. Ab intentionally uses Tetun *provided by his students*. The Tetun that is used to mix with English¹⁰⁶ in explanation of Freire’s three types of consciousness is the students’ own Tetun, produced in their responses to a question posed in Tetun by the lecturer. The teaching methods of Prof. Ab are clearly informed by the dialogic model of critical pedagogy developed by Paulo Freire (1968). Significantly, Freirian pedagogy is not only informing the nature of interaction between the lecturer and the students in this case (i.e., dialogue-based rather than lecture-based learning), it is also informing the way that Tetun is brought into the classroom in combination with other languages. Prof. Ab’s goal is teaching students to develop their own voices in critical discussion of social problems, not just to parrot what he says, so validating and incorporating the Tetun that they have produced into the teaching

¹⁰⁶ Prof. Ab explained his translation of ‘naïve consciousness’ as being a mix of both Tetun and English in *konsiensia naiv*. See discussion of this example in Chapter 5.

and learning process helps with this. As he put it: 'I can internalise the concept to them based on what they describe' (Prof. Ab, NU-I11, A6.3.3, 00:46:45).

This example highlights the influence of pedagogy on individual lecturers' language mixing practices in classroom communication. Other lecturers also indicated how their language and communication practices in the classroom were informed by different kinds of pedagogical training that they had received, though these often related to the integration of other semiotic resources rather than an intentionally dialogical approach to teaching in Tetun. Lecturers from both the petroleum and the tourism faculties at TTC, for example, referred to a Certificate IV in Training and Assessment (TAE40116) course that had been delivered by Victoria University as informing their teaching method. Specifically, TTC petroleum lecturer Prof. L told me that he and his colleagues learned from the Canberra Institute the importance of identifying students' 'competencies' (he used the Indonesian word *kemampuan*) and of being aware of different learning styles among students (Prof. L, TTC-I3, A4.4.2, 00:22:15). Such a competency-based approach views teaching as 'training' and sits in some contrast to an approach like that of Prof. Ab, which conceptualises learning as a shift in consciousness.

Also significant in the example described by Prof. Ab is his deliberate use of the whiteboard in teaching his students to differentiate between different types of *konsiensia*. The intentional incorporation (indeed, 'mixing') into classroom communication of multiple modalities – writing, diagrams, images and videos displayed via PPT or on a whiteboard – indicates an awareness by a lecturer of the affordances of these other semiotic resources alongside of spoken language. Prof. Ab was certainly not unique in his use of multimodal communication, as many lecturers whom I interviewed spoke of the usefulness of a whiteboard and/or PPT in their teaching to aid students' understanding of their spoken language. Prof. Ab was unique, however, in his readiness to articulate to me a clear strategy behind his use of the visual; that is, the division of the whiteboard into three columns to facilitate comparative analysis of the three new disciplinary terms he was introducing.

In the next section, I will discuss a few examples of other lecturers who demonstrated more and less strategic use of multimodality in their classrooms, further complicating the 'mixing' that characterises disciplinary communication in these settings.

6.4 Material & Textual Data:

The materiality and multimodality of lecturer-student communication

So far, I have discussed the ‘mixing’ that lecturers do in their classrooms mainly in terms of spoken communication by lecturers and the ways that they mix Indonesian, English and Portuguese into spoken Tetun. These varied uses of Tetun in combination with lexical items from other linguistic systems are important for the patterns and trends that they reveal in the treatment of Tetun as a language of academic and disciplinary communication. However, they also illustrate the limitations of attempting to apply a ‘named language’ lens in analysis of these lecturers’ communication practices. As my class observations revealed, languages are also being habitually mixed with other semiotic resources in the multimodal (Kress, 2000) and ‘trans-semiotizing’ (Lin, 2015) disciplinary communication practices that lecturers engage in as part of their teaching. As noted earlier in Chapter 2, a *translanguaging* view of classroom communication acknowledges that ‘communication transcends words and involves diverse semiotic resources and ecological affordances’ (Canagarajah, 2014, p.6). These translingual, trans-semiotic communication practices by lecturers in turn demand even more complex and sophisticated literacies from students: the ability to ‘read’ images and other communicative signs in multimodal discourse (Kress & van Leeuwen, 1996), as part of the larger ability to make sense of ‘diverse representational resources for meaning-making in academia’ (Lillis & Scott, 2007, p.15).

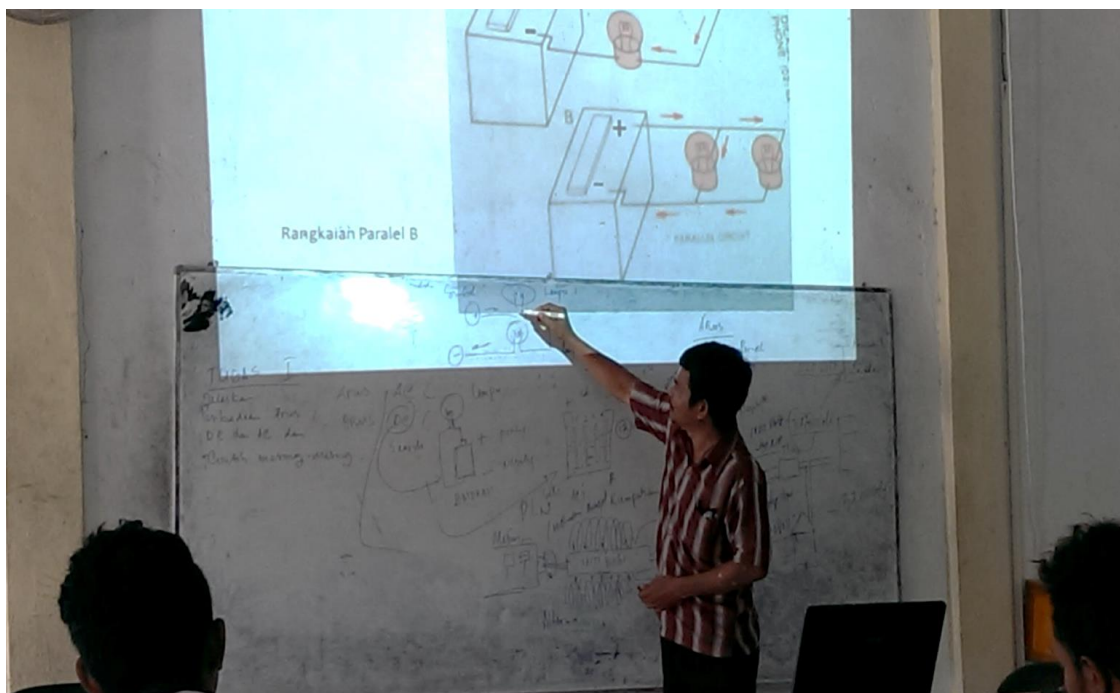
Powerpoint slides and whiteboards

We can observe the complexity of the ‘mixed’ use of ‘diverse representational resources’ for disciplinary communication in the same observation record discussed in the previous section of the ‘Basic Electronics’ class taught by Prof. L, a lecturer in the petroleum faculty at TTC. In my use of the observation tool for this class (see *Figure 4*, pictured earlier) I recorded Prof. L using a combination of Tetun, Indonesian, and English in his spoken explanations of two kinds of circuits: ‘series’ and ‘parallel’. I also noted, in the same five-minute intervals in which Prof. L spoke in this mixed Tetun, his reading Indonesian labels from a Powerpoint slide (which also displayed the labels in English), and his writing on the whiteboard in Indonesian mixed

with diagrams, numbers, symbols, and some English (recorded as 'GNBE'¹⁰⁷). This was consistent with Prof. L's statement that he 'mixes' Tetun, English and Indonesian across multiple modalities: 'we can explain in Tetun, but on the slide we can write it in English and then we show it with a picture' (TTC-FG1, A4.1.7, 01:30:05). It also showed the prevalence of other semiotic resources in Prof. L's classroom communication alongside of his use of named languages.

My observation tool was rather limited in terms of what it could record of the simultaneous use of diverse semiotic resources by Prof. L in his teaching. By some contrast, a photo taken in the same class (see below, *Figure 6*) more clearly and comprehensively shows the distribution of the various semiotic forms across the different modalities. This image allows deeper analysis of the 'trans-semiotizing' (Lin, 2015) disciplinary communication work that Prof. L is doing:

Figure 6: Prof. L teaches series and parallel circuits in his 'Basic Electricity' class at TTC



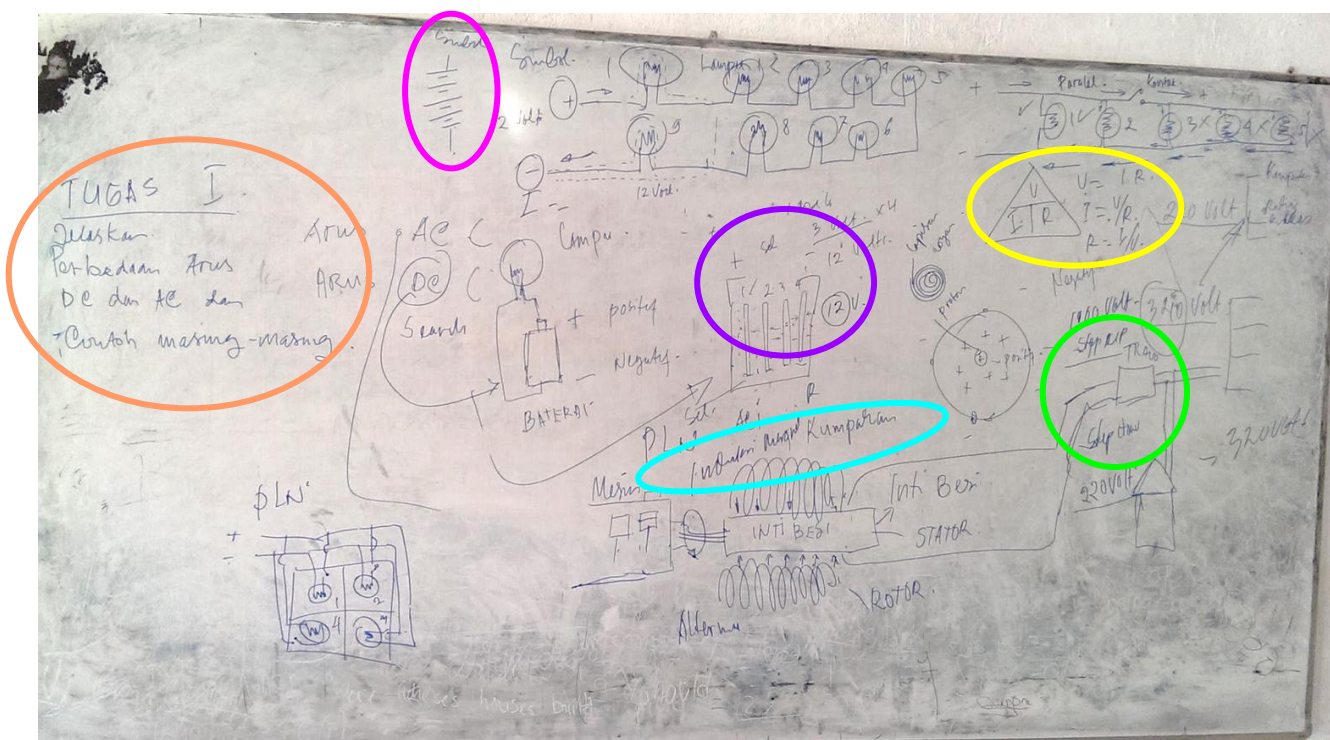
Observe how the Powerpoint slide projection overlaps with Prof. L's use of the whiteboard to draw his own version of a series circuit diagram. As the image shows, disciplinary knowledge is being communicated to students via a diverse array of semiotic forms, manifest

¹⁰⁷ GNBE = 'Graphics/drawings, Numbers or math symbols, Bahasa Indonesia, English' in order of amount or frequency of use. See Chapter 3, section 3.3, for a more detailed explanation of observation recording procedures.

across several distinct modalities simultaneously. The material conditions surrounding this event combine with Prof. L's embodied presence to also form part of the communication, in what Canagarajah (2017) has called 'polysemiotic multimodality'. Gesture and posture bring non-verbal forms of communication to the mix, and the material conditions of the classroom – the lack of a white board eraser and the maladjustment of the data projector, for instance – also directly shape the meaning-making possibilities in this communication event.

For the purpose of unpacking somewhat the trans/pluri-semiotic complexity at play here, I will separate out for the moment the three key modalities across which communication is shown to be occurring in *Figure 6*: the whiteboard, the PPT, and the embodied presence of Prof. L. The whiteboard, especially, encapsulates a diverse linguistic landscape in itself. The image below (*Figure 7*) shows the whiteboard as it appeared at the end of the class¹⁰⁸. There is an obvious prominence of diagrams and symbols in this modality – the visual 'language' of electronic circuitry as the dominant semiotic resource of the whiteboard, overshadowing the written Indonesian and small amount of English also present.

Figure 7: Detail of whiteboard semiotic landscape shown in Figure 6



¹⁰⁸ Note that Prof. L did not have an eraser available, as mentioned above as an example of the material conditions.

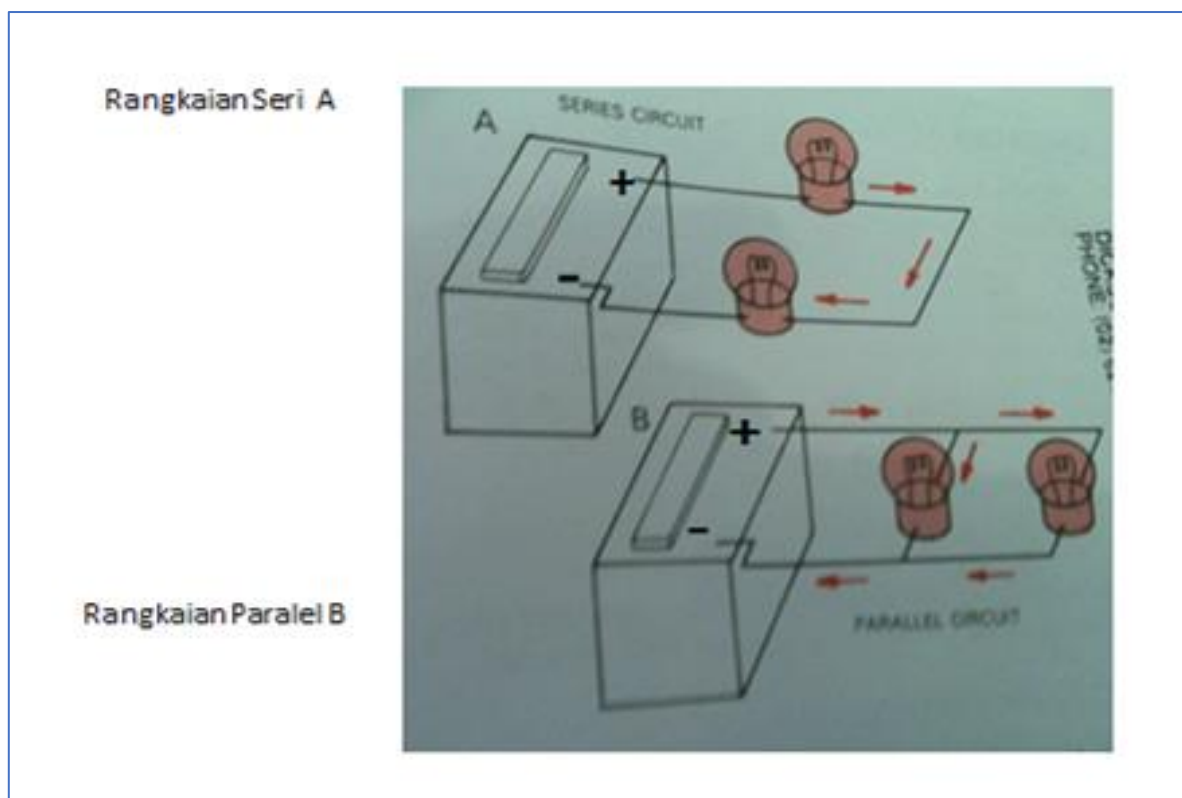
Among the many symbols displayed on this whiteboard, Prof. L has introduced his students to the universal electronic symbol for a battery (circled in pink), which would certainly be a part of the communicative repertoire of anyone literate in the symbology of circuitry design. Prof. L appears to have labelled this symbol with a word above it, however the word appears to be illegible. Elsewhere on the board, Prof. L has frequently labelled his diagrams in (still difficult to read) Indonesian (example circled in light-blue). Equally frequently, he has communicated values in his diagrams with numbers and/or the mathematical signs for positive and negative (example circled in purple). He has used English only once (circled in light-green), and Tetun and Portuguese not at all in this written mode, though I observed him speaking to students and explaining the whiteboard and PowerPoint displays in Tetun. Some German even makes an indirect appearance via Ohm's law (circled in yellow), where the 'I' in 'VIR' means *intensität*, or 'intensity' of current. Alongside of the various diagrams and their labels, he has also given written instructions for a homework task to the left of the board in Indonesian (circled in orange). Many diverse kinds of messages are being communicated across a range of different semiotic forms without obvious structuring just in this one mode of communication operative in this communication event.

Still more communicative complexity is added when this modality is considered in combination with the others that students will also need to engage with beyond this communication event. For example, there is the homework 'task' (*tugas* in Indonesian) that Prof. L has set his students, asking them (in Indonesian) to: *Jelaskan perbedaan arus DC dan AC dan contoh masing-masing* ('Explain the differences [between] DC and AC currents and [give] examples of each'). Let us assume for the moment that students have the requisite literacy to comprehend this instruction; literacy, that is, not only in written Indonesian generally but also in the particular, short-hand style¹⁰⁹ of jargon-laden Indonesian used here by Prof. L. Having understood the task, students would then need to extract the information required to complete this task (to 'explain the differences') out of the diverse semiotic landscape of the whiteboard in combination with key referential and explicatory information provided in Prof. L's spoken explanation of what he has drawn on the whiteboard (an explanation which the observation record shows was in Tetun mixed with Indonesian and English).

¹⁰⁹ For example, Prof. L has omitted the key operational verb 'give' in his written instruction.

Possibly further confusing for students, two ‘examples’ are clearly provided in the PPT slide (see below, *Figure 8*) projected over the top of the whiteboard (one modality literally overlapping the other), however these examples are of types of circuit (*‘rangkaian’*) not types of current (*‘arus’*). English appears in the PPT in both relevant forms (labelling ‘series circuit’ and ‘parallel circuit’) and also an irrelevant form (*‘phone’*), indicating an unintentional, second-hand ‘mixing’ Prof. L is doing in this modality.

Figure 8: Detail of PowerPoint slide shown in Figure 6



With this information all being communicated at the same time across these modalities, students must make sense of the information not only within the specific semiotic form and the specific spatial and modal context that it is being communicated, but also in relationship to all that surrounds and overlaps with it, in addition to what extends beyond temporally *in potential* (e.g., their homework task). As Canagarajah puts it, students must make sense of the different semiotic resources as they ‘work together as an assemblage’ (2017, p. 7). That is, it is not sufficient that Prof. L’s students comprehend from the words written in Indonesian on the left side of the whiteboard a) that it is a homework task, and b) what it is asking them to do. They must also be able to make sense of the various elements external to this message as they relate to one another as well as to it: which symbols and diagrams are relevant to the

task and what information do they communicate, and which are superfluous and can be ignored in the context of completing the task.

This example of multimodal classroom communication in Prof. L's 'Basic Electronics' class highlights the limitations of conceptualising lecturers' 'mixed' communication practices only in terms of which named language systems they are using in oral and written communication: Tetun, Indonesian, English or Portuguese. For that matter, it is equally limiting to conceive of the communicative 'mixing' that they are doing only in terms of their various combinations of these, which, as we have seen, are already quite varied in their complexity from one individual lecturer to the next. As others have argued, communication in academic contexts needs to be understood as 'oral and textual meanings entwined with image and gesture' (Thesen, 2009, p. 401), opening up views of the communicative mixing that is done to include the full range of 'representational resources for meaning-making' in tertiary teaching and learning (Lillis & Scott, 2007, p. 15).

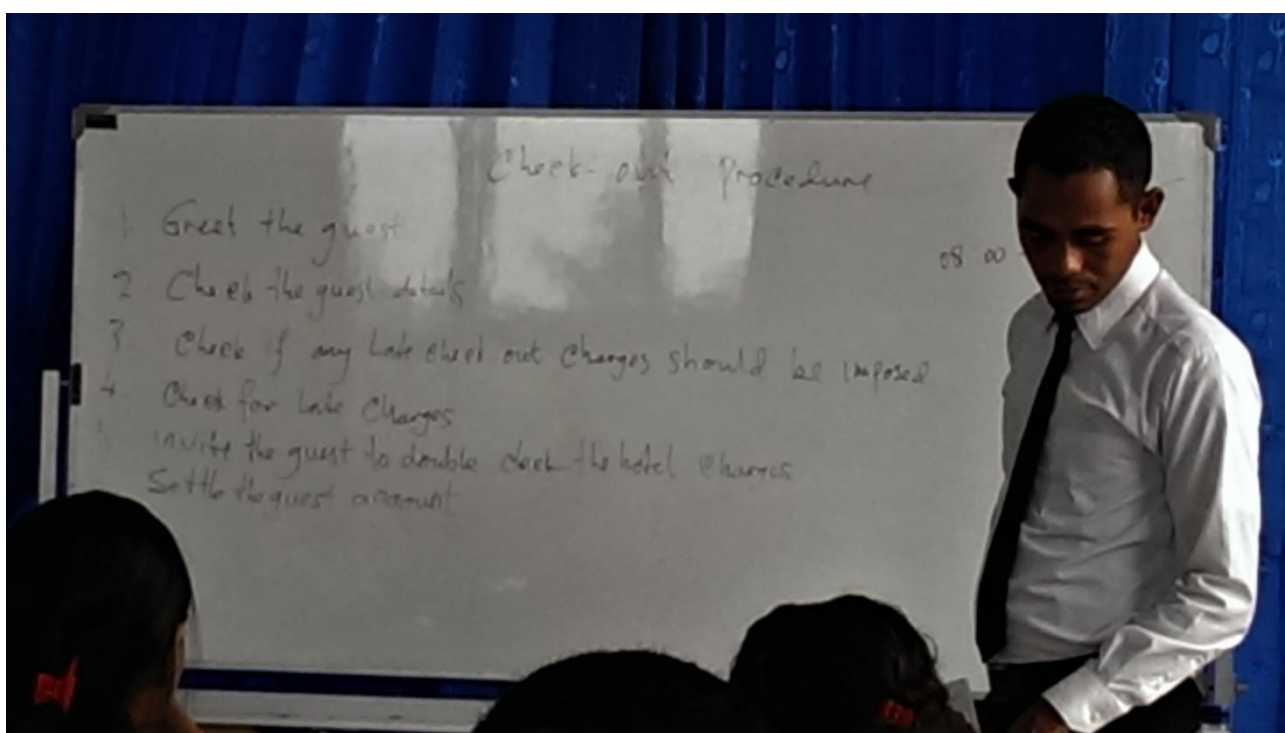
More recently, Canagarajah (2017) has expanded the notion of what constitutes communicative practice in STEM classrooms still further to include performative interaction with the material environment/space, in turn demanding not grammars or multimodal literacies but 'spatial repertoires' for the unpacking of meanings conveyed (p.7). Understanding academic and disciplinary communication in this way is important for understanding both the communicative demands being placed on students, particularly in such complex multilingual settings as Timor-Leste, but it is also key to understanding the current and potential richness of communication options that lecturers have at their disposal, expanding possibilities for pedagogy and practice.

The nature of the discipline plays a part. STEM subjects, such as Prof. L's electronics class, are likely to include many more symbols, diagrams and mathematical signs than would be encountered in social science disciplines. Thus the 'language' of the discipline may be more trans-semiotic even before it is combined with the particular pedagogy and teaching style of the individual lecturer that influences how diverse semiotic resources are deployed.

To illustrate the discipline-specific differences in lecturers' deployment of multimodal, polysemiotic communication resources, another snapshot of disciplinary communication from a different faculty at TTC is provided below (*Figure 9*). The image shows a TTC tourism lecturer, Prof. C, using multimodal communication in a much more straightforward manner

compared with Prof. L. In contrast with Prof. L's multilingual, multisemiotic, and multipurpose use of the whiteboard in his electronics class, Prof. C is seen here to be using it for a single purpose at this stage of his hotel management class: the rote learning of check-in procedures in English. The smaller size of the whiteboard, the presence of an eraser (which Prof. L did not have) present evidence of the spatial and material influences on Prof. C's communication. Only English is used on the whiteboard, with some numbers to indicate sequence of the procedures and also, to the right of the board, to indicate normal check-out time. PowerPoint was not observed to be used at any time during this lesson.

Figure 9: TTC tourism lecturer, Prof. C, teaches 'Check-out Procedures' in English (written) and Tetun (spoken)



Prof. C has laid out his whiteboard as follows:

Check-out Procedure	
1. Greet the guest	08:00 – 10:00
2. Check the guest details	
3. Check if any late check-out charges should be imposed	
4. Check for late charges	
5. Invite the guest to double check the hotel charges	
6. Settle the guest account	

Prof. C is enacting a modally segregated classroom language policy: mixing Tetun and English in spoken language while using English only for whiteboard writing, without any written Tetun translation provided on the whiteboard or in handouts. The significance of individual lecturer pedagogy is highlighted here in the strategic use of available modal and semiotic resources in classroom communication. Prof. C's single purpose use of whiteboard communication for the rote learning of itemised check-in procedures in English contrasts starkly with the rather less structured multilingual, multisemiotic, multipurpose use of the whiteboard in Prof. L's electronics classroom. Multimodal 'mixing' in Timorese tertiary classrooms is thus revealed to be far more complex and individually unique than a record of the frequency of spoken occurrence of the four dominant named language systems may be able to indicate. It derives at least part of its form from individual lecturer pedagogy, as well as the available semiotic resources, which are themselves shaped by the material conditions.

Figure 10: One of only seven classrooms (including one computer room) at the Rural Coffee Institute (RCI)

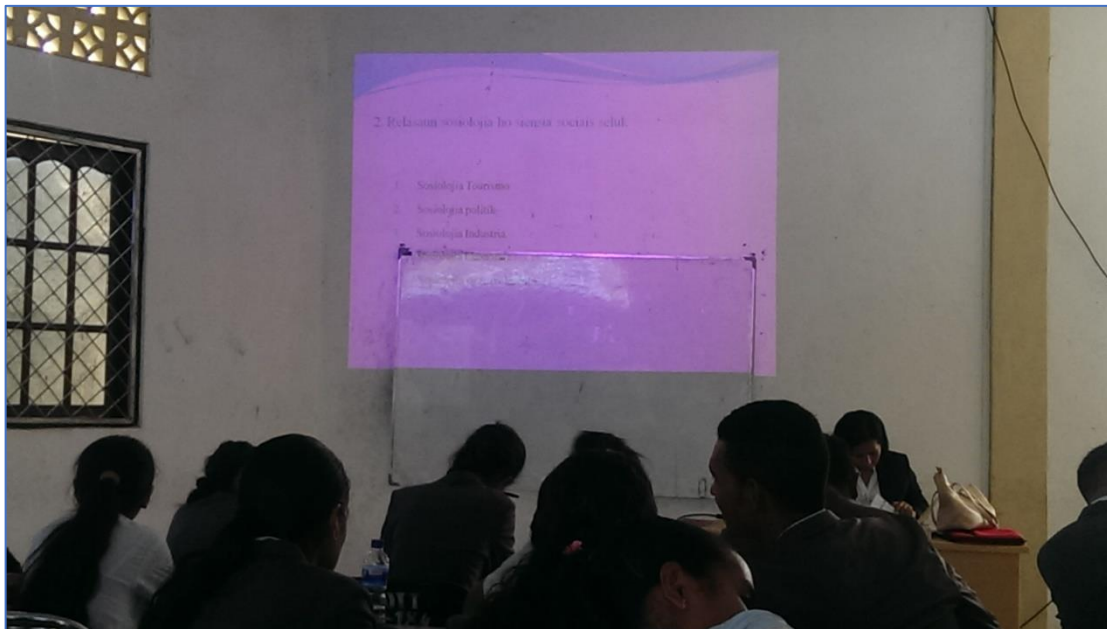


It should also be noted that there are institutional as well as faculty differences in material conditions that impact on lecturers' language and communication practices in the classroom. The Rural Coffee Institute, being the newest, smallest, the most remote, and the least well funded of the three institutions case studied, had observably poorer classroom conditions than the other two, as evidenced in *Figure 10*, above. Most notably, the lack of working data projectors in most of the classrooms that I observed at RCI, and also in many of the

classrooms that I observed at NU,¹¹⁰ suggests that lecturers at these institutions have access to more limited semiotic resources for disciplinary communication than do lecturers at TTC, where I more frequently observed working data projectors in the classrooms.

Notwithstanding the relatively good facilities at TTC compared with those at RTC and even the National University, the wider, national developing context necessarily impacts on the material conditions and, by extension, on disciplinary communication in all higher education institutions. At TTC, I observed semi-frequent power failures and equipment malfunctions producing conditions like this one, where written Tetun is provided in the PowerPoint slide but is very difficult to decipher:

Figure 11: Dark lighting and a discoloured PowerPoint projection in Prof. Ba's 'Sociology of Tourism' class at TTC



As a segue to the next section and returning to a focus on written/textual uses of language, note that the variety of Tetun provided in such PowerPoint presentations in classrooms (if the lecturer has made the effort to translate into Tetun at all) will vary according to lecturer's individual and often idiosyncratic variety of spelling and orthography in Tetun. For example, in the slides for the blurred and discoloured 'Sociology of Tourism' presentation pictured above (*Figure 11*), Prof. Ba occasionally uses a non-standard spelling and orthography of Tetun. This can be seen more clearly in a sample slide from this presentation that is pictured

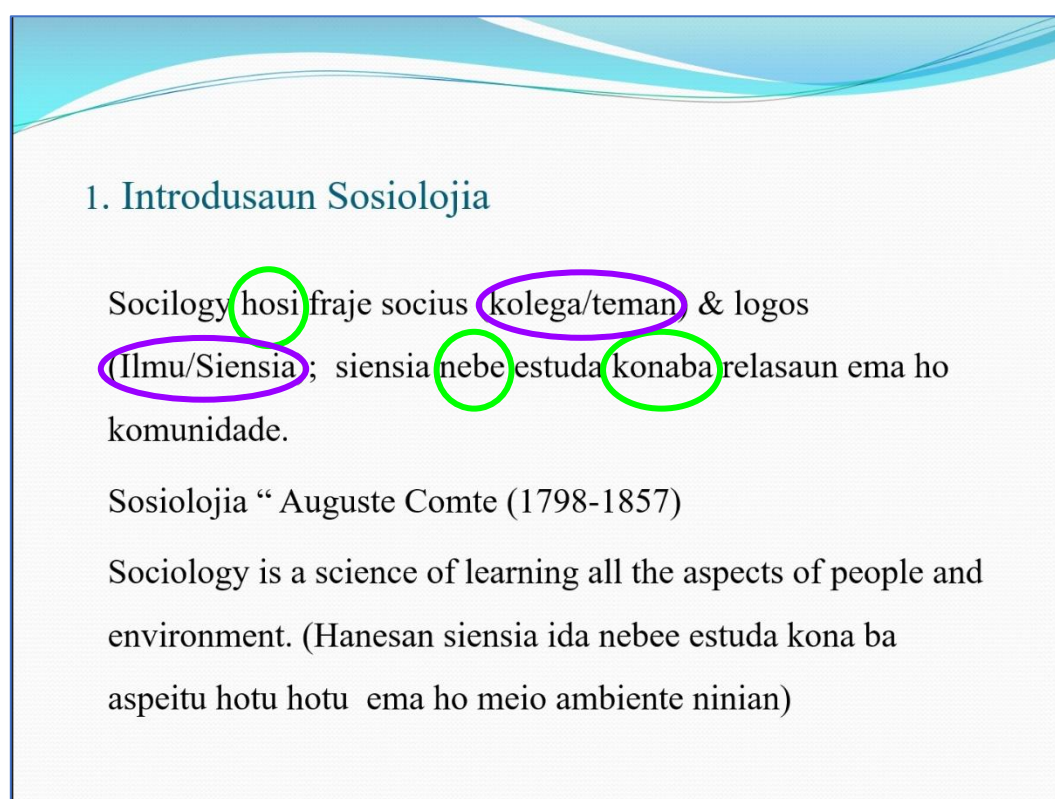
¹¹⁰ This observation is supported anecdotally by agriculture lecturers at NU reporting to me in interview that they have to share a faculty-owned, portable data projector and carry it with them to classes when they want to use one, since the ones in the classrooms (that have them equipped) are not functional.

below (Figure 12), the content of which Prof. Ba asked her students to copy down in their notebooks. In producing the slide, Prof. Ba has:

1. used a non-standard spelling of *husi* as *hosi*;
2. written *kona ba* as *konaba*;
3. used a non-standard orthographic writing of *nebe'e* as *nebe*.

These are circled in light green in the image below. Prof. Ba has also translated two Tetun words into Indonesian: *kolega*, meaning 'friend' (*teman* in Indonesian), and *siensia*, meaning 'science' (*ilmu* in Indonesian). These are circled in purple in the image below.

Figure 12: Sample slide from Prof. Ba's 'Sociology of Tourism' presentation pictured in Figure 11



Prof. Ba has also included in this slide a quoted definition of 'sociology', with her own translation in Tetun. This is an instantiation of her modelling of academic literacies practices to her students, which includes a misplacement of quotation marks and incorrect formatting for a quote according to academic writing conventions. In the next section, I will discuss how diverse academic literacies and disciplinary communication practices are also modelled less directly by lecturers in the use of textbooks, writing guides, and class handouts.

In addition to the polysemiotic, multimodal communication of classrooms illustrated by the above examples, students are also impacted by lecturers' diverse language 'choices' with regard to the textual learning materials that they provide to students. 'Choice' and lecturer agency are once again limited, however, by the material conditions. Available textual materials – either in the lecturer's personal possession or in institutional libraries – are determined by the material conditions of higher education in Timor-Leste, which, as has been discussed, are directly shaped by the post-colonial, developing context. For instance, lecturers across the disciplines and institutions tend to use textbooks and teaching resources in the languages in which they completed their own undergraduate and/or graduate studies. The Indonesian language, once again prevalent in these communication resources, manifests as another enduring legacy of Indonesian colonial (higher) education.

Agriculture lecturers at both NU and RCI use textbooks printed in Indonesian because, as Prof. M put it, there are 'no references in Tetun' (NU-I5, A3.5.2, 01:00:55). Petroleum and tourism lecturers at TTC, who declare the need for English for their disciplines, mix Indonesian with English in the production of learning resources for students. Community development studies lecturers at NU also reported using Indonesian as well as Malaysian textbooks (see comment by Prof. N, NU-FG3, A6.1.4, 00:39:07), although English and Portuguese were observed to be used more frequently than Indonesian by lecturers in this field, likely attributable to these lecturers having completed undergraduate and/or master's programs either in Portugal or in Australia.¹¹¹ I provide some examples below for each of these cases to illustrate some of the varied ways that the multilingual, post-colonial, developing context shapes the material conditions and thus determines available semiotic resources for disciplinary communication in Timorese higher education.

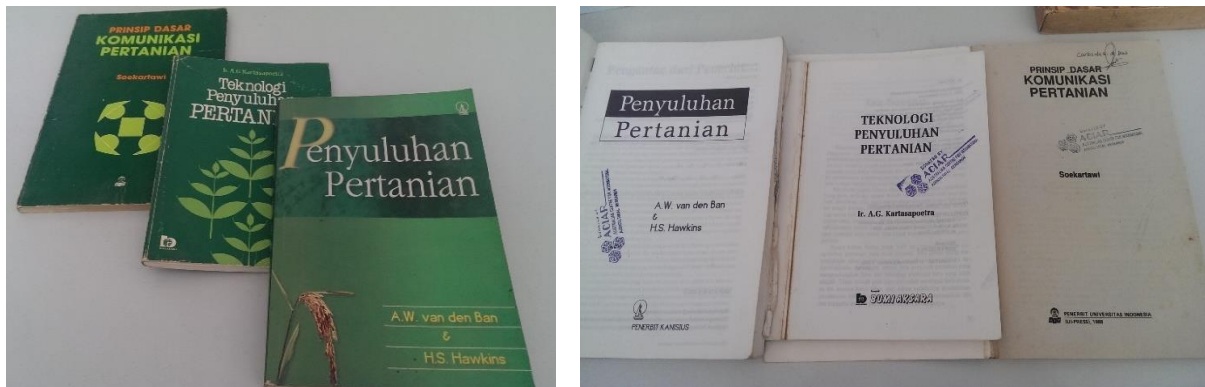
The lecturer in agricultural extension at NU, Prof. K, told me that he still uses textbooks from his own studies during the period of Indonesian colonial occupation of Timor (see: NU-FG1, A3.1.5, 00:31:10).¹¹² 'There are lots of books in Indonesian' Prof. K said, 'there are no books

¹¹¹ Of the seven lecturers in the community development studies department at NU who participated in this study, four had completed an undergraduate or graduate degree in community development in Australia, and two had completed their masters degrees in Portugal.

¹¹² The teaching of agricultural extension was a major priority for higher education in Timor-Leste during the Indonesian colonial period (Hill, 2017). See Chapter 1, 'Indonesian Timor', for relevant background discussion.

in Portuguese’ (NU-I2, A3.2.1, 00:34:55). The reader will recall that agricultural extension is the one subject offered to agriculture students at NU that is aimed at teaching the communication of agricultural science to rural farmers. Three of Prof. K’s agricultural extension textbooks, which are printed in Indonesian and which he told me he uses to prepare his classes, are shown below in *Figure 13*.

Figure 13: Indonesian textbooks used by NU agriculture lecturer Prof. K for his 'Agricultural Extension' class



Although the three sample textbooks shown in *Figure 13* have been published in Indonesian, it should be noted that only two of the three were written by Indonesian authors. The third (written by US author van den Ban and Australian author Hawkins) has been translated to Indonesian from English. Note, too, the stamps on the inside cover indicating they have been donated by ‘ACIAR’ – the Australian Council for International Agricultural Research. ACIAR, which is funded by the Australian Government and is connected to Australia’s foreign aid program in Timor-Leste, plays a curiously mixed language planning role here. In addition to donating to the National University agricultural extension textbooks printed in Indonesian, ACIAR has also funded several members of the NU agriculture faculty to complete their PhDs at Australian universities, indirectly shaping lecturers’ academic repertoires as well as directly contributing to the available material communication resources.

These resources come to enter students’ learning experiences via communicative decisions made by the lecturers who use them. Prof. K, for example, told me that he uses mostly Indonesian textbook materials to prepare his PowerPoint slides in Indonesian, which he then explains orally in Tetun in the class (NU-I2, A3.2.1, 00:35:25). The above-pictured Indonesian textbooks for his agricultural extension subject, he told me, provide all the key communication training that students need in order to communicate agricultural science to rural communities:

[I]ha material penyuluhan iha halo nusaa mak sira koalia, halo nusaa mak sira hanorin, halo nusa mak sira aprosima agrikultor sira, nee-nee. Nee iha parte materia nee rasik iha tiha ona. Iha materia laran iha tiha ona.

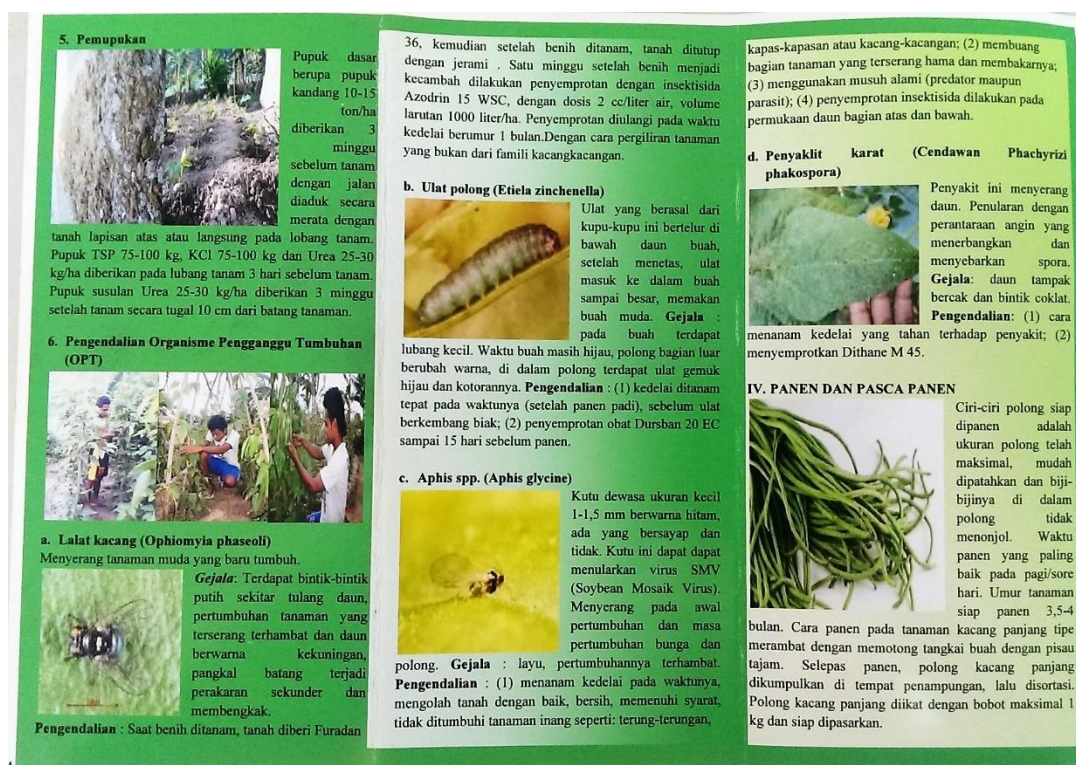
In the agricultural extension [subject] materials there is [training on] how they speak, how they teach, how they approach the farmers. This is already part of the materials. It's already in the materials.

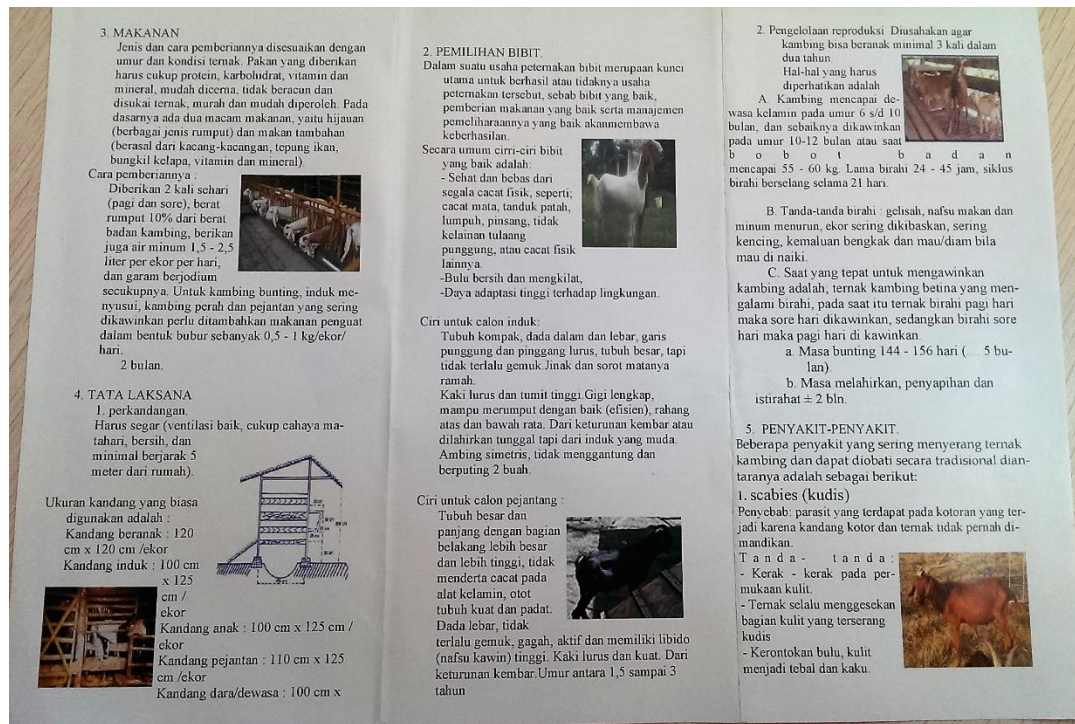
- Prof. K, NU agricultural extension lecturer
(NU-12, A3.2.1, 00:45:52)

Prof. K's statement reveals his strong reliance on the Indonesian textbooks for the teaching of agricultural extension. As discussed in Chapter 4, it is also clear from his comment that Prof. K promotes a didactic approach to communication with farming communities, specifically from his claim that the textbooks provide the way to 'teach' the farmers.

There is strong evidence that students are being socialised into this instructional approach to communication with farmers, as well as the use of Indonesian for this work. Prof. K also shared with me some assignments for his class that his students had produced: instructional pamphlets targeted at rural farmers, with Indonesian text. A small selection of these student-made pamphlets is shown below in *Figure 14*.

Figure 14: Samples of student-made pamphlets, produced in Indonesian, for Prof. K's 'Agricultural Extension' class





Like these two examples, many of the 28 student made pamphlets shown to me by Prof. K were produced in Indonesian¹¹³ and extremely text-heavy. Such an approach to communication with rural farmers pre-supposes a high level of literacy that would be unlikely in most parts of Timor-Leste.¹¹⁴ The first pamphlet shown above provides detailed information about some common plant pests and diseases, including their latin names, much of which is unlikely to be of practical benefit to farmers. The second pamphlet provides some more practical advice about goat husbandry, including recommended amounts and frequencies of feeding. Again, however, this information is provided in Indonesian and includes some complex technical words and phrases. It seems clear that Prof. K's students are learning from him and from his chosen textbook the use of a rather dense and didactic form of Indonesian for the 'teaching' of agricultural science to rural farmers.

¹¹³ A handful were produced in Tetun. It appeared that Prof. K had allowed the students to decide whether to use Tetun or Indonesian for the pamphlets and many had chosen to follow the Indonesian examples modelled in the textbooks provided.

¹¹⁴ Although education provision and school attendance rates increased during Indonesian colonial times, the violent conflict that ended the Indonesian occupation of Timor-Leste in the late 1990s decimated the poor, rural population. Many young men who would have received at least a primary education under Indonesia, who would now be of prime working age (i.e., in their late 20s to early 40s), and who would perhaps be able to read some of the above were killed during this conflict, leaving behind their often less educated female and elderly family members, along with children who would come to be educated in Tetun and Portuguese in an independent Timor-Leste.

Another example of available textual resources combined with lecturers' own language choices and communication style affecting students comes from the tourism faculty at TTC. Tourism lecturers there have produced learning resources for students in a mixture of Indonesian and English, though with questionable strategy behind the use of each language. An example can be seen below in *Figure 15*, which shows a page of a report writing guide produced for students.

Figure 15: Sample page from TTC tourism faculty report writing guide for students

1.1 Halaman Daftar Isi

Dalam halaman ini mengandung semua judul isi yang dimuat dalam laporan proyek penelitian. Nomor muka surat untuk daftar isi hendaklah ditulis dalam halaman ini. Urutan nomor daftar isi hendaklah dibuat mengikuti bab. Lihat contoh berikut :

DAFTAR ISI	
BAB I. PENDAHULUAN.....	1
1.1. Latar Belakang.....	1
1.2. Kajian pustaka.....	.
1.3. Rumusan masalah.....	2
BAB II. METODOLOGI.....	5
2.1 Pengumpulan data.....	5
2.2 Analisa data.....	6
BAB III. HASIL DAN PEMBAHASAN.....	7
3.1 Analisa untuk kedudukan O dan W.....	7
3.2 Hubungan antara perputaran dan voltan.....	7

1.2 Daftar Tabel

DAFTAR TABEL	
2.2 Model of section.....	31
2.3 Terrain Roughness.....	35
2.4 The maximum moment under combination load.....	35
3.1 Moment force for structure Frame 2a (Case 1 to Case 6)	35
3.2 Maximum displacement Frame 1a (Case 1 to Case 6).....	37
4.1 Wind pressure on the side of building.....	37
4.2 Wind pressure on the front of building.....	80

As in the sample page shown above in *Figure 15*, most of the report writing guide is written in Indonesian, with English appearing on occasion either mixed in with or alongside of the Indonesian. The two languages are even mixed together in the title of the guide, which reads: *Sistematika Penulisan Laporan PKL Untuk School of Tourism and Hospitality Management* (PKL Report Writing Guide for the School of Tourism and Hospitality Management). The guide is intended to explain to students, section by section, how they should structure and present their report on their 'PKL' (*Praktik Kerja Lapangan*, literally 'Fieldwork Practice' or Professional Placement). This is the same academic literacy task that TTC tourism lecturers, Prof. F and Prof. C, commented that their students often struggle with when they attempt to communicate the knowledge and experience gained in on-the-job training into an academic report writing genre (see discussion, previous chapter).

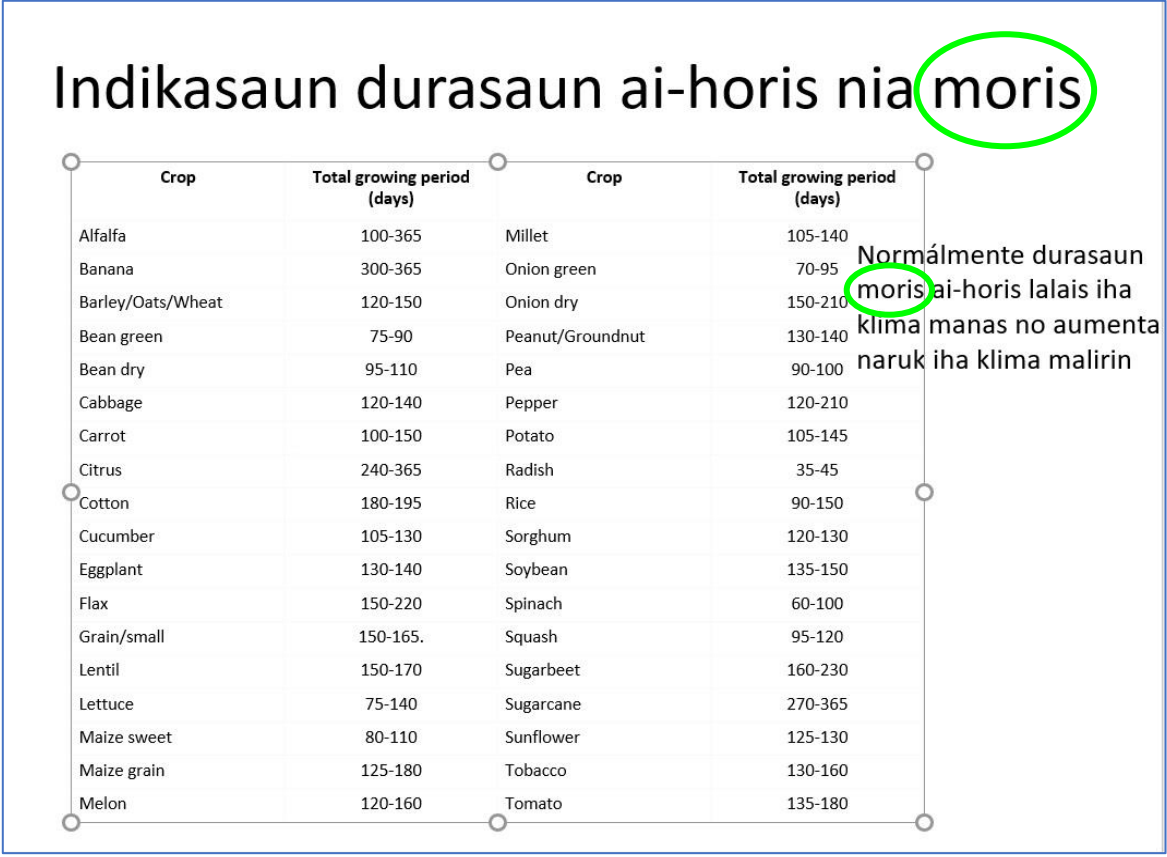
On the page shown above in *Figure 15*, a description of a 'table of contents' (*Halaman Daftar Isi*) is given in Indonesian and then an example of a contents page is also provided in Indonesian. This is followed by the heading 'List of Tables', also in Indonesian, and an example of a list of tables is then provided in English (notably, with a typo 'buildi1ng' for the title of table 4.2). The example list of tables in English appears to have been taken from a structural engineering textbook, while the example of the contents table in Indonesian appears to have been taken from an electronics textbook.¹¹⁵ In the apparent adaptation of a resource produced for the petroleum studies faculty at TTC, there is 'mixing' occurring here not only with Indonesian and English, but also in the disciplinary language that tourism students are being exposed to. All the while, the primary goal of supporting tourism students to be able to produce a report on their work experience placement gets lost in lecturers' desperate efforts to mix together resources from diverse linguistic and disciplinary sources. Such is the nature of local textual production in this context of Timorese higher education.

Textbooks published in other languages also produce 'mixing' in disciplinary communication between lecturers and their students when lecturers use them as sources of information for their PowerPoint slides. For instance, English and other languages may enter into the visual communication of the classroom when tabularised or diagrammatic information is taken from a textbook or from an online source and 'copy-pasted' into a PowerPoint slide. This is exemplified below in *Figure 16*, which shows a sample slide from an agronomy class on

¹¹⁵ This is evidenced by the title of Section 3.2, which appears in the table as *Hubungan antara perputaran dan voltan* ('The relationship between rotation and voltage').

nesesidade be husi ai-horis ('water requirements of crop plants'). Note that I have selected the table within the slide before capturing it as an image (indicated by the border with circles at regular intervals), in order to show that the table has indeed been pasted into the slide from an external source.

Figure 16: Sample slide from a presentation on crop water requirements by NU agriculture lecturer Prof. M



Crop	Total growing period (days)	Crop	Total growing period (days)
Alfalfa	100-365	Millet	105-140
Banana	300-365	Onion green	70-95
Barley/Oats/Wheat	120-150	Onion dry	150-210
Bean green	75-90	Peanut/Groundnut	130-140
Bean dry	95-110	Pea	90-100
Cabbage	120-140	Pepper	120-210
Carrot	100-150	Potato	105-145
Citrus	240-365	Radish	35-45
Cotton	180-195	Rice	90-150
Cucumber	105-130	Sorghum	120-130
Eggplant	130-140	Soybean	135-150
Flax	150-220	Spinach	60-100
Grain/small	150-165	Squash	95-120
Lentil	150-170	Sugarbeet	160-230
Lettuce	75-140	Sugarcane	270-365
Maize sweet	80-110	Sunflower	125-130
Maize grain	125-180	Tobacco	130-160
Melon	120-160	Tomato	135-180

In this case, the lecturer, Prof. M, has made the effort to prepare most of his presentation in written Tetun in the slides, although he has neglected to translate into Tetun the content that he has sourced from elsewhere. The slide above, for example, is entitled *Indikasaun durasaun ai-horis nia moris* ('Indication of the duration of growth of crop plants') and has a comment on the side of the table, which reads as: 'Normally the duration of crop growth is fast in warm climates and is slower in cold climates'. The information provided in English on the slide includes the names of various crop plants, as well as the column headings in the table, both of which need to be understood in order to 'read' the table, and both of which might have been translated into Tetun relatively easily. It is noteworthy, too, that Prof. M has in two cases translated 'growth' in the above slide as *moris* (circled in light-green),

exemplifying his modelled use of this Tetun word used by farmers, rather than the Portuguese loan *kresimentu*, as discussed earlier in Chapter 4.

The languages of the textual sources that lecturers draw on for their production of content material vary according to their educational background, as well as according to the languages in which textual materials are readily available for their disciplines. Very few published, academic sources currently exist in Tetun, so lecturers must produce their own and/or translate materials that they have sourced in other languages into Tetun. As has been mentioned earlier, Prof. M, whose slide is featured above, completed his undergraduate studies in Indonesia and his PhD in Australia. Prof. M acknowledged that he draws on both English and Indonesian sources in his teaching (NU-I5, A3.5.2, 01:03:06; see also observation record of the class in which the above slide was shown: Appendix 2.4.2). One of Prof. M's colleagues at NU, Prof. Z, expressed concern for the impacts on students' academic literacy in Tetun of lecturers' varying use of spoken Tetun and limited use of written Tetun. 'They just pick up what we explain,' he told me, 'the tetun that we give to them [is] just only verbal' (Prof. Z, NU-I4, A3.4.2, 00:36:52 – 00:38:00; original English).

By choosing to include Tetun in his PowerPoint slides, Prof. M also demonstrates an individual proficiency in 'academic Tetun' as well as a belief that Tetun *should* be used in written disciplinary communication. As cited in the previous chapter, Prof. M sees the development and intellectualisation of Tetun as a learning opportunity for himself as well as for his students (A3.5.2, 00:59:00), whereas many other lecturers focussed on perceived deficiencies of Tetun when conceptualising it as a communication resource. Such a focus precludes discussion about potential limitations in lecturers' own Tetun vocabularies and/or in their own past experiences with using Tetun for speaking and writing in academic contexts.

Lecturers' negative attitudes towards the use of Tetun as an academic language and their own variable levels of proficiency in the language present barriers to their participation as disciplinary experts in the intellectualisation of the language. But there are institutional barriers, too, where the production of teaching and learning resources in Tetun may be interrupted by language planning activities focussed on promoting the use of already dominant languages like Portuguese and English. For example, as early as 2004 a lecturer who teaches the 'Research Methods' subject in the agriculture faculty at NU, Prof. X, produced a 54-page guide for students to the process of conducting scientific research, all written in Tetun. The guide describes in detail what constitutes a 'scientific approach' to

research and why such an approach is important for the discipline of agriculture. It also outlines the different sections that should be included in an undergraduate thesis and, most helpfully, explains to students *why* these sections are needed to make the presentation of the research clear, valid, and as objective as possible.

When I observed Prof. X's class in 2015, all of his students had two copies of this guide, the Tetun version and an Indonesian version. At the same time during this stay at NU, I met a visiting language teacher from Senegal¹¹⁶ who had been tasked with producing a new thesis writing guide in Portuguese. His version focusses almost exclusively on the structure of the thesis, describing what each section does and providing examples. This foreign Portuguese teacher was not made aware¹¹⁷ of the substantial work already done in Tetun and Indonesian by the Research Methods lecturer, Prof. X, and, since he was not literate in these languages, could not have read them in any case. Copies of the contents pages of these now co-existent thesis writing guides for NU agriculture students – the Tetun, Indonesian and Portuguese versions – are attached to this thesis in Appendix 7.2. They are vivid illustrations of the institutional separation of multilingualism at NU into parallel monolingualisms, as well as of forces in action both for and against the intellectualisation of Tetun. In this case, the work of one agriculture lecturer towards the intellectualisation of Tetun and, most significantly, towards students' understanding and appreciation of the process of scientific investigation was not only undermined it was effectively negated by institutional decisions favouring the promotion of Portuguese at NU.

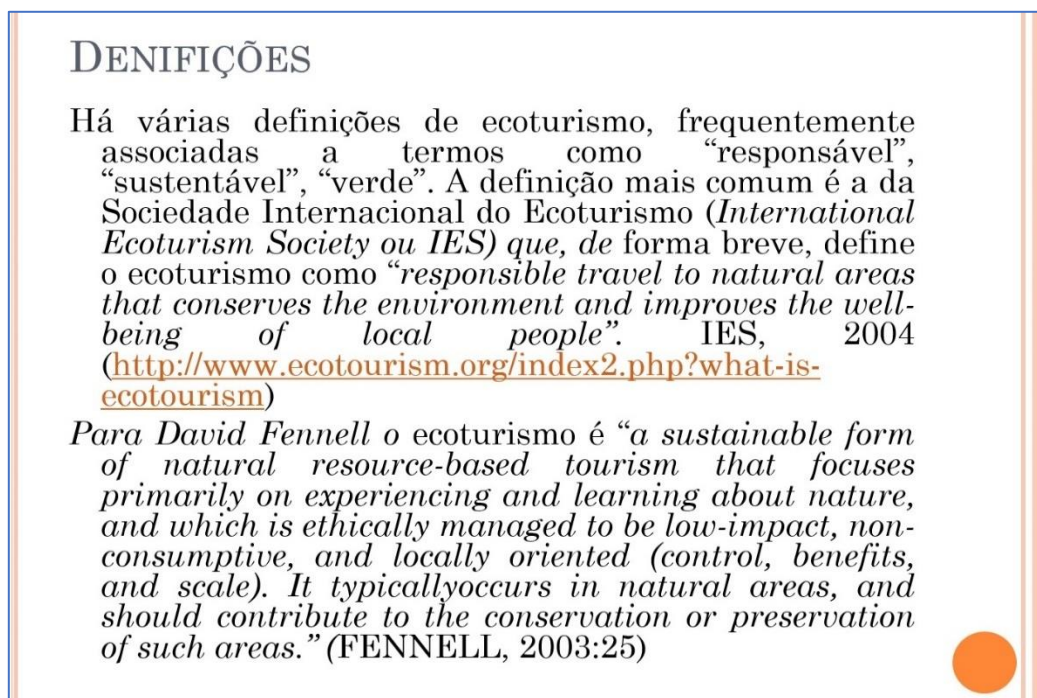
As a point of contrast to both Prof. M and Prof. X, a lecturer in community development studies at NU, Prof. D, completed his Masters in Portugal, as well as some earlier training at Victoria University in Australia. In one of his 'community-based tourism' classes, I observed him communicating orally to students in Tetun (see Appendix 2.4.4) but presenting PowerPoint slides that displayed a mixture of Portuguese and English, without any written Tetun (or Indonesian) used at all. The image below (*Figure 17*) shows an example slide from

¹¹⁶ Yes, Senegal. Unfortunately, I am not fully clear on how this language teacher from Senegal came to be teaching Portuguese to lecturers in the agriculture faculty at NU. I understand that he was a visiting scholar at a university in Portugal and this university had an MoU agreement with NU in Timor-Leste, one of the products of which was Portuguese language trainers being sent to NU.

¹¹⁷ Before I learned of Prof. X's thesis writing guide, this Senegalese Portuguese language teacher told me in an informal discussion in the agriculture faculty at NU that no existing resources had been provided to him to work from in creating his version of the thesis guide. He also told me that he had tried to consult with Prof. X, knowing that he taught the research methods class, but Prof. X had refused.

Prof. D's presentation on *Ecoturismo e Sustentável* ('EcoTourism and Sustainable'¹¹⁸). Prof. D has provided two definitions in English, one sourced from a website and one from an eco-tourism textbook, however his discursive framing of the relevance of these definitions to the presentation is given in Portuguese:

Figure 17: Sample slide from a presentation on eco-tourism by NU community development studies lecturer Prof. D



Prof. D's use of English for his definitions illustrates his reliance on reference materials from sources where English dominates: the internet and academic publications. However, his 'mixing' of these English definitions into a PowerPoint presentation predominantly in Portuguese, with no apparent effort made at translation into written Tetun, highlights the significance of individual lecturers' decisions regarding the use and integration of textual sources into multimodal classroom communication. Further analysis of a recording of Prof. D's spoken Tetun that accompanied his presentation of the above slide would render a clearer picture of how this lecturer may enable students' comprehension of Portuguese and English text, however this is beyond the scope of the current study.

In my discussions with them, several CDS lecturers demonstrated awareness of this individual variation in the integration of textual materials into classroom communication, though they

¹¹⁸ Note that not only is the title of the presentation in Portuguese, it is also an irregular (if not erroneous) Portuguese, with the use of *Sustentável* ('Sustainable') as opposed to *Sustentabilidade* ('Sustainability'), which would be more grammatically appropriate.

claimed that ‘choice’ is constrained. For instance, one of Prof. D’s colleagues in the CDS department at NU, Prof. N, was asked in a focus group discussion a direct question by one of his colleagues about his language of instruction. He responded with reference to different opportunities among lecturers for overseas graduate study, even in the same department at NU:

Speaker	Original utterance	Time
Prof. I	So what language do you use?	00:38:26
Prof. N	Uh, probably...uh, not probably, but we're mixing the language in the class. Mixing. The majority we use Tetun, for us, and mix ...uh ... me, not Portuguese - I'm mixing with English. And even there is references from <i>Melayu</i> [=Malaysian[Ind.], Indonesian, but I try to translate into Tetun. And if I take some from books from English and I can also put some [word?] mixed with Tetun so they can understand better. And then my subject I always give them in English and they can translate.	
Trent	When you say your subject, what do you mean? The subject guide, or ...?	00:39:22
Prof. N	Uh ...	
Trent	The materials?	
Prof. N	The materials. Assignments ... yeah. Even, it's very difficult - also myself, but I try to develop my own self also, try to encourage them to learn English and Tetun, and also Portuguese. Maybe I have a friend who graduated from Portugal, they use more Portuguese in their class. But my particular is Tetun and English a little bit and ... yeah. Indonesian, no. Just for myself, Indonesian. Only for myself - only to read and to understand the concept and then transfer to the students.	00:39:40 00:40:13

(NU-FG3, A6.1.4; original English)

Prof. N’s comment here accords with findings reported in the previous chapter regarding lecturers’ diverse plurilingual repertoires resulting from different individual language learning biographies. Prof. N qualifies his own use of English as distinct from some of his colleagues who, he says, ‘use more Portuguese in their class’ because they ‘graduated from Portugal’. He rationalises his limited use of Portuguese in comparison with others (like Prof. D) by indicating that he has not yet benefited from a government scholarship to study in Portugal. Prof. N is also careful to clarify that, while he does draw on Indonesian textbooks, it is ‘only for [him]self – only to read and understand the concept’, combining a kind of confession with immediate qualification and justification. He seems anxious to preclude any possible question that his students may be exposed to substantial Indonesian in his classes, even though his admission that he uses it himself ‘to understand the concept’ surely suggests that some translation (if not also borrowing) from Indonesian words and phrases is occurring.

As a final example of the significance of individual repertoire, pedagogy and initiative in shaping the language mixing across textual materials provided by lecturers in disciplinary communication, I want to briefly discuss the textual communication strategy of Prof. J, one of Prof. D's colleagues in the NU community development studies department. Prof. J provided the only example of a printed handout for students that I encountered across the 18 classroom observations that I conducted. The handout contained a mixture of English and Tetun and was for a class on *Internasionalizmu no Organizasaun Internasional* ('Internationalism and International Organisations'). In the handout, Prof. J provided an annotated list of terms and phrases that he used during the class, with cited definitions provided in English and Prof. J's own explicatory definitions also provided in Tetun. An excerpt from the first page of the four-page handout is shown below in *Figure 18*.

Figure 18: Excerpt from page 1 of a class handout produced by NU community development studies lecturer Prof. J

Internasionalizmu: *Movimentu ida – Nasaun sira oinsa bele serbisu hamutuk iha área sira hanesan ekonomia & politika nian. Hare ba karakter universal & iha interese hanesan.*

"Internationalism is... described as the theory and practice of transnational or global cooperation. As a political ideal, it is based on the belief that nationalism should be transcended because the ties that bind people of different nations are stronger than those that separate them." (Arora, 2011:2¹)

Iha buat importante tolu (3) bele hare husi definisaun iha leten ne'e.

Global Cooperation - Serbisu hamutuk iha mundu tomak.

Nationalism should be transcended - La bele tau as liu interse Nasionalizmu nian.

***Internationalizmu (Kosmopolitan) Vs. Nationalizmu (Patriotizmu)-
Identidade Nasional***

There are some clearly strategic uses of Tetun in this example directed towards scaffolding students' understanding of key disciplinary terminology. In addition to providing a transliteration of the English word 'internationalism' into Tetun as *internasionalizmu* (adapting a Portuguese loan), Prof. J also positions a Tetun definition upfront, which explains to students that internationalism is *movimentu ida* ('a movement') related to 'how nations are able to work together in shared economic and political areas'. A quoted English definition is then provided below that, modelling the integration of source material in another language

into a written document, including in-text citation according to academic writing convention. Returning to Tetun, the handout then focuses students' attention on 'three important things' in this English definition (*Iha buat importante tolu*), separating out from the definition some further terminology and phrasing that students may find challenging. In particular, Prof. J has translated a central idea communicated in the English definition that 'nationalism should be transcended' into Tetun as *La bele tau as liu interese Nasionalizmu nian* ('cannot put first the national interest').

By providing this written handout with Tetun definitions to accompany his verbal communication with students in his classroom, Prof. J enacts a pedagogical approach to the teaching of disciplinary knowledge via the explicit teaching of disciplinary and industry-specific language. The translation work into Tetun that Prof. J has done serves as both a modelling for students of the use of Tetun in academic writing specific to his subject and a form of scaffolded access into the disciplinary discourse, in this case ways of communicating about 'internationalism'. As such, Prof. J's strategic use of written Tetun as part of his classroom communication represents a kind of agentive resistance to 'colonisation of the mind' (Ngũgĩ, 1986) via the necessary use of academic textual sources produced in English. Prof. J is enabling the construction of disciplinary and professional knowledge in the field of community development to occur in written Tetun, mixed with the cited English sources.

Feedback and assessment

Forms of providing feedback and assessment constitute perhaps the most direct cases of lecturers planning the disciplinary and field-specific communication of their students. Such activities include, of course, the individual approaches that lecturers take in responding to students' written and spoken attempts at set tasks with their own corrections, edits and feedback. But they also include the design of the tasks themselves, since assessment task types are not usually standardised across a faculty or, indeed, even seen or signed off on by heads of department (see comments made by one head of department at NU: NU-I4, A3.4.1, 00:22:10; and at 00:24:25). Assessment rubrics are virtually unheard of (except, as will be discussed below, in the cases of evaluating students' work experience training and their final oral thesis defence), and so each individual lecturer is more or less free to choose her/his own tools of assessment as well as methods of providing feedback. Prof. Y, for instance, requires her students to keep a notebook with her written feedback on major pieces of assessment (fieldwork reports, undergraduate thesis) recorded progressively for each draft

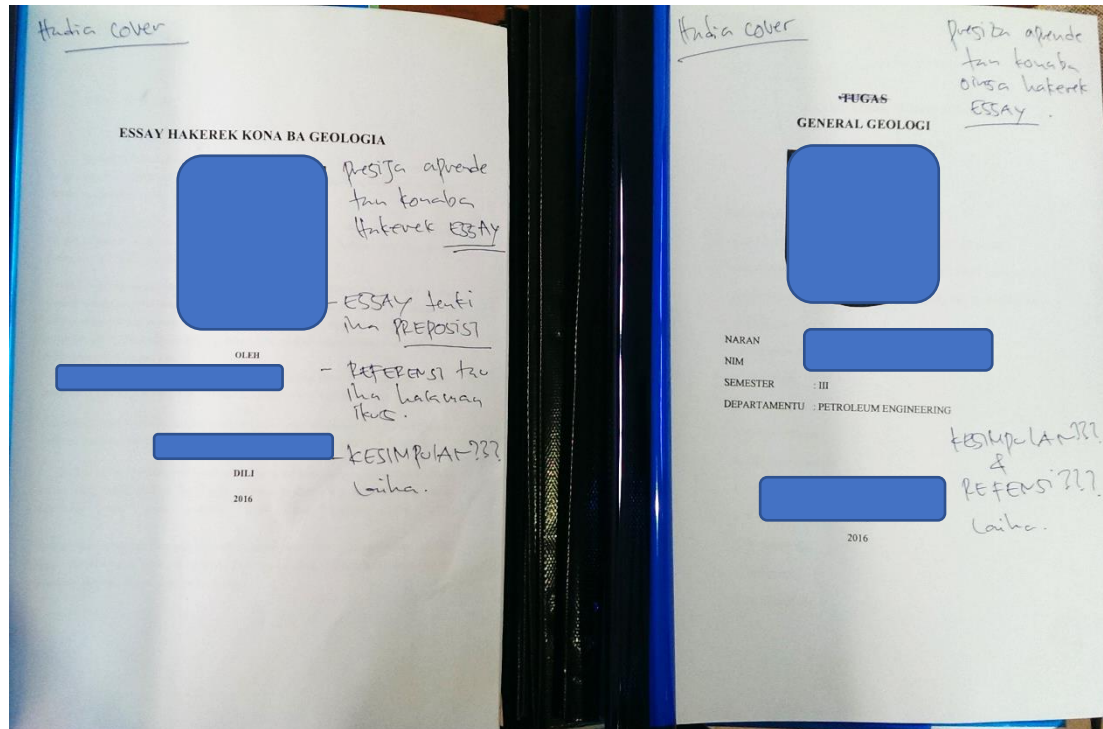
(see Prof. Y's detailed explanation of this method: NU-I3, A3.3.5). From what I observed and what lecturers told me, most lecturers choose to write their feedback (usually in Tetun) directly onto printed copies of students' work.

As has already been shown extensively in this and preceding chapters, the idea that lecturers are 'free to choose' their methods of communication, including feedback, must be understood critically. The past educational experiences and language socialisation histories of individual lecturers necessarily inform their perceptions of 'correct' and 'incorrect', 'better' and 'worse', just as they inform their perceptions of the performances of language and literacy that students need to master for academic study (see previous chapter). Indeed, it is the diversity of educational and language socialisation experiences among lecturers that makes for diverse evaluation and assessment practices within individual departments and faculties as well as between them.

It is beyond the scope of this study to provide an exhaustive account of lecturers' feedback and assessment practices, but I present below a few illustrative examples. Individually, they offer insight into specific lecturers' styles of feedback and present iterative case studies of the social negotiation of disciplinary language and knowledge construction. Collectively, they are illustrative of the range and diversity of different, individual approaches to this most crucial aspect of disciplinary discourse socialisation.

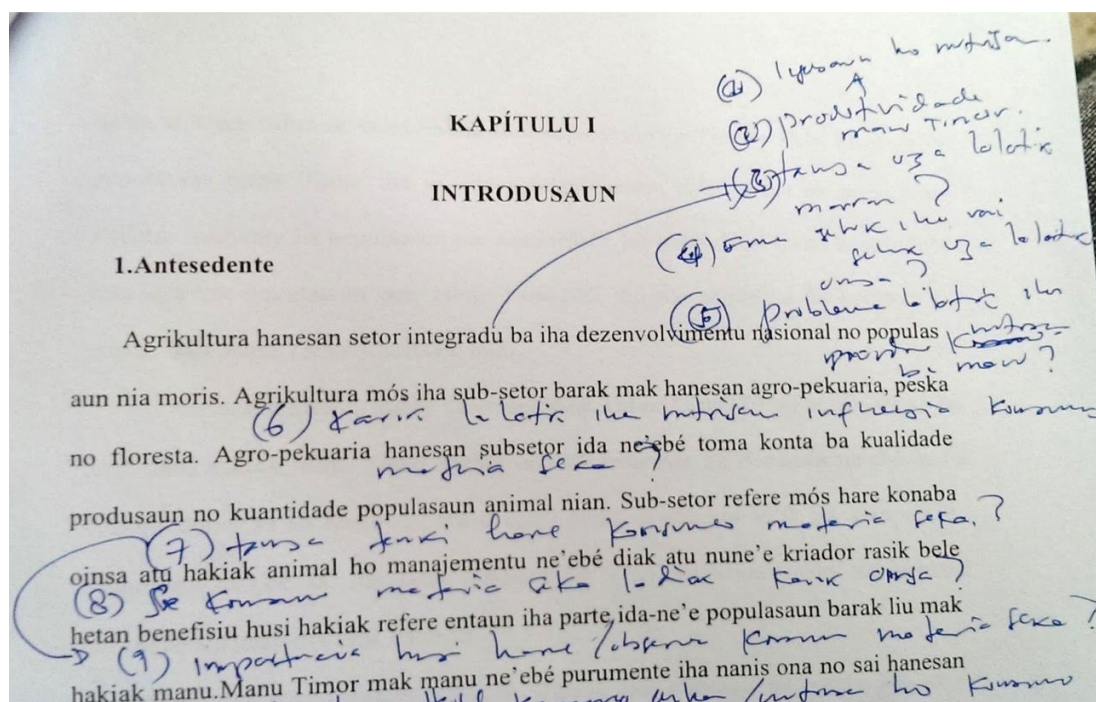
In the first example shown below (*Figure 19*), a TTC petroleum studies lecturer has adopted a rather rebuking tone in providing generalised feedback to two different students on a homework task. Note especially the repetition across both pieces of feedback of *hadia cover* ('fix the cover') and *presiza aprende tan konaba hakerek essay* ('you need to learn more about writing an essay'), vivid instantiations of the localised reproduction of Western norms of essayist literacy. The lecturer has used mostly Tetun, with some Indonesian and the two English words 'cover' and 'essay'.

Figure 19: Lecturer feedback handwritten on homework tasks submitted by petroleum students at TTC



By some contrast to this approach to providing feedback, a more dialogical approach is evident in the second example, shown below in *Figure 20*. This lecturer from the NU agriculture faculty has provided detailed feedback on what is a high stakes writing task for students: their final year undergraduate thesis. This lecturer's method of providing feedback contrasts sharply with that shown above in *Figure 19*, both in the detail of the feedback provided and in the discursive approach. There is less evidence of a rebuking tone and s/he asks multiple 'why' questions of the student, pushing them to critically reflect on their written communication. A separate issue with lecturers' language use is also evident, however, in the near illegibility of this lecturer's handwriting. This issue was also evident in Prof. L's writing on the whiteboard in his basic electronics subject presented earlier in this chapter.

Figure 20: Lecturer feedback handwritten on draft undergraduate thesis submitted by agriculture student at NU



These two examples illustrate how feedback on students' production of Western essayist literacy may be focussed on form and structure, or on ideas, content, and argumentation. As has already been noted, multiple lecturers from different institutions, faculties and departments stated that they focus more on students' ideas than their correct use of language or their correct use of genre-specific structure, formatting and referencing (see, e.g., A3.2.1, 00:32:00; A3.5.1, 00:36:45; A6.1.2, 00:23:50). There remains substantial variability, however, in what this means in practice, as the above two examples demonstrate.

A third and final example relates to somewhat more complex processes of providing assessment and feedback on students' oral communication, specifically their oral defence of their undergraduate thesis. Since this feedback and assessment is usually done via both verbal and non-verbal forms of communication between multiple lecturers and a single student, an in-depth analysis of these processes would require more detailed audio and video recorded data than was recorded in this study. It would also require more space than the constraints of this thesis allow. Notwithstanding, some small indication of the multilingual, multimodal, and highly performative nature of this assessment process can be

provided here through the use of photos captured (with the consent of students) in observations of students oral defence.¹¹⁹

Figure 21: An agriculture student at NU defends her undergraduate thesis before a panel of supervisors and assessors



In defence of her thesis, this student was expected to perform academic and field-appropriate communication of learned specialist knowledge in front of a panel of five lecturers (one is absent in this photo and was coming and going during the student's presentation). Two of the lecturers were the student's supervisors, the other three were her examiners. She spoke in Tetun with a mixture of Indonesian, used the whiteboard to draw a diagram and to make some calculations, and referred to Indonesian text shown in her PowerPoint slides. The examiners made notes against printed assessment criteria written in Indonesian and, after the student had finished presenting, cross-examined her orally in a mixture of Tetun and Indonesian.¹²⁰

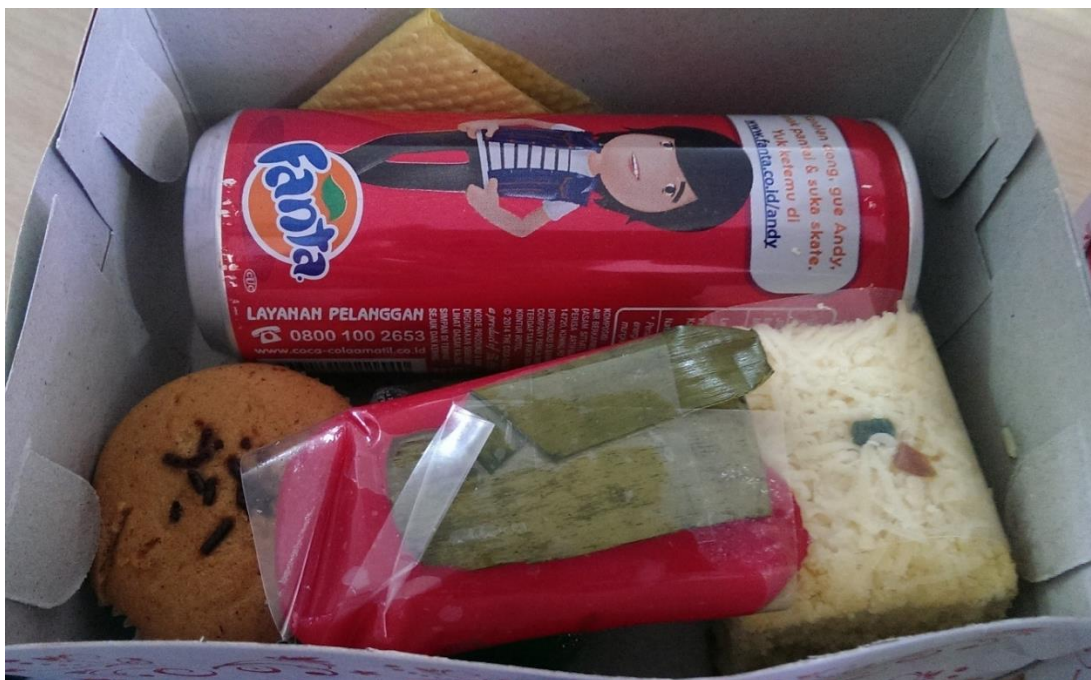
I observed this same demanding ritual of multilingual, multimodal assessment of students' oral defences of their undergraduate theses at NU, RCI and TTC in the agriculture, petroleum and tourism departments. Also consistent across these different institutional and disciplinary contexts were the material and performative elements of the assessment process evident in the above photo: the adornment of the desks where the examiners sat with table cloths and

¹¹⁹ See also my earlier discussion of these observations, in section 6.2 of this chapter.

¹²⁰ See completed observation tool, Appendix 2.4.5, and copy of assessment criteria in Indonesian, Appendix 7.3.1.

flower garlands, the provision of catered lunch boxes and bottled water. As evidence that this is indeed a practice occurring across institutions and disciplines, I have included below another photo (Figure 22), which shows the contents of a lunchbox provided by a student presenting his undergraduate thesis defence in the petroleum faculty at TTC.

Figure 22: Boxed lunch provided by a petroleum student at TTC as part of his undergraduate thesis presentation



This evidence of the material and performative aspects of students' undergraduate thesis defence is illustrative of the subtle and unexpected ways that academic literacy may be assessed in higher education institutions in Timor-Leste. Such assessment rituals incorporate the localised manifestations of multilingualism already discussed, with students reproducing the distribution of linguistic and semiotic resources across modalities as modelled by their lecturers. Yet they also extend beyond this to include material manifestations of *Tetun ho gado-gado*, revealing the embodied performance that animates language use in these settings.

There is a final point to be made regarding modelling by lecturers of written communication in Tetun. Although my classroom observational findings identified Tetun as the dominant language of oral communication in Timorese higher education, whether and how the Tetun language is used in *written* communication in the classroom varies widely from one individual lecturer to another. As the data presented in this section illustrate, Tetun may or may not appear in written form on whiteboards, and lecturers may or may not choose to include it in

their PowerPoint presentations, alongside of Indonesian, English, Portuguese, and a range of other discipline-specific semiotic forms. As one lecturer from the NU agriculture faculty put it, ‘you can imagine the diverse knowledge, diverse vocabulary pick[ed] up by students’ (Prof. Z, NU-I4, A3.4.3, 00:49:50; original English).

In Prof. Z’s view, what is needed is more consistent use of Tetun for academic and disciplinary communication via the production of textual materials by lecturers themselves, hailing the need for lecturers’ involvement in the intellectualisation of Tetun as discussed earlier. In a one-on-one interview, he told me that lecturers ‘have to write a book, that knowledge in Tetun, so they [students] read that...in Tetun, they can explain in Tetun also’ (NU-I4, A3.4.2, 00:36:30). Prof. Z is positioning disciplinary lecturers quite directly as language planners by proposing that it should be their role to produce standardised – and, the implication is, therefore more authoritative – written resources in Tetun for students to refer to ‘so when they explain, it’s something that’s standard already, out of lecturers’ (NU-I4, A3.4.2, 00:37:00).

As should by now be evident from the results of classroom observations and also the focus group and interview data already discussed, there is not currently such a consistent or coordinated effort among disciplinary lecturers to produce written textual resources in Tetun. There are, however, some highly consistent and coordinated efforts towards the production of textual resources in Tetun occurring in the Tetun Department of the School of Languages at TTC. So far, these efforts have been directed mainly towards the production of trans-disciplinary academic literacy resources, however they have also included the production of tri-lingual glossaries of disciplinary terms for tourism and petroleum. For the final section of this chapter, I discuss some of these institutional arrangements for language learning in addition to certain external vocational training opportunities for students as forms of ‘outsourced’ communication by lecturers in the development of students’ disciplinary knowledge.

6.5 Other institutional data: The outsourcing of disciplinary communication

In addition to the various kinds of mixing in disciplinary communication that I observed occurring within classrooms, students are also expected to be acquiring disciplinary knowledge from other sources outside of their immediate departments and faculties. These

are compulsory, curricular activities that are not usually delivered or facilitated by disciplinary lecturers but which many interviewees either implied or explicitly stated they expect will help to prepare their students for academic and disciplinary communication.

The activities include:

- ‘foundational’ language programs, such as the first year Tetun, Portuguese and English subjects delivered (differently) at all three institutions;
- language and content integrated subjects, such as the English for specific purposes subjects delivered at TTC for petroleum and tourism students in second and third years;
- discipline- or purpose-specific, stand-alone subjects focussed on communication, such as a subject called ‘Communication’ at TTC, which is intended to teach students how to structure written theses and produce PowerPoint presentations;¹²¹
- fieldwork and on-the-job training activities supervised either by industry partners or (only intermittently) by faculty lecturers.

These other programs are usually out of the direct control of lecturers, and are initiated at faculty, institutional, or even national levels. They constitute lecturers’ ‘outsourcing’ of disciplinary communication as lecturers rely on them as sources of disciplinary discourse socialisation for their students.

I include discussion of these activities in this chapter because it is helpful for building an understanding of how disciplinary lecturers may be drawing boundaries around their work as educators of disciplinary language and communication, expecting that students will acquire certain essential communication skills and resources from these activities more or less independent of lecturers’ teaching work. With this in mind, I discuss below a few select examples of these activities, with close attention to the added layers of complexity that they bring to students’ experiences of disciplinary communication in higher education in Timor-Leste. As would be expected, the activities vary significantly by discipline and there is also substantial variation resulting from different institutional arrangements – especially for language teaching but also for fieldwork and community outreach activities. I propose that

¹²¹ This subject, previously taught by a former Rector and Petroleum lecturer at TTC, has recently been given to the Tetun department to deliver.

this variety of supplementary language and communication learning activities adds significantly to the diversity of forms of multilingual education active in Timorese tertiary education.

Portuguese for reading timetables at NU

Since 2014, students at all universities in Timor-Leste have been required to take two semesters each of Portuguese, Tetun, and English in their first year. Such a language separation approach is consistent with a wider trend in other multilingual higher education settings in recent years towards stand-alone subjects in language for academic purposes (cf. Madiba, 2013). In Timor-Leste, this sector-wide language-in-education policy was developed following recommendations made to the National University by a *Grupo de Consultores Científicos e Pedagógicos Portugueses* ('Group of Portuguese Scientific and Pedagogic Consultants') from the '*Fundação das Universidades Portuguesas*' ('Foundation of Portuguese Universities') in May 2013.¹²² The resulting '*transversais*' (literally 'cross-cutting', in this case signifying 'transdisciplinary') curriculum document that was written for the three languages focusses heavily on the learning and application of grammatical rules, norms of pronunciation, and correct orthography. This is especially the case for the Tetun curriculum, which focusses almost exclusively on the teaching of the official INL grammar and orthography for Tetun.

At the time of collecting data for this research (2015-2017), language subjects had begun to be delivered at NU that purportedly¹²³ follow the new *transversais* curriculum, though there were different arrangements for language instruction at the other two institutions. Somewhat understandably, the introduction of these compulsory language subjects at NU has led some disciplinary lecturers there to expect that their students should already have a certain functional literacy in these languages upon arrival in their classrooms, an expectation

¹²² This group was tasked with providing recommendations towards 'the promotion and propagation of the Portuguese language as a language of instruction at [NU]' (GCCPP, 2013, p. 4). In a report produced by the group and presented to the National University (GCCPP, 2013), it was recommended that a 'year zero' curriculum be introduced which included 'reinforcement of competencies in the Tetun, Portuguese, and English languages' (p. 48; my translation from the original Portuguese).

¹²³ I say 'purportedly' because I had the opportunity to observe an English class for first year students in agriculture at NU and the class did not appear to follow the *transversais* curriculum. Moreover, I was told that it is difficult to find enough language teachers to deliver these subjects, especially for Tetun, and so the classes are either not offered or (as I also directly observed) scheduled in students' timetables without a teacher to deliver the lessons.

that is too easily frustrated. For instance, one NU agriculture lecturer told me of his lack of patience for helping students with the most banal of academic literacy skills that he felt they should be learning in these first-year language subjects:

My students come to me [with their timetable], they say “I don’t know what is this subject.” I tell them, “You completed Portuguese 2; you go find out.”

- Prof. Z, NU agriculture faculty
(Conversation recorded in fieldnotes, 28/09/15)

The expectation here from Prof. Z is that the Portuguese 1 and 2 subjects should be teaching students how to read the names of their agriculture classes in Portuguese or, at least, teaching them enough vocabulary from agricultural science in Portuguese to be able to read their timetable. There is certainly an ‘outsourcing’ occurring with this expectation if Prof. Z is turning students away who ask for his help in translating their timetable.

However, such an expectation is inconsistent with the goals of the *transversais* curriculum that has been developed, which its strong emphasis on grammar and the ‘rules’ of language. The expectation would also be inconsistent with the goals of most Language for Academic Purposes (LAP) courses, which are not intended to teach disciplinary vocabulary or to ‘top up’ a ‘linguistic deficit’ but, rather, they are intended to develop ‘new kinds of literacy,’ as Hyland (2006, p.1) puts it. That is, students may be taught in LAP classes to identify what a timetable is for and how to use it, but not necessarily the specialised terminology it may contain. Prof. Z’s expectation that the Portuguese 1 and 2 subjects will contribute substantially to students’ knowledge of ‘Portuguese for agriculture’ is likely to continue to be frustrated.

In the meantime, lecturers themselves continue to struggle with their own Portuguese language skills, as evidenced by earlier cited comments made by NU CDS lecturer, Prof. Ab (see Chapter 5, section 5.3, p. 193). As a solution, NU agriculture lecturer Prof. Y told me that she habitually uses Google Translate to help her to produce Portuguese translations of Indonesian text in her PowerPoint slides. Similar to Prof. Ab, Prof. Y despairs of any Portuguese language teachers at NU being available or able to help her with this mundane yet essential task. So, she ‘outsources’ to Google Translate, saying: ‘Who can help us? Except Google.’ (Prof. Y, NU-I3, A3.3.1, 00:07:20).

A lecturer from the English Department at TTC, Prof. Lu, told me of the multiple challenges that she faces teaching role plays to petroleum students. Prof. Lu teaches 'English for Petroleum' at TTC, which is the third and last semester of English that petroleum students are required to take. Tourism students receive ten semesters, attending English classes all the way through their tourism degrees at TTC, a time commitment to language education recommended for both faculties by the Director of the School of Languages at TTC. Prof. Lu says there was more time to teach and to practice role plays, allowing students more exposure to communicative language learning, when there were additional, more advanced English for petroleum classes, however this class was cancelled for reasons unknown to her (TTC-I10, A7.4.2 00:10:10). Yet the amount of time spent on role plays is not the main challenge that Prof. Lu faces in facilitating students' practicing English communication in petroleum work settings. The main challenge, she told me, is her own lack of knowledge of the communicative contexts referred to in the role play scenarios provided in the 'English for Petroleum' textbook sourced from Australia.

Prof. Lu tells me of the multimodal teaching strategies that she uses to help students to project themselves into the target communicative setting. Her comment reveals the material constraints on her teaching, the lack of access to teaching and learning resources specific to the offshore operations in Timor-Leste:

[W]e try to download videos to watch. And then the videos is not about Bayu Undan, but we will tell them that: 'Okay, just imagine that this is Bayu Undan, and then just look at the situation.'

*- Prof. Lu, TTC 'English for Petroleum' lecturer
(TTC-I10, A7.4.1, 00:00:40; original English)*

Prof. Lu is doing her best with limited resources to prepare students with communicative competency but struggles to guide students on the authenticity of their role-played workplace communication in her ESP class. She told me:

[S]ometimes they stop to ask you about the situation or about the words they don't know in English. [...] And, like I said before, it's very hard to imagine the situation because of the teachers and also the students - both haven't been to these places. [00:01:26]

*- Prof. Lu, TTC 'English for Petroleum' lecturer
(TTC-I10, A7.4.1, 00:01:14 – 00:01:30)*

Prof. Lu's story is yet another example of the 'outsourcing' of disciplinary communication resulting in frustrated outcomes. The inability of TTC petroleum lecturers to teach in English has resulted in delegation of responsibility for the 'English for Petroleum' classes to teachers like Prof. Lu in the TTC English Department. Prof. Lu's story highlights the practical struggles these language-trained teachers are facing in trying to develop students' disciplinary communication skills without industry experience or disciplinary expertise themselves.

The work of Tetun departments at TTC and at NU

As the example of English for petroleum at TTC shows, existing models and curricula for 'English for Specific Purposes' courses are being imported and adapted for use in Timorese tertiary institutions. Since no such resources exist for Tetun, special language planning work needs to be done and, indeed, is being done in the School of Languages at TTC. This is evidenced by recent publications at TTC of the previously mentioned 'Tourism and Food Glossary' (see Chapter 4, p. 139), a glossary of terms related to computer science, and a handbook of 'Tetun for the Justice Sector'. Specifically targeted at helping students to write in Tetun for academic purposes, TTC has also recently produced two 'Tetun for Study and Work' textbooks, which are being used to teach 'study skills' and Tetun writing in a newly designed program for first-year students. These courses and the textbooks cover such topics as notetaking and summarising, descriptive writing, critical thinking, writing a report, and producing a CV, scaffolding student learning of these literacy practices in and through the use of Tetun. Lecturers in the Tetun department at TTC have also been actively conducting research on students' use of Tetun in academic settings, with the publication of several recent conference papers in Tetun.¹²⁴

This work by the Tetun department at TTC is directly contributing to the intellectualisation of Tetun and its development for use in academic settings. As was noted in Chapter 4, evidence suggests that this work is occurring without substantial input from disciplinary experts, even at the same institution.¹²⁵ It is, however, being shaped by input from foreign ESL and EAP teachers and experts, with a regular presence of such teachers in SoL at TTC

¹²⁴ I have not included these published textbooks or conference papers in my reference list to protect the anonymity of the participants and the institution involved.

¹²⁵ I refer here to the translation of 'service' as *serbi* in the SoL tourism glossary as opposed to *atendimentu*, which was the translation provided by TTC tourism lecturers. See discussion in Chapter 4, section 4.3.

enabled mainly through overseas development aid funding. It has even included my own input, with acknowledgement of this included at the beginning of the ‘Tetun for Study and Work’ textbooks with regard to the teaching of ‘study skills’. There is thus an ‘outsourcing’ of disciplinary communication that extends even to me, since students in the tourism and petroleum faculties at TTC will be expected to learn key disciplinary communication skills such as the writing of a fieldwork report from these resources in Tetun that I have helped to produce.

By stark contrast, very little such pro-active work on the intellectualisation of Tetun has been done by the Tetun department at NU, which is connected to the INL (‘National Institute of Linguistics’), the institution ostensibly responsible for the development of the Tetun language. To my knowledge, the only publication to come from the INL at NU to date is a book on the ‘standard orthography’ of Tetun, published in 2004, which is still used to teach Tetun at NU. The Tetun department at NU is both understaffed and under-resourced. It has roughly the same number of Tetun teachers as the Tetun department at TTC but it must cater to a far larger student body, spread across many more faculties and disciplinary areas. As a result, the task of producing writing guides for students falls to faculty-level arrangements, such as in the previously described case of the NU agriculture lecturer who produced his own guide for students in Tetun and Indonesian for his ‘Research Methods’ class. While efforts at TTC to develop teaching and learning resources in Tetun are advancing strongly, no such deliberate and coordinated efforts appear to be occurring at NU.¹²⁶

Practicing community communication via fieldwork

One of the enduring legacies of the Indonesian colonial era on the Timorese higher education sector is the requirement at all institutions for students to complete *Praktek Kerja Lapangan* or ‘PKL’ – literally ‘fieldwork practice’, referring to compulsory work experience.¹²⁷ A lecturer from the Coffee Institute, Prof. E, told me that one of the most important things that students should learn from the PKL is that they can *esplika sira nia jurusan ba governu ka komunidade sira* (‘explain their field to government or community’; RCI-I8, A3.7.4, 00:36:05) and that they can *menjawab kebutuhan masyarakat nian* (‘answer the needs of the community/society’;

¹²⁶ Or, for that matter, at RCI. To my knowledge, there is no Tetun department at the Rural Coffee Institute, though first year Tetun classes are delivered modelled on those at NU and focussing on the teaching of official orthography.

¹²⁷ Part of the colonial legacy is the continued use of the Indonesian naming of these work experience programs, as well as the framing of their objectives.

A3.7.4, 00:36:25). The learned communication skill that Prof. E is pointing to here is the same one highlighted by agriculture lecturers at both RCI and NU as a key attribute for graduates seeking work in the field of agriculture, as discussed in Chapter 4: the ability to transfer or ‘teach’ agricultural science to rural communities.

This expectation that students should develop this pivotal communication skill for work in their industry primarily via fieldwork activities was also echoed strongly by agriculture lecturers at NU. Prof. Y told me that students learn from their fieldwork how to ‘transfer their knowledge to the community ... how to communicate in the community’ (NU-I3, A3.3.6, 00:59:25), specifically emphasising a didactic style of communication that they should be developing, saying: ‘They teach the community’ (A3.3.6, 01:00:15). Her colleague, Prof. Z, was even stronger in this characterisation of the communication skills students acquire from fieldwork, telling me that the PKL trains them ‘how [to] empower people’ (NU-I4, A3.4.6, 01:25:10). Prof. Z further clarified the communicative relationship and expert role that students should be practicing in their fieldwork visits to rural communities, explaining ‘if asked by the villagers to build a house, they can’t build it. They are not workers. They’re conceptors.’ (NU-I4, A3.4.6, 01:25:30).

Clearly there is an expectation that students will learn important skills for communicating with rural communities during their fieldwork activities. The emphasis, however, seems to be on their practicing more didactic approaches to community engagement, rather than learning new knowledge and/or language from communities. The communication is about speaking and telling, rather than listening and learning. Within such a framing of the communication that students will be practicing in communities, the agency and expertise of the people living in those settings are undervalued, thus establishing an unequal footing before the students even enter a community.

Chapter summary and conclusions

In this chapter I have presented a diverse range of data, illustrating the diverse forms of ‘mixing’ that occur in lecturers’ communication of disciplinary and industry-specific knowledge with students. Via analysis of observation records, interview data, and material and textual data presented as images, I have examined closely particular instantiations of the various manifestations of lecturers’ ‘mixed’ communication. In my analysis, I noted the presence of both strategic and non-strategic instances of these mixing practices, including

via the distribution of diverse semiotic resources across different modalities of communication in classrooms. The extreme diversity of 'mixing' in disciplinary communication was further revealed via analytical discussion of examples of lecturers' use of different teaching and learning materials, sourced in different languages, and their different approaches to providing feedback and assessment.

To summarise:

- Observational data showed Tetun used as a main medium of instruction, 'mixed' with Indonesian, English, and Portuguese (in that order of frequency) for technical, scientific and discipline specific terms and abstract concepts.
 - e.g., an observation record of Prof. L's 'Basic Electronics' class provided detail of the use of Tetun orally for explanation of technical terms in combination with written Indonesian and English for explaining content projected on PPT.
- Lecturers' comments about their intentions in their 'mixed' Tetun revealed substantial variation related to the plurilingual repertoires of individual lecturers, their familiarity and comfort with formal academic registers of Tetun, their beliefs about the language(s) needed for industry, their beliefs about the language competencies of their students, and their pedagogical approach to classroom communication.
 - e.g., Prof. Y's performed explanation of the process of metabolism in 'mixed Tetun' included non-technical Indonesian words such as 'chew', 'change' and 'gut' that have common Tetun equivalents.
- Photographic records of classroom linguistic and semiotic landscapes showed this variation to be extended and complicated by the multimodal, polysemiotic nature of communication in classrooms. This was found to be especially the case in STEM classrooms, where symbols, diagrams and numbers are prevalent.
 - e.g., Prof. L's simultaneous use of speech, whiteboard, and PPT in the teaching of parallel and series circuits in his Basic Electronics class, 'mixing' spoken Tetun, written Indonesian (and some English) with diagrams, numbers, symbols.
- Collected samples of teaching and learning materials illustrated the influences of the postcolonial, developing context on available material resources.

- e.g., Prof. K's textbooks for agricultural extension printed in Indonesian, donated by ACIAR. Textbooks thus become a site where the legacies of Indonesian colonial education encounter the current context of competing foreign aid agendas.
- 'Other institutional data' demonstrated some lecturers' reliance on external sources of training for the transformation of their students' academic and professional voices. This data further showed that lecturers' expectations of these 'outsourced' communication activities are not necessarily being met.
 - e.g., TTC 'English for Petroleum' lecturer, Prof. Lu, struggling to teach students role plays of workplace communication on an oil rig.

Dominant discourses privileging the conceptualisation of multilingualism in Timorese higher education as 'parallel monolingualisms' mask this substantial diversity of mixed semiotic practice that clearly characterises communication for teaching and learning in these settings. For instance, the multimodal, polysemiotic nature of Prof. L's teaching of 'Basic Electricity' was not captured in statements from petroleum lecturers at TTC about the importance of 'ConocoPhillips English' for their industry, as discussed in Chapter 4. Nor was it acknowledged in their statements about the need for Indonesian for writing at university, as discussed in Chapter 5. Lecturers' preoccupations with their own and their students' competencies in named languages distract from their awareness of communicative purpose in the teaching and learning of specialist knowledge. Closer attention is needed to how and why different linguistic and semiotic resources are deployed for different functions and across different technologies of voice in (and beyond) these classrooms.

In this chapter, this attention was enabled by analysis of diverse ethnographic data. Institutional artifacts such as PowerPoint slides, writing guides and assessment criteria were seen as important instruments of micro-level language planning, informing analysis of observation results and lecturers' own reflections. As such, it should be noted that one of the contributions of this chapter was also to highlight the value of a multi-sited, multi-method ethnographic approach to data collection for understanding what is going on with multilingualism in higher education in the Timorese context.

Chapter 7:

Hotu nee ba nebee?

Lessons, conclusions and implications

*Ita lao dadauk iha dalan hanesan
ba buka hatene kona ba dezentolve lian.*

*[We're walking on the same path
to learn about the development of language]*

*- 'Zita' Theresa Gusmão Araujo,
'Academic Tetun' teacher and friend,
Tuesday 5th July, 2016*

This study was driven by two main research questions. The first asked about lecturers' 'conceptualisations' of the communication skills and resources needed by their students to succeed at university and to find work in their respective fields. This question related to lecturers' beliefs and attitudes about language and communication, and was framed towards understanding their particular categorisations, namings and narrations of these phenomena in their specific institutional, disciplinary and industry contexts. My second core research question asked about the multilingual teaching strategies and communication practices employed by these lecturers to support their students in their development of these requisite skills and resources.

In pursuit of answers to these questions, this study has produced a wide range of qualitative empirical data that illustrate and instantiate the diverse and conflict-ridden nature of lecturers' responses to multilingualism in higher education in Timor-Leste. Analysis of this empirical data contributes to knowledge in the fields of educational linguistics, language planning, and higher education policy research. This knowledge, in turn, has practical implications for the development of Tetun as a language of higher education in Timor-Leste, for approaches to workforce development and training in Timor's strategic industries, and for institutional language policy and planning activities in the sites case studied.

Contribution to knowledge in the field of educational linguistics

The specificities of diversity

With regard to lecturers' conceptualisations of the communication skills and resources needed by their students, findings from this research highlight the spectacular¹²⁸ diversity of variation in the locally valued forms and arrangements of multilingualism in higher education spaces in Timor-Leste. One might argue that diversity is an unremarkable finding when the research project spans, as this one does, several different groups of participants situated across four disciplinary areas and three institutions, incorporating private and public, urban and rural divides. Yet it is precisely these kinds of variables – the diversity that they bring and the roles that they play in producing multiple varied manifestations of multilingualism in Timorese higher education – that I argue should be the focus of close analysis. Close analysis, that is, by applied/educational linguists and language planners, as well as by those investigating education policy-making and workforce development in Timor-Leste.

Sharper attention is needed to the specificities and nuances of the diversity of linguistic and semiotic forms that are manifested, their socially ascribed functions in different contexts, as well as the various justifications – especially ideological ones – by which differentiations are made. In providing this attention ethnographically with a focus on the beliefs and practices of tertiary educators, this research has laid bare the diversity of multilingualisms evident in Timorese higher education. It has also uncovered institutional and disciplinary ties to particular language discourses, highlighted the iterative, performative roles of lecturers as planners of professional expertise as well as of language, and sought to identify patterns and propose explanations for these phenomena.

The account provided in this thesis of the diverse and complex nature of communication in higher education in Timor-Leste brings into focus the situatedness of interactions between individuals with different 'plurisemiotic' repertoires, as well as the ideological stylisations that these interactions express. As Blommaert and Rampton (2011) argue with their account of 'superdiversity' in the context of globalisation, diversity in language and communication also 'speaks of rapid change and mobility' (p.13), of individuals and their repertoires in

¹²⁸ As explained previously, I mean this quite literally in that the diversity itself should be regarded as a spectacle to be regarded with interest.

movement across different social and institutional spaces. These spaces are themselves dominated by different kinds of identity-producing discourses (Foucault, 1984; Smith, 1987) and Timorese lecturers are repeatedly positioning themselves in response to these discourses in their communicative interactions with students and others – including foreign researchers like myself. Lecturers' engagement with these discourses have significant implications for what it means to be a university educated professional in agriculture, tourism, petroleum, community development, at a given time and locale.

Different individual plurilingual repertoires, resulting from different 'educational biographies and social trajectories' (Moore & Gajo, 2009, p142), are in constant dialogic contact in Timorese tertiary classrooms. As discussed in Chapter 6, Prof. Y from the agriculture faculty at NU has been educated to Master's level in Indonesia, and so she will tend to borrow more Indonesian words for technical terminology to fill lexical (or her own vocabulary) gaps when explaining the process of metabolism to her students in Tetun. Prof. Z, another lecturer in the same faculty at the same institution, received an aid-funded scholarship from the Australian government to complete his PhD at an Australian higher-education institution and so he is confident to claim English as a valued resource that he can draw on when 'communicating the science' to students. These and other lecturers with similarly divergent educational histories and resultant plurilingual repertoires habitually model valued forms of disciplinary communication in classroom talk and in correcting and assessing student uses of language. Lecturers thus establish differing norms of communication and regimes of valued literacies specific to the domains of language use over which they exercise control.

From this perspective, variation in individual plurilingual repertoires among lecturers in a single department or faculty at the same institution may produce different simultaneous manifestations of multilingualism localised to individual classrooms. As recounted in Chapter 5, lecturers themselves recognise this source of simultaneous 'multilingualisms' in higher education spaces – different plurilingual repertoires in contact – as a defining feature of the 'problem' of multilingualism for them. Such awareness and commentary from these lecturers evidences their role as 'discourse planners', framing issues of language in higher education in terms of perceived differences between students' and lecturers' linguistic repertoires.

Different 'plurilingualisms' are not the only source of diversity in academic and vocational communication revealed by this research, however. Variation in lecturers' attitudes and beliefs that correspond to the different disciplinary and institutional affiliations of lecturers

also bring different multilingual arrangements for communication in higher education in Timor-Leste. As recounted in Chapter 4, many lecturers in tourism and petroleum at TTC, for example, believe that English is not only needed for but characteristic of their respective industries, and so make special efforts to include more English in their classrooms (even though English may not yet be strong in their own repertoires). These TTC lecturers must also contend with the recently introduced 'English only' medium of instruction policy for their disciplinary areas that lends institutional weight to the valuing of English for teaching and learning in tourism and petroleum.

For agriculture and community development studies lecturers at NU and RCI, there is neither the same clear industry demand for English (although it is arguably needed for communication with foreigners in community development), nor the overt faculty-based language planning occurring for these disciplines. There are not the same driving forces, therefore, for lecturers to incorporate English into communication within agriculture and community development classrooms as there are for tourism and petroleum lecturers at TTC. Notwithstanding, certain individual lecturers in both agriculture and community development studies at NU do perceive the value of English for work and/or for further education, especially those who have been educated in Australia in English. Once again, this details the influence of individual plurilingual repertoire and its educational origins on Timorese lecturers' multilingual beliefs and practices, in this case with specific regard to the formation of English-oriented language ideologies.

This research has also revealed stark differences in the ways that lecturers discursively construct the communicative frames and footing between graduates entering the workforce and different industry stakeholders. These differences have important implications for the shaping of communicative relationships between this emergent workforce and rural communities, government agencies, private companies, foreign aid and development agencies, and foreign visitors to Timor-Leste. For instance, many lecturers' conceptualisations of communication with rural communities either ignored or significantly undervalued this kind of communication as a skill or expertise. This was strongly evident from agriculture and tourism lecturers' framing of communication between their students and rural communities as largely one-way and didactic. It was also evident from the scarce mention from petroleum lecturers of any need for graduates to communicate with rural communities in the development of a future onshore industry. Again, however, this study

also revealed tensions and conflicts internal to these disciplinary fields. In community development studies, where one may expect to find a more dialogical approach to community engagement, nuanced differences are clearly evident in the communicative frames presented by different individual lecturers.

This thesis has documented crucial details of the complex sociolinguistic reality in Timorese higher education, revealing how the specificities of multilingualism play out at different levels or ‘sociolinguistic scales’ (Blommaert, 2007; Blommaert, Westinen, & Leppänen, 2015). It provides empirical evidence of how multilingualism is manifested in a particular classroom and the various sources of that: the lecturers’ own background in education, their views of their field, their values and attitudes, their competencies, their pedagogy. These sociolinguistic specificities and differences are relevant to wider discussions about language planning, about the development of the Timorese tertiary sector, and about the role of language in workforce development in Timor-Leste. They enable recognition and analysis of lecturers’ pivotal performative language planning roles, where the micro-level details of their classroom communication practices have direct bearing on wider processes of language-in-education policy making and implementation, workforce production and national development.

Contribution to knowledge in the field of language policy and planning

Lecturers’ participation in discourses of multilingual normativity

As discussion of the literature in Chapter 2 revealed, discourses relating to post-coloniality, nation-building, and globalisation often underlie different ways of knowing multilingualism and produce different language ideologies and different ‘orders of indexicality’ (Silverstein, 2003; Blommaert, 2010). This research has identified some of the localised ways that such discourses manifest in higher education in Timor-Leste. It has also helped to illuminate some of the ways that disciplinary lecturers in Timor-Leste participate in the (re)production and/or deconstruction of these discourses.

It is clearly evident from the data presented in this thesis that lecturers are involved in forms of ‘performative language planning’ (Lo Bianco, 2010, p. 157), and especially discourse planning (Lo Bianco, 2005); that is, the performative construction, in and through discourse,

of particular representations of language and communication issues as certain kinds of problems. Findings from this research extend upon Lo Bianco's conceptualisation of performativity in language planning (LP) in at least two key ways. Firstly, the richly contextual nature of the data and its focus on the valuing of different kinds of multilingual communication for different academic and professional purposes deepens understanding of the dialogical dimension of performative LP, revealing the 'planning of the self' to involve the taking up of different subject positions in response to national and institutional discourses about language and communication. This is not to suggest that lecturers' decisions in their uses of language are all deliberate and self-conscious – indeed, data from this research has shown this not to be the case. It does mean, however, that lecturers' performative language planning activities, both intentional and non, have important implications for identity construction for them and for their students.

Secondly, this research highlights the connections between discourse planning as a 'goal' of LP and performativity as a 'mode' of LP (Lo Bianco, 2018). Lecturers are not only modelling valued language forms, they are also reproducing or resisting discourses about different linguistic forms and different communicative norms. Critical analysis of the data from this research reveals fine-grained evidence of the mutually constitutive relationship between 'discourse planning', as outlined by Lo Bianco (2005), and performativity in language planning (Lo Bianco, 2010).

In the introduction to this thesis, I suggested that lecturers in Timor-Leste are being 'pushed and pulled' by a diverse array of competing discursive and ideological forces with regard to their use of different languages for disciplinary communication. This is certainly the case. As the data gathered from focus groups and interviews for this study has evidenced, many lecturers are keenly aware of the pressures from certain industries to use English, as was discussed in Chapter 4, as they are aware of pressure from some parts of government to use more Portuguese in higher education, as was discussed in Chapter 5. Educational legacies of the Indonesian colonial era together with current ease of access to graduate study opportunities in Indonesia for Timorese lecturers also continue to support the use of Indonesian for scientific and academic communication for many tertiary educators.

Discourses about English as the global language of the petroleum and tourism industries act as powerful centripetal forces on lecturers' conceptualisations of the communication skills and resources needed by graduates in these industries. Indonesian and Tetun are also

identified as needed for work in both the tourism and petroleum industries, yet the importance attributed to these by lecturers is significantly overshadowed by the perceived dominance of English promulgated via these discourses. These discourses are given added strength by the TTC institutional decision to implement English-only medium of instruction policies for the tourism and petroleum faculties.

Lecturers' responses to these diverse, competing pressures are varied and often conflicting in themselves. Some TTC petroleum lecturers, for example, both emphasised the paramount importance of English for their industry and also claimed that 'we have no choice but to use Indonesian'. Indeed, one of the most significant impacts of the intensely complex sociolinguistic setting in which Timorese higher education sits is that it complicates the question of lecturers' 'choices' with regard to language use in academic and disciplinary communication. The extent to which lecturers feel themselves to be constrained in their language and communication practices and the extent to which they feel free to exercise their own creative agency are themselves variable factors. Attentiveness to the varied sources of communicative diversity and 'mixing' that are productive of the multilingualisms characterising Timorese higher education affords a clearer understanding of this work of disciplinary lecturers as 'planners' of language, disciplinary knowledge and expertise, and, indeed, the disciplines themselves.

Lecturers as planners of graduate voices

As evidenced by the data presented in thesis, and especially in Chapter 4, the 'performative' work of lecturers in Timor-Leste in their everyday production of various forms of multilingual disciplinary communication extends significantly beyond the 'planning' of academic and vocational language alone. Lecturers' discursive constructions of the 'problem' of multilingualism in the transformation of their students' *voices* into literate, expert, graduate voices have important implications for the lecturers' constructions of both themselves as disciplinary and industry experts and their students as 'experts-in-the-making'. That is, Timorese lecturers' conceptualisations of students' multilingual communication skills and resources are instrumental in the discursive construction of industry knowledge and expertise, and, by extension, in the construction of what it means to be an expert in a particular field.

With regard to their conceptualisations of students' communication skills and resources for study and work, lecturers are deeply involved in the discursive construction of the speaking, writing multilingual subject in the context of Timorese higher education. As tertiary educators they are tasked with not only preparing students for work but more specifically with preparing student voices for participation in worlds of professional communication beyond graduation. As authors and authorisers of appropriate communication for academic and disciplinary contexts and purposes, lecturers are constantly monitoring and modelling the use of valued language forms for specific discipline-related communicative functions. Vocational lecturers in Timor-Leste are thus positioned (within institutional spaces as well as more widely in society at large) in key formative roles in the preparation of the multilingual voices of their students for work in industry.

The monitoring and modelling of students' language and communication may serve either to reinforce and reproduce, or to resist and transform dominant discourses that value certain forms of named languages for certain communicative functions. An example of this is Prof. M's modelled use of the Tetun *moris* for 'growth' and his correction of students' use of other terms in their writing, encouraging them to also use *moris* from 'farmer speak' as opposed to the Portuguese loan *kresimentu*. Prof. K's contradictory belief that farmers should adapt to the more Portuguese-laden register of Tetun that he uses to teach agricultural science is a co-present example of the modelling of valued language forms, signalling tension and conflict between the narrations of professional identity within the same faculty and institution.

There are multiple 'selves' that are narrated and given form in the multilingual and *multivoiced* accounts of lecturers reported in this study. These are manifest in the different 'I-positions' adopted by participants in their statements about the affordances of different languages and language forms for study and work. There is, for example, a national 'self' evident in tourism and petroleum lecturers' comments about the need for higher education in Timor-Leste to produce an English-speaking educated workforce ready to compete in regional and global job markets, ready to join ASEAN. This was especially evident in the fear expressed by one TTC petroleum lecturer that, without the requisite *English-literate* human capital, 'we will become spectators in our own land' (see Chapter 4, section 4.2). There is a strikingly ideological aspect to this position that motivates the teaching of English for petroleum students not only at TTC but in Timor-Leste in general.

In this discursive construction of the national self, the value of English for regional and global education and job markets jostles with post-colonial ties to Portuguese and Indonesian, while the transglossic value of Tetun remains little appreciated. This can play out at the very utterance level, in which lecturers' uses of Tetun are colonised by these forces, in turn instructing and socialising their students' voices in their own creations of *Tetun ho gado-gado*.

Implications for the intellectualisation of Tetun

The negative attitudes towards Tetun expressed by many lecturers are strong indication of the discursive forces at work constraining their beliefs and practices. An example is NU agriculture lecturers saying that they need to borrow from Indonesian or English to fill lexical gaps in Tetun in order to 'communicate the science' to students. Although some agriculture lecturers demonstrate that Tetun can be used quite extensively for the communication of scientific knowledge, negative attitudes towards Tetun as a language of scientific and academic communication reinforce a preferencing of more established academic languages for scientific registers and in written modes (on whiteboards, in PowerPoint slides). Statements about the limitations of Tetun for academic and scientific communication, while grounded in the real need for coordinated intellectualisation of the language, may also be used to mask lecturers' individual preferences for (and greater confidence in) the use of English or Indonesian in academic domains, which stem from their own past experiences of language socialisation. An example of this is Prof. Y's use of Indonesian in place of readily available Tetun words in her modelled explanation of the process of metabolism, as discussed in Chapter 6.

Perceptions of Tetun's lack of development for the purposes of academic and professional communication are surely informed by dominant language policy discourses that afford much greater status and prestige to English, Portuguese and Indonesian. Yet they are also informed by direct, frustrated experience in their individual efforts to use Tetun in written and spoken communication with their students. This was revealed most clearly in Chapter 6, specifically with discussion of the hampered efforts of the NU agriculture lecturer who produced his own 'Research Methods' guidebook in Tetun. Where the individual efforts of lecturers towards the intellectualisation of Tetun are not supported or even, as in the case

of this lecturer, are undermined, it serves to reinforce lecturers' beliefs that Tetun is not able to 'compete' with the other dominant languages for use in higher education. Such beliefs sit in tension with the readily observable ubiquitous use of Tetun for classroom communication across fields and institutions.

There is a need to give more institutional recognition and support for independent efforts made by individual lecturers to develop Tetun for academic use in their areas of expertise, as well as for pragmatic use in their industry. At TTC, this could mean increased consultation and collaboration between the faculties and the Tetun department in the School of Languages towards the development of teaching and learning resources in Tetun. This will assist in avoiding situations such as where a trilingual glossary for tourism is produced that translates 'service' as *serbi*, while tourism lecturers at the same institution use *atendimentu* as the Tetun translation in their classrooms.

In general, an approach to the development and intellectualisation of Tetun is needed where the expertise and contributions of multiple stakeholders are valued, including those who are not traditionally understood as 'language experts'. As discussed in both chapters 5 and 6, Prof. M sees the development and intellectualisation of Tetun as a learning opportunity for himself as well as for his students, whereas many other lecturers focussed on perceived deficiencies of Tetun when conceptualising it as a communication resource. Such a focus precludes discussion about potential limitations in lecturers' own Tetun vocabularies and/or in their own past experiences with using Tetun for speaking and writing in academic contexts. Lecturers' negative attitudes towards the use of Tetun as an academic language and their own variable levels of proficiency in the language present barriers to their participation as disciplinary and industry experts in the intellectualisation of the language.

Implications for institutional language policy-making

Understanding the implementation and enactment of institutional language policies

As recounted in the introduction to this thesis, I initially approached this research with an interest in the implementation of English medium of instruction (EMoI) policy at TTC for the tourism and petroleum faculties. Subsequently, findings from this research have significantly expanded my understanding of what constitutes language planning in multilingual tertiary

settings in a developing, post-colonial national context. I have become more attuned to the connections between higher education language policy making and processes of workforce and industry development, and to the diverse and nuanced ways that lecturers both participate in the interpretation and implementation of national and institutional policies, and also engage in their own performative forms of language planning.

For instance, I now understand that transitioning to EMol for tourism and petroleum at TTC has meant a number of things in practice. Pragmatically, it has meant that petroleum and tourism lecturers there have had to improve their own English skills and make decisions about where and how to integrate more English words and phrases into their teaching. TTC tourism lecturers, for instance, have had to make practical decisions about when to use the English word 'service' with their students, and when to use the Tetun *atendimentu* as part of explaining to students the relational dynamics that they see characterising communication with tourists and hotel guests in industry. As discussed in Chapter 4, it is in this way that lecturers' 'visions of industry', their beliefs about the communicative relations that characterise industry, shape their interpretation and implementation of TTC's EMol policy at the classroom level, alongside of the limitations and affordances of lecturers' individual plurilingual repertoires.

The transition to English at TTC has also meant recruiting more English language teachers to the School of Languages and having them teach specialised 'English for hotel managers' and 'English for petroleum' classes, where the language teachers then sometimes struggle to facilitate students' workplace communication role plays due to their lack of industry-specific knowledge. Decisions about which parts of the curriculum are taught by language experts and which are taught by industry knowledge experts have implications for how expert knowledge becomes contested terrain.

The professional development of lecturers introduces other, external actors into the implementation and enactment of institutional language policies, such as with EMol at TTC. In the Timorese context, master's and doctoral level qualifications require overseas study and where lecturers are sent for post-graduate study is influenced by different MoUs with foreign universities, as well as different sources of national and foreign aid funding for scholarships. At TTC, since post-graduate study in Australia is too expensive and the English language requirements too high, petroleum lecturers continue to study in Indonesia, where they can learn about Indonesian geology for a future onshore petroleum industry in Timor-

Leste, while TTC tourism lecturers go to the Philippines and develop their specialist knowledge in a Filipino variety of academic English. At NU, where access to government and foreign aid funding is more readily available, lecturers are being trained in Portuguese by language teachers visiting from Portugal and other countries (including non-Lusophone ones), and are being sent to Portugal, Australia and other countries, where their visions of industry transformation are being educated along with their linguistic repertoires.

An understanding of institutional language policy-making in Timorese higher education needs to take account of these things. Articulations of institutional language policy that focus on monolingual language skills fail to recognise that in order to be effective in these industries, graduates in Timor-Leste need multiple languages, as well as quite specific communicative competencies in these languages. It should not be an either/or choice between the two 'working' languages as declared in the national constitution. Indeed, institutional language policies should be doing quite different, language usage and domain planning work compared to the broad status planning work of the national constitution.

With the choice of English as the 'working' language for petroleum and tourism, TTC is orienting itself fixedly towards a single major stakeholder in each of these industries: in the case of petroleum it is the Australian offshore oil and gas operator, ConocoPhillips, and in the case of tourism, it is the English-speaking foreign tourist. The preferential gaze towards these stakeholders is justified by employment outcomes for graduates in these industries being dictated by competency in English. Yet it does not take account of the need for graduates in these industries to also communicate with other stakeholders in these industries, which, in the Timorese context, means acquiring competency in other languages and, perhaps more importantly, awareness of communicative purpose and the ability to adapt language practices for a specific target audience and communicative context. Communicating the merits of a community-based tourism agenda to the government, for example, requires 'political communication skills' and, presumably, competency in a more formal, Portuguese-infused register of Tetun appropriate for talking with Timorese politicians in the ministry.

Implications for academic language and literacy support programs

There are some practical ways forward, I propose, in some substantial reform of academic language and literacy support programs provided in Timorese higher education institutions.

In the teaching of academic literacies, we tend not to teach about ‘voice’. I remember when I was teaching at CDU, voice was one of the assessment criteria on the final essay that we gave to students and yet we seldom talked explicitly about it in class. One of the main reasons for this (as I was told) is that an understanding of ‘voice’ requires (critical) self-awareness, specifically meta-communicative awareness. It is argued that this is too difficult to teach when academic forms of the target language/s (i.e., structure and form) are already a significant challenge for the students. It would seem that this argument, in turn, feeds back into the norm of quantitative measurement of language performance in higher education.

I propose that this should change. Data from this research has laid bare the need for tertiary students to understand what they are using named languages and other communicative resources *for* in academic and professional communication. For ‘success’ at university and in the workplace, graduates need to be taught self-awareness in their use of their speaking and writing voices. This can be taught even at very low language levels simply with increased emphasis on awareness of target audience (*Who am I saying/writing this to?*) and communicative purposes (*What am I saying/writing this for?*). Prof. M does this indirectly in his agronomy classes when he instructs his students to use the Tetun *moris* for ‘growth’, but he could spend more time explaining *why* they should do this. This would enable students to enhance their awareness of the industry expert voice in a specific workplace communicative context.

For lecturers in Timor-Leste (and in other multilingual tertiary settings) to adopt such an approach to vocational instruction focussed explicitly on awareness of communicative context requires professional development training in this direction. Currently, and as already highlighted, language-related professional development training for lecturers in the Timorese tertiary institutions case-studied for this research remains limited to the learning of named languages, most prominently English and Portuguese.

Implications for workforce development in Timor’s strategic industries

In addition to its implications for understandings of multilingualism in higher education, this research also reveals the largely untapped potential for applied (and specifically educational) linguistics to speak to development policy and practice. Local and international development practitioners along with government and private aid agencies invested in developing, post-

colonial, multilingual societies like Timor-Leste should find substantial interest here, especially those involved in workforce development.

For instance, development practitioners interested in starting a rural livelihoods project in Timor-Leste might assume that university graduates of agriculture or community development studies, as the local educated elite, will be working in rural communities as government extension agents. It would therefore be informative for such practitioners to learn the very lecturer-specific ways in which these graduates are being trained in community-centred development paradigms, how their learning incorporates potentially quite different orientations to community consultation and community communication, and the extent to which graduates may be expected to value (or devalue) vulnerable, marginalised, sub-altern voices. It should also be informative for these practitioners to know that lecturers are key stakeholders in what is shaping industry, and that their teaching practices and classroom language choices matter for system-wide change.

As the findings discussed in Chapter 4 demonstrate, disciplinary lecturers are not only teaching language as the communicative tools for making sense of and for participating in industry, they are also teaching, in and through language, values and visions for particular kinds of transformation of industry. This is to say that their performative language planning activities are tied up with processes of specialist knowledge production. Via their direct, value-laden statements to students about the language forms that matter in the workforce, as well as via habitual modelling of disciplinary communication and multilingual translation and transfer of disciplinary knowledge, lecturers are instructing graduates' visions of workplace communicative contexts and the relationships that characterise them. In so doing, lecturers socialise students into particular normative arrangements of multilingualism in relation to their industry, connected to particular relational and communication pathways to national development. Both language planning and workforce development planning activities need to take account of the reality that disciplinary lecturers are directly informing how industries are being shaped as they craft the repertoires, attitudes and communication habits of their students. This is even down to the very minutia of everyday classroom communication practices, such as in the translation of key disciplinary terms.

This view of individual educators as key stakeholders in processes of workforce development challenges a common assumption in the development sector that policy implementation happens at the institutional level. In development work, stakeholder analysis is a common

practice, as it is of course essential to understand who is involved in any project, what are the power dynamics involved and how these may be worked within to make systemic interventions, rather than one-off, non-sustainable changes. Recognising disciplinary educators as key stake-holders in development policy implementation processes brings in higher education lecturers into considerations of theories of change/change pathways for sustainable, system-wide development.

Any design of development-focussed interventions, therefore, should not treat institutions as the final change agents but, instead, recognise the influence of individual lecturers' actions as affecting pathways to change. This includes their use of language and, indeed, the micro-level performative language planning that they are constantly engaged in as part of their professional practice as disciplinary educators. If, for example, a development agency seeks to improve agriculture in Timor-Leste and they plan to do this by multiple pathways of change using interventions, one of them being workforce development, intervention needs to be taken further than the institutional level. There is also need for interventions that influence individual lecturers' actions as change agents via their multilingual translation and transferral of specialist knowledge, instructing graduates' visions of preferred (communicative) pathways to change.

There are also implications from this research with regard to the distribution of funds from aid programs in Timor-Leste, such as the Australian government's Workforce Development program, which from 2014-2019 has invested \$13 million in tertiary study scholarships and in vocational training (DFAT, 2018). Certain framings and allocations of funding – most notably graduate scholarships and language training targeted at lecturers – are complicit in the production of the diverse range of plurilingual repertoires existant among lecturers in Timor-Leste. Portugal and Brazil send language educators, via programs like *Instituto Camoes* and CAPES, to teach Portuguese to NU agriculture and community development lecturers and some are offered opportunities to study in Portugal. Many of these lecturers also benefit from Australian government funding for short course programs and degrees in English at Australian universities. Individual higher education institutions in Indonesia, Australia, Portugal and elsewhere also provide various educational and language learning opportunities to lecturers at all three of the institutions case-studied for this research via MoU agreements.

These various foreign aid programs are also complicit in the production of different visions of and approaches to development. For instance, several lecturers in the agriculture faculty at NU have received their PhDs from universities in Australia via scholarships connected to the Australian government-funded ACIAR (Australian Council for International Agricultural Research). This scholarship program also has connections with the 'Seeds of Life' project in Timor-Leste, which advocates for the use of imported, genetically modified strains of certain crops for the improvement of crop yield. The vision of development for the agriculture industry being educated through these scholarships is one of industrialisation and large-scale production – the same vision articulated by agriculture lecturers at NU.

An individual lecturer's plurilingual repertoire thus becomes a site where different sources of funding compete for dominance and serve as proxies for their sponsor governments' (or tertiary institutions') competition for cultural and political influence over the direction of the nation's development. At one level, it should be useful for the Australian government to know that aid funding that is directed at higher education in the form of scholarships is directly shaping localised manifestations of multilingualism in Timorese tertiary classrooms. However, international aid agencies and foreign higher education institutions alike are also implicated in the production of an educated elite class in Timor-Leste: the disciplinary lecturers whose beliefs and practices have been the focus of this research. These lecturers are characterised not only by diverse and at times conflicting plurilingual repertoires, but also by divergent visions of pathways to national development and varying learned perspectives on the roles played by language and communication within those pathways.

Concluding comments

The Tetun in the title for this concluding chapter translates as: 'All of this, to what end?' In exploration of the beliefs and practices of disciplinary lecturers in higher education in Timor-Leste, this thesis has covered extensive terrain. A large part of the study was about understanding lecturers' perspectives on the complex context in which multilingual higher education occurs in Timor-Leste – the pursuit of national development agendas, the multifaceted impacts of globalisation, the unique demands of the different industries, the ubiquitous presence of competing foreign aid interests, the enduring legacies of different waves of colonialism. By examining in detail how disciplinary lecturers in different

institutional and disciplinary settings identify, navigate and respond to these various elements, this research has revealed their 'responses to multilingualism' to be significantly creative and agentic in these processes, not merely products of them.

A major conclusion of this research is that language policy and planning in higher education in Timor-Leste needs to take account of the specificities of different configurations of multilingualism localised to individual classrooms. By 'specificities' I mean those of the voices, repertoires and communication regimes that are being constructed and mobilised, resisted and reproduced, as well as the specificities of the localities in which these processes are occurring. Attention to these specificities and analysis of their origins reveals the diverse forces shaping the social construction of multilingualism in these settings.

Different localised configurations of multilingualism result from lecturers' differing beliefs about the communicative skills and resources needed for study at university and work in the different industries. These beliefs, in turn, are shaped by lecturers' own past educational experiences and their exposure to institutional, national and global discourses related to language in education and in industry, such as those that privilege English for the tourism and petroleum sectors. Enactment of these beliefs and attitudes in classroom communication practices is constrained by the limitations and affordances of lecturers' individual plurilingual repertoires, as well as their awareness of and attention to their own language use in the classroom.

Lecturers' responses to multilingualism in Timorese higher education matter because they are at the meeting point of these competing discursive and material forces. What they think and do in their roles as educators of specialised knowledge influences the emergent workforce for the agriculture, petroleum, tourism and community development industries in Timor-Leste. It is their beliefs and practices that instruct and socialise the voices of graduates going to work in these fields.

References cited

A

ADB [Asian Development Bank]. (2015). Growing the Non-Oil Economy: A Private Sector Assessment for Timor-Leste. Mandaluyong City, Philippines: Author. Retrieved from: <https://www.adb.org/sites/default/files/institutional-document/161516/tim-growing-non-oil-economy.pdf>

ADB [Asian Development Bank]. (2018). Poverty in Timor-Leste [webpage]. Retrieved from <https://www.adb.org/countries/timor-leste/poverty>.

Adler, P. A., and Adler, P. (1994). Observational techniques. In N. Denzin and Y. Lincoln (Eds.), *Handbook of Qualitative Research* (pp. 377 – 392). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Airey, J. (2011). The relationship between teaching language and student learning in Swedish university physics. B. Preisler, I. Klitgård, & A. Fabricius, A. (Eds.). *Language and learning in the international university: From English uniformity to diversity and hybridity* (pp. 3 – 18). Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.

Altbach, P. (1998). *Comparative Higher Education: Knowledge, the University, and Development*. Greenwich, UK: Ablex Publishing Corporation.

Altbach, P. (2007). Globalisation and the University: Realities in an unequal world. In J. Forest and P. Altbach (Eds.), *International Handbook of Higher Education* (pp. 121 – 139). Dordrecht: Springer.

ANAAA [Agência Nacional para a Avaliação e Acreditação Acadêmica]. (2018). National Agency for Academic Assessment and Accreditation: Statistical Data Collection [webpage]. Retrieved from: <http://www.anaaa.gov.tl/data-collection/>

Anderson, B. (1983). *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. London: Verso.

Angrosino, M. and Rosenberg, J. (2013). Observations on Observation: Continuities and Challenges. In N. Denzin and Y. Lincoln (Eds.), *Collecting and Interpreting Qualitative Materials* (pp. 151 – 175). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Appleby, R. (2006). Mobilising and disabling the desire for empowerment: English and the transition to independence in East Timor. *Southeast Asia: A Multidisciplinary Journal*, 6(1), 3–13.

Ashcroft, B., Griffiths, G., & Tiffin, H. (1989). *The Empire Writes Back: Theory and Practice in Post-Colonial Literatures*. London: Routledge.

Auer, P. (Ed). (1998). *Code-switching in Conversation: Language, Interaction and Identity*. London: Routledge.

Austin, J. L. (1962). *How to do things with words: The William James lectures*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Aveling, E. L., Gillespie, A., & Cornish, F. (2015). A qualitative method for analysing multivoicedness. *Qualitative Research*, 15(6), 670-687.

B

Bailey, B. (2007). Heteroglossia and Boundaries. In M. Heller (Ed.), *Bilingualism: A social approach* (pp. 257 – 274). London: Palgrave Macmillan.

Bakhtin, M. M. (1981). *The Dialogic Imagination: Four Essays (C. Emerson & M. Holquist, Trans. M. Holquist Ed.)*. Austin: University of Texas Press.

Banco de Portugal. (2015). Commemorative Coin - 500 Years of Portugal's First Contact with Timor [webpage]. Retrieved from: <https://www.bportugal.pt/en/comunicado/commemorative-coin-500-years-portugals-first-contact-timor>

Banks, J. A. (2010). The Lives and Values of Researchers: Implications for Educating Citizens in a Multicultural Society. In W. Luttrell (Ed.), *Qualitative Educational Research: Readings in Reflexive Methodology and Transformative Practice* (pp. 45 – 54). New York: Routledge.

Barton, D., & Ivanič, R. (Eds.). (1991). *Writing in the Community*. London: Sage.

Barton, D., & Hamilton, M. (1998). *Local literacies: Reading and writing in one community*. London: Routledge.

Bathmaker, A. (2011). Preparing Students for the New World of Work: Critical Reflections on English Policy for Work-Related Learning for the Twenty-First Century. In L. Yates & M.

Grumet (Eds.), *Curriculum in Today's World: Configuring Knowledge, Identities, Work and Politics* (pp. 94 – 107). London: Routledge.

Benesch, S. (2001). *Critical English for academic purposes: Theory, politics, and practice*. New York: Routledge.

Bexley, A. (2007). Seeing, Hearing and Belonging: The Case of East Timorese Youth. *The Asia Pacific Journal of Anthropology*, 8(4), 287-295.

Bexley, A. (2009). Youth at the Crossroads: Identity and Belonging in Timor-Leste. Unpublished PhD thesis, Department of Anthropology, Australian National University.

Bexley, A., & Rodrigues Tchailoro, N. (2013). Consuming Youth: Timorese in the Resistance Against Indonesian Occupation, *The Asia Pacific Journal of Anthropology*, 14(5), 405-422. DOI: 10.1080/14442213.2013.833289

Blackledge, A., & Creese, A. (2014). Heteroglossia as practice and pedagogy. In *Heteroglossia as practice and pedagogy* (pp. 1 – 20). London: Springer.

Blom, J., & Gumperz, J. (1972). Social meaning in linguistic structures: Code switching in Norway. In J. Gumperz & D. Hymes (Eds.), *Directions in sociolinguistics: The ethnography of communication*. New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston.

Blommaert, J. (2007). Sociolinguistic scales. *Intercultural pragmatics*, 4(1), 1-19.

Blommaert, J. (2008). 'Language, asylum, and the national order,' *Urban Language and Literacies*, 50, 2-21.

Blommaert, J. (2010). *The Sociolinguistics of Globalisation*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Blommaert, J. (2012). Chronicles of complexity: Ethnography, superdiversity, and linguistic landscapes. *Tilburg Papers in Culture Studies*, 29, 1-149.

Blommaert, J., & Backus, A. (2011). Repertoires revisited: 'Knowing language' in superdiversity. *Working Papers in Urban Language & Literacies*, 67.

Blommaert, J., & Backus, A. (2013). Superdiverse repertoires and the individual. In I. de Saint-Georges & J. Weber (Eds.), *Multilingualism and multimodality: Current challenges for educational studies* (pp. 11-32). Rotterdam: Sense Publishers.

- Blommaert, J., & Jie, D. (2010). *Ethnographic fieldwork: A beginner's guide*. Clevedon, UK: Multilingual Matters.
- Blommaert, J., & Rampton, B. (2011). Language and Superdiversity. *Diversities*, 13(2), 1-21.
- Blommaert, J., Westinen, E., & Leppänen, S. (2015). Further notes on sociolinguistic scales. *Intercultural pragmatics*, 12(1), 119-127.
- Bonacina-Pugh, F. (2012). Researching 'practiced language policies': insights from conversation analysis. *Language Policy*, 11(3), 213–234.
- Boon, D. and Kurvers, J. (2015). Adult literacy education in Timor-Leste: multilayered multilingualism. *International Journal of Multilingualism*, 12(2), 225-240. DOI: 10.1080/14790718.2015.1009376
- Boughton, B. (2005). Post-Conflict Higher Education Challenges in Timor-Leste. *IAU Horizons: International Higher Education News*, 11(2), 1-5.
- Boughton, B. (2011). Timor-Leste: Building a post-conflict education system. In C. Brock & L. Pe Symaco (Eds.), *Education in South-East Asia* (pp. 177-196). Oxford: Symposium Books.
- Boughton, B. (2012). Adult literacy, political participation and democracy. In M. Leach, N. C. Mendes, A. B. da Silva, B. Boughton & A. da Costa Ximenes (Eds.), *Peskiza foun kona ba/Novas investigações sobre/New research on/Penelitian baru mengenai Timor-Leste* (pp. 362-368). Hawthorn: Swinburne Press.
- Bourdieu, P. (1986). The Forms of Capital. In J. Richardson (Ed.), *Handbook of Theory of Research for the Sociology of Education* (pp. 241 – 258). Westport, CT: Greenwood Press.
- Bourdieu, P., & Passerson, J. C. (1990). *Theory, Culture & Society. Reproduction in education, society and culture*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Bowden, J. & Hajek, J. (2007). Not just Tetum: Language development and the case of Waima'a. In M. Leach & D. Kingsbury (Eds.), *East Timor: Beyond Independence* (pp. 263-274). Clayton: Monash Asia Press.
- Brandt, D. & Clinton, K. (2002). Limits of the Local: Expanding Perspectives on Literacy as a Social Practice. *Journal of Literacy Research*, 34(3), 337-356. DOI: 10.1207/s15548430jlr3403_4

Brayner, F. H. A. (2014). O Clichê: notas para uma derrota do pensamento. Por uma consciência ingênua. *Educação & Realidade*, 39(2), 557-572.

Busch, B. (2012). The linguistic repertoire revisited. *Applied linguistics*, 33(5), 503-523.

Butler, J. (1997). *Excitable Speech: A Politics of the Performative*. New York: Routledge.

Butler, J. (2010). Performative agency. *Journal of cultural economy*, 3(2), 147-161.

C

Cabral, E. (2013). The Development of Language Policy in a Global Age: The Case of East-Timor. In J. A. Shoba & F. Chimbutane (Eds.), *Bilingual education and language policy in the global south (Vol. 4)* (pp. 83 – 103). New York: Routledge.

Cabral, E., & Martin-Jones, M. (2008). Writing the Resistance: literacy in East Timor 1975-1999. *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism*, 11(2), 149-169.

CAET [Constituent Assembly of East Timor]. (2002). Constitution of the Democratic Republic of East Timor (English version). Dili: RDTL. Retrieved from: http://timor-leste.gov.tl/wp-content/uploads/2010/03/Constitution_RDTL_ENG.pdf

Canagarajah, S. (2005). Accommodating Tensions in Language-in-Education Policy. In A. Lin & P. Martin (Eds.), *Decolonisation, Globalisation: Language-in-Education Policy and Practice* (pp. 194 – 201). Clevedon, UK: Multilingual Matters.

Canagarajah, S. (2011). Codemeshing in academic writing: Identifying teachable strategies of translanguaging. *The Modern Language Journal*, 95(3), 401-417.

Canagarajah, S. (Ed.). (2013). *Literacy as translingual practice: Between communities and classrooms*. New York: Routledge.

Canagarajah, S. (2017). Translingual practice as spatial repertoires: Expanding the paradigm beyond structuralist orientations. *Applied Linguistics*, 39(1), 31-54.

Carneiro, A. S. R. (2015). Conflicts around the (De-)Construction of Legitimate Language(s): The Situation of Portuguese in the Multilingual Context of East-Timor. In L. P. Moita-Lopes (Ed.), *Global Portuguese: Linguistic Ideologies in Late Modernity* (pp. 204-221). New York: Routledge.

Carey, P. (1999). The Catholic Church, Religious Revival, and the Nationalist Movement in East Timor, 1975-98. *Indonesia and the Malay World*, 27(78), 77-95.

CAVR [Comissão de Acolhimento, Verdade e Reconciliação de Timor Leste/Commission for Reception, Truth and Reconciliation in East Timor] (2006). *Chega! The final report of the Timor-Leste commission for reception, truth and reconciliation*. Jakarta: KPG Gramedia.

Cazden, C. B., John, V., & Hymes, D. (Eds.). (1972). *Functions of Language in the Classroom*. New York: Teachers College Press.

Chomsky, N. (1965). *Aspects of the Theory of Syntax*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

Clayton, T. (2006). *Language Choice in a Nation Under Transition: English Language Spread in Cambodia*. New York: Springer.

Clyne, M. (2003). *Dynamics of Language Contact*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Codo, E. (2008). Interviews and Questionnaires. In Li Wei and M. Moyer (Eds.), *The Blackwell Guide to Research Methods in Bilingualism and Multilingualism* (pp. 158-176). London: Blackwell.

ConocoPhillips Australia. (2016). Bayu-Undan and Timor-Leste Developing Together (April 2016) [web-based company newsletter]. Retrieved from:

http://static.conocophillips.com/files/resources/timor_lestearpril2016newsletterlowres.pdf

ConocoPhillips Australia. (2018). Sustainable Development: Timor-Leste [webpage]. Retrieved 9th August 2018 from <http://www.conocophillips.com.au/sustainable-development/timor-leste/>

Cooper, R. L. (1989). *Language planning and social change*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Corte-Real, B., & Kroon, S. (2012). Becoming a Nation of Readers in Timor-Leste. In M. Leach, N. C. Mendes, A. B. da Silva, B. Boughton & A. da Costa Ximenes (Eds.), *Peskiza foun kona ba/Novas investigações sobre/New research on/Penelitian baru mengenai Timor-Leste* (pp. 336 – 341). Hawthorn: Swinburne Press.

Costa, Luís (2000). *Dicionário de Tétum-Português*. Lisbon: Colibri.

Council of Europe. (2001). *Common European framework of reference for languages: Learning, teaching, assessment*. Cambridge, U.K: Press Syndicate of the University of Cambridge. Retrieved from: <https://rm.coe.int/16802fc1bf>

Creese, A., & Blackledge, A. (2010). Translanguaging in the bilingual classroom: A pedagogy for learning and teaching? *The Modern Language Journal*, 94(1), 103-115.

D

da Costa Cabral, I. (2015) Multilingual talk, classroom textbooks and language values: A linguistic ethnographic study in Timor-Leste. Unpublished thesis: University of Birmingham.

da Silva, A. B. (2011). FRETILIN Popular Education 1973-78 and Its Relevance to Timor-Leste Today [unpublished PhD dissertation]. University of New England. Armidale, Australia.

da Silva, S. A. (1887). *Diccionario de Português-Tétum*. Macao: Typographia do Seminario.

Dasgupta, J., Ferguson, C. A., & Fishman, J. A. (1968). *Language problems of developing nations*. New York: Wiley.

De Angelis, G. (2007). *Third or Additional Language Acquisition*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.

de Castro, A. (1862). Résumé historique de l'établissement Portugais à Timor, des us et coutumes de ses habitants. *Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde*, 11, 465-506.

DFAT [Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade]. (2018). Timor-Leste Workforce Development Strategic Review. May, 2018. Dili, Timor-Leste: M&E House (Buka Hatene). Retrieved from: <https://dfat.gov.au/about-us/publications/Documents/timor-leste-workforce-development-strategic-review.pdf>

DNE [Direção Nacional de Estatística/National Directorate of Statistics]. (2006). National priority tables: Census of population and housing 2004. Dili: RDTL, Ministry of Finance.

DNE [Direção Nacional de Estatística/National Directorate of Statistics]. (2011). Population and Housing Census of Timor-Leste, 2010: Volume 3 - Social and Economic Characteristics. Dili: RDTL, Ministry of Finance.

DNE [Direção Nacional de Estatística/National Directorate of Statistics]. (2016). 2015 Timor-Leste Population and Housing Census. Retrieved from: <http://www.statistics.gov.tl/category/publications/census-publications/2015-census-publications/>.

Doiz, A., Lasagabaster, D., & Sierra, J. M. (Eds.). (2013). *English-Medium Instruction at Universities: Global Challenges*. Bristol, UK: Multilingual Matters.

Domingues, E. (1947). Línguas de Timor. (Nótulas bibliográficas). *Portugal em África*, 4(21), 144-151.

Dores, Raphael das (1907). *Diccionario Teto-Português*. Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional.

Duchêne, A., & Heller, M. (Eds.). (2012). *Language in late capitalism: Pride and profit*. New York: Routledge.

Duff, P. A. (2010). Language socialization into academic discourse communities. *Annual Review of Applied Linguistics*, 30, 169-192.

Dunn, J. (1996). *Timor: A People Betrayed*. Sydney: ABC Books.

E

Earnest, J., Beck, M., & Supit, T. (2008). Exploring the Rebuilding of the Education System in a Transitional Nation: The Case of Timor-Leste. *Analytical Reports in International Education*, 2(1), 77-88.

Errington, J. (2001). Colonial linguistics. *Annual review of anthropology*, 30(1), 19-39.

F

Fabian, J. (1986). *Language and Colonial Power: The Appropriation of Swahili in the Former Belgian Congo (1880-1938)*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Fabian, J. (1995). Ethnographic misunderstanding and the perils of context. *American Anthropologist*, 97(1), 41-50.

Fanon, F. (1961). *The Wretched of the Earth* (C. Farrington, Trans.). New York: Grove Weidenfeld.

- FAO [Food and Agriculture Organisation]. (2017). Timor-Leste. FAO Statistical Yearbook – Country. Retrieved from: http://faostat.fao.org/static/syb/syb_176.pdf
- Farr, M. (1993). Essayist literacy and other verbal performances. *Written Communication*, 10(1), 4-38.
- Ferguson, G. (2006). *Language Planning and Education*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
- Ferguson, C. (1959). Diglossia. *Word*, 15(2), 325–340. DOI: 10.1080/00437956.1959.11659702.
- Fernandes, Abílio (1937). *Método Prático para Aprender o Tétum*. Macao; rtp. Dili: Comando Territorial Independente de Timor, 1964.
- Fernandes, Z. (2010). The significance of using the Cuban method in Literacy Learning. In M. Leach, N. C. Mendes, A. B. Da Silva, A. Ximenes & B. Boughton (Eds.), *Hatene kona ba/Compreender/Understanding/Mengerti Timor-Leste. Proceedings of the Timor-Leste Studies Association Conference, Dili 2-3 July* (pp. 278 – 283). Hawthorn: Swinburne Press.
- Fishman, J. (1967). Bilingualism with and without diglossia; diglossia with and without bilingualism. *Journal of Social Issues* 23(2), 29-38.
- Fishman, J. (1972). *The Sociology of Language: An Interdisciplinary Social Science Approach to Language in Society*. Rowley, MA: Newbury House Publishers.
- Fox, J. J. (2000). Tracing the path, recounting the past: Historical perspectives on Timor. In J. J. Fox & D. B. Soares (Eds.), *Out of the Ashes: Destruction and Reconstruction of East Timor* (pp. 1 – 29). Hindmarsh, SA: Crawford House Publishing.
- Freire, P. (1968). *Pedagogia do oprimido*. Rio de Janeiro: Paz e Terra.
- Freire, P. (1973). *Extension o Comunicación? La Concientización en el Medio Rural*. Mexico, DF: Siglo XXI.
- FDCH [Fundo de Desenvolvimento do Capital Humano/Human Capital Development Fund]. (2016). *Five Year Report of FDCH, 2011-2015*. Retrieved from: http://www.fdch.gov.tl/wp-content/uploads/2017/05/RELATORIO-5-ANOS-FDCH-FINAL_ENGLISH.compressed.pdf.

G

- Gal, S., & Irvine, J. T. (1995). The boundaries of languages and disciplines: How ideologies construct difference. *Social research*, 62(4), 967-1001.
- Gal, S., & Woolard, K. (1995). Constructing languages and publics: Authority and representation. *Pragmatics*, 5, 155-166.
- García, O. (2009). *Bilingual education in the 21st century: A global perspective*. Chinchester, UK: Wiley-Blackwell.
- García, O. (2011). From language garden to sustainable languaging: Bilingual education in a global world. *Perspectives*, 34(1), 5-9.
- García, O. (2013). From diglossia to transglossia: Bilingual and multilingual classrooms in the 21st century. In C. Abello-Contesse, P. Chandler, M. López-Jiménez & R. Chacón-Beltrán (Eds.), *Bilingual and Multilingual Education in the 21st Century: Building on Experience* (pp. 155 – 175). Bristol, UK: Multilingual Matters.
- García, O., & Leiva, C. (2014). Theorizing and enacting translanguaging for social justice. In A. Blackledge & A. Creese (Eds.), *Heteroglossia as practice and pedagogy* (pp. 199 – 216). Dordrecht: Springer.
- GCCPP [Grupo de Consultores Científicos e Pedagógicos Portugueses/Group of Portuguese Scientific and Pedagogical Consultants]. (2013). *Relatório da missão na [NU]: 3 de Abril - 3 de Maio de 2013*. Lisbon: Fundação das Universidades Portuguesas.
- Gee, J. P. (1990). *Social Linguistics and Literacies: Ideology in Discourses*. London: Taylor & Francis.
- Geertz, C. (1973). *The interpretation of cultures*. New York: Basic books.
- Gill, S. K. (2004). Medium of instruction policy in higher education Malaysia: Nationalism versus internationalization. In J. W. Tollefson & A. B. M. Tsui (Eds.), *Medium in instruction policies: Which agenda? Whose agenda?* (pp. 135 – 152). New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum.
- Gill, S. K., & Kirkpatrick, A. (2013). English in Asian and European Higher Education. In C. A. Chapelle (Ed.), *The Encyclopedia of Applied Linguistics*. Chinchester, UK: Wiley-Blackwell.
- Glaser, B. G. (1978). *Advances in the methodology of grounded theory: Theoretical sensitivity*. Mill Valley, CA: Sociology Press.

- Glaser, B. G., & Strauss, A. (1967). *The Discovery of Grounded Theory*. Chicago: Aldine.
- Godinho, M., Ximenes, A., Luan, B., & Williams-van Klinken, C. (2012). Which language do students handle best? Results of a preliminary investigation into tertiary students' capacity in the four official and working languages of Timor-Leste [unpublished institutional document]. Dili, Timor-Leste: DIT Centre for Language Studies.
- Goffman, E. (1974). *Frame analysis: An essay on the organization of experience*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Goffman, E. (1981). *Forms of Talk*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Gomes, R. C. V. M. (1954). Vocabulário indigens de algumas plantas timorenses. *Garcia da Orta*, 2(3): 359-366.
- Grenfell, M. (2012). Bourdieu, Language, and Education. In M. Grenfell, D. Bloome, C. Hardy, K. Pahl, J. Rowsell, & B. V. Street (Eds.), *Language, ethnography, and education: Bridging new literacy studies and Bourdieu* (pp. 50 – 70). New York: Routledge.
- Gumperz, J. (1964). Linguistic and social interaction in two communities. *American anthropologist*, 66(6), 137-153.
- Gumperz, J. (1982). *Discourse Strategies*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Gumperz, J., & Hymes, D. (Eds.). (1972). *Directions in sociolinguistics: The ethnography of communication*. New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston.
- Gumperz, J., & Naim, C. M. (1960). Formal and informal standards in Hindi regional language area. In C. Ferguson & J. Gumperz (Eds.), *Linguistic Diversity in South Asia: Studies in regional, social, and functional variation (Vol. III)*, (pp. 92 – 118). Indiana University, Research Center in Anthropology, Folklore, and Linguistics.
- Gunn, G. (1995). Language, literacy and political hegemony in East Timor. In D. Myers (Ed.), *The Politics of Multiculturalism in the Asia/Pacific*. Darwin: NTU Press.
- Gunn, G. (1999). *Timor Loro Sae. 500 Years*. Macau: Livros do Oriente.
- Gunn, G. (2007). The State of East Timor Studies after 1999. *Journal of Contemporary Asia*, 37(1), 95-114.
- Guo, Y., & Beckett, G. (2007). The Hegemony of English as a Global Language: Reclaiming Local Knowledge and Culture in China. *Convergence*, 40(1-2), 117-132.

Gusmao, X. K. R. (2013). 'Timor-Leste's Role and Future in a Rising Asia Pacific' Lecture delivered at the S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies, Singapore, June 4, 2013. Retrieved from: <http://timor-leste.gov.tl/wp-content/uploads/2013/06/RSIS-Distinguished-World-Leaders-Lecture.pdf>

Guterres Correia, A. J. (2005). *Disionáriu nasional ba Tetun ofisiál*. Dili: Instituto Nacional de Linguística.

H

Halliday, M. (1978). *Language as Social Semiotic*. London: Hodder Arnold.

Halliday, M. (2004). *The Language of Science*. London: Continuum.

Hajek, J. (2000). Language Planning and the Sociolinguistic Environment in East Timor: Colonial Practice and Changing Language Ecologies. *Current Issues in Language Planning*, 1(3), 400-414.

Hajek, J. (2006). Language Contact and Convergence in East Timor: The Case of Tetun Dili. In A. Aikhenvald & R. Dixon (Eds.), *Grammars in Contact: A Cross-Linguistic Typology* (pp. 163 – 178). Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.

Heller, M. (1999). *Linguistic minorities and modernity: A sociolinguistic ethnography*. London: Longman.

Heller, M. (2007). Bilingualism as ideology and practice. In *Bilingualism: A social approach* (pp. 1 – 22). London: Palgrave Macmillan.

Heller, M. (2008). Doing Ethnography. In Li Wei and M. Moyer (Eds.), *The Blackwell Guide to Research Methods in Bilingualism and Multilingualism* (pp. 249 – 262). London: Blackwell.

Heller, M. (2010). Language as Resource in the Globalised New Economy. In N. Coupland (Ed.), *The Handbook of Language and Globalization* (pp. 349 – 365). Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell.

Hibbert, L., & van der Walt, C. (2014). Biliteracy and Translanguaging Pedagogy in South Africa: An Overview. In L. Hibbert & C. van der Walt (Eds.), *Multilingual Universities in South Africa: Reflecting Society in Higher Education* (pp. 3 – 14). Bristol: Multilingual Matters.

- Higgins, C. (2009). *English as a local language: Post-colonial identities and multilingual practices*. Bristol: Multilingual Matters.
- Hill, H. (2002). *Stirrings of Nationalism in East Timor: FRETILIN 1974-1978: the origins, ideologies and strategies of a nationalist movement*. Sydney: Otford Press.
- Hill, H. (2017). In transit to the youth dividend: Planning educational opportunities for a youthful population. Background Paper 2. Education and Training for a New Economy. [unpublished UNDP commissioned briefing paper]. Dili, Timor-Leste: Author.
- Hobsbawm, E. J. (1990). *Nations and nationalism since 1780: Programme, myth, reality*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Hornberger, N. (2002). Multilingual language policies and the continua of biliteracy: An ecological approach. *Language Policy*, 1(1), 27-51. DOI: 10.1023/A:1014548611951.
- Hornberger, N. & Link, H. (2012). Translanguaging and transnational literacies in multilingual classrooms: A biliteracy lens. *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism*, 15(3), 261-278.
- Hull, G. (1998). The languages of Timor 1772-1997: A literature review. *Studies in Languages and Cultures of East Timor*, 1, 1-38.
- Hull, G. (1999). *Standard Tetum-English Dictionary*. Sydney: Allen & Unwin in association with the University of Western Sydney Macarthur.
- Hull, G. (2002). *The Languages of East Timor: Some Basic Facts*. Dili: Instituto Nacional de Linguística, Universidade Nacional de Timor Lorosa'e.
- Hull, G. & Eccles, L. (2001). *Tetum Reference Grammar*. Sydney: Sebastião Aparício da Silva Project and Instituto Nacional de Linguística.
- Hull, G., & Eccles, L. (2005). *Gramática da Língua Tétum*. Lisbon: Lidel.
- Hutt, D. (2016). Is China's Influence in Timor-Leste Rising? *The Diplomat*, November, 2016. Retrieved from: <https://thediplomat.com/2016/11/is-chinas-influence-in-timor-leste-rising/>
- Hyland, K. (2006). *English for academic purposes: An advanced resource book*. New York: Routledge.
- Hymes, D. (1964). Toward ethnographies of communication. *American Anthropologist*, 66(6, part 2), 1-34. DOI: 10.1525/aa.1964.66.suppl_3.02a00010, ISSN 0002-7294

Hymes, D. (1966). Two types of linguistic relativity. In W. Bright (Ed.), *Sociolinguistics* (pp. 114–158). The Hague: Mouton.

Hymes, D. (1972). On communicative competence. In J. B. Pride & J. Holmes (Eds.), *Sociolinguistics: Selected Readings* (pp. 269–293). Harmondsworth: Penguin.

Hymes, D. (1980). *Language in Education: Ethnolinguistic Essays*. Washington DC: Center for Applied Linguistics.

/

ICG [International Crisis Group]. (2013). 'Timor-Leste: Stability at what cost?' Crisis Group Asia Report No. 246. Brussels: Author.

Iedema, R. (2003). Multimodality, resemiotization: Extending the analysis of discourse as multi-semiotic practice. *Visual communication*, 2(1), 29-57.

INL [Instituto Nacional de Linguística/National Institute of Linguistics]. 2004. *The Standard Orthography of the Tetum Language: 115 Years in the Making*. Dili, Timor-Leste: Author.

Irvine, J. T. (1989). When talk isn't cheap: Language and political economy. *American ethnologist*, 16(2), 248-267.

J

James, F. (2017). Timor-Leste island community fears large-scale tourism development on Atauro. *ABC News Online*. Retrieved from: <http://www.abc.net.au/news/2017-07-17/timor-leste-island-community-fears-Tourism-development/8713414>

Janks, H. (2009). *Literacy and power*. New York: Routledge.

Jaworski, A. & Thurlow, C. (2010). Language and the globalizing habitus of tourism: towards a sociolinguistics of fleeting relationships. In N. Coupland (Ed.), *The Handbook of Language and Globalization* (pp. 255 – 286). Oxford, UK: Wiley-Blackwell.

Job, P., da Silva, A. B., Canas Mendes, N., da Costa Ximenes, A., Barreto Soares, M., Niner, S. & Tam, T. (Eds.). (2018). *Peskiza foun kona-ba Timor-Leste/Novas investigações sobre Timor-Leste/New research on Timor-Leste/Penelitian baru tentang Timor-Leste (Vols I and II)*. Hawthorne: Swinburne University Press.

- Johnson, D. C. (2010). Implementational and ideological spaces in bilingual education language policy. *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism*, 13(1), 61-79.
- Johnson, D. C. (2011). Critical discourse analysis and the ethnography of language policy. *Critical Discourse Studies*, 8(4), 267-279. DOI: 10.1080/17405904.2011.601636
- Johnson, E. J. (2012). Arbitrating repression: Language policy and education in Arizona. *Language and Education*, 26(1), 53-76.
- Johnson, D. C., & Ricento, T. (2013). Conceptual and theoretical perspectives in language planning and policy: situating the ethnography of language policy. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*, 219, 7-21. DOI: 10.1515/ijsl-2013-0002
- Joliffe, J. (1978). *East Timor: Nationalism and Colonialism*. Brisbane: University of Queensland Press.
- Jones, G. 2003. 'East Timor: Education and human resource development' in J. Fox and D. B. Soares (Eds.) *Out of the Ashes: Deconstruction and Reconstruction of East Timor*, pp. 41 - 52. Canberra: ANU Press.
- Jørgensen, J. N. (2008). Polylingual languaging around and among children and adolescents. *International Journal of Multilingualism*, 5(3), 161-176.

K

- Kachru, B. B. (1992). World Englishes: Approaches, issues and resources. *Language teaching*, 25(1), 1-14.
- Kamwangamalu, N. M. (2016). Language planning and ideologies in postcolonial Africa. In *Language policy and economics: The language question in Africa* (pp. 55 – 81). London: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Kapur, R. (2016). Is Timor-Leste Finally Ready to Join ASEAN? *The Diplomat*, October 1, 2016. Retrieved from: <https://thediplomat.com/2016/10/is-timor-leste-finally-ready-to-join-asean/>
- Kirkpatrick, A. (2011). English as a medium of instruction in Asian education (from primary to tertiary): Implications for local languages and local scholarship. *Applied Linguistics Review*, 2: 99–119.

Kirkpatrick, A. (2017). The Languages of Higher Education in East and Southeast Asia: Will EMI Lead to Englishisation? In B. Fenton-Smith, P. Humphreys, P., & I. Walkinshaw (Eds.), *English Medium Instruction in Higher Education in Asia-Pacific: From policy to pedagogy* (pp. 21 – 36). London: Springer.

Kloss, H. (1966). Types of multilingual communities: A discussion of ten variables. *Sociological Inquiry*, 36(2), 135-145.

Kramsch, C. J. (2009). *The multilingual subject: What foreign language learners say about their experience and why it matters*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.

Kress, G. (2000). Multimodality: Challenges to Thinking About Language. *TESOL Quarterly*, 34(2), 337–340.

Kress, G., & Van Leeuwen, T. (1996). *Reading images: The grammar of visual design*. London: Routledge.

Kress, G., & Van Leeuwen, T. (2001). *Multimodal discourse: The modes and media of contemporary communication*. London: Hodder Arnold.

Kroskrity, P. V. (2000). Regimenting languages: Language ideological perspectives. In *Regimes of language: Ideologies, politics, and identities* (pp. 1 – 34). Santa Fe: School of American Research Press.

Kubanyiova, M. (2008). Rethinking research ethics in contemporary applied linguistics: The tension between macroethical and microethical perspectives in situated research. *The Modern Language Journal*, 92(4), 503-518.

L

Le Page, R., & Tabouret-Keller, A. (1985). *Acts of Identity: Creole-based approaches to language and ethnicity*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Labov, William. (1963). The social motivation of a sound change. *Word*, 19, 273-309.

Lea, M., & Street, B. (1998). Student writing in higher education: an academic literacies approach. *Studies in Higher Education*, 23(2), 157-172.

Leach, M. (2009). The Neglected State-builder: Cuban medical programs in the Pacific. *Arena Magazine*, 98, 8-9.

- Leach, M. (2012). Longitudinal change in East Timorese tertiary student attitudes to national identity and nation building, 2002-2010. *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde*, 168(2-3), 219-252.
- Lemke, J. (1990). *Talking Science: Language, learning, and values*. Norwood, NJ: Ablex Publishing.
- Liddicoat, A. J., & Bryant, P. (2002). Intellectualisation: A current issue in language planning. *Current issues in language planning*, 3(1), 1-4.
- Lillis, T. (2000). Whose 'Common Sense'? Essayist literacy and the institutional practice of mystery. In C. Jones, J. Turner and B. Street (Eds.), *Student Writing in The University: Cultural and Epistemological Issues* (pp. 127 – 148). John Benjamins.
- Lillis, T. (2001). *Student Writing: Access, Regulation, Desire*. London: Routledge.
- Lillis, T., & Curry, M. J. (2010). *Academic Writing in a Global Context: The Politics and Practices of Publishing in English*. New York: Routledge.
- Lillis, T., & Scott, M. (2007). Defining academic literacies research: Issues of epistemology, ideology and strategy. *Journal of Applied Linguistics*, 4(1), 5-32.
- Lin, A. (2015). Egalitarian Bi/multilingualism and Trans-semiotizing in a Global World. In W. Wright, S. Boun & O. García (Eds.), *The Handbook of Bilingual and Multilingual Education*, (pp. 19 – 37). Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell.
- Li Wei. (2011). Moment analysis and translanguaging space: Discursive construction of identities by multilingual Chinese youth in Britain. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 43(5), 1222-1235.
- Lobato, J. (2014). Timorese graduates secure places in new oil and gas training program [press release]. Retrieved from: <http://www.conocophillips.com.au/newsroom/news-releases/story/timorese-graduates-secure-places-in-new-oil-gas-training-program/>
- Lo Bianco, J. (2004). Language Planning as Applied Linguistics. In A. Davies & C. Elder (Eds.) *Handbook of Applied Linguistics* (pp. 738 – 762). Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing.
- Lo Bianco, J. (2005). Including discourse in language planning theory. In P. Bruthiaux, D. Atkinson, W. G. Eggington, W. Grabe and V. Ramanathan (Eds.), *Directions in applied linguistics: essays in honor of Robert B. Kaplan* (pp. 255 – 263). Clevedon, UK: Multilingual Matters.

Lo Bianco, J. (2010). Language policy and planning. In N. Hornberger and S. McKay (Eds.), *New perspectives on language and education* (pp. 143 – 176). Clevedon, UK: Multilingual Matters.

Lo Bianco, J. (2018). Reinvigorating Language Policy and Planning for Intergenerational Language Revitalisation. In L. Hinton, L. Huss, & G. Roche. (2018). *The Routledge handbook of language revitalization*. New York: Routledge.

Lüdi, G., & Py, B. (2009). To be or not to be... a plurilingual speaker. *International Journal of Multilingualism*, 6(2), 154-167.

Luttrell, W. (2000). " Good enough" methods for ethnographic research. *Harvard Educational Review*, 70(4), 499-523.

Luttrell, W. (2010). The Promise of Qualitative Research in Education. In W. Luttrell (Ed.), *Qualitative Educational Research: Readings in Reflexive Methodology and Transformative Practice* (pp. 1 – 17). New York: Routledge.

M

Maassen, P., Nerland, M. & Yates, L. (Eds.). (2018). *Reconfiguring Knowledge in Higher Education*. London: Springer.

Macedo, D. (1985). Translator's preface. In P. Freire, *The politics of education: Culture, power, and liberation* (pp. vii – ix). South Hadley, MA: Bergin & Garvey.

Madiba, M. (2013). Multilingual education in South African universities: Policies, pedagogy and practicality. *Linguistics and Education*, 24(4), 385-395. DOI: [dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.linged.2013.09.002](https://doi.org/10.1016/j.linged.2013.09.002)

Mæhlum, B. (1996). Codeswitching in Hemnesberget—Myth or reality? *Journal of Pragmatics*, 25(6), 749-761.

Makalela, L. (2014). Teaching Indigenous African Languages to Speakers of Other African Languages: The Effects of Translanguaging for Multilingual Development. In L. Hibbert & C. van der Walt (Eds.), *Multilingual Universities in South Africa: Reflecting Society in Higher Education* (pp. 88 - 104). Bristol: Multilingual Matters.

Makoni, S. (1998). In the beginning was the missionaries' word: The European Invention of African Languages: The case of Shona in Zimbabwe. In K. Prah (Ed.), *Between Distinction and*

Extinction: The harmonisation and standardisation of African languages (pp. 157 – 164). Cape Town: Centre for Advanced Studies of African Society.

Makoni, S. & Pennycook, A. (2007). Disinventing and Reconstituting Languages. In *Disinventing and Reconstituting Languages* (pp. 1 - 41). Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.

Maldonado-Torres, N. (2007). On the Coloniality of Being. *Cultural Studies*, 21(2), 240-270.

Marginson, S. (2006). Dynamics of national and global competition in higher education. *Higher Education*, 52, 1-39.

Mariz, E. (2014). Timor-Leste Betting on Lusophone Ties for Growth, *Jakarta Globe*, 23 May, 2014. Retrieved from: <http://www.jakartaglobe.beritasatu.com/international/timor-leste-betting-lusophone-ties-growth/>

Marcus, G. E. (1995). Ethnography in/of the world system: The emergence of multi-sited ethnography. *Annual review of anthropology*, 24(1), 95-117.

Martin-Jones, M. (2007). Bilingualism, education and the regulation of access to language resources. In M. Heller (Ed.) *Bilingualism: A social approach* (pp. 161 – 182). London: Palgrave Macmillan.

Martin-Jones, M., Blackledge, A., & Creese, A. (Eds.). (2012). *The Routledge handbook of multilingualism*. New York: Routledge.

Maturana, H. R., Varela, F. J., & Paolucci, R. (1998). *The tree of knowledge: The biological roots of human knowledge*. Boston/London: Shambhala.

Mazak, C. M. (2017). Introduction: Theorizing Translanguaging Practices in Higher Education. In C. M. Mazak & K. S. Carroll (Eds.), *Translanguaging in Higher Education: Beyond Monolingual Ideologies* (pp. 1 – 10). Bristol, UK: Multilingual Matters.

McCarty, T. (2011). Introducing ethnography and language policy. In *Ethnography and language policy* (pp. 1 – 21). New York: Routledge.

MDE [Ministerio da Educação]. (2014). Ensino Superior Universitario: Numero de Bolseiros [webpage]. Retrieved from www.me.gov.tl. Last accessed 17/11/2014.

MECYS [Ministry of Education, Culture, Youth and Sports, Timor-Leste]. (2004). *Education policy, 2004–2009*. Dili, Timor-Leste: RDTL.

Menken, K., & García, O. (Eds.). (2010). *Negotiating language education policies: Educators as policymakers*. New York: Routledge.

Michael-Luna, S. & Canagarajah, S. (2007). Multilingual academic literacies: pedagogical foundations for code meshing in primary and higher education. *Journal of Applied Linguistics*, 4(1), 55-77.

Mignolo, W. (2007). Delinking: the rhetoric of modernity, the logic of coloniality, and the grammar of de-coloniality. *Cultural Studies*, 21(2), 449–514.

Moore, D., & Gajo, L. (2009). French voices on plurilingualism and pluriculturalism: Theory, significance and perspectives. *International Journal of Multilingualism*, 6(2), 137-153.

Mor, J. (2016). Oilfield Jargon. [Blog post]. Retrieved from: <http://jobsintheoilpatch.com/oilfield-jargon/>

Morita, N., & Kobayashi, M. (2008). Academic discourse socialization in a second language. In N. Hornberger (Ed.) *Encyclopedia of language and education*. Boston, MA: Springer.

Myers-Scotton, C. (1987). Code-switching and types of multilingual communities. In P. Lowenberg (Ed.), *Georgetown University Roundtable on Languages and Linguistics* (pp. 61 – 82). Washington D.C.: Georgetown University Press.

N

Ngũgĩ, w. T. (1986). *Decolonising the mind: the politics of language in African literature*. Oxford, UK: James Currey.

Nicolai, S. (2004). Learning independence: Education in emergency and transition in Timor-Leste since 1999. Paris: UNESCO International Institute for Educational Planning.

O

Ochs, E. (1979). Transcription as theory. *Developmental pragmatics*, 10(1), 43-72.

OECD-DAC [OECD Development Assistance Committee]. (2017). Timor-Leste: Aid at a glance charts. Retrieved from: <https://www.oecd.org/countries/timor-leste/aid-at-a-glance.htm>

Otsuji, E., & Pennycook, A. (2010). Metrolingualism: Fixity, fluidity and language in flux. *International journal of multilingualism*, 7(3), 240-254.

P

Pavlenko, A., & Blackledge, A. (2004). New theoretical approaches to the study of negotiation of identities in multilingual contexts. In *Negotiation of Identities in Multilingual Contexts* (pp. 1 – 33). Clevedon, UK: Multilingual Matters.

Peake, G. (2013). *Beloved Land: Stories, Struggles, and Secrets from Timor-Leste*. Melbourne: Scribe Publications.

Pennycook, A. (2000). English, politics, ideology: From colonial celebration to postcolonial performativity. *Ideology, politics and language policies: Focus on English*, 6, 107-119.

Pennycook, A. (2007). *Global Englishes and Transcultural Flows*. London, UK: Routledge.

Pennycook, A. (2010). *Language as a local practice*. London, UK: Routledge.

Pennycook, A. (2013). *Language and mobility: Unexpected places*. Bristol, UK: Multilingual Matters.

Q

Quijano, A. (2000). Coloniality of power and Eurocentrism in Latin America. *International Sociology*, 15(2), 215-232.

Quijano, A. (2007). Coloniality and modernity/rationality. *Cultural Studies*, 21(2-3), 168-178.

Quinn, M. (2011). The languages of schooling in Timor-Leste: patterns and influences on practice. [unpublished PhD dissertation]. University of Melbourne. Melbourne, Australia.

Quinn, M. (2013). Talking to learn in Timorese classrooms. *Language, Culture and Curriculum*, 26(2), 179-196. DOI:10.1080/07908318.2013.810223.

R

Rampton, B. (1995). Language crossing and the problematisation of ethnicity and socialisation. *Pragmatics*, 5(4), 485-513.

Rassool, N., Heugh, K., & Mansoor, S. (2007). *Global issues in language, education and development: Perspectives from postcolonial countries (Vol. 4)*. Clevedon: Multilingual matters.

Rei, N. (2007). *Resistance. A Childhood Fighting for East Timor*. St Lucia, QLD: University of Queensland Press.

RDTL [República Democrática de Timor-Leste/Democratic Republic of Timor-Leste]. (2004). Orthographical Standard of the Tetum Language (Law No. 1/2004). Dili: Author.

RDTL [República Democrática de Timor-Leste/Democratic Republic of Timor-Leste]. (2008). Education System Framework Law (Law No. 14/2008). Dili: Author. Retrieved from: http://www.cultura.gov.tl/sites/default/files/Education_system_framework_law_english.pdf

RDTL [República Democrática de Timor-Leste/Democratic Republic of Timor-Leste]. (2011). Timor-Leste Strategic Development Plan, 2011-2030 (English version). Dili, Timor-Leste: Author. Retrieved from: <http://timor-lesste.gov.tl/wp-content/uploads/2011/07/Timor-Leste-Strategic-Plan-2011-20301.pdf>

RDTL [República Democrática de Timor-Leste/Democratic Republic of Timor-Leste]. (2015). 500th Anniversary of the Affirmation of the Timorese Identity [webpage]. Retrieved from: <http://timor-lesste.gov.tl/?p=13165&lang=en&lang=en>

Ricento, T. (2012). Critiques of language policy and planning. In C. A. Chapelle (Ed.), *The Encyclopedia of Applied Linguistics*. New York: Wiley-Blackwell.

Rose, D., Chivizhe, L. L., McKnight, A., & Smith, A. (2003). Scaffolding academic reading and writing at the Koori Centre. *The Australian Journal of Indigenous Education*, 32, 41-50.

Ross, M. A. (2017). Attitudes toward Tetun Dili, A Creole Language of East Timor. [unpublished PhD dissertation]. University of Hawaii at Manoa. Hawaii, USA.

S

Saarinen, T. (2016). Policy is what happens while you're busy doing something else: introduction to special issue on "language" indexing higher education policy. *Higher Education*, 73(4), 553-560.

- Said, E. (1978). *Orientalism: Western conceptions of the Orient*. New York: Pantheon Books.
- Said, E. (1983). *The World, the Text and the Critic*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Saldanha, J. M. (1994). *The political economy of East Timor Development*. Jakarta: Pustaka Sinar Harapan.
- Saunders, G., Hull, G., Correia, A. J. G., Tilman, R., Soares, M., & Santos, D. (2006). *Disionáriu Nasionál ba Tetun Ofisiál*. Dili: Instituto Nacional de Linguística, Universidade Nacional Timor Lorosa'e.
- Scheiner, C. (2015). Can the Petroleum Fund Exorcise the Resource Curse from Timor-Leste? In S. Ingram, L. Kent & A. McWilliam (Eds.), *A New Era? Timor-Leste after the UN* (pp. 73 – 101). Canberra: ANU Press.
- Scheiner, C. (2017). As Bayu-Undan dries up: Challenges and opportunities. In P. Job, A. B. da Silva, N. Canas Mendes, A. da Costa Ximenes, M. Barreto Soares, S. Niner & T. Tam (Eds.), *Peskiza foun kona-ba Timor-Leste/Novas investigações sobre Timor-Leste/New research on Timor-Leste/Penelitian baru tentang Timor-Leste (Vol. I)* (pp. 284 – 301). Hawthorn: Swinburne University Press.
- Schiffman, H. (1991). Swiss-German diglossia. *Southwest Journal of Linguistics*, 10(1), 173-88.
- Schostak, J. (2002). *Understanding, Designing and Conducting Qualitative Research in Education: Framing the Project*. Buckingham: Open University Press.
- Scollon, S. B., & Scollon, R. (1981). *Narrative, literacy and face in interethnic communication*. Norwood, NJ: Ablex Publishing.
- Seidlhofer, B. (2001). Closing a conceptual gap: The case for a description of English as a lingua franca. *International Journal of Applied Linguistics*, 11(2), 133 – 158.
- Shah, R. (2012). Goodbye conflict, hello development? Curriculum reform in Timor-Leste. *International Journal of Educational Development*, 32(1), 31-38.
- Shohamy, E. (2006). *Language policy: Hidden agendas and new approaches*. New York: Routledge.
- Shohamy, E. (2013). A Critical Perspective on the Use of English as a Medium of Instruction at Universities. In A. Doiz, D. Lasagabaster & J. M. Sierra (Eds.), *English-Medium Instruction at Universities: Global Challenges* (pp. 196 – 210). Bristol, UK: Multilingual Matters.

- Shohamy, E. (2014). The Weight of English in Global Perspective: The Role of English in Israel. In K. Borman, T. Wiley, D. Garcia & A. Danzig (Eds.), *Review of Research in Education: Language Policy, Politics, and Diversity in Education (Vol. 38)* (pp. 273 – 289). Washington DC: SAGE (on behalf of AERA).
- Shohamy, E., & Gorter, D. (Eds.). (2008). *Linguistic landscape: Expanding the scenery*. New York: Routledge.
- Silverstein, M. (2003). Indexical Order and the Dialectics of Sociolinguistic Life. *Language & Communication*, 23, 193–229.
- Sibayan, B.P. (1991). The intellectualization of Filipino. *International Journal of The Sociology of Language*, 88(1): 69-82. DOI: 10.1515/ijsl.1991.88.69
- Sibayan, B. P. (1994). The teaching of the technical disciplines in Filipino. *Unitas*, 67(1), 88-9.
- Simons, G. F., & Fennig, C. D. (2018). Ethnologue: Languages of the World, Twenty-first edition (East Timor Country Profile) [webpage]. Dallas: SIL International. Retrieved from: <https://www.ethnologue.com/country/TL/languages>
- Smith, D. E. (1987). *The everyday world as problematic: A feminist sociology*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
- Smith, M. P. (2003) Transnationalism, the State, and the Extraterritorial Citizen. *Politics & Society*, 31(4), 467–502.
- Soares, D. B. (2000). Political Developments Leading to the Referendum. In J. J. Fox & D. B. Soares (Eds.), *Out of the Ashes: Destruction and Reconstruction of East Timor* (pp. 57 – 78). Hindmarsh SA: Crawford House Publishing.
- Sousa-Santos, J. K. L. (2015). Acting West, Looking East: Timor-Leste’s Growing Engagement with the Pacific Islands Region. In R. Azizian & C. Cramer (Eds.) *Regionalism, Security and Cooperation in Oceania*. Honolulu: Asia-Pacific Center for Security Studies.
- Spivak, G. C. (1988). *Can the subaltern speak?* Basingstoke: Macmillan.
- Spolsky, B. (Ed.) (1972). *The Language Education of Minority Children: Selected Readings*. Massachusetts: Newbury House.
- Spolsky, B. (2004). *Language policy*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

- Srader, D. W. (2015). Performative Listening. *International Journal of Listening*, 29(2), 95-102. DOI: 10.1080/10904018.2014.892834
- Strauss, A., & Corbin, J. (1990). *Basics of qualitative research*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Street, B. (1984). *Literacy in theory and practice*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Street, B. (1995). *Social literacies: Critical approaches to literacy in development, ethnography and education*. London, UK: Longman.
- Street, B. (2004). Futures of the ethnography of literacy? *Language and Education*, 18(4): 326–330. DOI:10.1080/09500780408666885
- Stroud, C. (2001). African mother-tongue programmes and the politics of language: Linguistic citizenship versus linguistic human rights. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*, 22(4), 339-355.
- Stroud, C. (2007). Bilingualism: Colonialism and postcolonialism. In M. Heller (Ed.) *Bilingualism: A social approach* (pp. 25 – 49). London: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Stroud, C. & Heugh, K. (2004). Linguistic human rights and linguistic citizenship. In D. Patrick and J. Freeland (Eds.) *Language Rights and Language Survival: A Sociolinguistic Exploration* (pp. 198 – 225). Manchester: St Jerome.
- Stroud, C., & Kerfoot, C. (2013). Towards rethinking multilingualism and language policy for academic literacies. *Linguistics and education*, 24(4), 396-405.
- Swain, M. (1983). Bilingualism without tears. *On Tesol*, 82, 35-46.

T

- Taylor-Leech, K. (2008). Language and identity in East Timor: The discourses of nation building. *Language problems and language planning*, 32(2), 153-180.
- Taylor-Leech, K. (2011). Timor-Leste: sustaining and maintaining the national languages in education. *Current Issues in Language Planning*, 12(2), 289-308. DOI: 10.1080/14664208.2011.589108
- Taylor-Leech, K. (2013). Finding space for non-dominant languages in education: language policy and medium of instruction in Timor-Leste 2000–2012. *Current Issues in Language Planning*, 14(1), 109-126. DOI:10.1080/14664208.2013.766786.

Taylor-Leech, K., & Caet, A. (2012). Mother tongue-based multilingual education: A new direction for Timor-Leste. In M. Leach, N. C. Mendes, A. B. da Silva, B. Boughton & A. da Costa Ximenes (Eds.), *Peskiza foun kona ba/Novas investigações sobre/New research on/Penelitian baru mengenai Timor-Leste* (pp. 295 – 301). Hawthorn: Swinburne Press.

Thesen, L. (2009). Researching 'ideological becoming' in lectures: Challenges for knowing differently. *Studies in Higher Education*, 34(4), 391-402.

Thomaz, L. (1981). The formation of Tetum-Praça, vehicular language of East Timor. In N. Phillips & K. Anwar (Eds.), *Papers on Indonesian languages and literatures* (pp. 54 – 83). London: School of Oriental and African Studies.

TLSA [Timor-Leste Studies Association]. (2016). Conference Proceedings of Timor-Leste Studies Association [webpage]. Retrieved from: <http://www.tlstudies.org/ConfProAll.html>.

Tollefson, J. (1991). *Planning language, planning inequality: Language policy in the community*. New York: Longman.

Traube, E. G. (1986). *Cosmology and Social Life: Ritual Exchange Among the Mambai of East Timor*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

TTC [authors omitted to protect participants]. 2016. *Glosariu turizmu no hahaan* [Tourism and food glossary]. Dili, Timor-Leste: Author.

U

UNDP [United Nations Development Program]. (2018). *Timor-Leste National Human Development Report 2018*. Dili: Author. Retrieved from: http://www.tl.undp.org/content/timor_lesste/en/home/all-projects/NHDR-2018/

UNESCO [United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation]. (2009). *Timor-Leste Country Programming Document, 2009 – 2013*. Jakarta: Author. Retrieved from: <https://unesdoc.unesco.org/ark:/48223/pf0000185239>

UNEVOC. (2012). The new TVET training system in Timor-Leste [UNESCO Working Paper]. Dili: UNESCO. Retrieved from: https://unevoc.unesco.org/fileadmin/user_upload/docs/TVET_in_Timor_Leste_01052012.pdf

UN General Assembly. 2015. Resolution 70/1, *Transforming our world: The 2030 agenda for sustainable development*, A/Res/70/1 (15 September 2015). Retrieved from: http://www.un.org/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=A/RES/70/1&Lang=E

Urciuoli, B., & La Dousa, C. (2013). Language Management/Labor. *Annual Review of Anthropology*, 42, 175-190.

V

Vertovec, S. (2007). Super-diversity and its implications. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 30(6), 1024-1054.

W

Werner, O., & Schoepfle, G. M. (1987). *Systematic fieldwork: Vol. 1. Foundations of ethnography and interviewing*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

Whorf, B. L. (1956). *Language, Thought, and Reality: Selected Writings of Benjamin Lee Whorf*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

Wigglesworth, A. (2016). *Activism and Aid: Young Citizens' Experiences of Development and Democracy in Timor-Leste*. Melbourne, Australia: Monash University Publishing.

Williams, G. (1992). *Sociolinguistics: A sociological critique*. London: Routledge.

Williams, G. (2010). *The Knowledge Economy, Language and Culture*. Bristol, UK: Multilingual Matters.

Williams-van Klinken, C. (1999). *A grammar of the Fehan dialect of Tetun, an Austronesian language of West Timor*. Canberra: Pacific Linguistics.

Williams-van Klinken, C. (2001). High Registers of Tetun Dili: Portuguese Press and Purist Priests. In C. Allen (Ed.), *Conference of the Australian Linguistic Society*. Canberra: Australian National University Press.

Williams-van Klinken, C. (2014). Plans for introducing English as a medium of instruction in 2015 [unpublished institutional document]. Dili, Timor-Leste: Author.

Williams-van Klinken, C., Hajek, J., & Nordlinger, R. (2002). *Tetun Dili: A Grammar of an East Timorese Language*. Canberra: Pacific Linguistics.

Wright, S. (2004). *Language policy and language planning: From nationalism to globalisation*. Basingstoke, UK: Palgrave Macmillan.

Woolard, K. A. (1998). Simultaneity and bivalency as strategies in bilingualism. *Journal of Linguistic Anthropology*, 8(1), 3-29.

Woolard, K. A., & Schieffelin, B. B. (1994). Language ideology. *Annual review of anthropology*, 23(1), 55-82.

Y

Yates, L. (2012). My school, my university, my country, my world, my Google, myself ... What is education for now? *The Australian educational researcher*, 39(3), 259-274.

Young, M. & Muller, J. (Eds.). (2014). *Knowledge, Expertise and the Professions*. Milton Park, OX: Routledge.

Appendices

Appendix 1: Participation permission documents

A1.1 Institutional permission documents

Permissions were sought and granted by each of the participating institutions in this study. These documents have been provided to the University of Melbourne Human Ethics Committee and are available upon request. Copies of these documents have not been included in this thesis in order to maintain the anonymity of these institutions and the authorising persons.

A1.2 Plain language statement – English version (last updated 6th July 2015)

6th July 2015

Dear [Lecturer/s],

My name is Trent Newman. I am a doctoral student researcher from the Graduate School of Education at the University of Melbourne, Australia. I am writing to ask you to participate in a research project about the challenges that students face at university in Timor-Leste – in particular the communication challenges – and about the methods and strategies that lecturers use to help them to overcome these challenges. As you know, each year, more students are entering university in Timor-Leste. However, so far, there is not much research about higher education in Timor-Leste or the kinds of challenges that Timorese tertiary students are facing. With this research project we want to better understand how lecturers like you support students to develop the communication skills that they need for successful study at university and for future work in different professional areas. This information can then help to plan new training programs which can benefit university lecturers in Timor-Leste.

The research will be conducted in three phases, as follows:

1. Group interviews with lecturers from the same faculty areas, of about two hours in length;
2. Individual interviews with lecturers who volunteer to discuss their teaching methods in more detail, of about one hour in length;
3. Classroom observations with lecturers who agree to allow them.

We would also like to collect samples of students' assignments, chosen by the lecturers, to discuss in the individual interviews.

If you agree to participate in this research, in the interviews I will ask you to share your thoughts about the challenges that your students face with university study, especially the communication challenges. I will also ask you to describe the teaching methods and communication strategies that you use to help your students to overcome these challenges. If you agree to observation of one of your classes, I will simply take notes in your class and I will do my best not to make any disturbance. I will not ask you to do anything other than what you normally do in your classes. My goal in observing your class will be to view your teaching methods and communication strategies in practice. There will also be an interpreter in the interviews and with me in the class observation to help with translation. I will also audio record the interviews so that there is an accurate record of what you say.

Due to the small number of participants involved in this research, it is possible that someone may be able to identify you. It is also possible that opinions that you share in interviews may be read by others at your institution or other educational professionals in Timor-Leste. However, I will do my best to protect your anonymity and confidentiality in this research, within the limits of the law. I will do this by not revealing your identity or the name of your institution, using pseudonyms in any publications. Your real name and personal details will be kept in a separate, password-protected computer file. Moreover, while your participation in this research will be very valuable, it remains at all times totally voluntary. If you decide that you do not want to participate, you are not obliged to. You can also withdraw your participation from the project at any time, without prejudice, and withdraw any unprocessed data that you have supplied.

This research will contribute to my doctoral thesis, with support from principal researcher, Prof. Joseph Lo Bianco, and co-researcher, Prof. Lyn Yates. When I finish my research, I will write a brief summary report of my findings, which I will send to you to read. I may also present the results at academic conferences or in research publications. The data from the research will be kept securely in the Melbourne Graduate School of Education for five years and then it will be destroyed.

This project has been approved by the Research Ethics Committee at the University of Melbourne. At any stage, if you have any concerns about the conduct of the project, you are welcome to contact the Manager, Human Research Ethics, The University of Melbourne, on ph: +61 3 8344 2073, or email: HumanEthics-enquiries@unimelb.edu.au. We have also received permission to undertake this project from the senior management of your institution and are in the process of obtaining permission from the Directorate of Higher Education in the Timorese Ministry of Education.

If you would like to participate in this project, please sign the Consent Form (attached), which tells us that you have read and understood this information. The interviews and any class observations will be organised with you via your institution.

If you have any questions or uncertainties about this project, please contact me, Mr Trent Newman, via email at [REDACTED] or by phone on [REDACTED]. You can also contact my supervisor, Prof. Lo Bianco, by email: [REDACTED].

Respectfully yours,

Prof. Joseph Lo Bianco

Principal Researcher

Prof. Lyn Yates

Co-Researcher

Mr. Trent Newman

Doctoral Researcher

A1.3 Plain language statement – Tetun version (last updated 1st February 2017)

1º Feveiru, 2017

Caro Profesór,

Ha'u nia naran Trent Newman. Ha'u peskizadór estudante doutorál husi Eskola Pos-Graduadu Edukasaun iha Universidade Melbourne, Australia. Ha'u hakarak husu Ita-boot partisipa iha projetu peskiza ida kona-ba abilidade ba komunikaun ne'ebé estudante sira presiza ba estudu iha universidade no mós ba servisu iha disiplina oi-oin. Ha'u buka hatene dosenti nia hanoin no esperiensiia kona-ba topiku ne'e, i mós buka hatene métodu hanorin nian ne'ebé dosenti sira uza hodi ajuda estudante sira hetan susesu iha universidade no sei prepara ba servisu. Tinan-tinan, estudante barak liu mak ba universidade iha Timor-Leste. Maibé, seidauk iha peskiza ne'ebé suficiente kona-ba Timor-Leste nia ensinu superior ka dezafiu sira ne'ebé estudante Timorensen enfrenta nafatin. Ho projetu peskiza ne'e, ami hakarak kompriende liu kona-ba oinsá dosenti, hanesan Ita-boot, fó ajuda ba estudante sira atu desenvolve abilidade komunikaun akademik no profesionál. Informasaun ne'e bele kontribui atu halo planu ba programa apoiu foun ba dosenti no estudante i mós ba programa treinamentu foun ne'ebé bele halo benefísiu ba dosenti universidade sira iha Timor-Leste.

Peskiza ne'e sei hala'o liu hosi faze tolu, hanesan tuir mai nee:

1. 'Focus Group Discussion' (hanesan diskusaun iha grupu) ho dosenti husi fakuldade ne'ebé hanesan, ho oras maizumenus oras ida ka rua nia laran;
2. Entrevista ida mesak ho dosenti voluntáriu ne'ebé mak konkorda diskute sira nia métodu ba hanorin ho detallu liu;
3. Observasaun iha klase ho dosenti voluntáriu ne'ebé mak konkorda atu hala'o observasaun ne'e.

Ho faze tolu ne'e, Ita-boot bele partisipa iha faze ida de'it (ezemplu entrevista de'it), iha faze rua, ka mós bele hola parte iha faze hotu. Se bele, ha'u mós hakarak halibur tugas ka avaliasaun balu ne'ebé mak Ita-boot hili, hodi uza ba diskusaun iha entrevista ida mesak.

Se Ita-boot aseita hola parte iha projetu peskiza ne'e, iha entrevista sira ha'u husu Ita-boot fó Ita-boot nia hanoin kona-ba dezafiu ne'ebé estudante sira enfrenta iha universidade, liu-liu dezafiu ho komunikaun. Ha'u mós husu Ita-boot deskreve Ita-boot nia métodu ba hanorin i estratéjia ba komunikaun mak Ita-boot uza hodi ajuda estudante sira hetan susesu ho dezafiu nee. Se Ita-boot konkorda observasaun iha Ita-boot nia klase laran, ha'u sei halo nota de'it. Ha'u la hapara Ita-boot no mós la interrompe buat ida. Ha'u la husu Ita-boot halo buat ruma oin seluk. Ha'u hakarak atu haree saida mak Ita-boot halo iha Ita-boot nia klase baibain. Ha'u nia objetivu ba observasaun ne'e hanesan fó sasin ba Ita-boot nia métodu hanorin ho estratéjia ba komunikaun iha klase nia situasaun. Iha entrevista no observasaun ne'e sei mós iha durubasa hodi ajuda tradús. Ha'u mós sei grava entrevista sira atu hatene lo-loos Ita-boot nia liafuan ka ideas.

Tanba kantidadade partisipante iha peskiza ne'e uitoan deit, entaun iha possibilidade ema ida bele identifika Ita-boot. Mós iha possibilidade ema seluk husi Ita-boot nia instituisaun ka husi profesaun edukasaun Timorensen sei lee Ita-boot nia opiniaun mak fó tiha ona iha entrevista. Maibé ha'u sei proteje Ita-boot nia anonimatu no konfidensialidade iha peskiza ne'e, tuir lei nia limitu liu. Husi ida ne'e ha'u sei la hatete sai Ita-boot nia identidade ka Ita-boot nia instituisaun nia naran ho uza pseudónimu (naran falsu) iha publikasaun ruma. Ha'u sei rai didi'ak Ita-boot nia naran no informasaun partikular iha komputadór nia fail iha fatin ketak ketak no kuidadu ho password segredu. Liu tan, Ita-boot nia partisipasaun ho peskiza ne'e iha valór barak maibé ida ne'e mós

hanesan partisipasaun voluntáriu. Se Ita-boot deside la hola parte iha peskiza nee, la'ós obrigatóriu. Ita-boot mós bele hapara Ita-boot nia partisipasaun husi projetu ne'e bainhira de'it Ita-boot hakarak, sein prejulgamentu, i mós retira dados ka informasaun mak seidak prosesu ne'ebé mak Ita-boot fó tiha ona.

Peskiza ne atu halo kontribuisaun ba ha'u nia teze doutorál, ho apoiu husi orientadór prinsipál, Prof. Joseph Lo Bianco, no co-orientadora, Prof. Lyn Yates. Bainhira ha'u halo hotu peskiza nee, ha'u sei hakerek relatóriu badak tuir informasaun ne'ebé ha'u hetan husi peskiza ne'e. Depois, se Ita-boot hakarak, ha'u sei haruka relatóriu ne'e ba Ita-boot. Dala ruma ha'u mós bele fahe rezultadu husi peskiza ne'e iha konferénsia academia ka iha publikasaun peskiza nian. Dados sira husi peskiza ne'e sei rai hela ho seguru iha Escola Pos-Graduadu Edukasaun Melbourne iha tinan lima nia laran i, depois, sei harahun.

Universidade Melbourne nia Komisaun Étika ba Peskiza aprova tiha ona projetu peskiza ne'e. Iha faze ruma iha peskiza ne'e, se Ita-boot iha preokupasaun kona-ba projetu ninia hala'o, bele halo kontaktu ho Xefi, Étika ba Peskiza Umanu, Universidade Melbourne: +61 3 8344 2073 (Tel.) ka HumanEthics-enquiries@unimelb.edu.au (Email). Ami mós simu tiha ona lisensa ba halo projetu ne'e husi ulun boot iha Ita-boot nia instituisaun i hetan nafatin lisensa husi Direção Nacional do Ensino Superior Universitário iha Ministériu Edukasaun Timorense.

Se Ita-boot hakarak hola parte iha projetu peskiza ne'e, halo favór asina formuláriu konsentimentu mak hamutuk tiha ona iha ne'e (attached) hodi hatete ha'u katak Ita-boot lee i kompriende tiha ona informasaun hirak ne'e hotu. Depois, ha'u organiza entrevista i observaun ruma ho Ita-boot liu husi komunikasaun ho Ita-boot nia instituisaun.

Se iha pergunta ruma ka buat duvida ruma kona-ba projetu ne'e, halo favór halo kontaktu ho ha'u, Sr. Trent Newman, liu husi email: [REDACTED] ka liu husi telefone: [REDACTED]. Ita-boot mós bele halo kontaktu ho ha'u nia supervisor, Prof. Lo Bianco, liu husi email: [REDACTED].

Ho respeito,

Prof. Joseph Lo Bianco

Orientadór Prinsipál

Prof. Lyn Yates

Co-Orientadora

Mr. Trent Newman

Peskizadór Doutorál

CONSENT FORM

Project Title – Localised Heteroglossic Higher Education: Tracing the multilingual pedagogies of Timorese tertiary teachers

Name of Teacher (please print): _____

Names of Researcher/s: Prof. Joseph Lo Bianco; Prof. Lyn Yates; Mr. Trent Newman

1. I consent to participate in this research project, the details of which have been explained to me. I have been provided with a written Plain Language Statement to keep and I understand that once this consent form is signed, it will be retained by the researcher.
2. I understand that my participation will involve a group interview, of about two hours in length, a possible individual interview of approximately one hour in length, and also observation of my teaching in a classroom or supervised fieldwork setting, if I allow it. I understand that the interviews will be audiotaped and I agree that the researcher may use the results as described in the Plain Language Statement.
3. I acknowledge that:
 - a. I have read the written information about the project and have received a copy of that information;
 - b. the project is for the purpose of research;
 - c. I have received adequate explanation of all likely risks, effects, discomforts or inconveniences to me arising from my participation in this project;
 - d. I have been informed that my participation in the project is voluntary, that I am free to withdraw from the project at any time, and that I may withdraw any unprocessed data that I have provided;
 - e. interviews will be audio recorded;
 - f. I have been informed that the confidentiality of the information that I provide will be secured, subject to any legal requirements. I also understand that, because of the small number of participants, it is possible someone may identify me;
 - g. a pseudonym will be used in any publications arising from the research;
 - h. with my consent the recorded data will be stored at the University of Melbourne and will be destroyed after five years;
 - i. I may be contacted again for clarification regarding data collected;
 - j. I have been informed that a copy of the research findings will be forwarded to me, should I wish this.

I consent to my participation in this research project

☐ yes ☐ no

(please tick ☒)

I consent to my class being observed by the researcher

☐ yes ☐ no

(please tick ☒)

Signature: _____

Date: _____

DOKUMENTU BA KONFIRMA ASEITA HOLA PARTE IHA PROJETU PESKIZA

Titulu Projetu Nian – “Localised Heteroglossic Higher Education:

Tracing the multilingual pedagogies of Timorese university lecturers”

Orientador nia naran: Prof. Joseph Lo Bianco; Prof. Lyn Yates; Mr. Trent Newman

Docente nia naran (halo favor hakerek ho letra boot): _____

1. Ha’u aseita hola parte iha projetu peskiza ne’e, ne’ebé mak nia detallu sira ha’u simu tiha ona ho esplikaun. Ha’u simu tiha ona kopia ida hanesan Deklarasaun Peskiza iha Lian Simples (‘Plain Language Statement’) i ha’u kompriende katak orientador sei rai dokumentu ne’e depois de hetan ha’u nia asinatura.
2. Ha’u kompriende katak partisipasaun ha’u nian sei hanesan entrevista iha grupu (‘focus group’) horas ida ka rua nia laran. Ha’u mos kompriende katak ha’u nia partisipasaun bele inklui mos – se ha’u konkorda – entrevista ema ida mesak, maizoumenos horas ida nia laran, no mos observaun iha klase ha’u nian, iha enkontru supervisasaun ho estudante, ka/no mos iha estagio nia supervisasaun. Ha’u kompriende katak entrevista sira ne’e sei grava i ha’u aseita katak orientador bele uza informasaun husi entrevista ne’e hanesan Plain Language Statement mak deskreve tiha ona.
3. Ha’u hatene katak:
 - a. ha’u lee tiha ona informasaun eskrita kona ba projetu no simu tiha ona ninia kopia;
 - b. projetu ne’e ba peskiza deit;
 - c. ha’u simu tiha ona explicaun suficiente kona ba risku hotu, efektu hotu, ka saida deit mak karik sei mosu husi ha’u nia partisipasaun iha projetu ne’e;
 - d. ha’u simu tiha ona informasaun katak ha’u nia partisipasaun iha projetu ne’e hanesan voluntariu, katak ha’u bele hapara ha’u nia partisipasaun husi projetu ne’e bainhira deit ha’u hakarak, no mos katak ha’u bele retira dadus ka informasaun mak seidaun prosesu ne’ebé mak ha’u fo tiha ona;
 - e. ‘focus group’ no entrevista sira sei grava;
 - f. ha’u simu tiha ona informasaun katak orientador sira sei proteje ha’u nia anonimatu no konfidensialidade, tuir lei nia limitu liu. Ha’u mos kompriende katak iha possibilidade ema ida bele identifika ha’u, husi mak numeru kiik partisipante iha peskia ne’e;
 - g. sei uza pseudónimu (naran falsu) iha publikasaun ruma;
 - h. ho ha’u nia aseita, dadus sira husi ha’u sei rai hela ho seguru iha Eskola Pos-Graduadu Edukasaun Melbourne iha tinan lima nia laran i, depois, sei harahun;
 - i. dala ruma orientador sira bele halo kontaktu fali ba ha’u atu klarifika dadus ka informasaun ne’ebé mak hetan tiha ona;
 - j. se ha’u hakarak, ha’u bele simu relatóriu badak tuir informasaun ne’ebé orientador hetan husi peskiza ne’e.

Ha’u aseita hola parte iha projetu peskiza ne’e

☐ **sín** ☐ **lae**

(halo favor, marka ☒)

Ha’u aseita observaun iha klase ka/no iha enkontru supervisasaun

☐ **sín** ☐ **lae**

(halo favor, marka ☒)

Asinatura: _____

Data: _____

Email no Telefone: _____

Appendix 2: Method Tools

A2.1 Focus group prompts

A2.1.1 – Focus group prompts in English (last updated 24/07/2015)

My approach and ground rules for the Focus Group...

- i. Focus is their discussion, not me or my questions. It is a conversation among peers, not a Q&A or group interview;
- ii. This is not an evaluation – interest is in their experiences, stories, & opinions about needs and struggles of students;
- iii. Everyone's voice needs to be heard & valued;
- iv. Interpreter is to help me with Tetun – if needed he can translate my English too. He has signed a confidentiality agreement;
- v. Consent forms need signing. Audio recording will happen so that I have a correct record of your stories and experiences

Process...

1. Explain my approach and ground rules for the Focus Group (as above)
2. Rotation 1: Name, role at institution, teaching which subjects
3. Rotation 2: Recent funny, enjoyable, or memorable experience with a student
4. Explain as follows -
"This research project is about lecturers' experiences and thinking about the challenges that students face at university, especially communication challenges. Lecturers are from various disciplines and institutions in Timor-Leste.

In particular, I seek to understand, from your stories, experiences and thinking, three things:

- The communication abilities that students in this department need to achieve success in their studies and also in work in this field after completing their studies;
 - The challenges that students face in the process of acquiring these communication abilities;
 - The teaching methods and strategies that you use to help students to develop these abilities.
5. Circle 3: Share some stories about some of the most impressive/successful students you have had – the type of student whom you most enjoy teaching and supervising. What makes them successful? What are their communication skills like?

****Invite/prompt more open discussion****

6. Circle 4: Share some stories about students who seem to need extra help with their communication skills. What kinds of things (/tasks) do they struggle with? How do you help them? Are there similarities & differences among your colleagues? (e.g. confidence to speak, asking questions, reading academic texts, writing thesis...)
7. Circle 5: Tell me industry placements ('PKL') – what stories about students who have done well or not with this work?
8. Circle 6: Share some stories about supervising student research – what have been your best and worst experiences? What's the highest standard you've seen, and the lowest?
9. Circle 7: What are 3 things that would help you to help your students with their communication challenges?
10. Circle ++:
 - A student graduates with their Licenciatura in Agro-Pecuaria - what should they be able to do? Who do they need to talk to? Do they need to communicate research to farmers?
 - Two/Three things that you hope your students get from your teaching and from their degree?
 -
11. [near end...] *I noticed in the Estrutura Curriculo that one of the main goals of the Licenciatura is to ... "saber utilizar os conhecimentos...e de serem capazes de planejar, projetar, e executar as atividades agrícolas de produção ligadas à produção animal"*
- What kinds of communication skills would be needed to achieve this?
- How do you help your students achieve this in each of your subjects?
12. WRAP UP:
 - Are Ps aware of 4 stage potential (voluntary) engagement?
 - i. Focus Group, Individual Interview, Classroom Observation, Workshop
 - ii. Stages discrete but interconnected
 - iii. Not everyone can be interviewed...***if I follow up, is there willingness?***
 - Is informed consent given?
 - i. Participation is voluntary & can be withdrawn at any time
 - ii. Consent forms signed and collected
 - iii. Attendance list must match consent forms

Other Qs & Prompts:

- How & why did you come to teach in [dept/faculty, institution]?
- When students graduate, what do they need to know?
 - e.g. nutrition, pest & disease management, genetics, business management, technology
- How do you teach students academic writing?
- What's an example of when students need to use analytical language?

A2.1.2 – Focus group prompts in Tetun (last updated 31/08/2015)

2 mins: Rules/ guidelines	<u>Obrigadu barak ba imi nia tempu.</u> Antes de komesa, hakarak esplika kona ba hau nia lalaok ba 'Focus Group' ne'e... Ne'e hanesan diskusaun la formál iha kolega dosenti sira nia leet – la hanesan entrevista. Importante tebes atu ema ida-ida iha oportunidade atu koalia...no mos atu imi hotu senti livre halo diskusaun iha imi nia leet. Diskusaun ne'e sei grava i tanba ne'e halo favor koalia ho lian forti. Imi simu tiha ona informasaun kona ba oinsa mak atu uza gravasaun ne'e. Agora, atu komesa, mae ita halo rotasaun rua, minutu ida ka rua nia laran kada rotasaun, atu ne'e bele aselera ita nia diskusaun.
4-5 mins: Intros	<u>Circle 1:</u> (NB: introduce self & background in this circle!) Ba rotasaun ida, halo favor hatete ita boot nia naran, pozisaun ka knaar iha instituisaun ne'e.
8-10 mins	<u>Circle 2:</u> Ba rotasaun rua, halo favour hatete buat ida kona ba esperiensa hanorin nian nebee maka ita gosta.
2 mins: Explain my research in more depth	Agora hakarak esplika liu kona ba hau nia objetivu ho peskiza ne'e. Projetu peskiza ida ne'e kona ba docente nia esperiensa no hanoin ba dezafiu ne'ebé maka estudante sira enfrenta iha universidade, liu-liu dezafiu ho komunikasaun. Docente ne'e husi disiplinas oi-oin no mós husi instituisaun oi-oin iha Timor-Leste. Hau buka hatene, husi imi hotu nia istorias, esperiensa no hanoin, buat tolu: 4.1. Abilidade komunikasaun saida maka estudante sira iha departementu ne'e presiza atu hetan susesu iha ninia estudu no mós iha servisu ho atividades agrícolas depois de finaliza estudu? 4.2. Dezafiu saida mak estudante sira enfrenta ho prosesu atu iha abilidad komunikasaun ne'e; 4.3. Metódu no estratejia hanorin nian saida maka imi hotu uza atu fó ajuda ba estudante atu hetan abilidad ne'e?.
14-15 mins	<u>Open 1:</u> Agora, la presiza rotasaun – imi hotu livre atu koalia. Halo favour, hatete istoria ida kona ba estudante ida mak 'hetan susesu', i ne'ebe mak ita gosta liu atu hanorin no orienta. Por ejemplu, estudante ne'e halo saida atu hetan susesu? Oinsaa sira nia abilidad komunikasaun? Ita boot halo saida atu fo'o ajuda ba sira?
20-25 mins	<u>Open 2:</u> Hatete kona ba estudante ida mak presiza ajuda ho sira nia abilidad komunikasaun. Sira enfrenta dezafiu komunikasaun saida de'it? Atividades ka tugas saida mak halo sira hakas an? Oinsaa ita fo'o ajuda estudante sira atu bele resolve dezafiu ne'e? - e.g. konfianza atu koalia, abilidad ba husu pergunta, lee no hakerek textu akademik nian...) - Dezafiu ne'e husi ne'ebe? Saida mak ita espera ba estudante sira depois de graduasaun; saida mak sira halo ho sira nia konyesimentu ba sira nia an, ba industria, no ba nasaun. Abilidad komunikasaun saida mak sira presiza atu bele atinji sira nia objetivu? - Servisu saida mak sira sei hetan depois de graduasaun? - Iha fatin ne'ebe mak sira sei ba servisu no ema se-se de'it mak sira se ba hasoru?

10-15 mins: Final Q	<u>Open 3:</u> Saida mak ita espera ba estudante sira depois de graduasaun; saida mak sira halo ho sira nia konyesimentu ba sira nia an, ba industria, no ba nasaun. Abilidade komunikaun saida mak sira prezisa atu bele atinji sira nia objetivu? - <i>Servisu saida mak sira sei hetan depois de graduasaun?</i> - <i>Iha fatin ne'ebe mak sira sei ba servisu no ema se-se de'it mak sira se ba hasoru?</i>
5 mins	<u>Wrap-up:</u> Obrigadu barak ba imi nia tempu.... Iha pergunta ruma ba hau? Halo favor la bele haluha asina dokumentu ne'e i mós tau imi nia numero telefone no email atu hau bele kontaktu fali imi. Se ita aseita halo entrevista ohin ka semana oin, halo favor hatete ba hau tempu mak ita iha.

Miscellaneous other questions:

13. *Tell me about the communication challenges that students face at university. Are they different for different students? How do you help students to overcome these communication challenges?*
14. *Tell about industry placements ('PKL') – what stories about students who have done well or not with this work?*
15. *Tell about supervising student research – what have been your best and worst experiences? What's the highest standard you've seen, and the lowest?*
16. *What are 3 things that would help you to help your students with their communication challenges?*
17. *Two/Three things that you hope your students get from your teaching and from their degree?*
18. *[near end...] What would you say is the main objective of a licensatura in this discipline/field?*
 - *What kinds of communication skills would be needed to achieve this objective?*
 - *How do you help your students achieve this objective in each of your subjects?*

A2.2 Interview topics and sample questions

A2.2.1 – Sample interview questions, by category

The following sample interview questions were submitted as part of the human ethics research application for this study.

Sample Interview Questions

NOTE: Both the group and individual interviews conducted as part of this research project are intended to be semi-structured and open-ended in nature. Therefore, the following five clusters of questions are provided as samples only – to be used to guide discussion and to elicit rich, in-depth, participant-led narrative and descriptive data. For group interviews, greater focus will be on general perceptions (among teachers from the same professional field) of challenges facing students (i.e. cluster four). This will allow for the sampling of participants for individual interviews to occur based on emergent themes in and between responses in group interviews. Individual interviews will focus on individual teachers' experiences, perceptions, and approaches in relation to all five clusters of questions.

1. Background and role of the interviewee

- Please tell me about your background – What led to your interest in your chosen professional field? What is your experience working in this field? What led you to become a teacher in this field and at this institution?
- Tell me more about the training for your current position – What training have you received in your professional field? What training have you received in teaching/pedagogy?
- Tell me more about your current position – What are your responsibilities as a teacher at this institution? What non-teaching responsibilities do you have?
- Tell me about the most important relationships in your work – Who are you accountable to and how would you describe this relationship/these relationships? In what ways do you collaborate with other teachers and professionals in your field?

2. Vision of the higher education sector

- How important do you think it is for Timorese students to have higher education degrees – in general? In your professional field, specifically?
- The development of a skilled workforce in Timor-Leste (TL) is a major priority of the 2011-2030 Strategic Development Plan of the Timorese government. What role do you think higher education can and should play in developing such a skilled workforce in TL?
- What do you think about the growth in higher education providers in TL – especially private providers? What do you think has caused it? Is it a good/bad thing?
- In what ways do you think that your institution stands apart from other higher education providers in TL? What is special or unique about the education offered there?
- What, if anything, do you think needs to change for higher education to improve in TL?
- Most, if not all higher education teachers in TL are multilingual. How do you think this might influence the ways that they teach?
- Many higher education teachers in TL have studied in Indonesia for their Bachelors or Masters degrees. How do you think this might influence the ways that they teach?

- A large number of Timorese students choose to study overseas for their Bachelors, Masters, or PhD degrees. Is this a good or bad thing – for the students? for TL? Why/not?

3. Vision of the professional field

- Who or which organisations are the main employers in your professional field? What kinds of skills – esp. communication skills – do you think they are looking for in their employees?
- Tell me about some of the most significant challenges and successes in the development of your professional field in Timor-Leste since Independence.
- How would you describe the importance of your professional field in relation to the current and future social and economic development of Timor-Leste?
- Describe what you think work in your professional field will look like – in 5 years? 10 years?
- What are the advantages and disadvantages of being multilingual in your field in TL?

4. Perceptions of challenges facing students

- What kind of work are graduates in your course(s) likely to do after completing their studies?
- What do you think are the most important skills that students need to succeed at university and to get a job in your professional field? What about communication skills, specifically?
- How would you describe the main challenges that your students face during their time at university? What about communication challenges, specifically?
- How would you describe the communication skills that your students bring to the classroom – reading/literacy? writing? speaking & listening? computer/IT skills? Social/relational? How does a ‘model’ student communicate? How does a struggling student communicate?
- How prepared for university study are most new students when they start in their first year? How prepared for work are most graduates?
- (Regarding work samples) What do these samples tell us about each student?
- Do your students have to write a capstone thesis at the end of their course? What kind of support do you think students need to write a capstone thesis?
- Most if not all students in Timor-Leste are multilingual. How do you think this might influence the ways that they learn?

5. Description of teaching methods and communication strategies

- Describe a normal class that you would teach – How many students? How many teaching weeks per subject? How many hours per week do students spend in class? How much class time is spent on: you speaking/lecturing? Whole group discussion? Students working in pairs or small groups? Students working silently by themselves? Practical tasks, role plays?
- Tell me about a learning activity that you run with students in class that is *not assessable*, which you find helps students with their learning. What do you think makes it work so well?
- How would you describe your teaching method? What would you say are your strengths and weaknesses as a teacher? How do you build and maintain relationships with your students?
- Explain to me how you assess your students – How often do you use multiple choice exams? Short answer exams? Genre-specific professional documents, like reports or formal letters? Referenced, analytical essays? Explain an example of an assessment that you use frequently with your students that you find successful. Explain an example of an assessment that you think your students often find particularly difficult.
- Tell me more about the advantages and disadvantages of using these different kinds of assessments – How do they compare to one another? Which is the most/least useful and why? What kinds of knowledge or skills are you assessing when you use these different types of assessments?
- What forms of support do you get in producing learning activities and assessments for the subjects that you teach? What examples/guidance/support do you receive from: the National Agency for Academic Assessment & Accreditation? Institutional or faculty sources? Other teachers/colleagues? How much is already prepared for you to use and how much do you prepare yourself? Do you make any changes to resources or assessments given to you to use – why/why not?
- In what ways does the multilingualism of your students influence the way that you teach? In what ways does your own multilingualism influence the ways that you teach?

A2.2.2 – Categorisation matrix of interview questions/topics:

Early version...

	Descriptive (‘Please describe...’ or ‘Tell me about...’)	Analytical (‘What do you feel/think/believe...’)
Experiences:	- Personal & professional history (incl. past training & work in field & in teaching) - Description of current position, relationships & responsibilities	- Interest in field - Interest in work at X institution - Role of higher education in Timor
Perceptions of challenges for students:	- Description of field, present & future - Description of most successful student - Description of most struggling student	- Types & availability of jobs for graduates - Need for degree in field - Role of theory - Role of practice/placement
Teaching Methods/ Strategies:	- Description of relationship w/ students	- How teach theory - How support in placements

Later version, used as 'checklist' of questions to take into interviews, in two parts...

1) 'Quick reference doc':

Interview Qs:

- Name, background (training & teaching), how come to teach at _____?
- What differences in communication skills of students between before and now?
- How would you describe your relationship with your Ss?
- Which subjects or topics do Ss find easy? Which difficult & why?
- Describe the communication skills of Ss who do well...
- Describe the communication skills of Ss who struggle...
- Biggest communication challenges facing Ss?
- From where do Ss learn to develop their academic & professional communication skills?
- How help Ss to improve communication skills?
 - o Describe typical lesson
 - o How explain a technical term?
 - o How explain expectations for an assignment?
 - o How give feedback? (ref. samples)
- What communication skills do Ss learn from:
 - o Estagio?
 - o KKL?
 - o Thesis?
- When Ss graduate, what do you hope they will do with their knowledge?
 - o What communication skills will Ss need to do this?
 - o What about in 5 years? 10 years?
- Hope/vision for higher education in this discipline in Timor for future?
- Questions for me?

A2.3 Tools for working with interpreters

A2.3.1 – Interpreter work contract agreement

Interpreter/Research Assistant Work Contract

Project title: *Localised Heteroglossic Higher Education:
Tracing the Multilingual Pedagogies of Timorese Tertiary Teachers*

Researcher: Trent Newman (Doctoral Student Researcher)

Contractor: _____ (Print Full Name)

In signing this contract I, the *Contractor*, understand and agree to the following conditions:

1. The position of language interpreter and research assistant will involve the following work:
 - live translating during focus group discussions and interviews from Tetum (or other Timorese languages) to English and from English to Tetum (or other Timorese languages);
 - assisting the *Researcher* to translate institutional documents, including curriculum and syllabus documents;
2. By mutual agreement between the *Contractor* and the *Researcher*, the position may also involve other work, such as:
 - transcribing audio recordings of interviews and focus groups;
 - field visits (with the *Researcher*) to Ermera, Hera, or other rural areas close to Dili to observe students conducting research under supervision;
 - assisting the *Researcher* to translate samples of student work, including parts of final year research theses;
 - assisting the *Researcher* to arrange meetings and interviews with lecturers, university administrators, and other relevant education officials.
 - other activities, as negotiated with the *Researcher*.
3. The position will include a minimum of 10 days paid work, where 1 day = 8 hours, at \$10 per day (\$1.25/hr). Work will usually be broken up into a few hours at a time (rather than full days), so that these 10 days/80 hours could be spread over the course of 4-6 weeks. Additional hours beyond the initial 80 may also be needed, and these will also be paid at a rate of \$1.25 per hour. At times when the work hours are 3 or more and extend over lunch or another meal time, the meal will be provided by the *Researcher*. If transport outside of Dili is required, this will be covered by the *Researcher*.
4. The position will also include some basic training and mentoring:

Including in interpreting and translation skills, qualitative methods in educational research, and research in multilingual teaching methods. Initial training (approximately 2 hours – including signing this contract, discussing the research objectives, clarifying important research terms, etc.) will be paid (included within the 80 hours).
5. Breach of Contract: If the *Contractor* is unable to attend a work activity that has been previously arranged, such as a meeting with the *Researcher* or an interview or focus group where the *Contractor* will be the interpreter, the *Contractor* must notify the *Researcher* **at least 24 hours before the work activity**. If the *Contractor* does not meet at the agreed time for planned work activities, or if they arrive later than the agreed time, or if they fail to meet the above conditions, it will be a breach of contract and appropriate pay will be deducted and/or the work contract will end.

I agree to the above conditions and accept this work contract for the position of language interpreter and research assistant for this research project. I acknowledge that I have also signed the Confidentiality Agreement and I have

been given a copy of the Ethics Protocol for this research project, as well as a copy of the University of Melbourne Code of Conduct for Research to keep.

_____	_____	_____
(Print Name)	(Signature)	(Date)

Researcher Witness to Contract Signing:

_____	_____	_____
(Print Name)	(Signature)	(Date)

The plan for this research project has been reviewed for its adherence to ethical guidelines and approved by the Research Ethics Committee (HREC#1543740.1) at the University of Melbourne. For questions regarding participant rights and ethical conduct of research, contact the Manager, Human Research Ethics, University of Melbourne, on ph: (+61) 3 8344 2073, or email: humanethics-enquiries@unimelb.edu.au.

A2.3.2 – Interpreter confidentiality agreement

Confidentiality Agreement

Project title: *Localised Heteroglossic Higher Education:
Tracing the Multilingual Pedagogies of Timorese Tertiary Teachers*

Researcher: Trent Newman (Doctoral Student Researcher)

I, _____, have been hired to act as a language interpreter and research assistant for this project. I declare that all information that comes into my possession in the course of this assignment will remain confidential. I will not share any information that I gain with anyone except for those involved in this project.

I agree to -

1. keep all the research information shared with me confidential by not discussing or sharing the research information in any form or format (e.g., disks, tapes, transcripts) with anyone other than the *Researcher*.
2. keep all research information in any form or format (e.g., disks, tapes, transcripts) secure while it is in my possession.
3. return all research information in any form or format (e.g., disks, tapes, transcripts) to the *Researcher* when I have completed the research tasks.
4. after consulting with the *Researcher*, erase or destroy all research information in any form or format regarding this research project that is not returnable to the *Researcher* (e.g., information stored on computer hard drive).

I acknowledge that -

5. I have received copies of the approved ethics protocol for this project, the University of Melbourne Code of Conduct for Research, and this Confidentiality Agreement to keep.

_____ (Print Name)	_____ (Signature)	_____ (Date)

Researcher

_____ (Print Name)	_____ (Signature)	_____ (Date)

The plan for this research project has been reviewed for its adherence to ethical guidelines and approved by the Research Ethics Committee (HREC#1543740.1) at the University of Melbourne. For questions regarding participant rights and ethical conduct of research, contact the Manager, Human Research Ethics, University of Melbourne, on ph: (+61) 3 8344 2073, or email: humanethics-enquiries@unimelb.edu.au.

A2.3.3 – List of potentially ambiguous terms for interpreter

<i>Word/Phrase</i>	<i>Tetun translation</i>	<i>Explanation</i>	<i>Example sentence</i>
academic writing	hakerek akademia	Writing that is connected to a particular academic task or research question and that conforms to conventions for that particular type of task or kind of research. Different academic tasks need different kinds of writing but, in general, academic writing is writing that is formal, structured, analytical, succinct, and supported by evidence or examples.	Oinsa ita boot hanorin estudante atu iha kapasidade ba <u>hakerek akademia</u> ? Hanesan tuir mae ne, oinsa hakerek tuir maneira nebee loos ba tugas oin iha atividade aprendizazen ka avaliasaun? (How do you teach students in such a way as to develop their <u>academic writing</u> skills? That is to say, how to write in the way that is correct according to the type of task in the learning or assessment activity?)
analytical language	lian/liafuan hudi analiza	Language that is used to compare and contrast different things or ideas and to identify and explain the differences and similarities or the relationships between them.	Bele foo ezemplu nebee ita boot dala ruma husu estudante uza lian hudi analiza? (Can you give an example of when you might ask your students to use analytical language?)
assessment task types	servisu/tugas oin ba avaliasaun	As well as exams, students are sometimes asked to write essays, do oral presentations, or complete small projects, either in class time or at home. When these exercises and activities are used for assessment, we say that they are different types of assessment tasks.	Bele dehan kona ba oinsa esplika ba estudante tugas oin mak ita boot uza ba avaliasaun? (Can you tell me about how you explain to students the different types of tasks that you use for assessment?)
communication challenge	desafiu ba komunikasaun	A communication challenge may be not understanding the teacher's instructions, or lacking confidence to speak in front of an audience, or not knowing how to write an assignment. Any difficulty with language or with listening, speaking, reading, and writing can be a communication challenge.	Bainhira ita boot nia estudante tama universidade, sira enfrenta desafio ba komunikasaun prinsipal saida? (What are the main communication challenges that your students face when they start at university?)
communication skills	kapasidade ba komunikasaun	The skills or talents needed or used for listening, speaking, reading, and writing for a particular situation can be called 'communication skills'.	Ho hanoin kona ba ita boot nia estudante ruma mak diak liu, oinsa deskreve ninia kapasidade ba komunikasaun? (Thinking of one of your best students, how would you describe their communication skills?)

communication strategies	estrategia ba komunikasaun	The conscious methods and unconscious habits that teachers and students use to make each other understand what they want to say or write can be called 'communication strategies'.	Oinsa deskreve estrategia komunikasaun mak ita boot uza hodi ajuda estudante sira kompriende loos saida mak ita boot dehan? (When you explain something to your students, how do you know whether they have understood you?)
critical thinking	hanoin hudi halo kritika	When students need to think about whether a text is a reliable source of information, whether an argument is logical and convincing, or whether they should believe something that they are told, the type of thinking that they use is called critical thinking.	Bele foo ezemplu bainhira ita boot nia estudante tenki uza hanoin hudi halo kritika? (Can you give an example of when your students need to use critical thinking?)
develop (skills)	ajuda atu iha (kapasidade)	Instead of thinking that skills are things that students either have or don't have, teachers understand that skills are things that students can develop with help (ajuda atu iha), little by little, over time.	Oinsa ita boot hanorin estudante <u>atu iha kapasidade</u> ba hakerek akademia? Hanesan tuir mae ne, oinsa hakerek tuir maneira nebee loos ba tugas oin iha atividade aprendizazen ka avaliasaun? (How do you teach students in such a way as <u>to develop</u> their academic writing <u>skills</u> ? That is to say, how to write in the way that is correct according to the type of task in the learning or assessment activity?)
extract and analyse information (from a book or article)	aponta informasaun (husi livru ka artigu)	When reading academic texts, students need to be able to analyse and extract key information, such as the main ideas or arguments, the evidence or examples used to support these ideas, and bibliographic information for referencing. This skill helps students to understand what they are reading and communicate that understanding using their own words (paraphrase).	Bele deskreve situasaun ruma bainhira estudante sira tenki aponta informasaun husi livru ka artigu? (Can you describe some situations when students need to analyse and extract information from a book or article?)
independent research	peskiza independenti /kaer rasik kuda talin	When students need to do research - especially primary research like collecting samples or conducting interviews - with only a little help and direction from a teacher, this is considered 'independent research'. Students often need to do independent research for their final thesis.	Hudi halo peskiza independenti ba teze, estudante presiza aprende saida? (What do students need to learn in order to do independent research for their final year thesis?)
pedagogy	pedagogia	The collection of deliberate methods and practices used to teach, based on particular beliefs or	Oinsa deskreve ita boot nia pedagogia?

		understandings about how students best learn.	(How would you describe your pedagogy?)
professional and academic field	jurusan	An area of study or research that connects to a particular kind of work. For example, the ‘field’ of engineering, or the ‘field’ of medicine.	Iha ita boot nia hanoin, dezafiu mak boot liu saida iha ita boot nia jurusan? (What do you think are the biggest challenges facing teachers in your field?)
referencing	aponta informasaun referensia	When students read and take notes from published books, journal articles, or websites in order to get ideas, information, or examples to use in their assignments, they often need to record and acknowledge the authors and publication information of these texts in their writing. Referencing is especially important for the final year thesis and writing based on independent research.	Bele deskreve tugas avaliasaun oin sira nebee mak estudante tenki aponta informasaun ba bibliografia? (Can you describe the kinds of assignments for which students must include referencing?)
research	peskiza	When students need to go to the library or to search online to find extra information about a topic (beyond what is given by the teacher in class or in hand-outs). Students sometimes also need to do research to find evidence or examples to support their points and arguments when writing assignments. Writing about the research also involves <i>referencing</i> .	Bele foo ezemplu ruma hanesan tugas nebee mak estudante tenki halo peskiza iha biblioteka ka internet? (Can you give some examples of tasks that require students to do research in the library or on the internet?)
role	knaar		
teaching method	métodu hanorin ba	A teacher may use a variety of different teaching methods for different learning activities or different kinds of learning goals. Lecturing, small group activities, and facilitated whole class discussion are examples of different common teaching methods.	Métodu ba hanorin saida ita boot uza hudi ajuda estudante sira kompriende lia fuan ka idea tekniku no difisil? (What teaching methods do you use to help your students to understand a difficult technical word or concept?)

A2.3.4 – Interpreter observations tool for focus groups

Observations from Focus Group Discussions ***Observasaun sira kona ba diskusaun ‘fokus group’ nian***

Interpreter:

Focus group:

1. Observations about the **group dynamic** – Observasaun kona ba **dinamika iha grupu**: (e.g., Do people seem comfortable to discuss? Why/why not, from your observations?):

2. Observations about **misunderstandings** – Observasaun kona ba **kompriensaun ne’ebe sala** (e.g. What questions, ideas, or words did lecturers seem to have difficulty to understand? What about the researcher (Trent) – what did he have trouble understanding? Why did these misunderstandings occur, in your opinion?):

3. Observations about the **impacts of misunderstandings** – Observasaun kona ba **impaktu husi kompriensaun ne’ebe sala**: (e.g., How did any misunderstandings affect the group discussion, in your view?)

4. Reflections on **your role** – Reflesaun kona ba **ita nia papel**: (e.g. How do you think your interpreting affected the discussion? If you sometimes decided to stay silent, why was that? What could you have done differently to help to eliminate misunderstanding?)

5. Any **other observations** about communication or translation challenges – **Observasaun seluk** kona ba dezafiu ba komunikasaun ka dezafiu ba tradusaun (e.g., Was there any interference in the discussion? What made things difficult or challenging, from your perspective?):

A2.4 Observation tool samples

A2.4.1 – Blank lesson observation template

[NB: The following two pages constitute the double-sided, single sheet observation tool used for this research]

Teacher:	Start time:	End time:
Subject:	No. Students:	Date:
Teacher's objectives for class:		
Teacher's reflections post-class:		

Language Key	
T	Tetum
B	Bahasa Indonesia
P	Portuguese
E	English
TB	Tetum (primary) mixed with Bahasa (secondary/occasional)
TPE	Tetum mixed with Portuguese & English
T(E)	Tetum mixed with only 1 or 2 repeated English words
G	Graphics/drawings
N	Numbers or math symbols
NV	Non-verbal

NOTES:

Communicators	
T/A	Teacher to all students
T/IS	Teacher to individual student
T/R	Teacher to researcher
S/T	Student(s) to teacher
T/S/T	Back and forth Q&A or discussion

Communication event	0-5 mins	5-10 mins	10-15 mins	15-20 mins	20-25 mins	25-30 mins	30-35 mins	35-40 mins	40-45 mins	45-50 mins	50-55 mins	55-60 mins
Signposting lesson progress												
Lecturing on a topic												
Reading from PPT, handout, or text												
Translating from PPT, handout, or text												
Explaining vocabulary or terminology												
Explaining a task												
Giving immediate instructions												
Writing on the board												
Clarifying expectations												
Eliciting questions or interaction												
Asking a question												
Answering a question												
Giving feedback												
Checking understanding												
Managing behaviour or attention												

A2.4.2 – Completed observation tool for Prof. M's 'Irrigation Science' class

Page 1:

Date: 21/08/15

Teacher: [REDACTED]	Start time: 2:11 (Schol: 2pm)	End time: 3:51 (Schol: 4pm)
Subject: IRRIGATION SCIENCE	No. Students: 13 (+5 who left)	Week: 3
Teacher's objectives for class: Depois atende sala 'necesidade bee ba ai-horis', espera estud. bele esplika: - necessidade bee ba ai-horis oi-oin; - transpirasaun, evaporasaun no evapo transpirasaun; - Fator sira fo influensia ba necessidade bee; - Estimasaun necessidade bee ba ai-horis oi-oin bazeia ba ai-horis Teacher's reflections post-class: referencia indicao on		

Language Key	
T	Tetum
B	Bahasa Indonesia
P	Portuguese
E	English
TB	Tetum mixed with Bahasa
TP	Tetum mixed with Portuguese
TE	Tetum mixed with English
N	Numbers & symbols (Math) no incl. 'H ₂ O'
P	Picture/graphic

NV. = Nonverbal.

Communicators	
T/AS	Teacher to all students
T/IS	Teacher to individual student
S/S	Student to student
Vs/T	Various Ss to teacher

R: Researcher

Communication event	0-5 mins	5-10 mins	10-15 mins	15-20 mins	20-25 mins	25-30 mins	30-35 mins	35-40 mins	40-45 mins	45-50 mins	50-55 mins	55-60 mins	60-65 mins	65-70 mins
Signposting lesson progress			T/AS T.											
Reading from PPT, handout, or text <i>referring to</i>			T/AS T.		T/AS T.	T/AS TE		T/AS TE	T/AS TE	T/AS T.	T/AS T.	T/AS TE	T/AS T.	T/AS T.
Translating from PPT, handout, or text						T/AS T.		T/AS T.	T/AS T.			T/AS T.	T/AS T.	
Explaining vocabulary or terminology <i>or concept.</i>	T/AS T.	T/AS T.	T/AS T.	T/AS TG.	T/AS TB	T/AS TB	T/AS T.	T/AS T.	T/AS T.	T/AS T.	T/AS T.	T/AS TB	T/AS T.	T/AS T.
Explaining a task														
Giving immediate instructions														
Writing on the board	T/AS TN	T/AS TNG		T/AS TNG.	T/AS N		T/AS G.	T/AS N				T/AS TN		T/AS TG.
Clarifying expectations	T/AS T.		T/AS T.					T/AS T.				T/AS TE.		
Eliciting questions or interaction				T/AS T.	T/AS TB		T/AS T.	T/AS T.		T/AS T.	T/AS T.	T/AS T.	T/AS T.	
Asking or (Ss) answering a question				T/AS T.	VS/T B.		VS/T T.			VS/T T.	VS/T T.	T/AS T.	VS/T T.	T/AS T.
Giving feedback														
Checking understanding				T/AS T.			T/AS T.	T/AS TE				T/AS T.		
Managing behaviour or attention														

A2.4.3 – Completed observation tool for Prof. C's 'Front Office' class

Page 1:

Teacher: [redacted]	Start time: 4pm (I arrive @ 4pm)	End time: 5.08 pm.
Subject: Front office	No. Students: 10 (80% 20%) ↳ But 33 enrolled.	Date: Weds. 8th Feb. 2017.
Teacher's objectives for class: - Procedures for check-in & check-out. - Overbooking & how to handle.		
Teacher's reflections post-class: - Only 2 or 3 'active' students. - Next week will be group work on 'guest cycle' - will force every ~~guest~~ student to ask Qs.		

Language Key	
T	Tetum
B	Bahasa Indonesia
P	Portuguese
E	English
TB	Tetum (primary) mixed with Bahasa (secondary/occasional)
TPE	Tetum mixed with Portuguese & English
T(E)	Tetum mixed with only 1 or 2 repeated English words
G	Graphics/drawings
N	Numbers or math symbols
NV	Non-verbal

Communicators	
T/A	Teacher to all students
T/IS	Teacher to individual student
T/R	Teacher to researcher
S/T	Various students to teacher
S/S	Student to student
T/S/T	Back & forth Q&A or discussion

NOTES: English used:

"Group check-in"
"At-Registration"
"Greet the guest"
"They move to another hotel."
"Check-out procedure"
"Your check-out time is 12 o'clock"

"over-booking"
"Master folio"
"incidental folio"

Eliciting Qs:

"Balu pergunta?"
"Kumpriende ka lae?"

Bahasa used:

"Selamat Datang", "Selamat Malam"
ways of 'greet the guest' in their language.

Times for check-out.

~12:40 on rec ~ 'kerja sama' (?)
then translates immediately to Tetun & English.
"Bintang empat, Bintang lima" - four star, five star.
~60 min mark (sheet, not recording).

"Tamba sa 'over-booking' mak akontese?"

@ 36 min.

[redacted] & Ss

Communication event	0-5 mins	5-10 mins	10-15 mins	15-20 mins	20-25 mins	25-30 mins	30-35 mins	35-40 mins	40-45 mins	45-50 mins	50-55 mins	55-60 mins	60-65 mins	65-70 mins
1 Signposting lesson progress	T/A									T/A T(E)	T/A T(E)			
2 Lecturing on a topic	T/A T(E)	T/A T(E)	T/A T(E)	T/A T(E)	T/A T(E)		T/A T(E)	T/A T(E)	T/A T(E)	T/A T(E)		T/A T	T/A T(E)	
3 Reading from PPT, handout, or text										T/A E				
4 Translating from PPT, handout, or text			T/A T							T/A T				
5 Explaining vocabulary or terminology	T/A T(E)	T/A T(E)	T/A T(E)	T/A T(E)		T/A T(E)	T/A T(E)	T/A T(E)		T/A T(E)				
6 Explaining a task														T/A T
7 Giving immediate instructions														
8 Writing on the board	T/A E	T/A E	T/A E(N)	T/A E(N)		T/A E	T/A E	T/A E	T/A E	T/A E	T/A E	T/A E		
9 Clarifying expectations														
10 Eliciting questions or interaction		T/A T	T/A T	T/A T	T/A T						T/IS TE		T/A T	
11 Asking a question			IS/T T(E)	IS/T T(E)					T/A T	T/A T(E)				IS/T T
12 Answering a question				T/IS T(E)	T/IS T(E)				S/T T	IS/T E	IS/T T			S/T T
13 Giving feedback														
14 Checking understanding				T/IS T	T/A T				T/A T		T/A T			
15 Managing behaviour or attention														

Start recording

~19 mins

~24 mins

~28

~35:20

~47:30

⊗ e.g. of [] speaking full sentence in English.

⊗ ~32 min. walk-in "wandering guest" as answer from student.

⊗ e.g. of. IS giving inadequate answer for how to handle over

A2.4.4 – Completed observation tool for Prof. D's 'Community-based tourism' class

Page 1:

Teacher: [REDACTED]	Start time: 2:24 (Sched: 2pm)	End time: (Sched: 4pm)
Subject: TURISMO COMUNITARIO.	No. Students: 35 (16F, 19M)	Date: 16/09/15
Teacher's objectives for class:		
Teacher's reflections post-class:		

Language Key	
T	Tetum
B	Bahasa Indonesia
P	Portuguese
E	English
TB	Tetum (primary) mixed with Bahasa (secondary/occasional)
TPE	Tetum mixed with Portuguese & English
T(E)	Tetum mixed with only 1 or 2 repeated English words
G	Graphics/drawings
N	Numbers or math symbols
NV	Non-verbal

NOTES:

Communicators	
T/A	Teacher to all students
T/IS	Teacher to individual student
T/R	Teacher to researcher
S/T	Various students to teacher
S/S	Student to student
T/S/T	Back & forth Q&A or discussion

START
~ 2:24pm 2:30 2:35 2:40 2:45 2:50 2:55 3:00pm 3:05 3:10 3:15 3:20 3:25 3:30

Communication event	0-5 mins	5-10 mins	10-15 mins	15-20 mins	20-25 mins	25-30 mins	30-35 mins	35-40 mins	40-45 mins	45-50 mins	50-55 mins	55-60 mins	60-65 mins	65-70 mins
Signposting lesson progress	T/A T			T/A T		T/A P?								
Lecturing on a topic (speaking to projected images)		T/A T	T/A T	T/A T	T/A T	T/A T	T/A T	T/A T	T/A T	T/A T	T/A T	T/A T	T/A T	
Reading from PPT, handout, or text														
Translating from PPT, handout, or text					T/A T									
Explaining vocabulary or terminology *				T/A T	T/A T	T/A T	T/A T		T/A T	T/A T			T/A T	
Explaining a task														
Giving immediate instructions												T/A T		
Writing on the board				T/A T			T/A T	T/A T?	T/A P.				T/A T	
Clarifying expectations	T/A T											T/A T		
Eliciting questions or interaction							T/A T	T/A T			T/A T		T/A T	T/A T
Asking a question	T/A T							IS/T T					IS/T T	IS/T T
Answering a question	S/T T							T/IS T	T/IS T			S/T T	T/IS T	T/IS T
Giving feedback														
Checking understanding								T/A T			T/IS T			
Managing behaviour or attention														

* Whole class is on topic of "what is ecotourism" & what is it's relationship w/ sustainable dev. - therefore "explaining vocab" is happening throughout. Here I coded for when there is clear focus on explaining other vocab; eg. "respect" in context of topic.

A2.4.5 – Completed observation tool for agriculture student oral defence of undergraduate thesis

NB: Only the second page of this completed observation tool is shown since the first page includes a large amount of text that identifies either the student or the examining lecturers.

Start: 8:39am 8:51 8:56 9:00 9:04 9:10 9:14 9:20 9:25 9:30 9:35 9:40 9:45

Communication event	0-5 mins	5-10 mins	10-15 mins	15-20 mins	20-25 mins	25-30 mins	30-35 mins	35-40 mins	40-45 mins	45-50 mins	50-55 mins	55-60 mins	60-65 mins	65-70 mins
Signposting ^{seminar} lesson progress (Mostly Marcal)	T/S/A. T.		T/A T				T/A. T.					T/A.		
Reading from PPT, handout, or text	S/A. B.	S/A B.						W/A					S/T B.	
Translating from PPT, handout, or text								T/S T	T/S T.			T/S T		
Explaining vocabulary or terminology														
Explaining a task	T/A T.										T/S T		T/S T	T/S T.
Giving immediate instructions					T/S T		T/S T.							
Writing on the board					S/A. G.		S/A. N							
Clarifying expectations	T/A T.										T/S T.		T/S T.	T/S T
Eliciting questions or interaction														
Asking or (Ss) answering a question			T/S/A T/T	T/S/T T.	T/S/T T.	T/S/T T.	T/S/T T	T/S T	T/S/T T	T/S/T T	T/S/T T	T/S/T T	T/S/T T	T/S/T T.
Giving feedback			T/S T	T/S T	T/S T	T/S T	T/S T	T/S T	T/S T	T/S T	T/S T	T/S T	T/S T.	T/S T
Checking understanding														
Managing behaviour or attention	T/S T.		T/S T		T/S T									

↑ ↑ ↑
* Speak up! *

Appendix 3 (A3): Data excerpts from agriculture lecturers

A3.1 Excerpts from a focus group discussion with NU agriculture lecturers (NU-FG1)

Date: 24th July 2015

Participants:

Z	Prof. Z, Animal Science lecturer
K	Prof. K, Agricultural Extension lecturer
Y	Prof. Y, Animal Science lecturer
G	Prof. G, Agriculture lecturer
Br	Prof. Br, Agriculture lecturer
Ap	Prof. Ap, Animal Science lecturer
T	Trent Newman, focus group facilitator/researcher

A3.1.1 – ‘They don’t really have scientific Indonesian.’

Excerpt begins at [00:09:28], early in the focus group discussion and following initial introductions and set-up. The bulk of the excerpt is Prof. Br (Br) responding to an initial prompt from me (T) to ‘share some stories’ about students who they consider to be successful with their communication skills. I also include the initial discussion about how ‘communication skills’ is defined [00:09:33-00:10:15] as evidence of how this was negotiated as part of discussions with participants. Cited data includes:

- Prof. Br’s contrasting of lecturers’ Indonesian-dominant repertoires with students coming from senior high school (SMA) with limited Indonesian [00:11:00], specifically saying ‘they don’t really have scientific Indonesian’ [00:12:40]
- Prof. Br’s struggle to find the word for ‘scientific’ [00:12:35]
- Prof. Br’s statement that ‘if we explain to them in Indonesian, they don’t understand, so we try to use Portuguese but even Portuguese they don’t understand well’ [00:13:00]

Speaker	Original	Translation	Time stamp
T	I'd like you to start maybe to share some stories about the most impressive,		00:09:28

	successful students you have had. So if you can think about - from this year or in your career - one or two students that have really impressed you...what/ oh, and also the type of student you most enjoy teaching and supervising, what makes them successful and can you describe their communication skills? So maybe can we go this way...		
Z	Ah what communication skills do you mean? Communi/ Between ah...entre ami ho //estudantes?//	Uh, what communication skills do you mean? Between, uh, between us and //students?//	00:09:33
Br	//Dosenti ho estudantes//	//Instructors and students.//	
Y	//Estudantes.// Ita/ eh..Estudante uza para bee...	//Students.// We-/ Uh, students use for um...	
T	Well, it's...it's up to you how you define the communication skills//		
Y	//Ahh.//		
Br	//Primeiru-/ // Saida?	//Firstly-/ // What?	
T	It can be, for example, how they communicate with you...		
Z	Abilidade komunikasaun.	Communication ability.	
Y+Br	Mmm, mmm.		
T	Maibee mos bele inkluye...um, //konfiansa ho koalia//	But it can also include...um, //confidence with speaking,//	
Y+Br	//[murmuring]//		
T	//um...en grupo.[Sp.]// Um...	//um...in a group. [Sp.]// Um...	
Z	Mmm.		
T	Or even to come and ask you questions. Um...writing, of course. So, it's how you define the communication skills. How you see them. So can we go this way maybe this time? Around?		00:10:08
Y	Mmm. [Affirming]		
Br	Abilidade komunikasaun ga? Primeiru abilidade...-/ Bele lee fali ohin primeiru nee?	Communication ability, eh? First, ability...-/ Can you read the first thing again?	
Y	Primero saida?	First what?	
T	Ahhm...kom-/ //	Umm...comm-/ //	
Z	//Uh, abilidade...//	//Uh, ability...//	
T	//komunikasaun// saida maka estudante sira...	//communication// that the students...	

	halo sira mos para ami lakohi para sira bele...ami koalia, koalia, koalia maibee sira la kompriende.	us, we don't want them to...-/ We talk, talk, talk but they don't understand.	
Br	Umm ... ba hau, hau nee ... hau nia esperiensa ... hau buka atu oinsaa mak sira bele kompriende siensia ida nee.	Um, for me, my experience, I look for ways that they can understand the science.	00:13:24
	<i>[B continues discussing her experience and strategy for helping Ss to understand the science...discusses Ss' challenges in doing practical work/experiments]</i>		00:15:15

A3.1.2 – ‘Tetun’s limitations.’

Excerpt begins at [00:20:27]. Prof. Z (Z) is taking his turn in the group rotation to respond to the same prompt as given in the previous excerpt (3.1.1). Cited data include:

- Prof. Z comparing lecturers and students, saying all lecturers’ undergraduate backgrounds are Indonesian and so ‘we understand the Indonesian language really well, Portuguese, more or less’ [00:21:05];
- Prof. Z saying: ‘We don’t really have discussions [...] because it’s all in Indonesian. Communication [in the classroom] – it’s not very interactive.’ [00:22:25];
- Prof. Z saying: ‘It should be that we are already teaching in Tetun’ [00:25:50];
- Prof. Z and Prof. Y commenting on Tetun’s ‘limitations’ in scientific terminology [00:25:55];
- Prof. Y saying: ‘when I start to speak in Tetun, it ends up coming out in Indonesian!’ [00:26:10];
- Prof. Br. saying: ‘Tetun itself isn’t developed yet’ [00:26:55].

Speaker	Original	Translation	Time stamp
Z	Komunikasaun...uh, iha problema ruma. Tanba hau nia kolega nain rua dehan tiha ona. Estandante iha nivel komunikasaun oin seluk. Sira mai ho lingua Tetun mak domina, Indonesia uitoan-uitoan, Ingles, karik uitoan, Portuges [...?].	Communication...uh, there are some problems. Because my two colleagues [referring to Prof. Br and Prof. Y who have already spoken] have said it already. The students are at a different level of communication. They come with Tetun as their dominant language, a little Indonesian, English, maybe a little, Portuguese [...?]	00:20:27
Z	I depois ami, ho konyesimentu, la hanesan. Hotu-hotu/ Profesor hotu-hotu...ah...hotu ninia undergraduate Indonesian background. Ami	And, then us, with [our] knowledge, it’s not the same. All lecturers, all their undergraduate backgrounds are Indonesian. We understand the	00:21:05

	kompriende lingua Indonesia kapas loos! Portuges: maizoumenus.	Indonesian language really well! Portuguese, more or less.	
Y	[laughs]		00:21:17
Z	Ingles: maizoumenus. Uitoan. Tetun...	English: more or less. A little. Tetun...	
Y	Tetun diak.	Tetun's good.	
Z	Depois, ami nia estudante sira mai iha klase, ami uza (..) normal lecture. Laduun halo diskusaun, tanba, kan ita koalia tanba ...eh.... Nee hau nia/ hau nia esperiensa. Hau nia kolega sira hau la dun hatene, Halo...uh...normal lecture i hau hotu nia komunikasaun content powerpoint nee ho lingua Indonesia. Yeah.	Then, our students come to class [and] we have normal lectures. We don't really have discussions, because, we speak because...uh, this is my experience. I don't really know about my colleagues. I run 'normal lectures' and all of the communication, the powerpoint content, is in Indonesian. Yeah.	00:21:53
Y	Seidauk tradus ba //Tetun.//	It's not yet translated to Tetun.	
Z	//Seidauk.// Sei lingua Indonesia hela. Maibee hau, de vez em quando, tau komunika ho lingua //Ingles uitoan//	Not yet. It's still in Indonesian. But I sometimes communicate with //some English, //	
Y	//Tetun.//	//Tetun.//	00:22:02
Z	//Portuges uitoan//	//Some Portuguese.//	
Y	//Tetun.//	//Tetun.//	00:22:04
Z	(...)I se-/ seidauk mak hau haree estudante sira be...ah...semester uluk liu ba diak. Maibee sira agora mai daudauk bee semester un-/ sem- /...ah...firs-/ first year. Sira araska ona. Tanba nebaa, lingua Indonesia hotu. /Komunikasaun//	And not yet, what I have seen is that the students are...um...uh-/ They were better in the earlier semesters, in the past. But now they're coming into first year, [and] they are already struggling. Because it's all in Indonesian. //Communication-//	
Y	//[laughs]//		00:22:24
Z	La iha iha first year ona. Laduun interaktif.	It isn't there in the first year now. It's not very interactive.	
Y	Sin.	Yes.	00:22:28
Z	Maibee hau la bele halo buat ida. Hau hotu esplika ho Portuges, hau sente todan. Powerpoint hotu nebaa -/ Hau mos halo -/ De vez em quando hau nee hau tau Tetun uitoan. Nee komunikasaun. Nee komunikasaun iha klase mak nee.	But I can't do anything. [If] I explain everything with Portuguese, I feel it's a burden. All the Powerpoint there -/ I also do -/ Sometimes I try a little Tetun. This is [the] communication. This is what communication in class is like.	
T		Mmm. [encouraging]	00:22:42
Z	I depois hau esplika, sira bele husu perguntas mai hau ho ... Tetun. Powerpoint ho lingua Indonesia, maibee sira husu ho Tetun. Hau esplika fali ho Tetun, yeah.	And then I explain. They can ask me questions in ... Tetun. The Powerpoints are in Indonesian, but they ask in Tetun. I explain again in Tetun, yeah.	00:22:56

Z	Unik uitoan, ami nia //kontestu agora//	It's a bit unique, our //context right now.//	
Others	//[laughter]//	//[laughter]//	
Z	Unik tanba bee -/ Hau sente moe fali. Hau uza lingua Indonesia maibee -/ [pause, 3 seconds] Halo nusaa mak la obriga? Yah. Ida nee iha klase laran nian.	Unique because, um -/ I feel ashamed. I use Indonesian but -/ [pause, 3 seconds] What else can I do? Yeah. This is [what happens] in the classroom.	00:23:13
Z	I, iha klase laran, estudante sira sente hela iha problema. Agora hanesan loro-loron ami hasoru malu estudante sira, komunikasaun-	And, in the classroom, the students feel like there's a problem. Now, like every day [when] we meet with the students, the communication-	
Y	Tetun.	Tetun.	00:23:21
Z	-mos hanesan hotu. Sira mai ho sira nia, uh, paper. Iha lingua Indonesia. Ninia skripsi. La PKL ... uh ... <i>Professional</i> / uh, laporan PKL, laporan KKN - lingua Indonesia. Ami koreksi Indonesia ho Tetun kahur malu.	-it is all the same. They come with their, uh, paper[En.]. In Indonesian. Their thesis. Or [their] [work placement report], [or] community service report - [in] Indonesian. We make corrections mixing Indonesian and Tetun with each other.	00:23:43
Others	//[laughter]//		
Z	This is the problem. I depois, hanesan estudante sira, kuando mai, ami nia [levre?] ida mak nee. Estudante sira mai, komunika ho ami, halo uh bee.../ Uh, mentoring ne'e. Sira la iha preparasaun, sira fo ba, mestre mak haree...	This is the problem[En.]. And, then, as the students, when they come, our [level?] is this. The students come, communicate with us, do um, .../ Uh, this mentoring. [En.] They don't do preparation. They give [it] to the teacher to look at...	00:24:00
Y	Editor.	Editor.	00:24:06
Z	E: Editor. So, ami edit. [pause, 3 seconds] De vez em quando ami halo husi first space too hotu. Sira nee komunika-/ Sira ba fali mai sei laduun kompriende tanba lingua sira laduun domina.	Editor. So, we edit. [pause, 3 seconds] Sometimes we do it from the first space until the very end. They communicate-/ They go and they come back again, they don't really understand because they don't really have a command of the language.	00:24:21
Y	Mmm. [affirming]		
Z	Sira la iha komunikasaun hanesan ohin hau nia kolega nain rua dehan, internet seidauk domina, mezmua iha.../ Ami introdus ona maibee limitasaun.	They don't have communication, as my two colleagues said earlier – they haven't yet mastered the internet, even though there is...-/ We've already introduced [it to them] but there are limitations.	00:24:32
Others	[murmuring]		

Z	Ho otas sira nee, sira hakarak ho test mai ho lingua Indonesia. Nee meius komunikasaun agora maka nee. Depois, Profesor Trent ga haree loro-loron sira tama mai la hanesan Australia mai ida rua nee, mai barak kedas!	Being the age that they are, they want to take their tests in Indonesian. This is what the means of communication are now. Then, Professor Trent, [you have] seen every day: they come in here, not like in Australia [where] one or two come, here many come at once!	00:24:38
T	Mmm. [affirming]		
Y	[laughs]		00:24:46
Z	Hanesan mos Australia karik? Relasaun estudante ho profesor besik loos ida nee.	It's also like Australia, perhaps? This relationship between student and teacher that's quite close.	
Y	Yes	Yes.	
Z	Friendly. Uh...koalia ho sira, ami...ah...la senti [dobre?] - komunikasaun besik loos. Eh, la iha problema	Friendly. [En.] Speaking with them, we don't feel [dobre?] – the communication is quite close. There isn't a problem.	00:25:03
Z	Maibee komunikasaun interna sobre transfer konhesimentu nee-nee? Transfer knowledge? Okay deit. Ami iha problema ami nia estudante sira ho konhesimentu lingua nebee uluk ain ona. Ami mos seidauk foti desizaun katak hanorin Portuges ou hanorin Tetun – ami sei kala hanorin Indonesia. Lae, profesor balu hanorin ona en...uh.../ Kolega balu hanorin ona ho Portuges i Tetun. Hau la hatene.	But internal communication about the transfer of knowledge? Transfer knowledge? Just okay. We have a problem [with] our students and the language needed [to communicate] knowledge. We also haven't yet made the decision to teach in Portuguese or to teach in Tetun – we may [keep?] teaching in Indonesian. No, some professors already teach in, uh.../ Some colleagues already teach with Portuguese and Tetun. I don't know.	
Y	Mmm. [affirming]		
Z	Mais hau nian sei Indonesia hela. Tinan nee tenki tama Tetun. Hau lo-//Hau bus-///	But mine is still in Indonesian. This year we have to introduce Tetun. //I do-//	00:25:31
Br	//Nee ga?//	//Really?//	
Z	Uh-huh.		
Y	Tenki hotu-hotu.	Everyone has to.	
Z	Ah. The/ Problema //mak nee:// ami atu uza Tetun iha ami nia...	Ah. The problem //is this:// for us to use Tetun in our...	00:25:37
Y	//Lo-loos Tetun.//	//It should be Tetun.//	
Z	Ita halo lo-loos	We should be doing it.	00:25:42
Y	Mais lo-loos nee ita hanorin Tetun ona, mais, bee...	But, it should be that we are already teaching in Tetun, but, um...	
Z	Design nee ita halo ho Tetun deit. Ami study book halo Tetun ona. Cuman	We have done the design using only Tetun. We've already made the study book in Tetun. It's just that it is	00:25:49

	komplikadu tanba Tetun ho ninia limitasaun.	complicated because of the limitations of Tetun.	
Y	Limitasaun.	Limitations.	00:25:54
Ap	Grammar.	Grammar.	
Y	Mmm. [affirming]		
Br	[laughs]		
Z	Uh, vocabulary.		00:25:55
Y	Vocabulary.		
Br	Vocabulary!		
Z	Limit loos.	It's really limited.	
Br	Mais la buat ida ami foti [Tetun-Portugues?] tama, buat ida... Nee hau-/ hau nia esperiensa.	But it's not a problem – we use [Tetun-Portuguese? <i>[or]</i> Tet-/ Portuguese?]. This is my experience.	00:26:00
Y	Yeah, mix.		
Br	Mix. Tanba istilah balun ho ...[rest inaud. - Z speaking over]	Mix. Because some terms... [rest inaud. – Z speaking over]	00:26:04
Z	Nee, Profesor Trent, hau nia esperiensa mak nee...parese bele tau tan.	This, Professor Trent, my experience is this. Perhaps another can have a turn.	
Y	[To her colleague] Hau, kuandu komesa koalia iha Tetun, sai iha Bahasa fali ona! [laughs]	[To her colleague] Me, when I start to speak in Tetun, it ends up coming out in Indonesian! [laughs]	00:26:10
T	Maibee tanba saa, iha Tetun... Tanba saa hanesan problema? Why/ Why is it a problem if you mix? Because Tetun uses already many Portuguese words and Indonesian words?	But why, in Tetun, why is it a problem? Why is it a problem if you mix? Because Tetun uses already many Portuguese words and Indonesian words?	
Z	Mmm. [affirming]		
T	So why can't you just use Tetun with //Portuguese and Indonesian words?//		00:26:23
Y	//Because...// Science //terminologies are...//		
Z	//We...// Ninia problema nee tanba ami seidaok toman deit. Yeah.	We.../ It's a problem because we're just not accustomed to it yet. Yeah.	00:26:28
Br	Buat ida, bee ... naran saida? Buat bee //terminologia//.	One thing is, um ... what's it called? The thing is //terminology//	
Y	//Terminologia.//	//Terminology.//	
Br	Terminologia be...naran saida?	Terminology that is...what is it?	
Others	Siensia	Scientific[7e.]	
Br	//Ba Tetun nee-nee...// susar...	//In Tetun it's...// difficult...	
Y	//....siensia nian...susar.//	//scientific [terms]...are difficult.//	

Z	Technical. //Technical term.//	Technical. //Technical term.//	
Br	Ita tenki buka fali buka Portuges,	We have to search [for them in other places], search [in] Portuguese,	
Ap	Indonesian.	Indonesian.	
Br	O, ita tau Indonesia, saida nusaa saida Portuges ou Ingles. Para bele/ sira bele/ Naran saida? Sei ita halo livru nee ho buat ruma ho Tetun, ah nee ita tenki tau iha nebaa tanba sira...Tetun rasik deit mos //seidauk dezenvelope//	Or, we put Indonesian [words in], um, or Portuguese or English. So that /they can/ what's it called? If we make a book of something in Tetun, ah, we have to put [words from other languages] in there because they... Tetun itself isn't //isn't developed yet//	00:26:55
Y	//La iha//	//Doesn't have [the words?]/	
Br	[Inaudible]...lao ho diak. Ida nee mak problema.	[Inaudible]...happen well. This is the problem.	

A3.1.3 – ‘Not to transfer language, but to transfer the science...’

Excerpt begins at [00:27:33]. Prof. K (K) is taking his turn in the group rotation to respond to the initial prompt (see A3.1.1), however, by this time, the discussion has come to focus on the communication challenges of teaching science across multiple languages.

Speaker	Original	Translation	Time stamp
K	Hau atu koalia lai kona ba dezafiu. Sin, ah, estudante sira ba ikus mai nee-nee, sira nia konhesimentu kona ba lian nee-nee la iha ida dehan...	I will talk first about challenges. Yes, ah, the most recent students, their knowledge about language isn't what you would call...	[00:27:33]
Br	Perfeitu.	Perfect.	
K	Ita dehan 'perfeitu' nee la iha! Nee inkl-/ Ida nee laos dezafiu deit sira nian, mais dezafiu mos ba ema ida nebee: transfere sa siensia nebee mak iha nee-nee.	We wouldn't ever say 'perfect' [about a student's language ability]! This incl-/ This isn't just their challenge, but it's also a challenge for those of us who transfer [teach] the science that they have.	[00:27:45]
K	Tanba saida hau dehan dezafiu? Maibee hau hakarak dehan deit katak hau nia objetivu laos hau atu transfere lingua, maibee hau atu transfere saida mak hau iha nee-nee atu foo ba nia para nia //kompriende.//	Why do I say [it's a] challenge? But I just want to say that my objective isn't for me to transfer language, but for me to transfer that [knowledge] which I have, to give [it] to them so that they //understand.//	[00:28:08]
Z	//Science.//		
K	Siensia nebee mak hau iha nee-nee, hau foo ba nia en prinsipiu para nia kompriende. Entaun saida mak hau halo? Iha 2010 hau fila husi Portugal mai Departamentu Saude Animal. Hau	The science that I have, I give to them in principle so that they understand. So, what have I done? In 2010 [when] I came back from Portugal, I came to the Animal Health Department. I	[00:28:40]

	hanorin Penyuluhan Pertanian iha nebaa. Hau koko iha nebaa, desde nee-nee hau halo ho lian tolu: Tetun, Portuges, ho Bahasa Indonesia.	taught Agricultural Extension there. I tried it there. Since then, I have taught with three languages: Tetun, Portuguese and Indonesian.	

A3.1.4 – ‘They all choose Indonesian, but their Indonesian is really messy.’

Excerpt begins at [00:29:03], shortly after the previous excerpt. Prompted by Prof. K’s comment at [00:28:40] (see end previous excerpt, A3.1.3), the group has been discussing the use of three languages to teach: Tetun, Portuguese and Indonesian. Prof. Y (Y) asks Prof. K (K) which language he uses most.

Speaker	Original	Translation	Time stamp
Y	Barak liu mak saida?	Which one is [used] the most?	
K	Bahasa Indonesia hotu!	It’s all Indonesian!	[00:29:05]
Y	Ah.		
K	Tan hau hakarak hatene...Hau hakarak hatene dehan saida mak sira kompriende liu? Ho perguntas nebee mak hau foo nee-nee, atu espresa sira nia konhesimentu nee-nee, hau hakarak haree. Mais dezafiu saida mak akontese?	Because I want to know, I want to know which one they understand best? With the questions that I give [them], in order to express their knowledge, I want to see. But what challenges occur?	
Y	Bahasa.	Indonesian. [<i>Ind.</i>]	
K	Uza Bahasa //Indonesia.//	Using //Indonesian.//[<i>Ind.</i>]	
Z	//Indonesian.//	//Indonesian.//[<i>En</i>]	[00:29:20]
K	Mais Bahasa Indonesia mos hanesan nee!	But Indonesian is also like this!	
Z	Kahur.	Mixed.	
K	Sabraut loos.	Really messy.	[00:29:23]
Y	[<i>laughs</i>]		
Br	Loos.	It’s true.	
K	Mmm. Sira hotu-hotu hili Bahasa Indonesia, mais Bahasa Indonesia mos sabraut loos. Sira nain rua hili Portuges, Portuges mos, hau rasik mos la kompriende.	Mmm. They all choose Indonesian, but also their Indonesian is so messy. [Only] two of them have chosen Portuguese, [and that] Portuguese, too – even I myself could not understand it.	[00:29:34]
Y	[<i>laughs</i>]		
K	Mm-hmm. Sira...eh...presente...ah...futura, pasado sira - tau kahur deit. Eh? Nee/ Nee-nee/ Nee dezafiu. Dezafiu. Maibee, dala ida tan, objetivu profesor sira nee-nee laos ho ida nee, bee, atu	Mm-hmm. They, uh, just mix present, future, past [tenses]. This, this is the challenge. The challenge. But, once again, the objective of the professors is not this, to um, challenge them further – no, but to	[00:29:44] [00:29:57]

	dezafia fali sira - lae, maibee buka meius hanusaa, uh, sira kompriende saida mak ita hanorin - mestre sira hanorin.	find a way that they [can] understand what we teach, what the teachers teach.	

A3.1.5 – ‘Even messy language is no problem.’/‘It’s the quality of my explanation.’

Excerpt begins at [00:30:43]. Prof. K (K) is continuing (following from last excerpt, A3.1.4) to explain the difference he sees between teaching students language and teaching them science. He has just explained that he gives students materials to read at home but they don’t read them.

Speaker	Original	Translation	Time stamp
Z	Nee susar nafatin.	This is an ongoing difficulty.	[00:30:45]
K	Susar nafatin deit. Susar nafatin deit. I depois ida fali: ...eh, agora...[apor pasa?] governu nian, tenki uza lian hanesan nee/ hanesan nee, mais, [pause, 2 seconds] hau mos senti moe. Hau dehan, hau mai husi Portugal, hau tenki...eh...hanorin fali materia hau nian nee-nee...eh...livru nee-nee mayoria husi Indonesia nee...Mmm. Indonesia nian mak iha, entaun meuis saida mak hau uza, materia nee meizmu que ho lian hanesan nee, mais jeitu hau nia esplika. Fila fali ba hau nia objetivu ohin nee-nee, hau hakarak sira kompriende siensia laos kompriende lian. Lae bee, lingua saida mais sabraut mos la iha buat ida, mais naran katak sira kompriende sira akompanha saida mak...ah...hau hanorin nee-nee. I, depois, ida fali, jeitu[P] de esplika...se esplika loos deit [sira?] la bele ... hanusaa para sira kompriende. Entaun, se ita esplika buat ruma, tenki...	Still an ongoing difficulty. Still an ongoing difficulty. And then another thing: now [...] our government [tells us] we must use language like this, like this, but [pause, 2 seconds] I also feel ashamed. As I said, I came from Portugal, I must teach my subject [with] books, most of which are from Indonesia. There are [only] Indonesian [books]. So, whatever [source] material I use for this subject, even though the language is like this, [it’s about] the way I explain it. Going back to my objective as I said earlier, I want them to understand the science not understand the language. No, indeed, the language can even be messy and there’s no problem, but provided that they understand, they accompany that which I teach. And, then, once again, the way of explaining. If [you?] just explain straight, [they] can’t ... it has to be in a way that they understand. So, if we explain something, [they] must...	[00:31:10] [00:31:30]
Y	Kompriende.	Understand.	[00:31:45]
K	...hatudu mos imajen ou esplika saida mos saida mak imajen nee. Hanesan nee.	...also show a picture or explain what the picture shows. It’s like this.	[00:31:50]
	[Others laughing]		

A3.1.6 – ‘There’s no “reprodução” in Tetun.’

Excerpt begins at [00:46:06]. Prof. G (G) is taking his turn to respond to the initial group rotation prompt (see excerpt A3.1.1), and to add his voice to the discussion that has occurred among his colleagues about the challenges of teaching science in a mix of languages. G has just explained that he doesn’t see a problem with communication because there are four languages to mix to communicate and that ‘communication in Timor is mixed communication’ [00:40:27]. He says he prepares his Powerpoint slides in Portuguese and explains with Tetun [00:41:02]. He says the obstacle to communication is ‘the way we teach’ [00:45:11]. This excerpt begins with one of G’s colleagues, Prof. Ap (Ap), jokingly suggesting that lecturers can use Mambae (an indigenous language native to some districts south-west of the capital) to teach.

Speaker	Original	Translation	Time stamp
Ap	I entaun Mambae fali!	Then [we could use] Mambae instead!	00:46:06
	[laughter]		
G	Kualker ida sira tenki kompriende!	Whichever one they need to understand!	
Ap	Yah	Yeah	
	[laughter]		
G	Tanba nee hau optimis katak bele sei diak. Sei diak.	Because of this I’m optimistic that it can be good. It will be good.	00:46:16
Z	[muttering in background] estudante [...?]	Students[...?]	
G	Sei diak. Por ezemplu ohin hatete hanesan saida...ah... <i>reprodução</i> . Tetun <i>reprodução</i> la iha, nee?	It will be good. For example, earlier [I?] talked about ‘reproduction’[Port.]. Tetun doesn’t have ‘reproduction’[Port.], eh?	00:46:27
Z	Mmm. [affirming]		
G	Ba Portu-/ Ingles, <i>reproduction</i> . Bahasa Indonesia <i>reproduksi</i> .	In Portu-/ English, ‘reproduction’. Indonesian, ‘reproduksi’.	
K	Mirip. <i>Reprodução</i> sa, Tetun <i>reprodusaun</i> nee	Similar. ‘Reprodução’, in Tetun is ‘reprodusaun’.	00:46:38
G	Ah, mais ninian loos la iha.	Ah, but it doesn’t have [a word] truly its own.	00:46:40
K	Tetun ga? //Reprodusaun nee.//	In Tetun? //It’s ‘reprodusaun’.//	
G	//‘Saun’// Troka deit letra nee.	‘Saun’ That’s just changing a letter.	

K	Hmm?	Hmm?	
Y	[<i>laughs</i>]		
G	Hanesan //troka deit// letra.	That's //just changing// a letter.	
K	//Não!//	//No! [<i>Port.</i>]//	00:46:44
Z	Portuges!	Portuguese!	
Y	Sin!	Yes!	
K	Portuges! [... <i>inaudible</i>]	Portuguese! [... <i>inaudible</i>]	
Y	[Indones?]	[Indonesian?]	
K	Não! Memang Tetun ita nian nee Tetun-Portuges!	No[<i>Port.</i>]! Indeed[<i>Ind.</i>], this Tetun of ours is Portuguese-Tetun!	00:46:49
G	Maibee...uh, ami-/	But...uh, we-/	
K	Hanesan ita kompriende saida nee-nee Tetun ita nian nee Tetun-Portuges	As we understand what [kind of Tetun?] is ours, it's Portuguese-Tetun.	00:46:54
G	Ami hatete katak, uh, *mix*. Uh, communication, mais bele garanti katak ... uh, estudante sira bele hatene. Tanba sa sira mai husi kraik mos, sira mai ho ida nee. Liu-liu Tetun ho Portuges kuandu sira mai ona, mosu husi kraik nee ona.	We say that we, uh, *mixed* uh, communication, but we can guarantee that ... uh, the students will be able to understand. Because they come also from the lower [levels of education], they come with this [experience]. Especially Tetun and Portuguese, when they come, even from [junior school] it's already like this.	00:47:09 00:47:15
T	Mmm [<i>encouraging</i>]		
G	Hau optimis! Ah.	I'm an optimist! Ah.	00:47:18

A3.1.7 – ‘We cannot forget the Timorese context.’

Excerpt begins at 00:50:05. Prof. G has been explaining the institutional regulations concerning marking and assessment. He then goes on to argue that how these regulations are implemented cannot be understood without considering the ‘question of language’, which he says is an integral part of the Timorese context.

Speaker	Original	Translation	Time stamp
G	Iha kontestu Timor ita tenki tama duni iha nebaa. Soke, ita kria ohin oinsaa maka ita bele...tenki pasa ida nee. Ida nee maka ita tenki hatene. Ita la bele hatete dehan alunus mai nee para ku-...profesor mai nee para/ Profesor, nia sai profesor, para nia iha metodu. Nia hatene metodu, nia hatene teknika hanorin. Nia hatene teknika avaliasaun tuir aturan nebee iha. Ida nee mak nia sai	We have to indeed enter into the context of Timor. It is just that, how do we create something today so that we can... we have to overcome this. This is what we need to know. We can't say that the students are coming in order to... the lecturers are coming in order to/ the lecturers, they became lecturers so they have a method. They know the method, the way to teach. They know the way of	00:50:05 00:50:11

	profesor. Tanba nee, ita la bele dudu, dudu, ba ida nee baa, ba ida nee baa. //Ba/ Ba hau...-/ //	carrying out evaluation based on the rules that we have. This is the way they became a lecturer. Because of this, we can't push, push to [them to do] that, to [do] that.// for, for me//	
K	//Maksudnya// buat nee hanesan realmente dezafiu nebee mak ita enfrenta...	//The meaning of this is// things like this is really the challenge that we face.	00:50:35
G	[Hanesan sa?]	[They are the same?]	00:50:40
K	Uh, ninia ... uh, senhor nee peskiza nee kan nia hakarak haree realidade //realidade saida-//	Uh, his ... uh, this man's reseach [Trent's research] wants to see the reality //what the reality is-//	
G	//Haree realidade// mais ita hatene, ita tama/ tenki tama iha kontestu Timor. Ita la bele sukat ho/ see deit. Ita la bele sukat tomak nasaun nebee deit. La bele. Tanba ita kontestu Timor, nebee sai husi kolonializmu ida, tama ba kolonialismu, sai fali ida, tama fali ida, sai politik ida, tama fali politik ida. Politika ida mai hateten katak uluk [seper?]. Por ezemplu, iha 2000 hateten dehan, lingua Indonesia ita lo-/ ita loos tiha ona. Hau-/ ...eh...hanusaa mak. Tanba ita mai bele ida nee, mai bele ida nee - tanba nee, kontestu Timor ita la bele sukat ho ema seluk. Tanba nee hanesan profesor nee, ho ninia peskiza nee mai atu haree Timor, mais nia nia relata iha Timor iha nebaa mos tenki tuir Timor.	//Look at the reality// but we know, we must look at the context in Timor. We can't measure it with just anyone. We can't measure any nation in it's entirety. We can't. Because we are in the context of Timor, which came out of colonialism, entered into colonialism, came out of one, entered into another, came out of one political [context], entered into another political [context]. A policy that in the past [seper?]. For example, in 2000, the Indonesian language, we had it back then. I/... eh.. how can.. because we came and could [speak] this [language], could [speak] that [language] - because of this, the Timor context can't be measured against other people. Because of this, like this lecturer [Trent] he has come to look at Timor with his research, but he, he is describing Timor and has to do it based on Timor.	00:50:45 00:50:56 00:51:19 00:51:27
Z	Yeah, this is a very //big problem.//		
K	Maksudnya ...eh...ninia/ ninia objetivu nee-nee atu hatene loos realidade saida maka akontese nebee-	I mean... eh... his/his objective is to really know the reality of what occurs that-	
G	Iha Timor.	In Timor.	
K	Mmm. [affirming]		00:51:38
G	[inaudible]		
K	Eh... Hau hanoin nia mos ho ida nee, bee, la iha atu hatete dehan, bee, ikus mai ida nee akontese susesu i ...ah...mais [e?] [kesatuan?] nebee nia atu hatene loos realidade sa-/ lao daudauk nee. Halo nusaa ida nee ninia-	Eh... I think he also with this, um, it isn't to say, um, that recently success has ocured and... um.. but [unity?] but he will really know the reality - occurring now. How his-	
G	Eh. Tanba nee nia entrevista nee, ita hatene la bele haluhan Timor nia kontestu.	Ah. It is because of this that he is interviewing, we know that the Timor context cannot be forgotten.	

Z	Kontestu.	Context.	00:52:02
G	Ita la bele haluha Timor nia kontestu.	We can't forget the context of Timor.	
T	Kompriende	Understand.	
G	Porque ita tenki tama Timor nia kontestu. Tanba nee orsida ninia konklusaun, nia konkluye mais nee mai Timor. Nia la bele hate-/ La bel-/ La bele/ La bele hatete dadauk "Timor aat liu Indonesia", "Timor aat liu Australia" - la bele, tanba...we/ we not same. Ita la hanesan.	Because we have to enter into the Timor context. Because later on his conclusions, he will conclude, but this is for Timor. He can't can't/can't say that "Timor is worse than Indonesia", "Timor is worse than Australia" - can't because... we are not the same. We are not the same.	00:52:14 00:52:29
Z	Lae, hanesan profesor Trent bele tau nia konklusaun hanesan nee. Ahh...kontestu linguajen, lingua iha relasaun ho absorbsaun...siensia.	No, professor Trent can make his conclusion like this. Ah.. the language context, language has a relationship with absorption [of] science.	
Y	Ya. Siensia.	Yes. Science.	
G	Siensia	Science	00:52:53
Z	Ida nee mak hatene tama. Keta halo ba ami uza lingua nee-nee. Tanba objetivu hanorin nee kan: estudante bele koalia,	This is what I know. Don't make us use this or that language. Because the objective of teaching is this: students can speak,	
G	Koalia. Kompriende.	Speak. Understand.	
Z	-bele espresa sira nia hanoin	-can express their thoughts.	00:52:55

A3.1.8 – ‘We want them to start something...to shift the mentality of the farmers.’

Main excerpt begins at [00:56:50]. Prof. Br (Br) is responding to a series of questions about anticipated employment outcomes for graduates. The prompt from me (T), which came at [00:54:47], is provided for context prior to the excerpt.

Speaker	Original	Translation	Time stamp
T	When they graduate, what do you expect them to be able to do? So they're going to jobs - do they have to also apply this knowledge, not just in a research environment if they become lecturers, but do they need to also translate back to simple terms for farmers, if they're working with farmers? Or, agricultural extension workers? Can you think of any students who have graduated... Tell me some stories of some students about who you would say: "These are the students - we want more students to graduate with these kind of outcomes for the graduates." They get a job		00:54:47

	[snapping fingers], and it's: "This is the kind of job we/ we hope that they would have"		00:55:17
	[...]	[...]	
Br	Nia modalidade la iha. Ida nee maka...ah...durante nee ami koalia ho sira...eh, hau/ hau pesoal, hau koalia ho sira, katak ita hanoin sira tanba ita hanoin katak tinan-tinan universidade sai graduadus bar-barak. Graduadus laos [NU] deit maibee universidade hotu-hotu foo sai.	There is no modality [model?] for this. This is...ah... up until now we have spoken with them.. ah, I / I personally, I have spoken with them, [and said] that we are thinking of them [being sad for them] because every year, many, many graduates leave university. Not only [NU] graduates, but coming from all universities.	00:56:50 00:57:04
Z	Graduate students		
Br	Liu-liu ida sira nebee maka iha area, ah, tekniku, eh? Agrikultura.	Especially those who are coming from technical disciplines, right? Agriculture.	
Z	Yeah		
Br	Maibee sira nee – too / too oras nee-nee - sira nunka hatudu buat nebee maka barak maka...la hatudu siensia nebee maka sira iha, iha...ah...komunidade leet. Hotu-hotu halai ba sai ekstensionistas. Buka sai funsionariu publiku. Extensionista. Extensionista ninia/ ah, ninia, bee, naran saida? Ah, limitasaun mos iha. Laos hotu-hotu tenki sai extensionistas.	But they, up until now, they have never shown the thing that many...haven't shown the science that they have to the community. All of them run off to become extension workers. They look to become civil servants. Extension workers. [But] extension work...uh...also has its limitations. Not everyone has to become extension workers.	00:57:30
Br	Agora, oinsaa tenki buka oinsaa mak [hakbiit nia aan?] ho kapasidade nebee mak iha. Ida nee. Maibee oinsaa nia atu hakbiit aan nee maka problema ida nebee maka nia //enfrenta -//	Now, how can we encourage them to [help themselves?] with the capacities that they have? This is the thing. But how can they can create their own opportunities is the problem that they //face -//	00:57:40
Ap	//Finansa.//	//Finances.//	
Br	-katak fundus nebee mak atu ajuda nia hahuu buat ruma nebee maka nia iha, ah, tuir nia kapasidade, ninia matenek, seidauk iha.	-that the funds – the funds necessary for them to start something, according to their capacity, their skills – are not yet there.	00:57:48
Br	Ida nee maka tenki buka dalan para oinsaa mak ajuda sira. Ajuda sira atu bele hahuu buat ruma...ah, hahuu, bee, ...mmm, nusaa hakiak manu, ka... Por ezemplu tuir sira nia area, bee, ...naran saida... ah, espesialidade. Para hahuu para sai ezemplu ba comunidade. Ami hakarak/ Hau nia/ Ba hau, hau hakarak ida nee.	It's for this reason that [we] must find a way to help them. To help them to start something. Uh...start, um, like keeping chickens, or... For example, according to their area of specialisation. In order to start, in order to become an example to the community. We want.../ My.../ For me, I want this.	00:58:07
Z	[Expertifiku?]	[Expertise?]	
Br	Hau hanoin ida nee tanba...uh, para ajuda muda mentalidade iha povu nia leet. Mentalidade povu nian. Povu agrikultor nebee	I think this because ... uh, in order to help to shift the thinking among the rural people. The rural people's thinking. Rural	00:58:52

	maka ho ninia mentalidade nebee maka uza metodu tradisional. Ida nee maka oinsaa maka ami nia graduadus sira bele, iha sira nia leet, moris iha sira leet: muda mentalidade ida nee. Para hanoin para oinsaa maka sira sistema nebee mak sira uza nee sistema halai ba agrokomersiu. Ida nee maka sistema hakiak manu ga, hakiak buat sira nee nebee – buat nee, ami hakarak/ Ba hau, hau ha-/ hau senti ida nee importante tebes para oinsaa maka bele ajuda sira bele moris mesak. La bele dependente ba governu, la bele dependente ba sai funsionariu publiku. Ida nee hau n-/ hau nia espektiva ida nee.	farmers, the ones that have the mentality of using traditional methods. It's this that our graduates can [do], being among them, living among the community: shift this mentality. In order to find ways for the systems that they use to be transformed into agribusiness. These systems of keeping chickens or keeping whatever they have – these things, we want-/ For me, I feel this is extremely important in order to find ways to help them to be able to live by their own means. They can't be dependent on the government, they can't be dependent on becoming civil servants. This is my perspective.	00:59:30

A3.1.9 – ‘They haven’t become what we dream.’

The following excerpt begins at [01:07:57]. Three participants, including Prof. Z (Z), have been discussing the cost of buying land to start agricultural projects. Prof. Z then turns to me (T) to explain his view of the conversation.

Speaker	Original	Translation	Time stamp
Z	So, small scale, yes. Medium...		01:07:57
T	Small scale yes what?		
Z	Ah, like ah... Ami nia estudante sira hotu agora daudauk nee-nee barak mo-/ ah...ba servisu iha instituisaun sira. Balu lao-lao hetan. Seidauk...	Ah, like uh ... Our students that are finishing [their studies] now, lots of them ah... go and work in institutions. Some go looking and find [jobs]. [They] haven't yet...	
Y	[inaudible]		
Z	Seidauk...seidauk sai hanesan ami nia mehi. They haven't become what we dream.	[They] haven't yet ... haven't yet become as we dreamed. They haven't become what we dream.	01:08:20
Z	Ami nia mehi nee-nee hanesan nee: katak ami halo ema... Bee... First come, why this faculty of agriculture exist in this country? Because we are concerned of the food. agriculture production. We need food, we need to eat. Because the human dynamic/ dynamization ... so we need food. But, in reality, we produce...uh...ami produs ema...	Our dream is like this: that we make people... Um...[Firstly], why [does] this faculty of agriculture exist in this country? Because we are concerned of the food. agriculture production. We need food, we need to eat. Because the human dynamic/ dynamization ... so we need food. But, in reality, we produce...we produce people...	
Y	Graduadu.	Graduates.	01:08:57
Z	Gradu-/ ah...matenek nain iha agrikultura, iha agro-pekuaria, maibee	Gradu-/ ah...skilled people in Agriculture, in animal science, but	01:09:10

	hahaan la too nafatin. Uluk, hau dehan ba profesor, uluk, hau kuandu ba eskola pekuaria, manu tolu sanulu. Agora hau [la too?] hatene - manu tolu-sanulu nafatin. The same. Nothing has changed in here.	there's still not enough food. Before, I said to [Trent], before, when I was in the agricultural college, there were ten eggs. Now, I can't understand it [but] there are still ten eggs. The same. Nothing has changed in here.	
Ap	Yeah, nothing change. <i>[laughs]</i>		
Z	[Par?...]hira? One?	How many [pairs?]? One?	
G	Iha Timor //o nia...?//	In Timor //your...?//	
Z	//...lima nafatin.// So, we haven't changed something. Like ... pergunta nee par-par loos. Ami nia mehi: ami hakarak ami nia estudante nee ba halo [...?] buat ida nee. We want them to change it. But only one [need to...?]	//...still five.// So, we haven't changed something. Like ... this question is really appropriate. Our dream: we want these students of ours to do this. We want them to change it. But only one [need to...?]	01:09:26

A3.1.10 – ‘Small scale is not industry.’

Excerpt begins at [01:10:30]. Prof. Z (Z) is continuing (following from last excerpt) to explain to me (T) the conversation he has been having with his colleagues about the challenges graduates face in starting up industrial scale agriculture enterprises.

Speaker	Original	Time stamp
Z	So, [Prof. G] advised some of the students to come in group, to ha-/ ah, to make proposal and to have money to start. Entre-/ Enterpri-/ Entrepreneurship. But, ah, no success because of...-/ That's why I say that small scale it will be. But small scale...small scale is not...ah...	01:10:30
Ap	Yeah, for what?	01:10:55
Z	Is not...ah...our vision.	
	<i>[Others laughing]</i>	
Z	I can make small scale. Ten chickens. It's nothing. Ten pigs. It's not industry.	01:11:00

A3.2 Excerpts from an interview with Prof. K (NU-I2)

Date: 31st July 2015

Participants:

K	Prof. K, lecturer in agricultural extension (for both the animal science and agronomy departments at NU)
T	Trent Newman, interviewer/researcher

A3.2.1 – Prof. K on teaching agricultural extension

Excerpt begins at [00:31:03]. Prof. K (K) has been explaining to how he teaches his students the concepts 'entrepreneurship' and 'innovation'.

Speaker	Original	Translation	Time stamp
T	So, the actual word for entrepreneurship is a Portuguese, is it a Portuguese word? What word do you use?		00:31:03
K	Portuguese. Inovação empreendedorismo.	Portuguese. Entrepreneurship innovation.	
T	Ok. That's the Portuguese word for entrepreneurship.		
K	Indonesia, teoria kewira-usahaan.	Indonesian, entrepreneurial theory.	
T	And do you teach both of these to the students? You teach the Indonesian and the Portuguese words for this? And English also?		
K	Ezatemente. Hanesan hau dehan ona, hanesan hau dehan ona, katak hau nia objetivu atu transfere konhesimentu. Dalaruma iha Tetun lingua, linguazen susar, atu difisil. Maibee hau transfer in. Ho ida nee, mezmua material nee mai husi Portuguez, ka materia nee mai ho bahasa Indonesia, mais jestu, objetivu hau nian nee atu transfere siensia, laos lingua. Lingua nia la kompriende la buat ida, mais saida mak hau esplika, ninia entende ida nee mak hau nia target. Se, atu alkansa ida nee-nee. Entaun jestu ita nia esplika mak ho metodus oi-oin hanesan ohin hau dehan, karik hau esplika ho metodu neineik, se ida nee mos la kompriende hau hatudu imajen ruma, gambar ruma, esplika tuir imajen nee-nee, para sira bele entende lalais.	Exactly. As I have said, as I have said, my objective is to transfer knowledge. Sometimes in the Tetun language, the language is difficult, it will be difficult. But I transfer [in?]. With this, even though the teaching material comes from Portuguese, or the teaching material comes in Indonesian, but the meaning, my objective is to transfer the science, not the language. If they don't understand a language it doesn't matter, but the things that I explain, the understanding [of it] is my target. If we are to achieve this, an understanding of our explanation, it is with the various methods I mentioned earlier. If I explain something, I do it slowly. If this is still not understood I use some images, some	00:31:45 00:32:10

		pictures, then I explain using the images, so that they can understand quickly.	
T	So at the same time you are an animal science and entrepreneurship and agriculture teacher, and also you are a language teacher. Do you think about yourself like that? Sometimes you are also a language teacher? Do you feel like that?		00:33:05
	<i>[interpreter translates question – inaudible]</i>		
K	Hau en prinsipu, porezemplu tuir loloos nee-nee, porezemplu hanorin estensaun agrikultura, agricultural extension, entrepreneurship hau hanorin kewirausahaan. Materi kewirausahaan, sim, hau iha s dua [S2] hau mos buka materia nee nee, entrepreneurship, hau iha materia be nebee nee laduun problema. Mak problema hanorin sira susar atu kompriende, entaun mesak porezemplu hanesan penyuluhan. Penyuluhan nee-nee, Ingles mak barak, Portuges la iha. Portuges, livru kona ba Portuges la iha. Livru kona ba Portuges la iha. Entaun saida mak, livru nee iha nee barak nee-nee livru sira Indonesian nian. Entaun se ita hakarak halo riku sira nia konhesimentu, ita tenki foti livru nebee barak liu para sira, sira bele kompriende diak liu tan. Uza referensia barak, lingua ida nebee mak barak liu. Nee mak hau dehan, agricultural extension nee-nee, Ingles iha mais Portuges la iha. Entaun saida mak ita, Bahasa Indonesia mak barak entaun uza Bahasa Indonesia nee-nee. Hau kona ba agricultural extension, nee hau la hetan problema tanba hau primeiru extensionista iha Timor. Iha tempu Indonesia hau extensionista. Nebee hau praktika, teoria, hau domina tebe-tebes. Uluk hau sai extensionista hau konsega lori hau nia suku nee-nee ba primeiru, segundu karik iha Timor laran tomak. <i>[inaudible]</i> Hau hakarak nee-nee: estudante nebee hau hanorin nee aban bain rua sai extensionista karik, extensionista profesional. Nee mak hau nia hakarak.	In principal I, for example, actually, for example I teach agricultural extension, agricultural extension [Eng], entrepreneurship, I teach entrepreneurship. The teaching material for entrepreneurship, yes, for the master's [program] I also looked for this teaching material: entrepreneurship[En.]. I have the teaching material so this is not really a problem. But the problem is when teaching they find it hard to understand, an example of this is agricultural extension. For the agricultural extension, there is lots in English, nothing in Portuguese. Portuguese, there are no books in Portuguese. So, what is there? There are lots of books on this in Indonesian. So, if we want to enrich their knowledge, we have to get lots of books so that they, they can understand even better. Use lots of references, in whatever language they are in. This is why I said, for the agricultural extension, there are resources in English but none in Portuguese. So, what is there? Lots in Indonesian so we use Indonesian. For me, I don't have a problem with the agricultural extension, because I was the first agricultural extension worker in Timor. In the Indonesian times I was an extension worker. The practical application, the theory, I really mastered it. Back then when I became an extension worker I was able to bring my village to be the first, maybe second in the whole of Timor. <i>[inaudible]</i> What I want is this: that the students that I teach, in the future if they become extension workers, I want them to become professional extension workers. That is what I want.	00:33:55 00:34:55 00:35:25 00:36:10

Int	[Interpreter translating in background – inaudible]		
T	Can you tell me why you think extension workers are so important in Timor? Why do you think Timor needs more and why do they need degrees in agropekuaria?		00:36:50
Int	[Interpreter translates question]		
K	Laos important. Importante importante la halimar. Nee importante la halimar tanba saida? Se hau atu sai extensionista hau la bele ona. Hau hanorin iha nee. Komunitade iha area rural, liu-liu ita nia povu agrikultor sira nee, presiza tebes informasaun atu hadia sistema hakiak animal. Iha parte agronomia nian laduun susar ona. Hau haleu Timor laran tomak. Iha parte agronomia nee nia laduun, laduun saida. Mais iha parte agropekuaria, hau ema mestre ida, hau sente nee presiza tebe-tebes. Importante tebe-tebes. Maibee problema mak saida? Hau nudar estensionis Senhor ida. Hau haree preparasaun estensionista seidak id. Seidak perfektu. Sira halo sira nia servisu estensionista seidak perfektu. Entaun, saida mak ida nee akontese? Uluk, iha tempu Indonesia, governu Indonesia rekruta ema sai estensionista, sira haree potensial lai iha suku nee. Se potensial peska, sira haree estudante husi area peskas nian. Se rai nee potensial agronomia, sira rekruta estensionista nebee mak, nebee mak kada suku ida nee-nee, bele estensionista nain tolu ka haat, atu develope potensial area rural diak liu. Maibee saida mak akontese? Agora ministeriu agrikultura, sira rekruta estensionista nee-nee, sira la haree ba background edukasaun nebee mak sira iha. i hau nia estudante ida husi Baucau Venilale, nia hatete mai hau, iha tempu hau hanorin penuluan, ka agricultural extension: 'Profesor, tanba sa nia bele hanorin, Nia husi SMA ba sai fali estensionista.' Nee la bele, la bele akontese. Tanba saida? Estensionista nee-nee profesor ba agrikultor sira. Se nia rasik la hatene buat ida, saida mak nia atu hanorin ba agrikultor sira.	It isn't [just] important. It is incredibly important. Why is it incredibly important? I can't be an extension worker any more. I teach here. The communities in rural areas, especially our farmers, they really need information to improve their livestock management systems. There is not much difficulty now in the area of agronomy. I have been around the whole of Timor. For the agronomy it is not really, not really what's it called. But in the area of farming (livestock), I am a teacher, I feel that this is really needed. It is really important. But what is the problem? I was an extension worker. I see that the extension workers are not yet prepared properly. It isn't yet perfect. They don't yet carry out their work as extension workers perfectly. So, what happens? In the past, during the Indonesian times, [when] the Indonesian government recruited people to become extension workers, they first looked at the potential in each village. If there was potential for fishing, they looked for a student with a background in fishing. If there was the potential for agronomy, they would recruit extension workers that.. so each village could have three or four extension workers, to better develop the potential in the rural area. But what happened? Now the ministry of agriculture, they recruit the extension workers, they don't look at the educational background that they have. And one of my students from Baucau, Venilale, he/she asked me when I was teaching agricultural extension, 'Professor, why was [that person] able to teach? He/she finished high school and became an extension worker.' This can't happen. It can't occur. Why? Because extension workers are teachers for the farmers. If they themselves don't know anything, what are they going to teach the farmers?	00:37:05 00:37:50 00:38:22

T	Entaun estensionista nebee gradua, foo lisensiatuura agropekuaria, estensionista tenki iha abilidade koalia ho...	So the extension workers that graduate, are given an undergraduate degree in farming (livestock), the extension workers need to have the ability to speak with..	00:38:55
K	Agrikultor sira.	The farmers.	00:39:10
	<i>[Prof. K explains that extension workers need knowledge in a particular area of agriculture in order to 'teach' farmers in that area. He gives the example that coffee is not his own area of expertise.]</i>		
K	Nee, mais dala ida tan nee problema ema ida-idak ninian, instituisaun ida-idak ninian. Tan nee funsaun ema ida ninian, ita la bele saida fali, la bele, sira la presiza ita saida. Nee mak problema. i sira nebee hau hanorin nee-nee, hau haree sira husi agronomia ninian, hau haree komesa sai hela iha televizaun husi Oecusse. Nebee mak hau haonrin nee-nee, kona ba agricultural extension, hau hanorin nee, sira iha Oecusse sira sai iha televizaun sira koalia kapas loos. Nee hau mak hanorin. Sai iha televizaun dehan nee hau nia estudante hotu. Agora sira iha hotu Oecusse, sira nain hira iha nebaa. Balu husi Lospalos, balu husi Ermera. Nee hau hatene diak, nee sira nebee hau hanorin.	But once again this is each person's problem, each institute's problem. Because this is a person's function, we can't what's it called, can't, they don't need us to what's it called. This is a problem. And those that I taught, those from agronomy, I have seen that they have started to appear on television from Oecussi. Those who I taught, about agricultural extension, I taught them, they are in Oecussi, they went on television and they spoke really wonderfully. I taught them. All of the ones that went on television were my students. Now they are all in Oecussi, however many of them that are there. Some are from Los Palos, some are from Ermera. I know this well, those of them that I taught.	00:41:15
T	You said that you see them on the television? On the tv?		00:42:47
K	Yes.		
T	So, do you see that you develop, in your teaching, you are, part of your teaching is to develop their skills to speak to the public, speak to the media, as well as speaking to local farmers? And how do you teach the differences between speaking to a local farmer versus speaking on television?		
	<i>[Interpreter translates – inaudible]</i>		
K	Nee mak hau dehan nee, iha saida nee-nee, iha material penyuluhan ka agricultural extension nee-nee, iha halo nusaa mak sira koalia, halo nusaa mak sira hanorin, halo nusaa mak sira aprosima agrikultor sira, nee-nee, nee iha parte materia nee rasik iha tiha ona. Iha materia laran iha tiha ona. Se ida nebee mak hau hanorin kompriende, entaun nia la iha difikuldade bainhira	This is what I said, in the what's it called, in the extension worker subject materials, we look at how they speak, how they teach, how they approach farmers, this is all already included in the subject. If the people that I teach understand, then they won't have any difficulties when the government recruits them, they won't have any difficulty. Because the subject looks at how to	00:43:52

	governu rekruta nia, nia la hetan difikuldade. Tan iha parte materia ida nee-nee, halo nusaa ita koalia, uza metodu saida, iha tempu saida mak ita atu koalia, ita tempu saida mak ita hanorin. Nee iha hotu ona. Sehingga sira nebee mak saida iha televizaun nee-nee, iha tempu sira halo duni sira bele kompriende ho diak. Entaun sira la hetan difikuldade. Sira nebee mak governu rekruta karik, rekruta loos nee mak hanesan nee-nee.	speak [to farmers], what methods to use, when to speak to them, when to teach them. It is all in there. Those [former students] that were on television, at the time that they did [the subject] they understood it well. So they didn't have any difficulties. Those that are recruited by the government, this is what the proper recruitment should be like.	
T	So how do you assess them? How do you do/ Oinsaa ita boot halo avaliasaun kona ba koalia ho <i>[inaudible]</i> no koalia ho agrikultor? Teaching speaking to the farmers, speaking to the media, how do you do it? Do they have to do presentations for you?	So how do you assess them? How do you do/ How do you carry out evaluations about speaking with <i>[inaudible]</i> and speaking with farmers? Teaching speaking to the farmers, speaking to the media, how do you do it? Do they have to do presentations for you?	00:44:57
K	Iha ne'e iha tempu ida que ita atu prepara sira halo nusa para sira bele koalia, iha ne'e ita fahe travalhu grupu ka travalhu individu, sira halo nusa mak sira mai oin, saida mak sira prepara sira esplika. Iha ne'eba ita fo masukan, o nia esplika, o nia cara koalia ne'e la dun diak, o koalia hanesan ne'e. Porezemplu hanesan ne'e, ne'e prepara sira ona. Bainhira sira halo hanesan ne'e sira sei mai esplika, apresenta. Iha tempu sira mai apresenta, ita fo ona ideia. O nia jestu koalia ne'e, ne'e la diak. Atu diak ne'e hanesan ne'e, hanesan ne'e. Ne'ebe ida ne'e-ne'e, mestre hotu-hotu ho sira nia travalhu sira ne'e, prepara ona sira kona-ba oinsa sira koalia.	Here we have a time where we prepare them to be able to speak. Here we split them to do group assignments or individual assignments. They come up to the front, they explain what they have prepared. At that time, we give feedback, 'your explanation, your way of speaking, it wasn't really good, you spoke like this. For example, like this.' This prepares them. When they do this, they will come and explain, present. At the time that they come and present, we give ideas. 'Your way of speaking, it wasn't good. You can improve it like this and like this.' So, in this way, all teachers use this work to prepare them to be able to speak [well].	00:45:35 00:46:30

A3.3 Excerpts from an interview with Prof. Y (NU-I3)

Date: 31st July 2015

Participants:

Y	Prof. Y, animal science and biochemistry lecturer
T	Trent Newman, interviewer/researcher

A3.3.1 – ‘Who can help us, except Google?’

Excerpt begins at [00:06:17]. Prof. Y (Y) has just handed me (T) a printed copy of her PowerPoint slides from one of her classes.

Speaker	Original	Translation	Time stamp
T	I remember you were also saying that, um, you provide/ you do the explanations in Tetun and Indonesian,		[00:06:17]
Y	Mmm-hmm. Mmm-hmm. <i>[affirming]</i>		
T	-the PowerPoints are in Portuguese,		
Y	Mmm-hmm. <i>[affirming]</i>		
T	...but I think the PowerPoint that you just //showed me...//		
Y	//That one is still Indonesia.// Because...yes, yes...		
T	Ah, that's in Indonesian?		
Y	Because, uh, they prefer, uh, Indonesia.		
T	Oh. But you also provide PowerPoints in Portuguese?		
Y	Powerpoints - yes, yes.		[00:06:40]
T	So you show them both at the same //time, or you just//		
Y	//Lae, lae, lae.//	//No, no, no.//	
T	- give them photocopies?		
Y	Yeah. N-/ N-/ Uh...yeah, yeah. I/ I give them Indonesian language.		[00:06:43]
T	You...?		
Y	<i>[lowers voice]</i> So most of us still use Indonesian language, not Portuguese.		
T	Oh. But you-		
Y	Because even the people lecturer still struggle to, you know, to teach in Portuguese.		[00:07:02]
T	Mmm.		
Y	Be honest.		

T	Yeah. So you-		
Y	So if...yeah.		
T	If you want to translate your powerpoints, do you do that-		
Y	Go to Google.		
T	You go to Google?		
Y	Mmm-hmm.		
T	You do Google translate?		
Y	Yeah <i>[laughs]</i> really I don't know if it- if it's correct or not but...yeah...I just...take the easy way because, uh, if we/ because, uh, the first, we have to prepare all the materials in Portuguese and then no-one can help us. Who can help us? Except Google.		[00:07:20]
T	Except Google! Google's the helper.		
Y	<i>[both laugh]</i>		
T	Google is...is the...is good.		[00:07:39]

A3.3.2 – Prof Y explains why she thinks that agricultural extension is an easy subject to teach

Excerpt begins at [00:09:55]. Prof. Y has been telling me that some subjects are easier to teach than others since they contain less scientific terminology to be translated and explained. She gives as an example the subject of agricultural extension, which she says is 'easy'.

Speaker	Original	Time stamp
T	Why do you think that's easy?	[00:09:55]
Y	Because it's only in the.../ Because it not have, uh, what do you call it? Uh...pure science terminology. You just say 'Oh, if you want to people change their attitude then just tell-' <i>[interrupted by someone entering, gives something to Y then leaves]</i> Say, if you want to teach them how to change their attitude, then you just, uh, talk about how to change from, uh, bad to good, without, you know, any pure science termenolo-/ terminology.	[00:10:00]
T	Okay. You think that's that/ You're saying that that's easier...	[00:10:40]
Y	Mmm-hmm. <i>[affirming]</i>	
T	-than scientific terminology.	
Y	Mmm-hmm. Scientific terminology.	[00:10:42]

A3.3.3 – Prof Y explains how she teaches ‘metabolism’ with a mixture of Tetun and Indonesian

Excerpt begins at [00:09:55]. Prof. Y (Y) has just told me (T) that she ‘mixes’ Tetun and Indonesian when explaining scientific concepts to her students. I seek more detail about this ‘mixing’.

Speaker	Original	Translation	Time stamp
T	So, when you're in a classroom and you're teaching something, even if it's the a scientific word, what are you using Tetun for? When you're bringing in Tetun, what is the Tetun that you're using?		[00:13:25]
Y	Uh...		
T	Is it the Tetun structure and then just the Indonesian word, or is it...?		
Y	It's Tetun structure and then add some Indonesian words.		
T	Right. Okay. It's like that.		
Y	So it's/ Yeah. Even when we, you know, just, uh... Everything we just mix: Tetun, Bahasa, Tetun, Bahasa. We can't go with Bahasa at all, or just go with Tetun at all - no.		
T	Has to be a mixture of both.		
Y	With both mix, yeah.		[00:14:00]
T	Okay. So, uh, can you talk me through/ Sorry to keep getting you to do this, but-		
Y	[laughs] No worries!		
T	Can you give me an example and just tell me - even a hypothetical example - of how you would explain to students...? So you used 'metabolism' before. Um...Can you tell me whether you, like...if you want to introduce the idea of metabolism, tell me exactly what you would do. Do you have a PowerPoint with pictures? Do you do drawings? What do you do?		
Y	Uh, I will talk in Tetun and then add some Bahasa, right?		[00:14:32]
T	Okay.		
Y	Okay. Erm... Ohin loron ita atu koalia kona ba metabolisme. Metabolisme nee katak, bee, kuandu buat ruma tama ita boot nia isin, depois, iha isin nee, nia prosesu nee atu berubah husi bee...hahaan bee ita haan ...naan sira, depois ya ita nia isin	Okay. Erm...Today we're going to talk about metabolism. Metabolism is...when something enters your body [and], afterwards, in your body, this process is going to change [something] from...food...you eat...some meat, then	

	lolon nee, ita...ita kunyah tiha.... Kunyah? I don't know which is - which it mean... - i depois nia tama ita nia bee - saida? - kakorok talin...tama tan ita nia usus. Iha usus nee depois bee...eh, sa? iha nebaa nee proses enzimatis mai berlaku. [Y interrupts her role play to say:] See? [Continues:] Eh...proses enzimatis berlaku...depois hahaa nee depois be...eh, nia be halo tiha enzimatis nee nia dep-/ eh...nia...halo tiha be...eh...ba beberapa bagian. So, bagian-bagian nee [mais?] ita bolu katak dehan karbohidrat, lemak, depois proteina [proteína?], depois vitamin, depois bee...sa? eh, seluk-seluk tan.	[it is] already inside your body, you...you...chew...Chew? - I don't know which is...which it mean... - and then it enters your...um, what? throat, then also enters your gut/intestines[Ind.]. In the gut, afterwards...uh what? - the enigmatic process happens there. [Y interrupts her role play to say:] See? [En] [Continues:] Ah... the enigmatic process happens... then the food, then ah, the enigmatic process occurs.. into a few parts. So, these... parts we call them carbohydrates, fats, then proteins [proteína?], then vitamins, then um... what else? um, other things.	[00:15:18] [00:15:47]
T	Thank you very much! [laughs] So but - when you said 'metabolismu', is that how you/ how do you say that in Port-/ in Indonesian? Is that...?		
Y	Metabolisme.	Metabolism.	
T	It's the same?		
Y	Yeah - metabolism.		
T	Metabolism.		
Y	MetabolisME.		
T	Oh, metabolisME?		
Y	In English metabolism, in Indonesia metabolisme.		[00:16:04]

A3.3.4 – Prof Y on the importance of ICT skills for graduates...and on her colleagues' poor ICT skills

Excerpt begins at [00:21:12]. We have been talking about students' oral presentation skills. Prof. Y (Y) has just explained that students have the chance to practice giving oral presentations with PowerPoint from their first year.

Speaker	Original	Time stamp
T	First or second semester at university they're already starting to give presentations?	[00:21:12]
Y	Yeah, yeah, yeah.	
T	Okay. And what's the quality of the presentations like when they first have to do it?	
Y	Oh, it's really bad. But depend, because if compared to my, my, my children, my daughter - she knows how to make these ones. So depend the, you know,	

	background. Some of them come from very, very, uh...you know, from the districts? Then they never, never see how to make it. But some in, you know, when they come from Dili, you know, from the good high school, from the good quality high schools....	
T	So, the ones that have no idea, that have never used a computer before, where do they learn the skills to make a PowerPoint presentation?	[00:21:57]
Y	Well, from the lecturer and then from his/ from their peers. Their classmates.	
T	From their peers. Yeah.	
Y	But most of them, yeah, we help them to, you know, do that.	
T	So you also teach them how to do PowerPoint?	
Y	Yes! Yes, yes.	
T	Wow, so you're teaching them Biochemistry and Statistics and then also teaching them how to...	
Y	Yeah! Everything, everything, yeah. Even, even...uh, I told you before in the focus group discussion. How to make email - it's the one requirement. You have to send your assignment to me by email. I don't want to come to/ you come to my office and then give...hand...uh, your assignment. Send by email, so it's force them to, you know, get used to the technology. Otherwise they don't...don't use it at all. Because, in our experience, some of our graduates can't use email at all!	
T	Graduates, graduated students can't use email at all?	[00:22:56]
Y	Can't! [<i>affirming</i>] So, based on that, and then I just say that oh, I have to help them in my way. So, they have to get used to use email, Drop Box, blogs, and everything. And then they have to get used how to find information. Even, yeah, use simple, like Google only, but, I mean, you know, I just try to, you know, to prepare them. Otherwise when they already, uh, graduation and then they don't...	
T	Don't know how to do these things. Yeah.	
Y	Yeah. Because I have/ I have experience. And then some of, uh, my graduated students were working with, uh, ACIAR - this is the research, uh, agriculture research from Australia - and then the problem: they don't know how to use Excel calculat/ <i>basic</i> Excel calculation. So it's like that.	
T	So, do/ In terms of these kinds of skills, you know, basic communication skills, computer skills, um...what do you think/ Can you describe these kinds of skills that <i>you</i> think, if there were such a thing as a 'perfect' graduate from Agropekuaria, what would the/ what would the <i>ideal</i> graduate in Agropekuaria be able to do?	[00:24:19]
Y	I think, at least, they, you know, they expert in their <i>main</i> , main subject and knowledge a lot have about animal science, production and everything. Also, they able to communicate with the advanced technology, otherwise they can't go for the workplace. Because this is the basic requirement for right now. The people have to/ have to know how to use the communication, right? Then it's really hard. Even for some...some of, you know, some of our lecturer, they can't use it. I will show you this. [<i>stands up and moves away</i>] This is good to... -/ But don't, don't tell them I give...I show... -/	[00:25:25]
T	Okay.	

Y	[Y continues talking while searching on desk] I always complain about it! [returns to interview table with a list of enrolled students] You can see this one. You can...[muffled - microphone being moved] This is the master... Okay? What's the problem with that? Do you see? Alphabetical?	
T	Um, they've got first names and second names in the same column and it's not alphabetical.	
Y	There! It's really hard!	
T	So what is the number by? How is it ordered?	
Y	No! They just type, type it in there!	
T	They just type it anywhere?	
Y	See? This is from the lecturer and then... Master qualification! See? It's really hard. So, Trent, it's, it's... To be honest, you can see it's really funny! [laughs]	[00:26:22]

A3.3.5 – Prof Y on her methods of providing feedback on students’ writing

Excerpt begins at [00:43:06]. Prof. Y (Y) has been telling me that NU agriculture students have access to a thesis writing manual that helps them with the structure and format of the undergraduate thesis but they still make many mistakes with their writing.

Speaker	Original	Translation	Time stamp
T	How do you correct them? How do you give them feedback?		00:43:06
Y	Ah. I will show you my way. [moves to go and find another document] But...because we are different, right? We have different styles to help the students. What I have done ...-/ [returns to show me a notebook with her writing and dates] Now, this is the...bad one, but getting better. See - this is the first draft and I was so angry here!		00:43:15
T	[laughs]		
Y	So, and then... [laughs]		
T	There's capital letters.		
Y	Yeah! [laughs]		
T	So, what are you saying? [reads from notebook of Y's comments to student:] 'Harap servis... Harap serius belajar...'	'Please work... Please study seriously'	

Y	[<i>translating</i>] 'Student have to serious if you want to study.'		
T	[<i>continuing to read comment in Indonesian</i>] '...menulis'?	'...writing'?	
Y	'Writing, see the good example.' [00:43:45]		
T	'Harap serius belajar...'	'Please study seriously...'	
Y	'...menulis lihat...skripsi yang baik.'	'...writing: look at a good thesis.'	
T	What does this word say?		[00:43:54]
Y	'See the good example of the skripsi.'		
	[<i>pause, several seconds</i>]		
T	So these notes you take for yourself and then you talk to them? Or you show the students these notes?		[00:44:00]
Y	Show to them and then...give them to them and then I show: this is the problem, and then give back. And then when they come again and then I will check - 'Okay, you already done this one, that's good.' And then if they make the same mistake and then I will not correct, just give back and then make sure they do the correct first and then I will continue. Otherwise no.		
T	Interesting. So you-/		[00:44:29]
Y	It's really, really...really hard for me but it's, you know, just to help them otherwise just waste time.		
T	So you don't... If they make the same mistake,		[00:44:40]
Y	And then I don't...		
T	...you won't accept it?		
Y	No. I will stop [<i>acts out closing the notebook and pushing it away</i>] the, uh...		
T	The meeting?		
Y	...the meeting, then just give back and then they have to...		
T	Go and fix it?		
Y	Fix. Yeah.		[00:45:10]

A3.3.6 – Prof Y on what students learn from the ‘estagio’ (community work experience)

Excerpt begins at [00:59:25]. Prof. Y (Y) has just explained that the ‘estagio’ [*Port.*] is where students gain most of their practical experience, applying the theory that they have learned in their classes.

Speaker	Original	Time stamp
T	What kinds of communication skills do you think they learn from their estagio experience?	[00:59:25]
Y	The most important thing is how they transfer their knowledge to the community. And then how they communi/ they, you know, learn how to communicate in the community. And then, from there, then they make another report for their activities there. So, every activity they do in community they put in a report.	
T	Right. So they.../ On their estagio, you said they will learn how to communicate their knowledge to the community, how do they have to do that? Or how do they do that?	[00:59:34]
Y	For example, from the agropecuaria, animal science, they have to make like a.../ when they make a fence for the pig and then community will come and then they will show how to make a standard fence for the pig, for example.	
T	Okay	
Y	Or how to make, uh, improve rice straw. For the feed.	
T	Right. The fermenting?	
Y	Yeah. From the fermentation. This is the...yeah.	
T	So they will have to explain why they are doing that to the community?	[01:00:10]
Y	Mmm-hmm, mmm-hmm. <i>[affirming]</i> They teach the community.	
T	And do you know whether the students have success with that? Are they...?	
Y	I think yes. Yes, yes.	
T	Okay... <i>[long pause]</i> What kind of feedback do students get from the communities about their estagio experiences?	
Y	Because, uh... They go to the community and then teach them and then after that they come back and then another, uh, next year, the same community will ask: 'Please, send them again.' So, you know, this good sign, right?	[01:00:48]

A3.4 Excerpts from an interview with Prof. Z (NU-I4)

Date: 2nd August, 2015

Z	Prof. Z, animal science lecturer
T	Trent Newman, interviewer/researcher

A3.4.1 – Prof. Z on the duties and responsibilities of a head of department

Excerpt begins at [00:22:05]. Prof. Z has been telling me about his approach to assessing his students.

Cited data is Prof. Z's negative response to my question about whether lecturers must show their teaching materials and assessment regime design to him as the head of department (00:22:10; 00:24:25).

Speaker	Original	Time stamp
T	So, as head of department, what control do you have over what other lecturers do with their assignments?	00:22:05
Z	No, my control is only in the corridor of teaching, our timetables, ... oh, I forgot to bring you the timetable. I think they have ...	
T	I have a timetable, that's okay.	
Z	My calendar?	
T	Yep.	
Z	So I just organise that one. So, in the teaching, everybody...[do own?] work under the teaching. <i>[hands me a copy of the class timetable for semester]</i> Here: this is the new one. I have it here. So this organise by the head of department here-	00:22:45
T	Right.	
Z	-to ensure that all the professor have to available for the teaching on that time. Because we only have two rooms. We have to careful organise so everybody have their own room. And, yeah, also we have...actually we have four/ three groups of subject. General subject, organised by the university, but we have to ensure that the lecturers have to be/ have. As a department job. Head of department job. Have to ensure that all the lectures every semester have. And then distribution of subjects to permanent lecturers in here. Who teach what, who teach what. Yeah.	
T	So you do the timetabling?	00:23:38
Z	Yeah.	
T	But these general subjects, or the ... um, what are they called? <i>Transversais</i> subjects.	
Z	Transversais. From the university.	

T	But ... so ...?	
Z	But we still organise the ...-/	
T	Teachers?	
Z	Yeah. The teachers, they give it. But we organise the time and whatever there.	00:24:05
T	Ah okay. So what about, for these individual subjects, do the teachers have to show you the materials they're using? Do they have to show you the assessments that they choose?	
Z	No, no. We just instruct them that now, this week, start classes.	00:24:25
T	Right	
Z	And we just have staff in there that control the classes, the lecturers are in the class or not.	
T	Right	
Z	Yeah, if they doing well or not, have a practical or not ...	
T	Okay	
Z	Yeah, and do exam or not - that's it. But the quality, or the material, we don't. That's it.	00:24:54

A3.4.2 – ‘What they get from high school we don’t know’; ‘there should be a standard’

Excerpt begins at [00:30:58]. Prof. Z has been telling me about the subjects that students seem to have more difficulty with.

Cited data include:

- Prof. Z’s statement that ‘what [language] they get from high school we don’t know’ [00:32:45 – 00:33:05];
- his comment that ‘we have to adapt [...] but the explanation will not be good if you use Tetun [00:33:20];
- his comment that ‘there should be a standard’ developed by lecturers writing a book, ‘that knowledge in Tetun’ [00:36:30], ‘so, when they explain, it’s something that’s standard already, out of lecturers’ [00:37:00]
- his observation that students ‘just pick up what we explain’ and this Tetun is ‘just only verbal’ [00:36:52 – 00:38:00].

Speaker	Original	Time stamp
T	Okay. Well, one thing that [Prof. Y] was saying is that she actually used statistics as an example of an <i>easier</i> subject because she said that for that one it's, when it's just maths, I <i>think</i> she was saying that that's easier than if you have a lot of theory that	00:30:58

	you have to explain, many technical terms. So, have you seen any difference.../ So, one difference you've said is the difference in the style of teaching, making it more applicable made it easier for students, but what about the change in the language in education background of the students? So, in early 2000s they'd come from the Indonesian system,	
Z	Yeah.	00:31:44
T	And now they're coming from a different system with Tetun and Portuguese,	
Z	Yeah.	
T	-so, what difference does that make to the kinds of ...-/ what students find difficult and what students find easy?	
Z	Yeah ... in relation to that, overall, students from a bit experience from Indonesian background more understand the subjects.	00:32:02
T	All of the subjects?	
Z	Yes. Because, uh, perhaps we use Indonesian. And now students that have a half of...a bit education system and, uh, pure East Timorese system, they find it difficult. Perhaps because we still use Indonesian language...and also Tetun. But what they get from high school we don't know also. Pure Portuguese or mixed Tetun or...? What's the quality? Who make assessment in the secondary school to put exactly what's the level? They only have a national examination and many of them have low mark also. Perhaps the factor in here is overall, not only [NU]. So, what change in here? The absorption is what changed. Actually, we have to adapt. Use Tetun ... but very poorly explain. Explanation will be not good if you use Tetun.	00:32:45 00:33:05 00:33:20
T	Why is that?	
Z	Because some science is very ... you have to use Portuguese and I'm more prepared [to] use Indonesian language to explain that.	00:33:25
T	You prefer using Indonesian to explain science?	
Z	To explain, yes.	
T	Because why?	
Z	Because I have experience. I can use English, but students will find difficult, so I go for Indonesian because I use Indonesian for long. Yeah. But, this year, start from last semester...[...] I think since I finished my PhD, I already combined: my PowerPoint still in Indonesian language and I explain in Tetun. But, sometimes, I find difficult [to know] what's the technical word and so ... just use English.	00:33:46 00:34:14
T/Z	[T then asks Prof. Z for an example. Z gives example of 'mitosis'.]	
Z	Yeah. Mitosis is English. So, influence in my teaching - use some English term. And, to make they understand, I have to explain in Tetun also. So, the PowerPoint is in English. Uh, in Indonesian language, combined with a little bit in English, and the explanation in Tetun. So, when they in the exam, very complicated. Mixture of each. Some may choose to just explain in Tetun but we said no - it was terrible.	00:35:28
T	Some of the students choose to write in Tetun?	00:36:10
Z	Yeah, but was...no.	
T	You don't allow it?	
Z	Not...yeah. Not acceptable.	00:36:23

T	Why not?	
Z	Complicated also. You explain that knowledge in local language? Should be have the standard. We should have a book first. At least a book, we have to write book - that knowledge in Tetun. So, they <i>read</i> in that, they read in Tetun, they can explain in Tetun also. But no. They just pick up what we explain. So, all the textbooks supposed to have authorisation to translate to Tetun and we can distribute to students, in the form of study guides perhaps. So, when they explain, it's something that's standard already, out of lecturers. Through lecturers. If they develop it themselves, that's why I say that various [did], and then I said no, that's not true this one, that not true. Because they take it from what we say, not in written. That's why I say, we prepare in Indonesian language, and explain in Tetun, and they write down pick up Indonesian but when they answer they don't understand Indonesian language. They understand in written: 'Oh, that give me that message', but when we...we find that sentence good and then we want to write it - difficult. And then just use Tetun, that language that he/ a student familiar with it. But when they write in Tetun, the Tetun that we give to them just only verbal.	00:36:30 00:37:00 00:37:30 00:38:00
T	Right ...	
Z	So, they pick up things that are verbally Tetun, and then they write down. [So the professor says?] 'What's wrong?' The Tetun was wrong. 00:38:15	00:38:15

A3.4.3 – ‘You can imagine the diverse knowledge, diverse vocabulary’

Excerpt begins at [00:48:12]. Prof. Z has been talking about ‘the complexity of language’ [00:46:34] that students have to deal with – specialist knowledge being communicated to them in diverse mixtures and styles of language in textbooks, PowerPoints, and spoken explanations from lecturers in classrooms.

Cited data include:

- Prof. Z’s comment: ‘you can imagine the diverse knowledge, diverse vocabulary picked up by students’ [00:49:50];
- His statement that ‘you can’t use *moris* for growth’ [00:51:00].

Speaker	Original	Time stamp
T	One of the other lecturers I was talking to from agronomy was saying that sometimes he finds a scientific word in Indonesian and when he's trying to explain it he translates to Portuguese and he gave the example ' <i>pertumbuhan</i> ', 'growth', and he says when he translates for ' <i>kresimentu</i> ', he says that's not.../ For him, he feels like ' <i>kresimentu</i> ' is not quite correct because for plant science ' <i>kresimentu</i> ' is more about economics.	00:58:22
Z	Mmm. [<i>speculative</i>]	
T	He says, and so he uses ' <i>moris</i> ' to explain ' <i>pertumbuhan</i> '. So that's just one example he gives where the Tetun word gives the idea better than a Portuguese word. Do you have any examples like that in animal science?	

Z	I have that one also. As I say, our classes influenced by our background. He - someone that's from agronomy, perhaps he got his master's from Portugal. So, influence in his teaching. He use Portuguese language in there. I use English because I have background of English.	00:49:10
	Right.	
	Students would be diverse ...-/ If ten lecturers in here only two would be background in English.	
	Right.	
	They all from Brazil and Portugal. So you can imagine the diverse knowledge, diverse vocabulary pick up by students. We mostly concentrate on English and they concentrate on Portuguese, including that word ' <i>kresimentu</i> '. I use that word ' <i>kresimentu</i> ' also for growth.	00:49:50 00:50:05
T	For growth. Animal growth?	
Z	Growth. Animal growth mostly in chickens, in pigs, in goats - we all talking about growth. So we use ...-/ If they ...-/ Even I ask the students: did you know anything in P-/ 'cause I only know...Indonesian. <i>Pertumbuhan [propor?] badan</i> . In English called 'growth rate' or 'growth development'. But I don't know in Portuguese. And I ask them and they give to me <i>kresimentu</i> . Okay, use that word.	00:50:40
T	The students gave it to you?	
Z	Yes. Not I didn't find it. Students gave it to me.	
T	They said <i>kresimentu</i> ?	
Z	<i>Kresimentu</i> . I said it correct. Because I know that word, I rarely use. I know <i>kresimentu</i> is correct. Not, uh ...	00:50:52
T	<i>Moris</i> ?	
Z	<i>Moris</i> can't. You can't use <i>moris</i> for growth.	00:51:00
T	You can't?	
Z	Can't. <i>Moris</i> is life.	00:51:06

A3.4.4 – Prof. Z on NU's 'flexible' institutional language policy

Excerpt begins at [00:58:18]. Prof. Z has been telling me that he often mixes English with Tetun in his classroom communication and that students will copy this practice in exams.

Cited data includes Prof. Z's statement that 'flexibility is the problem' because lecturers are sent to different countries for their post-graduate qualifications [00:59:28].

Speaker	Original	Time stamp
Z	Yeah. Some, they use 'Poultry Science' they put English all inside. That's good. But have to look at <i>my</i> background influencing that one. Because mostly some of my PowerPoint is in English.	00:58:22
T	Right.	00:58:35

Z	Yeah. Not Portuguese. But, as I say, depends on the university's instruction. If they instruct us that all lecturers should use Portuguese - <i>standard</i> , that's good. So, we use the Portuguese. But...because now they let it.	
T	Yeah.	
Z	They let it because we don't have a fixed or, what do you call...a standard...uh, policy. Should be start from the beginning when they established the university. Standard policy and have a right time frame: 2005 everybody should understand Portuguese. And start to teach, whatever bad, in Portuguese. So this is the policy and everybody must do. But now, because it's flexible.	
T	So, you think the flexibility is a problem-	00:59:24
Z	Yes.	
T	-generally?	
Z	Flexibility is the problem. What made the flexibility become problem because we don't have power to give someone, all lecturers here, everybody go study in Portugal. But we find our way. Okay, I go for Australia, go for America, I go for Philippines,-	00:59:28
T	Indonesia, Portugal...	
Z	-Indonesia. Yeah, most of the lecturers prefer to go Indonesia.	00:59:52
T	Why? Why is that?	
Z	The easiest. Indonesian language. Their background, undergraduate in Indonesian.	01:00:00

A3.4.5 – ‘There is a link also from parents’

Excerpt begins at [01:04:15]. Cited data includes Prof. Z’s comments about the influence of parents and the home environment on students’ communication skills [01:06:14].

Speaker	Original	Time stamp
T	Can you try to imagine one/ think of one student particularly who you know is like that in your classes	01:04:15
Z	Yeah.	
T	Tell me about that student's communication skills. What makes them, especially in their communication skills, what makes them good?	
Z	Those students like to engage in...uh.../ Mostly they are <i>diligent</i> students. Yeah. They are those who always want to come to the class and correspond, engage very well in the subject that we gave, submit their homeworks, and also those who engage in school activities. Like, we have plenty of school activities in here. For <i>estudantil</i> . Yeah. Workshops, seminars, they have to write down their paper and compete in scientific writing - those perform good in the classes.	01:04:30
T	And where do they get those skills from, do you think? Where are they learning them?	
	From...I think some from their high school, but they get it more [reaching?] here. Maybe that related to.../ That related to environment, from their schools, and even individual - parents, maybe at home. Like, uh, someone's daddy may be as a teacher, or both parents as lecturers, that may influence well in their [certain?] education. If	01:05:22

	their parents have seven children and the parents just work as a government officer, perhaps their children perform not good. Yeah.	01:06:10
T	Okay	
Z	I think...we haven't.../ That's I just spoke broadly, but I think there is a link also from parents. Not only from school alone. But school, as I say, they maybe involve in the...those who.../ but that's not common. Like some also involved frequently in extra-curricular activities, but perform bad. But some involved intensive perform better. So, depends.	01:06:14 01:06:47

A3.4.6 – ‘They are not workers [...] they’re conceptors’ - Prof. Z on what students contribute to rural communities during fieldwork visits

Excerpt begins at [01:21:58]. Prof. Z has been telling me that the agriculture faculty at NU is the only faculty to still send students on two kinds of field work trips: the ‘PKL’ [*Ind.*] or ‘*estágio profissional*’ [*Port.*] (=professional work placement), which all faculties have, and also the ‘KKN’ [*Ind.*] or ‘*estágio serviço social*’ [*Port.*] (=social service placement), which all but the agriculture faculty have done away with.

Cited data include:

- Prof. Z telling me that the goal of the PKL is for students to ‘empower’ the communities that they visit [01:25:10];
- Prof. Z explaining that it is an ideational rather than practical contribution that students make, since ‘they are not workers [...] they’re conceptors’ [01:25:30].

Speaker	Original	Time stamp
T	Do the students get to choose? Do they get to choose where they want to go or do you ...-/ Who chooses?	01:21:58
Z	If they find, we'll support. If not, we organise it.	01:22:02
T	Okay.	
Z	If not, we organise. For example, they come three or ten students, okay? A lot we have to organise. And we go, find out the place and discuss with the institution, tell them we have students, and then we find agreement and we send them there to work for one month. Or two months normally. And that we call <i>estagio profissional</i> .	
T	Okay.	01:22:28
Z	In your profession. And this one [<i>showing student's KKN report</i>] it's changed already. The system got changed. Before 2008, before I left, this one was organised in university level. So <i>all</i> the faculties, departments at the university level gathered together every year to send students to the districts. Students can come 1000. I organised before - until 1500 students. Send them to all districts. To *farmers*.	01:22:35

T	To do community service?	
Z	To the community.	01:23:05
T	Okay.	
Z	So go in there, uh ...-/	
T	And what would they do?	
Z	Sit with the community, identify their problem. *Whatever* problem. Normally they go to the head of the village. One village, twenty students but composed of faculty of agriculture a little bit, faculty of education, faculty of engineering, faculty of medicine, faculty of economics, faculty of social science. Six, no, seven. *Seven* different background students, gathered together in a group, sent to every village to accommodate all the village level problem. But now the system has changed since 2008. With the new rector making the system. It's organised by faculty. So now, since 2010, the <i>estagio serviço social</i> is organised by faculty, so we just concentrate on agriculture.	01:23:42 01:23:59
T	Right?	
Z	Yeah. So, we organise in 10 students or 20 students, send to village again. The same process with the village - we have to coordinate with the village. And then they receive our students, staying there. You receive my students, students learn from you, you learn from students - (you are head of the village) [<i>clarifying to me</i>] - identify your village problem. What immediate needs, for example building the house or paint or maybe road or agriculture or whatever they can do. They plan it and they have to write in the board and I, we as a lecturer go and check what's your program. So that teach them how to identify problem, put down in the written, and make plan. Because even in here only for two months. How rationally you can work out your plan. And then we go and observe: Okay, not good - this need money and you just focus on this one, this one, this one. That's one. [01:25:08] Second things, train them to how empower people. Empower themselves, empower with people. Because, for example, if students asked by the villagers to build a house, they can't build it. They are not, uh, workers.	01:24:44 01:25:10
T	They're not engineers.	01:25:28
Z	They're conceptors. So, organise people - okay, we can build together with the community. Empower. Yeah. And then, because the agriculture, they have to be the example how to plan [/plant?] distance and the fertiliser, and for animal maybe show how to make vaccinations, and how to make good shelter for animals, and [camping?] little bit, then finished! There is no more other activity like before with mixed students but now we just concentrate-/ But I think we going to change back, now we have a new Rector.	01:25:36 01:26:03

A3.4.7 – ‘We have no meat...our farmers still subsisting’

Excerpt begins at [01:48:33]. Cited data include Prof. Z's description of his vision that one day his students will open up a chicken farm [01:49:22], and his despair that ‘we have no meat ... our farmers still subsisting’ [01:49:55].

Speaker	Original	Time stamp
T	So, when you're teaching your students, what <i>vision</i> of what they are going to do in their workplace, what <i>vision</i> do you have? What do you <i>think</i> you're preparing them for?	01:48:33
Z	I'm preparing them for uh ... uh, doing animal production.	
T	Ah. Okay.	
Z	Like, raise animal in more intensive way. That's only that vision that I always plan to them. But, at the end, they find difficulties, perhaps because not enough money, many regulations, and the conditions, and ... yeah. But we <i>give</i> vision. We have to follow by the system. The overall system. We give the vision, also we have to follow by the skill that they gain. Vision will remain vision without back-up with the exact skill. Like practical skill. For example, want to-/ I have a vision that students when they finish they have to be able to open a chicken farm. But, in the reality, they don't have chicken farm in this university. So have can they engage with this practical? So vision is really remain vision. A lot of vision I give to them already*, since I start in 2000 in here. I always as a senior* and give vision. And in every subject I insert the problem of this country in terms of this area, like animal production. We have no meat, no nothing; our farmers still subsisting. With few chickens, with few pigs, we not fulfil our improvement of human and also the income. Because [in order] we get, we have better pay, we need more nutrition. We don't have enough food. I give those background, contextual in here, in the vision. I say 'Okay, means that you have to become an entrepreneur, you have to become a animal practitioner, open up a farm. Make a group of you and start with something.' But at the end, still, nothing. Maybe one or two start but we need more.	01:48:47 01:49:22 01:49:55 01:50:58

A3.4.8 – Prof. Z on the elitist attitudes of agriculture graduates

Excerpt begins at [01:57:05]. Cited data is Prof. Z's comment on graduates' preoccupation with status and their lack of practical work outcomes after university [01:58:20].

Speaker	Original	Time stamp
T	Somebody was telling me - I thought it was you but maybe it was somebody else - was telling me that one problem is that students, once they have the degree from a university, when they go back to their home town and back to the farm, then they don't want to do the manual labour anymore. Because then they have the university degree, so they have more prestige,	01:57:05
Z	Yes. Yeah.	
T	-and then they feel like they don't have to, they shouldn't have to do any farm work.	
Z	Yes.	
T	Is that true, do you think?	
Z	Yes. Because university degree...I don't know if that's in Australia also or not, in America.... For example, in here, when you finish, your picture will be put in a frame. Have a degree. Sometimes I name them 'SB'. They ask me: 'What is that - SB?' [...] SB: <i>Sarjana Binkai</i> [Ind. Lit.=undergraduate/bachelor frame]	01:58:08

T	What does that mean?	
Z	Uh ...'Scholar's Frame'.	
T	Ah, okay.	
Z	When they finish, they put 'Ohh! We sarjana! Yes!' in the frame. Then nothing. That's not their mist-/ problem, that's our problem also. We prepare them. Yeah. Is part of our problem. As I tell them, it's part of our problem why they just become like that and for years at home doing nothing. Supposed to this family can influence their family to change life. The purpose of education is to change life. Not only in [the?that?] you can raise chickens or plant things, or.... But they don't have that influence. Maybe their power or influence or influence is very low? One thing I think - that's a problem because we didn't put the practical, <i>really</i> practical things in the students. Like, when I.... My high school, in agricultures.../ Agriculture high school. Animal production high school. We had to know how to raise chickens, we had to.../ But when I finished I raised chickens, because I <i>know</i> that.	01:58:20 01:59:02 01:59:38

A3.5 Excerpts from an interview with Prof. M (NU-15)

Date: 6th August 2015

M	Prof. M, agronomy lecturer
T	Trent Newman, interviewer/researcher

A3.5.1 – Prof. M on students' lazy attitudes ... and on assessing ideas rather than language

Excerpt begins at [00:35:04]. Prof. M has been talking about his methods of assessment and distributing marks to students in comparison with those of his colleagues.

Cited data include:

- Prof. M's comment that students come from high school with 'limited understanding' [00:35:45];
- His description of students' as 'lazy' and his observations of their study habits as 'not very serious' [00:35:45 – 00:36:21];
- His statement that he is 'teaching the science', not language, and so 'even though their language is not correct, [...] if the idea is there, I still give mark' [00:36:45].

Speaker	Original	Time stamp
T	So, what kinds of things are they having problems with? If they did have the confidence or the motivation to come and talk to you about what they don't understand, what do you expect they would ask you about? Because you're saying that many of them are failing or are getting bad marks? So what is it that they're not doing well?	00:35:04
M	I think we already raised the issue that recently they come with a very limited understanding. You know, particularly in the recent graduates from high school. And also they are very lazy, you know? If you look around, they are just hanging around and talking and don't really [do] studying, you know, very serious. I think those [reasons?]. In fact, you know, there's some subjects, I don't think they're very hard, but I would rate most of them quite lazy, you know, to follow up after [the] lecture[r?], they don't, you know? Until the exam. They even write whatever comes into their mind, you know? They don't really care.	00:31:44 00:35:52 00:36:21
T	So, it's their answers? Their answers are just not correct? Or is it that their language is not good in describing? Or is it their maths?	
M	No, language is a different thing. For me, I'm teaching the science. I think, even though their language is not correct, but I think if the idea is there, I still give mark.	00:36:45
T	Okay.	
M	Depending how much they express. And against my expectation.	00:36:51

A3.5.2 – Prof. M on the Tetun translation of ‘growth’ as *moris*, ‘soil water content’ as *konteudu bee rai*; ... ‘and I always tell them: English is very important’

Excerpt begins at [00:52:54] with me recalling an earlier, unrecorded conversation I had had with Prof. M in the corridor of the NU agriculture faculty.

As this discussion about translation with Prof. M is something I refer to frequently in this thesis, I have included an extended excerpt, providing the full length of the discussion.

Cited data include:

- Prof. M’s comment that he feels that the word *kresimentu* [Port-Tet.=‘growth’] ‘is mostly applied in economic terms’ [00:53:50];
- His comment that, while some of his colleagues say that Tetun is still not appropriate for scientific communication, Prof. M sees it as an ‘opportunity to learn’ [00:59:00];
- His statement that there are ‘no reference[s] in Tetun’ [01:00:55];
- His faltered explanation of how he translates ‘soil water content’ into Tetun as ‘*konteudu bee rai*’ [01:02:25];
- His statement of multilingual classroom language policy: ‘Quite often I express in both *Bahasa* and English’ so that students ‘can look for the Bahasa or English as an option’ [01:02:35 – 01:04:00];
- His explanation of the language values that he teaches his students when he provides translations, saying that ‘I always tell them: “English is very important”’ [01:03:08 – 01:03:42].

Speaker	Original	Time stamp
T	Do you remember the other day we were talking about translating scientific knowledge, or scientific...technical terms? Technical words. And you gave me the example of, um, <i>pertumbuhan</i> [Ind.=growth], and you said that, for example, if you translate that into Portuguese as <i>kresimentu</i> [/crescimento] ...-/	00:52:54
M	Yeah, yeah.	
T	You said...what did you say?	
M	I say <i>moris</i> . <i>Moris</i> . You know? <i>Moris</i> . [Tet.=life]	
T	Why do you translate it as ‘ <i>moris</i> ’ and not ‘ <i>kresimentu</i> ’?	

T	This is what you say to the students?	
M	Yeah. I think I didn't really say to-/ that you can actually-/ these experts to-/ when you meet the expert language people, but I said that this is interesting: you know, that we can basically, you know, keep going until we find out which word [is] really appropriate to use for the agriculture.	
T	Mmm. And what do students say?	00:58:14
M	Students, uh ...	
T	Do they respond? Did you have a discussion?	
M	No. Uh ... basically, yeah, I think they just, uh ...-/ Basically they don't have, like, react very much when [I use these words?]. Respond. But I think that there should be ...-/ I think in the future there should be respond how ...-/ But I think the important point is that we are willing to, you know? That we are willing to use this new language [Tetun?], which some other colleagues, they say that 'Oh, no, this is still not appropriate enough to use it for, like, scientific written materials, whatever.' I think this is interesting. This is a good challenge, that, you know.... I think this is [an] opportunity to learn, you know? So, ...	00:59:00
T	So ...?	
M	So, at least we also communicated with these different words when the students - when they also raise this issue in the seminar. I think there were also some other terms ...	
T	Yeah?	
M	... but I forgot! But it's interesting. It's interesting.	
T	It's *really* interesting! So you can't think of any other examples? [00:59:23]	
M	Yeah. [pause, 4 seconds] I think mostly ...-/ I think that one of the challenge[s] when students [are] writing up is that they still need to go to, um ...-/ Because I think they[=it's] easier for them to understand [if] it's in Bahasa, maybe? Maybe some students may be good in Portuguese, maybe, but I doubt. Maybe some of them [are] quite good in Bahasa and therefore they need to search information on[=in] Bahasa then translate this into Tetun. So, if they don't have a word[s] meaning, the translate[ion] of some specific word in Bahasa, they can simply go to Portuguese and modify a bit, adapt to the Tetun. Some [students] just put [that and that?], you know. But that's still a good idea. But the challenge is if they have poor understanding in Portuguese, poor understanding in Bahasa, then [it's] very hard for the proposal. Because reference ... [there are] no reference[s] in Tetun. So that is their challenge.	00:59:24 01:00:35 01:00:55
T	So can you give me another example of how you would explain ...-/ So, maybe using Tetun, yeah? <i>Iha Tetun bele koaliala</i> [=You can speak in Tetun]. Just give me an example of how you explain a word in Bahasa that maybe none of them know. So, <i>pertumbuhan</i> is sort of easy cos it just means 'growth', right?	
M	Yeah.	
T	But another, more technical word that you have in Bahasa on your PowerPoint - how would explain that to students in Tetun, or any language?	
M	Uh ... [pause, 3 seconds] Um ... [pause, 4 seconds]	

T	Sorry [I'm asking?] ...-/	01:01:32
M	Um ... like, in irrigation science we sometimes we express the water content of the soil in Bahasa: <i>kadar lengas</i> . <i>Kadar lengas</i> [=moisture content]. Or, <i>karnuan [kadar?] air tanah</i> [=groundwater content]. Both are the same. And <i>kadar lengas</i> is quite common. Students know [it]. [It's] quite common. They understand.	
T	Okay ... [doubtfully]	
M	I think that when I translate this into Tetun, I write: <i>kadar-/</i> Uh, I write: <i>kontedu-/ konTEUdu bee rai</i> . <i>Kadar lengas tanah</i> [Ind.=soil moisture content]. <i>Kontedu bee rai</i> . [Tet.=soil water content]. Portuguese: <i>conteúdo de água no solo</i> [Port.=water content in soil] Because this ...-/ I think that this is quite ... very technical. Maybe not common yet - not common use yet. I always say, in Bahasa this is <i>kadar lengas</i> . Or <i>water content</i> in English, for some of them. I always say, or quite often I express in both Bahasa and English.	01:02:25 01:02:35 01:03:06
T	Okay	
M	And I always tell them: 'English is very important. I'm encouraging you that this, you will see in the future, that lots of NGOs, you know, they employ if you have a good ability in English. So whenever there is opportunity, you also need to learn this [English]. So this very important. Particularly all those who want to continue study in overseas - English is very important.' So, I write in Bah-/ in Tetun, but I don't...if... I always say, in brackets with Bahasa. Either Bahasa or English. So if they don't understand this, they can look for this - the English or Bahasa as a option.	01:03:08 01:03:42
T	Yep.	01:04:00
M	If I miss [it in the PowerPoint?], I always mention that when I teach. I say 'this is [it] in Bahasa.' I think that's a way that I can, you know, help them if I [=they?] don't understand the term that I use, then of course I offer the alternative.	01:04:21

A3.5.3 – ‘The people in the village [...] they don’t know *kresimentu*’

Excerpt begins at [01:15:20]. Prof. M has been explaining the corrections he has made on a student’s draft undergraduate thesis that he has brought to the interview, including correcting *kresimentu* to *moris*.

Cited data is Prof. M’s explanation that ‘if you come to the people in the village [...] they don’t know what is *kresimentu*’ [01:16:45], and ‘if you talk to them, they say: “Oh, *ida nee moris diak*”’ [01:17:30].

Speaker	Original	Time stamp
T	So, can I ask, just cos I want to be clear about this. <i>Why</i> do you think <i>kresimentu</i> has economic ... uh ... links?	01:15:20
	[pause, 10 seconds]	01:15:31

M	I think that in my, uh ...-/ Yeah, that is a good question. Yeah. Well, my understanding is that it's common in use. But, possibly ... you know, I said, this probably can be used in agriculture. [01:16:09]	01:15:41
T	And ' <i>moris</i> ' means 'life', doesn't it?	01:16:10
M	Yeah.	
T	So, but here it is meaning life as a *process*.	
M	Yeah.	
T	Is that a normal use of <i>moris</i> ? So <i>moris</i> can also mean ... can it indicate change? Or is it ...-/	
M	Yeah ...	
T	I thought ... cos my understanding of <i>moris</i> is that it just means 'this person is <i>alive</i> ', or they <i>have</i> life.	
M	Yeah.	
T	But <i>kresimentu</i> is process and growth...?	
M	That ... yeah. I think, maybe, <i>kresimentu</i> - you are right, maybe. But, if you come to, like, the people in the village, they can only tell you: 'Oh, this is good growth.' ' <i>E moris diak</i> .' They only refer to <i>moris diak</i> . They don't know what is <i>kresimentu</i> . But, maybe, it's a technical term, maybe in the future. You may be right.	01:16:45 01:17:00
T	I ...-/ I'm not ...-/ I don't want it to be <i>kresimentu</i> !	
M	[laughs]	
T	I think it's great to use <i>moris</i> , I just want to understand why *you* think it's good to use <i>moris</i> . So, it seems like you're saying that the village language ...-/	
M	If you ask ... yeah. If you talk to them, they say:	
T	<i>Moris diak</i> ? [=good life/growth]	
M	'Oh, <i>ida nee moris diak</i> . <i>Ida nee moris laduun diak</i> . <i>Laduun furak</i> .' ['Oh, this is good life/growth. This one is not growing so well. It's not so tasty.'] That's why, you know, people can tell [=understand?].	01:17:30 01:17:39

A3.5.4 – Prof. M on the communication skills needed by agricultural extension workers

Excerpt begins at [01:49:50]. Prof. M has been talking about the kinds of work that agronomy graduates do after university.

Cited data include:

- Prof. M's explanation of the communication tasks required of agricultural extension workers and his comment that 'they are expected to have good communication skill[s]' [01:50:35 – 01:51:12];

- Prof. M's statement that students learn these skills in the one agricultural extension subject (which is taught by Prof. K), and via their fieldwork activities [01:51:20].

Speaker	Original	Time stamp
T	What kinds of different groups do you think they would need to communicate with?	01:49:50
M	That is one very important component. Once you are not a person directly growing, producing by yourself, but if you are, like, managing, you know, farmers and products and then you sell as well, then you have to have like a good communication skill. I think at the government side, I think they have like what we call <i>extensionists</i> .	01:50:22
T	Extension workers?	
M	So their job, actually, [is] to introduce whatever new farming system or information to the local people, to the farmers, and then whatever problems or information from farmers back to the government - they are the right person. So they are expected to have good communication skill[s], with scientific terms as well as [to] transfer those terms into the local ... terms so they're easily understand[able] by local people.	01:50:35 01:51:12
T	Yep.	
M	Uh...so [for] that kind of work, basically we have one subject, [there?] also in here,	01:51:20
T	Yeah?	
M	So, we also call <i>penyuluhan</i> [<i>Ind.</i> =extension worker]. Extension ... uh, <i>Extensionista</i> . So, uh, I think that they also learning about theory of the how you communicate with people ... and that's the subject. Also, we have also two other activities, uh...which we call field ... field study.	01:51:30
T	Yep.	
M	And we basically ask student[s] to go and stay with a community for a couple of weeks, or two, three months. And they can go [to] try [to] provide the ideas, whatever they already learned, to community, but the main idea is they can also learn from community-	01:52:00
T	Right	
M	-how they exist, farming system, for example, or business, whatever they ... they are in with. They can also learn from community at the same time they can also ... -/.	01:52:45

A3.5.5 – Prof. M on lecturers' different styles of academic communication

Excerpt begins at [01:54:44].

Cited data include:

- Prof. M's comment that lecturers' different ways of 'thinking and transferring information, writing' are good for students to be exposed to, 'it is good experience for students' [01:56:35];

- His comment that students can see differences between lecturers who have graduated in Australia and those who have graduated in Indonesia [01:57:04];
- Prof. M's comparison between the Timorese and Indonesian styles of communication: 'talk a lot and you sometimes miss key points' [01:58:25];
- His expression of personal preference for a 'Western style' of communication, 'because everything straightforward and quickly' [01:58:55].

Speaker	Original	Time stamp
T	In the focus group the other day, I think we were talking about-/ uh, some of the other lecturers were talking about the problems, I think, of different lecturers having different education backgrounds and mixing the different languages. I think? And, I think, I think *you* said - cos it was in Tetun and my Tetun's not great - but I think you said that's an advantage?	01:54:44
M	Yeah. I think that's [an] advantage. You know...uh... Because I know in a Western they almost [=almost always] quite similar, the way of, you know, thinking and transferring information, writing. I think, maybe, that those Portuguese, they may [be] slightly different. They talk a lot! <i>[laughs]</i>	01:55:38
T	Yep	
M	But I think very much in western style they very straightforward, you know, and they don't care about the, you know, uh, being polite or whatever - there's not very big issue. I think in, like in Indonesia, they, like, oh, you have to be very polite, you know, especially when you are making an appointment to see a lecturer,	
T	Right	
M	-you have to in that situation. I think when we come back from those/ being, studying [in] those different countries, and you come back and then provide the information with a variety of [exercises? sources?], you know, from different lecturers, I think that is a basically also good advantage to understand, uh, for student[s], good experience for students to understand. Because at least from physically they could see, oh, lecturers, you know, they graduate from Australia, the way of teaching and talking and discussing very openly, you know, compared to those that graduated from here, from Indonesia, maybe Brasil. And they have/ At least they can see physically that way. And I think they would definitely go into further when you are, you know, discuss with them in a very specific way, the way you are talking, the way you are, you know, explaining, I think the student will see differences and then they can adjust to which one is better or not. I mean, talking about that, it's not really adjusting - you know, this is bad, this good - but at least for, you know, for their experience they can also see, oh, I got opportunity to go to you know like Indonesia or Australia and then they know, you know, the characteristic of...of the country, the area of education. At least general[ly] they know and then they can also come to [the] lecturer: "Oh, I got opportunity to go study in this country, tell me more about this." But I think the most important is the way of how you express the science. You know? The way of thinking. I think Western [is] more straightforward. I think in, like, Indonesia, they don't, you know - it's just like Timorese: talk a lot and sometimes you miss key points, you know? Take a too long time, you know, to reach a key point or what you really want to talk about.	01:56:08 01:56:35 01:57:04 01:57:29 01:58:00 01:58:25

T	Yeah.	
M	So, I think that's good for students.	
T	You think it's good for students to be exposed to diversity-	
M	Yeah.	
T	-or more the Western style?	
M	I think I would say more diversity.	01:58:47
T	More diversity.	
M	Well, I think more Western style, I believe - even if most of here they don't agree with me but ... is much better, because everything they want straightforward and quickly. Because, you know ... like, if a small subject you take too much time to speak, to sit down to talk about this, you know, I have some other stuff to do. So, you have to straightforward and you have to, you know, finish it quickly so I can do others. Otherwise, I ...-/ Otherwise I don't finish my job. So, I think...I love Western style in terms of that, you know? The way of thinking, the way of writing, to be like very clear and straightforward.	01:58:55 01:59:38

A3.6 Excerpts from a focus group discussion with RCI agriculture lecturers (RCI-FG1)

Date: 12th August 2015

Participants:

Fr	Prof. Fr, Agronomy lecturer
E	Prof. E, Agriculture lecturer
Li	Prof. Li, RCI Librarian
P	Prof. P, Biology lecturer
Gm	Prof. Gm, Agribusiness lecturer
T	Trent Newman, focus group facilitator/researcher
Int	Interpreter

A3.6.1 – ‘Some students are not interested to learn.’

Main excerpt begins at [00:07:40]. Prof. P (P) is taking his turn to respond to an earlier group ‘rotation’ prompt about those students who are successful at university. This prompt is provided for context, followed by Prof. P’s response.

Speaker	Original	Translation	Time stamp
T	Ba rotasaun rua, halo favor foo esperiensa kona ba estudante nebee mak hetan susesu. Nebee ita gosta liu atu hanorin no orienta. Estudante balu hanesan nee. Saida mak halo sira [atu] hetan susesu? Sira nia abilidade komunikasaun mak oinsaa? Oinsaa maka ita foo ajuda ba estudante...nebee mak hetan susesu?	For the second rotation, please tell your experience about a successful student. One that you enjoy teaching and supervising. A student like this. What do they do to achieve success? What are their communication abilities like? How do you give help to the students...the ones that achieve success?	[00:01:57]
	[...]	[...]	
P	Obrigado. Hau husi department biologi. Ami iha estudante husi semester 2, 4 too 6 nee. Iha nain 6 mak iha, sira iha klasifikasaun diak. Maibee buat nee depende ba estudante esforsu aan. Sira iha esforsu aan atu estuda. Sira hetan valor diak tanba sira husi, sira hakarak duni ho vontade. Balu mai, hanesan estuda, ita hanorin ho esforsu aan tomak. Maibee pesoal nee, individu nee, balun laduun interese. Balun mai hanesan [inaudible]. Depois la kompriende buat ida, eskola nia vantajen sira nee. Iha	Thank you. I am from the biology department. We have students from semester 2, 4, up to 6. There are six of them that have, they have good marks. But that depends on the effort the students put in. They have to put in the effort to study. They get good grades because they, they really want to, they have the will [to study]. Some come, to study, we teach with all of our effort. But these people, these individuals, some of them are not really interested. Some come like [inaudible]. And they don't understand anything, the	[00:07:40] [00:08:20]

	balun nee iha valor diak. Ita foo topik ba sira, sira baa langsung, se sira baa sira buka, halo mai, apresenta buat nebee ita foo. Nebee sira nebee mak hasai interese, entaun sira nia valor iha semester nee sira iha mudansa, semakin meningkat. Sira nee mak pesimis, laduun ativu nee, sira la interese, ita foo, ita advise sira, sira tenki ba uma estuda, halo nusaa, mais <i>[inaudible]</i> hanesan dehan, buat ida esforsu aan individu ida-idak ninian. Persepsaun hatene ita nia kondisaun nebee ita koalia ba asesu buat ida teknolojia ita haree ida nee mos minim. Buat sira nee sai difikuldades oi-oin. Estudante mos atu kapasita sira nia aan. Ita foo tiha topik ruma, ita foo sira dadus, materia, ita fahe tiha dalaruma sira haree referencia, loke iha internet. Depois balun mos la tuir kursu atu loke internet, la hatene entaun asesu ba materia liu husi internet la iha. Hein deit ita dosen sira mak bele fo. Tanba nee mak balun nee iha interese entaun sira nee mak semakin meningkat, balun nee mak la, la interese la meningkat.	advantages of school. Some get good marks. We give them the topics, they go straight away, if they go they look [for information], they come, and present the things that we gave them. So those that are more interested, their marks have changed in this semester, they have increased. There are those that are pessimists, not really active, they are not interested, we give, we advise them, they have to go home and study, what they have to do, but <i>[inaudible]</i> as I said, the amount of effort put in is based on the individual. We also see that access to technology is minimal. These things are the various difficulties. The students also increase their own capacity. We give them a topic, we give them data, material, we hand it out, and sometimes they find reference material, they look it up on the internet. And some haven't done a course on how to use the internet, they don't know [how] so they don't have access to the materials on the internet. They just wait for us lecturers to give it to them. Because of this, some of them show an interest and they continue to improve, some don't, they are not interested and they don't improve.	[00:08:55] [00:09:27] [00:09:58]

A3.6.2 – ‘Their families are a factor’; ‘They come from high school with Portuguese.’

Excerpt begins at [00:11:10]. This time Prof. P (P) is first to respond to a question open to the whole group about those students who need extra help with their communication at university. His response is followed by a response from Prof. Fr, who talks about students coming from high school with more Portuguese than Indonesian.

Speaker	Original	Translation	Time stamp
T	Okay, agora la presiza rotasaun – imi hotu senti livre atu koalia. Hakarak katak imi hatete kona ba estudante ida, se bele estudante espesifiku, mak presiza ajuda ho sira nia abilidade komunikasaun. <i>[adds clarifying comment to interpreter in English]</i>	Okay, now there's no need for a rotation – you all feel free to speak. I'd like you to tell me about a student, if possible a specific student, who needs help with their communication ability.	[00:11:10]
	<i>[interpreter translates and clarifies question]</i>		[00:12:35]

P	Sempre iha. Horibainhira ita koalia kona ba fator ida. Fator ida liu influensia mai husi familia. Tanba la foo, la husik liu tempu para atu estuda. Entaun ita hanorin, labarik la entende, la kompriende. Entaun ita halo advice, ita atu kontrola, atu foo buat ruma, ita atu haree valor. Iha semester um entaun difikuldade saida mak nia hasoru? Ezemplu hanesan dehan, agora hau iha problema ida dehan lingua. Multi-lingua. Ida nee mos sai impaktu. Porezemplu hau iha estudante feto ida. Ita uza Tetun mai gado-gado. La kompriende Bahasa tama tiha. Agora Bahasa Indonesia tama loos tiha, ema dehan hapus bahasa. Ema dehan pikir-pikir sampai, hanoin too la hetan. Ita atu [uza Portuges?] sira dehan, nee dehan, sehingga materia, mak nee arbiru deit. Hanoin ida nee, depois Tetun hanesan nee, nee problema boot ida. Ita hanesan, ita dosente mak buka jeitu, estratejia halo nusaa para ita bele foo konsellu tapi liga ba estudante ida-idak nebee hasoru problema. Hanesan nee.	There always is. A few days ago, we spoke about one factor. One factor is the influence of the family. Because they don't give, they don't leave the time to be able to study. So, we teach, the kids don't understand, don't understand. So, we give them advice, to control [it], to give them something, we look at the marks. In the first semester, what difficulties are they facing? An example, as we spoke about, now language is a problem. Multi-lingual[ism]. This also has an impact. For example, I have a female student. We use Tetun and it is all mixed up. [She] doesn't understand [so] Indonesian gets mixed in. Now Indonesian is all mixed in, people say get rid of the Indonesian. People say [these things and] we think and think until we lose all of our thoughts. We will [use Portuguese] they say, they say, so the material, it is all done arbitrarily. Thinking of this, and then Tetun being like this, this is a big problem. We lecturers looks for ways, strategies to be able to give advice but link it to each student that is facing difficulties. It is like this.	[00:13:20] [00:13:50] [00:14:25]
T	<i>[asks clarifying question from interpreter]</i>		
Int	<i>[interpreter responds]</i>		
Fr	Iha balun nebee nia hakarak tebes atu mai eskola. <i>[Fr says some don't have support from their families. There was one student who came to me, now he is semester 8.]</i> Nia mai ho matan been sulin makaas nia mai hasoru hau, husu bele empresta hau nia osan. Agora ida nee halo nusaa, hein lai? Ita-boot hakarak, hakarak duni ok. Depois ida tama fali kona ba linguazen. Linguazen importante loos tanba sira husi SMA mai, sira aprende Portuges. Agora mai too iha nee ami la hatene Portuges. Nebee ami ho Bahasa Indonesia maibee tradus ho Tetun ami bee ...-/ Ami lee ho Bahasa Indonesia, menjelaskan ho Tetun deit. <i>[inaudible]</i> ho Tetun para sira kompriende didiak...	There are some who really do want to come to school. <i>[Fr says some don't have support from their families. There was one student who came to me, now he is semester 8.]</i> He came and met me, crying heavily, asking if he could borrow my money. Now what are we going to do, just wait. If you want, if you really want to, ok. And then another thing is the language. Language is very important because they come from high school, they have learned Portuguese. Now they have come here, and we don't know Portuguese. So, we have the Indonesian, but translate it into Tetun, we um ... -/ We read in Indonesian, explain <i>[Ind.]</i> it with Tetun <i>[inaudible]</i> with Tetun so that they understand it well ...	[00:14:50] [00:16:14]
Other	Esplika ho Tetun.	Explain with Tetun.	[00:16:40]
Jm	Esplika ho Tetun. Ida-nee mak difikuldade nee, linguazen. Tanba	Explain it in Tetun. This is the difficulty., language. Because sometimes we don't	

	dalaruma la simu malu. Sira semester 2 agora nee, sira la kompriende loos Bahasa Indonesia. Lingua Indonesia sira la hatene loos. Tanba iha SMA nee kan, sira hanorin ho Portuges deit. Portuges, Tetun, Portuges, Tetun. Nebee lingua Indonesia nee tama maibee nia laos hanesan Tetun, nia mata pelajaran deit, semacam mata pelajaran deit. Laos loron-loron mak koalia ho ema, halo buat sira nee, ba ospital ba saida. Tanba ida nee mak lingua susar mai ami iha institute [RCI]. Hau hanoin laos nee ka, institutu Timor laran tomak hanesan.	accept each other. Those [students] currently in second semester, they don't really understand Indonesian. They don't really know the Indonesian language. Because in high school, they just teach with Portuguese. Portuguese, Tetun, Portuguese, Tetun. The Indonesian they get isn't like Tetun, it's just the subject, just as a subject. Not every day speaking with people, doing things, going to the hospital or wherever. It is because of this that language is difficult for us at the institute [RCI]. I think that it is not [just us], all of the institutes in the whole of Timor are the same.	[00:17:12] [00:17:30]

A3.6.3 – ‘Tetun ho gado gado.’

Excerpt begins at [00:18:32]. Prof. E (E) is responding to the same prompt given in the previous excerpt about students who need extra help with communication at university. She explains that language is a major issue because of the difficulty of translating scientific terms into Tetun. Prof. P (P) then adds to Prof. E's comment.

Note that Prof. E is from Indonesia and uses a lot of Indonesian when she speaks Tetun. This Indonesian has not been marked in the transcript.

Speaker	Original	Translation	Time stamp
E	Hau hakarak hatete tan, tanba ohin kolega sira koalia kona ba komunikasaun, ami haree buat komplikadu barak. Dalaruma sira, hanesan mai atu aprende buat ruma husi nee mos, hanesan... [To interpreter] Hau la hatene ohin kona ba komunikasaun liu-liu kona ba...?	I want to say again, because earlier my colleagues spoke about communication, we see that there are many complicated things. Sometimes they, like ... [To interpreter] I don't know, earlier [we spoke] about communication, especially about ...?	[00:18:32]
Int	Abilidade komunikasaun. Abilidade komunikasaun saida maka sira prezisa, no dezafiu saida mak sira enfrenta.	Communication abilities, what communication abilities they need, and what challenges they face.	[00:18:57]
E	Nee hau haree dalaruma buat ida komplikadu tanba parte barak loos. Ita haree hanesan kampus nee hamriik iha fatin hanesan nee, depois sira atu mai access mai iha nee mos, distansia dook. Ho distansia dook nee hau sente hanesan, dalaruma husi distansia dook nee sira atu too iha fatin nee mos sira kolen ona.	I see this as something that is complicated because there are many parts to it. If we look at this campus, standing here where it is, for them to come and access it here it is a great distance. With this great distance I feel that, sometimes if they come here from far away when they get here they are already tired.	[00:19:06] [00:19:35]

	Entaun ho, masih kaitan ho hanesan lingua ohin nee. Sira mai depois ho atu estuda kona ba materia nebee ita hanorin, liu-liu kona ba kimia organik nee, ho hau laduun kompriende atu dehan fali ho Tetun hanusaa, memang hau uza duni ho bahasa kimia duni rasik. Hanesan ita dehan...uh...hanesan gas metan. Gas metan ona. Buat hanesan nee atu translate ba Tetun araska ona. Nee atu dehan hanusaa? Gas metan [inaudible], buat hanesan nee. Depois nia estrutur, nia estrutur dari gas itu sendiri ada ikatan dan lain-lain hanesan nee.	And so with, there is still a link with the language that we spoke of earlier. They come and then they study the material that we are teaching them, especially about organic chemistry, and I don't really know how to say it in Tetun, I use it with chemical terms themselves, for example we say... ah... <i>gas metan</i> 'black gas', <i>gas metan</i>. For things like this it is difficult to translate them to Tetun. How to say them? [inaudible], things like this. And then the structure, the structure of the gas itself, and the bonds and other things like that.	[00:20:04] [00:20:42]
T	Entaun oinsaa esplika ba estudante?	So how do you explain it to students?	
E	Nebee dalaruma hau sempre, porezemplu, 'ikatan', kuandu koalia kona ba 'ikatan', hau foo contoh ba, ezemplu ba sira hanesan feto ho mane, nee haree buka malu, relasaun hanesan nee. Kalau nia iha estrutur kimia kan, nia ikatan rangkap dua, rangkap tiga, hanesan nee. Bainhira ida ita dehan jenuh nee, hau sempre dehan, karik feto ho mane sira hola malu, depois nia jenuh, artinya baruk ona, jenuh, baruk, hanesan nee. Nee berarti nia atu buka fali, buka fali feto seluk. Artinya, nia gampang reaksi, gampang bereaksi ho misalnya, contoh ho unsur balu. Ida nee dehan, hau foo ezemplu, ita-boot unsur A, ita-boot unsur B, depois ba buka fali unsur seluk nee, ida nee mak, jadi dala ruma hau contoh ba sira rasik, sira nia aan rasik para bele dehan ezemplu ida nee ita-boot mak unsur ida nee, ida nee mak unsur ida nee. Bainhira atu bereaksi kait malu metin. Jadi esplika hanesan nee halo hau hanoin, mais kuandu iha kelas, ita nia hanoin sempre iha para bele, bele foo ezemplu para sira bele kompriende. Ida nee mak ami nia observasi. Tanba lingua scientific nee, dalaruma Tetun laduun wakili atu nee, depois loloos karik Portuguese bele nee', maibee ami rasik mos, ami Bahasa mak domina, nebee dalaruma ami foo ezemplu rasik ba sira para bele maizumenus bele, apa ya namanya, mendekatkan supaya paling tidak bisa mewakili.	Sometimes I, for example, 'bonds', when we are talking about 'bonds', I give examples, examples to them like women and men, they look for eachother, to be in relationships. If we are talking about chemical structures, there are double bonds, triple bonds, like this. When we talk about boredom, I always say, if a woman and a man get married, and then they are bored, meaning that they are bored, bored, bored, like this. This means that they are going to look for, look for other women. This means that they will react easily, react easily with for example, with other elements. This means, I give the example 'you are element A, you are element B' and then they look for other elements. This is, so sometimes I use them as examples, them themselves to be able to show the example 'you are this element, you are that element, you are the other element'. When you are going to react you hold on to eachother tightly. So when I explain it like this it makes me think, but when we are in class, we are always thinking about how to give examples so that they can understand. This is our observation. Because scientific language, sometimes Tetun doesn't really represent it, then it should be that Portuguese can be used, but we ourselves, we know Indonesian well, so sometimes we give examples themselves to them so that they can, maybe they can, what's it called, get closer so at least there is a representation of it.	[00:20:45] [00:21:20] [00:22:50]

T/E	[T comments on E's use of Bahasa in her response. T & E laugh.]		
Gm	Durante hau uza, semester mos hau hasoru difikuldade, hanesan ohin hau koalia tiha ona. Agora hau hanorin materia ida Bahasa dehan [inaudible]. Siensia nee ilmu. Siensia nee sira kompriende. Hau atu esforsu oinsa, maske materia nee ho Bahasa, mais hau maske Tetun laduun saida, laduun sem porsentu, maibee oinsaa para sira bele kompriende materia nee. Entaun hau koalia ho Tetun deit, maske ho gado-gado. Hanesan ba hau gado-gado nee kahur ba, kahur mai. Bele Portuges oituan, dalaruma Tetun tama Portuges bele tama oituan. Se lae, balu ita haluha ita bele tama ba Bahasa. Sira nebee hau bele, hau bele esforsu aan, balun nebee hau la bele, entaun ho halo mixtura. Mais esforsu halo nusaa para sira kompriende materia nebee ita foo.	I use, during the semester I also have difficulties, like I spoke of earlier. Now I teach the material in Indonesian. [inaudible]. Science [Tet.] is science [Ind.]. They understand science. How can I endeavour to, even though the material is in Indonesian, but I, even though Tetun is not really what's it called, not really a hundred percent, but [endeavour so that] they can understand the material. So, I just speak in Tetun, even though it is all mixed up. For me, it is all mixed up, mixed here, mixed there. There can be a bit of Portuguese, sometimes the Tetun can have a bit of Portuguese in it. If not, for the [terms] we forget we can go into Indonesian. For those [terms] that I can, I can endeavour [to use them], but for those that I can't, then I make a mixture. But I endeavour to find a way for them to understand the subject materials that we give [them].	[00:23:00] [00:23:35]
T	Maibee nee diak ka lae? I mean, for me I imagine that if you have many languages, then there is more opportunity to pull ideas from the different languages. Is it a problem or is it a good thing?	But is this good, or not? I mean, for me I imagine that if you have many languages, then there is more opportunity to pull ideas from the different languages. Is it a problem or is it a good thing?	[00:24:02]
Int	[provides translation]		[00:24:04]
T	Because you have different resources in the different languages to use.		
Int	[provides translation]		
Gm	Mais hau sente nusaa, tanba hau koalia Bahasa sira la kompriende. Entaun hau tenki uza fali ho Tetun nebee gado-gado, se sira la kompriende sira la pasa. Depois, dalaruma, sira ezame, hau foo liu sira, saida, halo feedback nee. Oinsaa mak hau nia metodolojia nebee hau uza, imi kompriende ka lae? Entaun foo sira haruka sira enxe. Para hatene dehan sala nee entaun hau koriji.	But I feel um ... because if I speak Indonesian they don't understand. So, I have to use Tetun which is really mixed, if they don't understand they don't pass. Then, sometimes, they do the exams, I give them, um, [they] give [me] the feedback. The methodology that I use, do you understand or not? So, I give it to them and get them to fill it in. So, I know, if there is something wrong, I can fix it.	[00:24:30]
T	Entaun, so maybe he already said this, but oinsaa buka hatene se estudante sira kompriende ka lae? [repeats question in English]	So, so maybe he already said this, but how do you find out if the students understand or not? [repeats question in English]	
Gm	Hau sempre haree ba, maibee hau koalia ho Tetun deit, koalia ho Tetun depois hau husu sira imi kompriende ka	I always look at [it], but I just speak Tetun, speak in Tetun and then I ask them if 'do	

	lae? [...] Depois sira kompriende foin hakat.	you understand or not? [...] Then if they understand, we go on to the next thing.	
Int	Lae, ami nian, oinsaa mak Ita-Boot kompriende sira hatene ka lae?	No, ours, how do you know that they understand?	[00:25:36]
Gm	Husu ba sira. Husu ba sira, sira kompriende ona entaun hakat ba. Sira la kompriende, repete fila fali, nunee hela deit too sira kompriende didiak.	By asking them. Asking them if they understand, and then [if they do] we move on. If they don't understand, we repeat it, and we continue on like this until they understand it well.	
T	Mos sira iha konfiansa atu hatete katak la kompriende?	And do they have the confidence to say that they understand?	
Gm	Nee hau sei husu ba sira. Kompriende, hau kontinua esplikasaun.	I ask them [if they understand]. If they understand, I continue with the explanation.	
T	Ok.		
Gm	Tanba solusaun mak hau akontese hasoru hanesan nee. Tanba livru maioria ho Tetun la iha, Bahasa deit. Oinsaa para [inaudible] para sira ukun. Profesor hatete, bele halo ho Tetun. Sira nee mak difikuldade mai ami.	Because the solution, what has occurred, this is what I face. The majority of the books are not in Tetun, they are only in Indonesian. How to [inaudible] so that they [do it] independently. [You?] the lecturer has said they can be done in Tetun. This is the difficulty for us.	[00:26:20]

A3.6.4 – ‘They started their own NGO.’

Excerpt begins at [00:26:20] with a question from me (T) about what lecturers hope that graduates will do with their knowledge when they leave university. Prof. E (E) is the first to respond, providing examples of students doing research on cassava and coffee production. Prof. Gm (Gm) is the second to respond, giving an example of a student who started their own NGO focussed on coffee production.

Speaker	Original	Translation	Time stamp
T	What I want to know now is, for the last question, what image do you have of students for after graduation? Saida mak ita espera ba sira depois de graduasaun? Saida mak sira halo ho sira nia konesimentu, ba sira nia-aan, sira nia industria, ba nasaun? What do you hope that students will be able to do with communication? Who do they need to speak to, etc.?	What I want to know now is, for the last question, what image do you have of students for after graduation? What do you hope of them [for] after graduation? What will they do with their knowledge for themselves, for the industry, and for the nation? What do you hope that students will be able to do with communication? Who do they need to speak to, etc.?	[00:26:20]
Int	[Interpreter checks understanding.]		
E	Ami haree liu husi tinan hira nia laran nebee sira [inaudible] dala rua ona. Haree	We have seen over the last few years they [inaudible] twice now. Looking at	[00:27:15]

	liu husi sira bele hetan servisu. Ida nee hanesan ami bele hanesan sura, ami nia esperansa katak sira bele hetan servisu mos. Ida nee hatudu husi ami nia lista mahasiswa nebee graduate husi nee. Depois sira bele hetan servisu hanesan iha [inaudible]. Nee halo relasaun diak bainhira sira iha halo peskiza ruma, sira bele foo informasaun mos mai ami nia jurusan mos, sira bele halo peskiza. Hanesan foin dadauk nee, sira baa halo peskiza kona ba singkong, ai farina, iha Lospalos, bagian Timur nebaa. Depois hanesan kafe mos sira bele halo hanesan, rehabilitasaun. Nee mos bele kerja sama ho mahasiswa graduate sira nee. Sira bele hetan sevisu mos iha nebaa. Ami iha lista hanesan nee. Jadi ita nee hanesan, ami bele hatene katak maske husi siensia Ingles sira hetan iha, waktu estuda mos, maibee hanesan sukat ida sira bele hetan servisu iha parte hanesan, balu bele hanorin, balu bele servisu. Ida nee hanesan ami nia esperansa, depois ami nia hasil nebee ami bele hatudu ba, sira bele hetan hanesan nee.	those that have been able to get work. We can count them, our hope is that they can also get work. This can be seen from our list of students that graduated from here. Then they can get work like in [inaudible]. This makes a good relationship, when they do any research, they can also give the information to our department, they can do research. Like recently, they did research on cassava [Ind.], cassava [Tet.] in Los Palos, in the east [of Timor]. Also coffee, they can do rehabilitation. This can also be done in conjunction with graduated students. They can also get work there. We have a list like this. So, we are like, we can know that even though [they are] from science, they have gotten english at the time they studied, but it is like a measure [that] they can get work in the same area, some can work, some can teach. This is our hope, that our [graduates] will be able to get these things.	[00:28:15]
Gm	Se graduasaun ita nian, halao graduasan dala rua. Sira maioria servisu. Balun iha governu, balun mestre, balun kampu de trabalhu, iha, balun iha jornalista. Nee ami nia esperansa tanba ami, durante ami didika, sira mai didika ho ami, sira, saida, susesu hotu. Nee mak ami mai ami nian, ami kontente. Ami kontente tanba saida? Hanesan ohin hau hatete katak, maioria nebee sai husi nee servisu iha NGO, iha setor privadu, no balun kria rasik kampu trabalhu. Porezemplu hanesan kona ba [someone's name]. Nia loke rasik nia NGO ida produs rasik kafe iha suku. Ida loke tan NGO ida bolu IMI. Nee ninia area nee ba [inaudible]. Ami mos kontente tanba alumni sai husi nee.	Our graduations, we have held graduations twice. The majority of them are working. Some are in the government, some are teachers, some are in the workforce, there are some that are journalists. This is our hope because we, while we have taught them, they have been educated by us, they, um, have all been successful. This makes us happy. Why are we happy? As I said earlier, the majority that leave here work in NGOs, in the private sector, and some have created their own work opportunities. For example [someone's name]. He/she started their own NGO producing coffee in the villages. Another started an NGO called IMI. This is their area [inaudible]. We are also happy because the alumni came from here.	[00:29:23] [00:30:15]

A3.7 Excerpts from an interview with Prof. E (RCI-18)

Date: 14th September 2015

Participants:

E	Prof. E, Agriculture lecturer
T	Trent Newman, interviewer/researcher
Int	Interpreter

Note that Prof. E is from Indonesia and uses a lot of Indonesian when she speaks Tetun. This Indonesian has not been marked in the transcripts, unless where it is indicated as significant to the meaning conveyed.

A3.7.1 – ‘Their bodies are present, but their minds are not there’

Main excerpt begins at [00:14:45]. Prof. E (E) is responding to a question from me (T) about the communication skills of the students who get the highest marks and who participate the most. The interpreter takes some time to translate this question as Prof. E needs some clarification. The prompt is provided for context, followed by Prof. E’s response.

Speaker	Original	Translation	Time stamp
T	About the student's ability to communicate in the classroom and in their writing, can you think of some students who are the best, who get the highest marks, are the best with their writing, or the students in your class who participate the most. Can you tell me about the communication skills of the strongest students?		[00:13:35]
Int/E	<i>[Interpreter translates. E seeks clarification. Interpreter clarifies.]</i>		
E	Sira balu hanesan kompriende liu, husi sira nia kompriende, kompriende ba materia nebee ita hatoo ba sira, sira kompriende. I mos ho sira nebee bele halo trabalhu, durante hau observasi ba sira, baibain nee sira nebee hanesan ativ, interaktiv, ita hanorin depois sira bele kompriende, bele husu pergunta barak, bainhira sira halo trabalhu mos sira bele halo ho diak. Kompara ho hau nia estudante ida mak, barak liu mak hanesan baibain	Some of them really understand, from their understanding, they understand the material that we give to them, they understand it. And also, those that do the assignments, when observing them, it is usually those that are active, interactive, we teach them and then they understand, can ask lots of questions, when they do their work, they can do it well. Compared with one [other type] of my students, lots are like I usually say, just	[00:14:45]

	hau dehan isin lolon deit mak iha klase laran, maibee kakutak la iha, iha klase laran. Sira barak mak hanesan tuir rame deit. Ida memang hanesan nee, tanba la iha abilidade duni para nia bele tuir. Hanesan obrigasaun karik husi familia hakarak ida nee sai hanesan, iha kebanggaan sira bele iha oan mai hanesan mahasiswa, maibee laduun, kona ba materia la kompriende, interaktif, la iha aktif liu iha sala laran, mos nee trabalhu ita foo mos sempre ikus. Hau foo determina ho tempu para nia kumpul ona, nia sempre depois.	their bodies are in the classroom but their minds aren't there, in the classroom. Lots of them just come to class with everyone else. One [type] is really like this, because they really don't have the ability to follow [what is being taught]. It is like an obligation from their family, that want them to become like, there is a pride that comes with your child becoming a university student. But [they] don't really, they don't understand the materials, interactive, they are not active at all in the classroom. And any assignments we give them [they] are always last. I determine the time that they need to be submitted, and they always [submit] after [that time].	[00:15:21] [00:16:15]

A3.7.2 – Prof. E on her students who need counselling

Excerpt begins at [00:16:45], following on from the previous excerpt. I ask a follow-up question about how Prof. E (E) helps students who are less ‘active’ in class. My own translation to Tetun changes the question to be about helping students who ‘face challenges’, so Prof. E provides several examples of students who need counselling, which is the ‘help’ that she says she gives them.

Speaker	Original	Translation	Time stamp
T	How do you help the students that you can see are not so active in class or are not asking questions? How do you.../ Oinsaa foo ajuda ba estudante sira katak...enfrenta dezafiu?	How do you help the students that you can see are not so active in class or are not asking questions? How do you.../ How do you give help to students that...face challenges?	[00:16:45]
E	Hau sempre, sempre bainhira sira mai halo bimbingan KRS, bimbingan KLS, ho hetan nilai, hanesan sira nia valor ba semester kotuk laduun diak hanesan nee, sempre hau biasa bolu foo counselling. Beibeik hau sempre husu iha difikuldade saida, keta iha uma dalaruma imi nia tempu estuda mak la too, ou ita boot sira mai, apa, mai koalia nee apakah imi hela ho familia ruma ka imi hela ketak, ou imi mak lakohi duni atu estuda. Nee hau sempre foo counselling ba sira, husu. Depois dalaruma sira, nee mak, depois mak sira foin konta, foo hatene katak, ami iha hanesan sira iha problema ruma. Dala ruma hela ho ema, depois	I always, always when they come for KRS supervision, KLS supervision, and get marks, if their marks for the previous semester are not so good, I usually call them and give them counselling. I usually ask them what difficulties they are having, maybe they don't have enough time to study at home, or maybe they have come to study maybe they live with [extended] family, or maybe they live separately, or they really don't want to study. I always give them counselling and ask. Then sometimes they, then they explain, they tell us that they have some problems. Sometimes [they are] living with [other] people, they have problems, usually, sometimes they, lots of things.	[00:17:03] [00:17:46]

	iha problema, biasa hanesan dalaruma sira, buat barak. Dalaruma ho familia sira laduun akrab malu, entaun ida nee sai difikuldade ida ba sira atu estuda. Ida nee, depois dalaruma sira [inaudible] tanba barak mak sira hela duni iha problema laran, nebee orang tua iha kan fatin seluk, iha suku nebaa. Nebee dalaruma hanesan fatin ba sira hela laduun asegura ba sira atu estuda. Dalaruma mos karik hahan ruma laduun nee ba sira. Ho buat hanesan nee mak halo hau counselling ba sira. Kelas ida mak alin feto nee, naran [student name]. Nee depois too baku malu tan, too sira baku malu, mai isin kanek hotu. Hau husu nusaa hanesan nee, depois hau foo hanoin, hanesan mahasiswa la bele hanesan nee too kanek hotu hanesan nee kan. Husu fali dalaruma ita moi, iha liur ita haree ita mahasiswa ita tenki foo ezemplu diak ba ema sira nee.	Sometimes they are not very close with their family, so this makes it difficult to study. This, and then they [inaudible] because lots of them actually live in problematic situations, where their parents are in other places, in the village. So sometimes the place that they are living doesn't ensure that they have a place to study. Sometimes they don't really have enough food. I give them counselling about these things. In one of the classes there is a girl called [student name]. She got in a fight, they were fighting eachother, and came to class with cuts and bruises. I asked why they did that, then I gave my advice, as university students, they can't do this, to get cuts and bruises like this. I asked if they are not embarrassed, out there you are university students, you have to be a good example to other people.	[00:18:47] [00:19:17]

A3.7.3 – Prof. E on how she explains ‘evaporation’ to her students in a mix of Tetun and Indonesian

Excerpt begins at [00:20:08]. I (T) ask Prof. E (E) for an example of how she explains a technical term to students and Prof. E responds with the example of ‘evaporation’.

Speaker	Original	Translation	Time stamp
T	Can you give me an example of if you need to explain some difficult theory, or a difficult technical word? Can you explain your method of explaining to students, maybe with an example of a technical word?		[00:20:08]
Int	[Interpreter translates.]		
E	Esplika misalnya bahasa ruma nebee, kuandu hanorin ita langsung deit! [laughs] Bainhira iha sala laran, hanesan apa ya ... spontan deit bele.	I explain, for example some language which is, when we teach, we say it straight away! [laughs] When we are in the classroom it's like what's it called ... it can just be spontaneous.	[00:20:51]
T	Porezemplu, kona ba tugas nee, kona ba ...?	For example, about this assignment, about ...?	[00:21:15]
E	Foin dadauk nee hau iha, hanesan, tamba mata kuliah balun mos hanesan mata kuliah kimia. Kimia organik. Nebee	Just recently I had, like, because some of the subjects are chemistry subjects. Organic chemistry. So, when we,	

	bainhira hanesan, tanba hau rasik, hau rasik mos Tetum dalaruma mos hau la bele atu, apa ya, esplika ho Tetun nebee loloos halo nusa, entaun hau langsung haruka foti buat ruma, ami langsung praktek langsung. Hanesan kata menguap, menguap nee, [<i>spends a few seconds looking for the word, interpreter helps</i>] saturate. Menguap, oinsaa sira bele hatene katak ida nee menguap. Hau foo ezemplu hanesan ita iha minyak morin, depois kuandu bainhira ita tau la taka, nia bele lakon. Nebee ida nee ita presiza taka. Ou dalaruma hau foo ezemplu para sira bele kompriende kata menguap, haruka sira foti lilin, depois sunu ahi, depois foti kanuru ka kaleng deho, depois ami tau bee iha nebaa, langsung praktek. Buat simples, importante sira bele kompriende kata ida nee, entaun ami sunu haree fali bainhira nia manas, manas iha hanesan kata gelembung, hau laduun kompriende kata gelombong dehan oinsa, hau dehan ita sunu kaleng ohin, depois nia atu nakali, kan mosu gelombong kecil-kecil, ida nee hau hatudu, ida nee naran gelombong. Oinsaa ita boot sira, ho imi nia laran rasik, imi bele dehan gelombong nee saida? Nee sira foin kompriende katak oh ida nee gelombong. Depois nia suar, nia suar nee, ida nee katak bainhira nia menguap, ohin nee, ida nee mak ita dehan nia menguap, bainhira nia atu berubah bee menjadi gas, nee menguap, hanesan nee mak menguap. Nee mak sira haree langsung husi bee ohin mendidih, nia nakali. Depois dalaruma ami taka tiha fali ho sanan hanesan nee karik, sanan, depois nia menguap ohin nee too titik-titik ngempel iha sanan matan, too nia malirin jadi embung kembali. Ida nee perubahan nia husi gas muda ba cair, muda fali. Hanesan nee. Jadi dalaruma kata-kata hau rasik buka la hatene, entaun langsung praktek para sira bele hatene. Depois dehan, hanesan mengendap, mengendap nee sira... -/ hau la hatene dehan.	because I myself, I myself also can't, what's it called, explain in Tetun in the way it should be, so I get them to get something straight away, and we do a prac straight away. Like for the word 'evaporate' [<i>Ind.</i>], evaporate [<i>spends a few seconds looking for the word, interpreter helps (incorrectly)</i>] Saturate. Evaporate, how can they know that this is evaporation. I give an example like if we have perfume, then don't put the lid on, it can disappear. That is why we need to close it. Or sometimes I give an example so that they can understand the word 'evaporate', I tell them to get a candle, then light it, then get a spoon or an empty can of fish, then we put water in and do a prac straight away. Something simple, but important for them to understand this word. So, we burn it and we see that when it is hot, it is hot like the word 'bubbling' I don't really know how to explain the word 'bubbling', I say if we heat the tin, then when it is going to boil, little bubbles appear. I show this to them and say 'these are called bubbles. Can you yourselves tell me what these bubbles are?' And in this way, they can then understand 'oh these are bubbles.' And then the steam, when it is evaporating, earlier, this is what we call evaporation, when it is going to change from liquid into gas, this is evaporation, like this is evaporation. So, they see for themselves the water was boiling [<i>Ind.</i>], it was boiling [<i>Tet</i>]. Sometimes we put it in a saucepan, like this, and then the evaporation causes small spots to appear on the lid of the saucepan, and then when it cools it becomes droplets again. This is the change from a gas changing to a liquid, changing again. Like this. So, sometimes I myself look for the words and don't know them, so we do pracs so that they can understand. Then words like sediment [<i>Ind.</i>], sediment they... -/ I don't know how to say [this].	[00:22:05] [00:22:22] [00:23:25] [00:23:45] [00:24:22]

A3.7.4 – Prof. E on what students learn from their fieldwork experience

Excerpt begins at [00:35:40]. We have been discussing the benefits of the ‘PKL’ (fieldwork practice) and ‘KKN’ (community service) experiences for students.

Speaker	Original	Translation	Time stamp
T	So, what do you think are some of the most important lessons that students learn from their PKL and their KKN?		[00:35:40]
Int	[Interpreter translates.]		
E	Importante husi PKL nee katak sira bele esplika sira nia jurusan ba governu ka comunidade sira. Sira bele hatene katak sira nia jurusan hanesa nee, halai liu ba kona ba ida nee ninian. Ho ida nee sira bele menjawab kebutuhan masyarakat nian. Sira presiza duni ida nee, nia halai liu kona ba saida. Ida nee nia halai kona ba saida? Ida nee mak primeiru. Objetivu seluk kan sira bele baa, bainhira sira hetan hanesan sientifiku, hanesan sira hetan iha kelas laran, nebee sira hetan mos husi, aprende husi liur. Hanesan sira ba iha perusahaan swasta ruma, ou NGO ruma, ou ba iha kementerian agrikultura ka MCA nian iha nebaa, sira bele hetan, oh ternyata buat nebee ami estuda, depois aplikasi iha nebaa hanesa nee. Ida nee hanesan atu halo junta malu.	The important thing from PKL is that they can explain their subject to the government or to the community. They can know that their department is like this and deals specifically with this. In this way they can answer the needs of the people. They really need this, [to know] what they are dealing with specifically. What is this [work that they are doing] dealing with? This is the first thing. Other objectives are that they can go, when they learn some science, they get it in the classroom, so they can also get it from, learn it from outside. Like those in a private company, or an NGO, or if they are in the ministry of agriculture or there in the MCA, they can get it 'oh it turns out that the things that we studied, this is how it is applied there'. This is to form a connection with each other.	[00:36:00] [00:36:25] [00:37:08]

A3.7.5 – Prof. E on what agriculture graduates can contribute to national development

Excerpt begins at [00:56:00]. We have been discussing students’ readiness for work in the field of agriculture after graduation.

Speaker	Original	Translation	Time stamp
T	Other dosenti iha instituisaun seluk iha agriculture, they said it's important for the future of the agriculture industry in Timor, that graduates from agriculture should be able to improve the industry and make the industry bigger. What is your hope for the contribution of the students to the future of the agriculture industry?	Other lecturers in another institution in agriculture, they said it's important for the future of the agriculture industry in Timor, that graduates from agriculture should be able to improve the industry and make the industry bigger. What is your hope for the contribution of the students to the future of the agriculture industry?	[00:56:00]

Int	[Interpreter translates.]		
T	Ka iha esperansa seluk tan ba estudante sira nia kontribuisaun ba industria agrikultura iha Timor-Leste?	Or do you have some other hope for the contribution of students to the agriculture industry in Timor-Leste?	[00:57:00]
E	Nee jelas bainhira ita iha [mahasiswa] ita hakarak sira halo buat ruma nebee kan diak ba nasaun. Ami bele iha esperansa boot katak buat nebee ami hanorin ba sira, sira bele halo buat duni, sira bele aplika duni iha comunidade no ba too iha nasaun. Maibee ida nee hanesan buat siensia nebee ita, ita foo ba sira, ita iha esperansa hakarak sira foo kontribui duni ba nasaun nian. Depois ita hau sempre dehan, tanba ita nian nee barak mak buat product ai-han nee sempre mai husi rai liur. Nebee ho ida nee ita boot sira, hanesan ema nebee ema bolu, ema nebee iha [inaudible], nee maizumenus hanoin tok: oinsaa para ita hapara aihan husi rai liu mai. Ita bele kontribui ba nasaun, maizumenus bele, ho ida nee mak hau sempre, sira PKL ba hau nia mahasiswa la bele PKL iha nee, tenki ba liur. Tenki ba iha liur. Liur dalam arti, di luar distritu ida nee. Ho ida nee imi bele foo konhesimentu klean ba ita boot sira nia jurusan, ita boot sira bele esplika kona ba buat saida imi hetan iha nee. Dalaruma, kan dalan boot ida bainhira ita hakarak halo industria ruma, ita boot rasik sempre osan la too. Dalaruma apoiu husi, buat barak, bainhira ita halo industria ruma perlu pertimbangan. Iha hahan, iha ema nebee iha rekursu, umanu nian tenki iha, harus iha manajemen, oinsaa sira bele aplika buat nee. Ho buat hirak nee hotu maizumenus ami la bele hanoin moruk katak ita boot rasik tenki halo industria, maibee join ho ema seluk dalaruma imi bele foo hanoin, ba NGO ruma, ou imi bele join hamutuk ho sira husi jurusan universitas balun. Join together supaya imi halo industria ruma. Ho ida nee ita bele promote ita nia-/ tanba husi kursu hanesan nee, kona ba ai-han nian, bagian agrikultura nian. Ida nee ami sempre foo hanoin, mais ida harapan boot, tenki nia rasik mak, husi ain rasik, mak hamriik halo	This is clear that when we have [tertiary students?] we want them to do something that is good for the nation. We have the big hope that the things that we teach them, they can do something real, to truly apply in community and even to the [level of the] nation. But this is the science that we, we give them. We have the hope that they will indeed make a contribution to the nation. Then I always say, because lots of our food products come from overseas. So, with this you, as people that other people call, people that have [inaudible], you should be able to think about this: how we can stop food from overseas coming in. We can contribute to the nation, maybe we can, and with this I always, those that are doing PKL, for my students that are doing PKL they can't do it here. They have to go out. They have to go out. Out meaning outside of this district. In this way you can give a deeper understanding to your department, you can explain the thing that you found here. Sometimes, it is a long road when we want to create an industry. You yourself never have the money to do it. Maybe with support from, many things, when we create an industry it needs consideration. There is food, there is people that have the resources, human resources are needed, there needs to be management, how they can apply these things. With all of these things, maybe we can't think negatively that 'you have to create industry', but join together with other people maybe you can instruct [them], some NGOs, or you can join together with others from other university departments. Join together [En.] so that you could create an industry. And through this we can promote our-/ because from the course like this, about food, agriculture. This [course] always gives instruction, but one great hope, that they themselves will, using their own legs, they will stand and create industry. But we don't really	[00:57:20] [00:57:45] [00:58:11] [00:59:05] [1:00:18]

	industria. Ida nee mos ami laduun garantia tanba ida nee presiza servisu hamutuk ho parte seluk nee mos.	guarantee this because this needs collaboration with other people.	

A3.8 Excerpts from a joint interview with Prof. K and Prof. Y (NU-I12)

Date: 17th February, 2017

Participants:

K	Prof. K, agricultural extension lecturer, NU agriculture faculty
Y	Prof. Y, animal science and organic chemistry lecturer, NU agriculture faculty
T	Trent Newman, interviewer/researcher

This interview takes place 18 months after my original interviews with the NU agriculture faculty. I have made a return visit to share my preliminary findings with my participants and to get their thoughts and input into my analysis of the data. This interview takes place in the staff room of the animal science department at NU. Some background noise and interference occurs from students and staff entering and leaving the room.

A3.8.1 – Prof. K: If farmers don’t understand *kresimentu*, ‘they don’t understand Tetun’

Main excerpt begins at [00:05:06]. I have been explaining to Prof. K and Prof. Y that my research has shown that moments of translation of key technical and industry-specific words and terms are important learning moments for students about the communicative relations that characterise industry. I have provided the example of ‘growth’ translated as *moris* as provided by Prof. M, one of Prof. K’s and Prof. Y’s colleagues in the NU agriculture faculty (see discussion, Chapter 4).

Cited data is Prof. K’s statement that *kresimentu* is a proper Tetun term [00:07:00], so if farmers do not understand *kresimentu*, ‘they do not understand Tetun’ [00:07:08].

Speaker	Original	Translation	Time stamp
T	Hau nia pergunta kona ba halo diskusaun ho estudante tanba sa liafuan nee mak diak liu ... komparasaun ho liafuan seluk.	My question is about whether you have discussion with students about why this word is better ... compared with another word.	00:05:06
Y	[Helping to clarify my point to Prof. K] Diak liu se ita uza kresimentu, diak liu se ita uza moris kuandu iha lapangan. Tanba sira iha nee kan lebih kompriende liafuan ida nee. Tanba kresimentu la kompriende karik. Loos?	[Helping to clarify my point to Prof. K] Better if you use <i>kresimentu</i> [or] better if you use <i>moris</i> when you’re in the field. Because maybe they understand this word better. Because maybe they don’t understand <i>kresimentu</i> . Right?	

T	Loos. Por ezemplu, iha estensionista. Materia estensionista. Koalia ho estudante tanba sa-/	Right. For example, in extension work. The extension work subject. Speaking with students [about] why-/	00:05:27
K	La bele. Kresimentu ho moris nee, nee mos diferente.	You can't. <i>Kresimentu</i> and <i>moris</i> – these are quite different.	
T	Maibee ita mos-/	But you also-/	
K	Moris nee,	This [word] <i>moris</i> ,	
T	Deskulpa.	Sorry.	
K	-la intentu krese. Ita moris-/ Por ezemplu, agora ita la bele tumbu ona.	-doesn't signify growing. You live-/ For example, right now you can't grow anymore.	
Y	Ah. Sin, sin, sin.	Ah. Yes, yes, yes.	
K	Kalau, kresimentu ...-/ Kresimentu nia sentidu loos nee-nee - *krese*.	If, <i>kresimentu</i> ...-/ <i>Kresimentu's</i> real meaning is this - *to grow*.	
Y	Process.	Process.	00:05:50
K	Ba husi sentimu ida, ba sentimu rua, ba sentimu tolu, ba sentimu haat. Metru ida ba metru rua. Nee mak kresimentu. *Moris* la signifika nee. Aumenta nee, la signifika moris! Nee ... saida? Diferente. Nee la bele [uza?].	To go from one centimeter, to two centimeters, to three centimeters, to four centimeters. One meter to two meters. This is growth [= <i>kresimentu</i>]. *Moris* doesn't mean this. This increase doesn't mean life! [= <i>moris</i>] This is ... what? Different. You can't [use?] this.	00:06:05
T	Sin ... ya. Hau kompriende, maibee ... maibee, uza lian iha foho hanesan nee. La uza-/ They don't say-	Yes ... yeah. I understand, but ... but, the use of language in the districts is like this. [They] don't use-/ They don't say-	
Y	Kresimentu.	<i>Kresimentu</i> .	
T	-kresimentu. Agrikultor la uza kresimentu, uza moris. Loos ka lae? Atu koalia kona ba ... ai ...	- <i>kresimentu</i> . Farmers don't use <i>kresimentu</i> , [they] use <i>moris</i> . Isn't that right? To talk about ... plant ...	
Y	Ai moris.	Plant life.	00:06:27
K	Mais, Trent, hanesan nee: liafuan rua nee termu Tetun rasik mos nee krese, krese; moris, moris. Krese nia sentidu hanesan aumenta tan deit. Kresimentu nee-nee sai kresimentu nee-nee. Mais, liafuan saida nee-nee *krese*. Ema dehan krese ona reality nia mudansa husi loron ba loron, aumenta, aumenta. Mais moris-/	But, Trent, it's like this: these two words are Tetun's own terms and this 'grow' [<i>krese</i>] is 'grow'; 'life' [<i>moris</i>] is 'life'. The meaning of growing is just to increase. This growth becomes this growth. But, the word is *to grow* [<i>krese</i>]. People already say grow [<i>krese</i>] for the reality of change from one day to another, increasing, increasing. But <i>moris</i> -/	00:06:51
Y	Ida nee, Trent nia maksud nee, kresimentu nee familiar ka lae para petani nee? Sira konforma-/	This, Trent's point is whether <i>kresimentu</i> is familiar to farmers [<i>Ind.</i>] or not? Do they agree-/	
K	Familiar! Kompriende! Tanba nee termu Tetun duni. Nee termu Tetun duni. [00:07:00]	[It's] familiar! [They] understand! Because this is a proper Tetun term. This is a proper Tetun term.	00:07:00
T	Kresimentu?	<i>Kresimentu</i> ?	

K	Krese ho moris nee-nee, nee termu Tetun duni.	These [words] <i>krese</i> and <i>moris</i> , these are proper Tetun terms.	
T	Agrikultor sira kompriende?	The farmers understand?	
K	Sin.	Yes.	00:07:06
Y	Tapi se lae?	But if not?	
K	Ah! So, so, sira la kompriende Tetun. Se sira la kompriende Tetun, entaun sira la kompriende ida nee. Tanba, Trent, laos buat foun. Por ezemplu, ema Lospalos. Barak ma la kompriende Tetun. Ema Bobonaro iha foho, barak mak la kompriende Tetun. Kompriende Bunak. Kompriende Makasae. Mais, termu nee-nee familiar sudah. Sudah familiar.	Ah! So, so, they don't understand Tetun. If they don't understand Tetun, then they won't understand this [=kresimentu]. Because, Trent, this is not a new thing. For example, people from Lospalos. [There are] many that don't understand Tetun. People from remote parts of Bobonaro, many that don't understand Tetun. They understand Bunak. They understand Makasae. But, these terms are already [Ind.] familiar. Already [Ind.] familiar.	00:07:08 00:07:29

Appendix 4 (A4): Data excerpts from petroleum lecturers

A4.1 Excerpts from a focus group discussion with TTC petroleum lecturers (TTC-FG1)

Date: 1st September, 2015

Participants:

O	Prof. O, Petroleum Management lecturer
L	Prof. L, Petroleum Engineering lecturer
H	Prof. H, Petroleum Management lecturer
S	Prof. S, Petroleum Engineering lecturer
T	Trent Newman, focus group facilitator/researcher
Int	Interpreter

A4.1.1 – ‘They lack references.’

Excerpt begins at [00:27:25]. Following lengthy introductions among the group and an overview of my research, I provide the first group ‘rotation’ prompt, asking lecturers to share a story about a successful student. Prof. L responds first, not to the prompt that I have given but to my stated research interests in the communication challenges that students face.

Speaker	Original	Translation	Time stamp
T	Se bele, hatete istoria ida kona ba estudante espesifika. Se bele, hanoin kona ba estudante espesifika...uh...maka hetan susesu iha ninia estudu...i nebee maka ita gosta liu atu hanorin no orienta...tesis, por ezemplu. Kompriende nee, ka lae?	If you can, tell me a story about a specific student. If you can, think about a specific student.. ah.. that has had success in their studies... that you really like teaching and supervising...[their] thesis, for example. Do you understand this or not?	[00:27:25]
O	Kompriende. <i>[laughs]</i>	[I] understand. <i>[laughs]</i>	[00:28:00]
Others	Yeah		
T	So, I want you to try to think of a specific student that you think <i>this</i> is a successful student, this is a good student. What makes them a successful student? And maybe you can tell me some story about your experience with them. Why was it easy or good to work with them? [to L] So, maybe, Profesor, you can start?		[00:28:05]

L	Primeiru, liu husi komunikasaun, primeiru ita, lingua. Lingua, ita tenki transfere ho lingua nebee mak estudante sira bele kompriende [buat ida?]. Por ezemplu, hanesan lingua Tetun, wainhira, durante ami hanorin iha nee, dala barak ami uza Tetun hodi komunika ho estudante sira. Mais, materia balun nebee mak ami sei prepara iha lingua Indonesia tanba maioria, barak ami foin transfere husi lingua Indonesia fila fali Tetun, maibee estuda-/ dosenti balun agora uza ona lingua Tetun hodi translate fali lingua Tetun para esplika ba estudante sira atu kompriende. Nee primeiru. Segundu, estudante nebee mak ita hakarak nia susesu presiza nia tenki...uh, nia tenki saida, nia tenki kuasai uluk, ou nia tenki kompriende uluk materia nia kontribui halai ba saida. Nee foka liu ba materia nee. Nia kompriende didiak materia, entaun ita tenki orienta estudante nee iha area nee para aban bain rua, iha tempu ruma nia bele susesu. Tanba, dosenti, kuandu hanorin, ita tenki hatene espesifiku ba estudante sira nia...uh, ninia kapasidade. Konhesimentu iha area, iha materia saida-saida. Foo, ita haruka estudante nee tuir ninia...ninia konhesimentu. Dala barak, se kuandu ita ha-/ la defini estudante sira tuir materia nebee mak nia aprende didiak, entaun ita bele lori nia, bele mos sai konfusaun ba nia an. Entaun, atu evita buat sira nee, estudante - ita tenki hatene liu estudante nee ninia ... ninia konhesimentu iha materia saida. Hafoin ita orienta estudante nebee maka aban bain rua hakarak halo nia teze, tuir nia buat nebee mak nia iha. Nee para...nia bele, too tempu ruma, nia bele ...nia bele, wainhira nia halo teze karik o halo peskiza fali, nia kompriende saida mak nia halo, i saida mak aban bain rua nia apresenta - nia pruntu para defende. Ida nee mak segundu. Terseiru fali, dezafiu barak nebee mak estudante sira agora daudauk kuandu ami, bee, observa liu husi hanorin. Sira falta kona ba referensia. Tanba, dala	First, through the communication, first, we ... language. Language. We have to transfer [knowledge] with language that the students can understand something. For example, like the Tetun language, when, when we teach, many times we use Tetun to communicate with the students. But, alot of the materials that we prepare are in Indonesian because the majority, lots of them we transfer back from Indonesian into Tetun, but the stud/- some of of the lecturers now use the Tetun language, to translate it back into the Tetun language so the students can understand. This is the first thing. Secondly, the students that we want to be successful, they have to ah, they have to what's it called, they have to first master, or they have to first understand the material. This is especially focused on the material. If they really understand the material, then we have to guide the students in this area so that in the future, at some point they can be successful. Because, lecturers, when we teach, we have to know specefically about students' ... ah, their capacity. An understanding in this area, in what the material is. Give, we get the students to [learn/study] based on their understanding. Many times, if we / don't define the material for the students to learn it well, then this can make them, they can also make themselves confused. So, in order to avoid these things, the students - we need to really know about the students' ... what their knowledge about the material is. And then we supervise the students that are going to do their theses, based on what they have [their knowledge]. This is so that.. they can, at some point they can... they can, when they do a thesis and if they do any more research, they understand what they are doing, and what they will be presenting - and they are prepared to defend it [Timor has a thesis presentation/defence at an undergraduate level]. This is the second thing.	[00:28:23] [00:29:01] [00:29:58] [00:30:59]

	barak, tanba sira maioria, balun la iha, seidauk iha kapasidade o iha falta facilidade de...atu asesu ba internet, hanesan livru, livru barak mak menus. Entaun, ida nee difikuldade estudante sira atu avansa ba oin.	Thirdly, there are many challenges that the students are now facing that we see when we teach. They lack reference materials. Because, often, the majority, some don't have, don't yet have the capacity or they lack the facilities...to access the internet, the same [with] textbooks – there is a lack of many textbooks. So, this is the difficulty [for] the students in making progress.	

A4.1.2 – ‘They must have ConocoPhillip’s standard English’

Excerpt begins at [00:37:35]. Lecturers have been telling me the names of oil and gas companies where some TTC petroleum graduates are able to find work.

Speaker	Original	Translation	Time stamp
T	So, what is it about these students that get the jobs? Why do <i>they</i> get the jobs? Why do the companies - Conoco-Phillips, ANP - why are they choosing these students? What's special about these students?		[00:37:35]
L	Sira tenki iha standard. Standard nee, nia tenki hatene Ingles. Ida nee mak ConocoPhillip nia standard - Ingles diak. Depois, nia bee area especialista ninia area saida? Foo ezemplu, nia iha nebaa kona ba oil and drilling. Ida nee mak sira, bee, foti mai ida nebaa. Maibee kompetisaun iha nee agora nee-nee kan, ita haree ema balun mai husi Australia, foti petroleum iha Australia, mai iha nee. Depois, balun mos Amerika, Filipina, nebee mai hotu iha nee. Nebee seleksaun atu tama iha bee ConocoPhillips nee-nee *makaas*.	They must have the standard. The standard is that they must know English. This is ConocoPhillip's standard: good English. After that, what is their area of specialisation? For example, those in oil and drilling. This is what pushes them to go there. But, of course, there is competition here now; we see some people coming from Australia, majoring in Petroleum in Australia and coming here. Then some also from America, the Philippines, they're all also coming here. That's why the selection to get into ConocoPhillips is *so tough*.	[00:37:50] [00:38:10]
O	Makaas.	Tough.	[00:38:30]
L	Nebee kompetisaun makaas iha area tama ConocoPhillip nee, nee mak hanesan nee: se karik ami bee [TTC] produs sepuluh orang, paling atu tama iha ConocoPhillip nee satu ou dua orang. Ida nee deit.	The tough competition for getting into the ConocoPhillips area is like this: if maybe we at [TTC] produce 10 people, at most the ones who'll enter into ConocoPhillips will be 1 or 2. Only that many.	[00:38:45]

A4.1.3 – Prof. H on educational development in Timor-Leste: ‘It’s only just begun’

Main excerpt begins at [00:37:35], with Prof. H responding to a follow-up question to Prof. L's comments about the tough competition for ConocoPhillips jobs (see previous excerpt). Prof. L and Prof. O both respond to this question before Prof. H speaks. I have omitted their responses here for the sake of brevity.

Speaker	Original	Translation	Time stamp
T	So, is there any connection to the schooling background of the students? For example, I think you were talking about the students, their language capacity when they come in, and in Australia, definitely, the quality of the high schools that students come from makes a difference to how prepared the students are for university. So, what are the stories of the students that come to university in the first year in petroleum studies and that you see 'Oh, these guys they already have good skills, they already maybe...have good oral communication skills, maybe their English is better, maybe their Tetun is better? What are the reasons why students might be coming more prepared to university?		[00:38:52] [00:39:46]
L/O	[Prof. L and Prof. O both respond prior to Prof. H]		
H	Se ita koalia kona ba edukasaun atu haree komparasaun entre Timor ho nasaun seluk, ita la bele komparasaun kona ba universidade iha nasaun seluk ho universidade iha Timor, sekolah sekundaria iha nasaun seluk ou iha Timor. Tanba edukasaun iha Timor agora sei iha prosesu ida. Foin atu hahuu. Tanba ida nee, se karik ita buka standard ida atu kompara ho universidade seluk, ida nee, hau hanoin, seidauk pas tanba ita tenki kaer prosesu atu buka. Tanba saida? Universidade simu estudante husi sekundaria? Se karik ita koalia kona ba <i>ema</i> , hotu-hotu ema iha matenek, bele. Maibee, prosesu atu aprende nee ita hetan iha eskola. Nee kan, ita halo komparasaun entre eskola sekundaria iha rai seluk ho iha Timor, prosesu atu aprendizajen, ita haree diferenzia boot iha nebaa.	If we're talking about education to make a comparison between Timor and other nations, we can't compare universities in other nations with universities in Timor, secondary school in other nations or in Timor. Because education in Timor now is in a process. It's only just begun. Because of this, if maybe we look for a standard to compare with other universities, this, I think, is not yet right because we need to have a process to look for [this information?] Why? Universities accept students from secondary school? If we are talking about <i>people</i> , all people can be clever, sure. But the process of learning, we get this in school. If we do a comparison between secondary schools in other countries and in Timor, the learning process, we can see a big difference there.	[00:42:37] [00:43:16]
O	Sin.	Yes.	

H	Tanba ida nee, ita simu estudante iha universidade, ita atu halo foo buat ida ba sira, ita atu halo metodolojia ida, se karik ita halo tuir hanesan universidade iha liur, ida nee araska boot ba ita. Tanba saida, se karik ita foo deit ba sira, hanesan okay. Tanba ho nia sala, hau hanorin, foo tugas ba ita, ba estudante sira, sira sai, karik sira la halo.	Because of this, we accept students in university, we are going to give them something, we are going to use a methodology, if we do it in the same way as universities in other countries, this will be very difficult for us. Why? if we just give it to them, then okay, because it i wrong, I teach, give an assignment to you, to the students, they go out and then they don't do it.	
O	Sira la halo. [Others also murmur agreement]	They don't do it. [Others also murmur agreement]	[00:44:16]
H	Tanba sa sira sein mentalidade. Ida nee...seidauk...hanesan...	Why? Because they don't have the mentality. This... not yet... like...	
O	Seidauk bele.	Not able to yet.	
H	-seidauk bele atu simu buat ida mak halao iha //universidade laran.//	[...they're] not yet able to receive/absorb/accept things that are implemented //in universities.//	[00:44:25]
O	//Universidade laran.//	//In universities.//	[00:44:31]
H	Seidauk tanba mentalidade. Se karik koalia kona ba matenek ka beik, ema hotu-hotu nee matenek.	Not yet, because of [their] mentality. If we talk about [being] clever or stupid, everyone [here] is clever.	
O	Matenek.	Clever.	[00:44:38]
H	Se karik nia beik tanba nia la estuda. Maizoumenus ita hotu bele. Maibee, ita nia preparasaun husi kiik too iha universidade, iha Timor mak lao-/...laos la diak. Seidauk... //bele, seidauk-//	If perhaps they are stupid, it's because they don't study. More or less all of us are capable. But, our preparation from infancy to university in Timor is what is...I don't want to say not good. //It's not yet...//	
O	//Hanesan nasaun seluk.//	//Like other nations.//	
H	-hanesan nasaun seluk. Maibee, se karik buka ema matenek, iha nee iha ema matenek. Maibee, ita bele haree tanba kapasidade laos hotu-hotu. Laos sira mak jeral. Maibee, se karik ita buka ema matenek, ema ida ka ema rua, tolu - iha bele, iha kapasidade. Maibee la bele koalia ba ema jeral nian.	-like other nations. But, if you're looking for clever people, here we have clever people. But, we can see that not all of them have the capacity. Not [the students] in general. But, if we look for the clever people, one or two, three- the can have, have the capacity. But we can't say this [is the case] generally.	[00:45:01]
T	Kapasidade hanesan saida? For example? What are the skills that you think are particularly important? For example, you said that some students they just don't do the tugas? You give them a tugas and they don't do it, so...?	Capacities like what? For example? What are the skills that you think are particularly important? For example, you said that some students they just don't do the assignments? You give them an assignment and they don't do it, so...?	[00:45:23]
	[Prof. H responds by first counting the number of graduates in recent years who have found work with ConocoPhillips, including a few of his classmates from the		

	2013 graduating class, which also included Prof. O. Prof. O confirms. Then:]		
H	Iha Petronas mos barak - nain neen. Iha petroleum engineering. Iha Petronas, tanba hau konhese sira [<i>This is to his colleagues who are stating different numbers</i>]. Sira bele.... Iha Timor, sira bele halo kompetisi ho estudante nebee mak eskola iha liur. Tanba saida? Primeiru, sira nia kapasidade iha lian English nee diak. Maibee, sira nia English diak laos tanba hetan materi English iha universidade. Maibee sira buka tempu iha liur atu tuir kursu Ingles. Tanba sira haree area petroliferu English mak importante. Tanba ida nee sira dedika sira nia aan atu ba estudu. Aumenta tan kapasidade iha lian English. Maibee, se karik kona ba materi - tanba ita ba kada departementu ida-idak iha keahlian, espesifiku ida nee - maizoumenus sira bele kompara.	There are many in Petronas, too – six people. In petroleum engineering. In Petronas, because I know them. [<i>This is to his colleagues who are stating different numbers</i>]. They can.... In Timor, they can compete with students that have gone to school [university] overseas. Why? [Because] firstly, their capacity in English is good. But their English isn't good because they get English subjects/material at university. Rather, they find time outside [of university] to take English courses. Because they see that in the area of petroleum, English is what is important. Because these students dedicate themselves to their studies. They increase [their] capacity in English. But, if it's about course content, we are more or less comparable, because we have in each department the expertise and the specialisation.	[00:47:20] [00:47:50] [00:48:15] [00:48:38]

A4.1.4 – ‘Our school was in Indonesian times...their schooling is in Portuguese times.’

Excerpt begins at [00:49:35]. Prof. S (S) is building on Prof. H's comments in the previous excerpt about the lack of educational development in Timor and students' readiness (or lack thereof) for university study.

Speaker	Original	Translation	Time stamp
S	Hau koko atu jeneraliza tiha. Uh...atu koalia kona ba abilidade. Abilidade atu komunika, ah estudante sira nian. Se ita jeneraliza ba iha estudante [TTC] hau senti ami esperansa boot. Ami espiritu nee boot. Tanba ami hakarak katak estudante, atu estudante sira nebee sai husi nee tenki iha kemampuan, atau abilidade nebee boot para atu bele kompete iha industri, industri sira. Maibee, ita laos hotu husi [TTC] para sira hetan abilidade atau kemampuan hanesan nee deit, lae. Mais ita tenki prepara buat ruma. Atu prepara buat ruma nee maka hanesan metodolojia. Metodolojia nebee [Prof. H] hatete ona katak ami iha nee adapta mos husi sistema Certificate	I'll try to generalise. Ah.. to talk about abilities. The students' ability to communicate. If we generalise about the [TTC] students, I feel that we have high hopes. We have high spirits. Because we want the students, when they leave here they have to have the ability[<i>Ind.</i>], high levels of ability [<i>Tet.</i>] to be able to compete in industry, industries. But, at [TTC] it is not just all about them getting these abilities, no. But we need to prepare something. To prepare something, it is like a methodology. A methodology that brother Gusty has already mentioned that we adapted from the Certificate IV system... which	[00:49:35]

	IV...nebee staff hotu-hotu tenki tuir molok nia tama iha nee. Ida nee husi [sukat?] para ita atu bele ajuda estudante sira. Aleinde ajuda mos ita dosente sira para atu bele hasai ita nia kapasidade para oinsaa para atu hanorin. Tanba dala barak ita tama fo-foun ita bele [atu hanoin oinsaa?], mais, liu husi sertifikadu ida nee, ita bele foo asesmentu ba estudante sira bele diak uitoan. Ida nee primeiru. Nee petroleo, porezemplu nee, iha [TTC] nee kaer ida nee. Depois, iha dezafiu mos. Mak dezafiu mak hanesan lingua. Lingua. Lingua tanba saida mak lingua sai dezafiu boot ba iha...laos iha [TTC] deit mais iha sente iha nasaun Timor. Tanba iha parte ami nian, ami eskola iha Indonesia nia tempu, estuda Indonesia nia tempu. Depois labarik sira nebee agora iha eskola, sira eskola tempu Portuges nia tempu. Jadi, [pasa?] atu hatene Portuges dalam tiga puluh [<i>snaps fingers</i>], empat puluh, hau sente difisil. Jadi, la...la fasil. Tanba ida nee maka materia nebee referensia nebee mai rata-rata, entaun barak liu ho Ingles. Jadi, ami tenki [...?] oinsaa para atu bele ajuda sira hotu. Ida nee dezafiu. Tanba nee maka agora iha planu ami nian atu iha ... atu hanorin ho Portuges se lae Ingles. Iha buat rua nebee ami tenki iha, maka ami tenki iha mos Tetun. Tanba Tetun maka ami hotu bele hatene. Maibee Tetun mos seidauk...uh, seidauk saida? Seidauk bele...sai hanesan Tetun ida kan nasional para katak ita hotu-hotu so tuir padraun nee-nee seidauk iha. Depois, ida nee dezafiu boot.	all staff needed to do before they came here. This is from the [measure?] so that we can help the students. Other than helping the students, we lecturers also want to increase our capacity in teaching. Because many times when we first enter [teaching?] we can [how do we think?], but, through this certificate, we can give assessments to students and they can be a bit better. This is the first thing. This petroleum, for example, at [TTC] we hold this. Then, there is also a challenge. The challenge is language. Language. Language, why is it that language has become a big challenge, not only at [TTC] but also for the nation of Timor. Because, for us, our schooling was in Indonesian times; we studied in Indonesian times. And now the kids that are in school, their schooling is in Portuguese times. So, [pass?] to know Portuguese in thirty [<i>snaps fingers</i>], forty, I feel it is difficult. So, it isn't...isn't easy. Because this is the material that, the references that when they come, most of them are in English. So, we have to [...?] how we can help them all. This is a challenge. Because of this, now we have the plan ... to teach in Portuguese, if not in English. There are two things that we have to have, and we also have to have Tetun. Because we can all understand Tetun. But Tetun is also not yet what's it called? It can't yet ... become a national Tetun so that all of us follow the same standard, this hasn't happened yet. So, this is a great challenge.	[00:50:35] [00:51:10] [00:51:37] [00:52:00] [00:52:17]

A4.1.5 – Prof. H on study tours to learn about geology and drilling equipment

Excerpt begins at [01:03:20] with a question about a study tour to Cepu in Indonesia that petroleum students will be attending the following week. Prof. H then speaks at length about the need for students to get practical experience in onshore oil prospecting and drilling processes in Indonesia. For brevity's sake, part of Prof. H's response has been summarised.

Speaker	Original	Translation	Time stamp
T	So, can you tell about the study tour? What happens with the study tour?		[01:03:20]
H	Okay. Hau atu koalia kona ba theory ho praktika - saida mak ami halo atu bele atu foo ba estudante atu sira bele aumenta tan sira nia kapasidade kompetisaun iha sira nia area. Okay. Iha area, hau koalia espesifiku iha area petroliferu, ita atu aprende liu-liu kona ba area petroliuferu, ita tenki aprende mos kona ba geologi. Tanba saida ita buka mina ho gas iha rai, ita tenki aprende kona ba geologi, parte geologi. Segundu ita mos kompriende kona ba parte industry equipment. Sasaan hirak mak atu buka mina ho gas, hotu halo prosesu mina ho gas. Ba ami, tama iha industri ida nebaa, difikuldade. Maibee ho parte geologi, ida nee buat ida iha nee fatin praktek nee barak. Iha Timor laran, ita estuda kona ba geologi nee kompleks. Barak. Fatin nebee mak estudu kona ba geologi, ida nee barak. Tanba saida husi liur barak mak halo peskiza iha nee? Tanba iha nee kompleks liu. Kona ba geologi: kompleks. Sehingga, ba ami, tama ba geologi nian, ida nee la difikuldade ida ba ami. Maibee, tama ba difikuldade ida ba ami, tama ba parte industria. Industri nian. Tanba saida iha parte industri ita tama be nebaa, ita tenki iha persyaratan, kriteria mak barak. Haree [shock saida primeiru?] – haree husi fator safety nian. Iha Timor, laos la iha industri. Iha Timor, laos la iha industri. Iha Timor, <i>iha</i> industri, maibee iha tasi. Ita bele tama ba nebaa, ita tenki presiza orsamentu mak boot. Laos orsamentu atu tama, maibee halo...tenki ita tuir training, sertifikadu. Ema nebee mak bele tama ba industri, nia tenki iha sertifikadu.	Okay. I'm going to talk about theory and practice – what it is that we do to be able to give students so they can increase their competitive capacity in their area. Okay. In the area – I'm talking specifically about the area of petroleum engineering – in order to learn about petroleum engineering, we have to learn also about geology. Because we search for oil and gas in the ground, we have to learn about geology, the field of geology. Secondly, we also must understand about industry equipment. The things that we need to be able to look for oil and gas, and then to process the oil and gas. For us, entering into the industry there are difficulties. But in the area of geology, there are lots of areas for practical [experience]. In Timor, the study of geology is complex. Lots. Places where studies are done on geology, there are lots. Why do lots of people come from overseas to do research here? Because here it is very complex. Regarding geology: complex. So, for us, with geology, this is not a difficulty for us. But, the difficulty for us comes in the area of industry. The industry. Why? Because in the area of industry when we go there, there are requirements, lots of criteria. Looking at [what first shock?] – looking at the safety factors. In Timor, it's not that there is no industry. [Repeats]. In Timor, there <i>is</i> industry, but it's in the sea. We can go there, but we need a lot of funding. Not funding to get in, but to do... we have to do training, certification. People that get into the industry, they have to have certification.	[01:03:43] [01:04:16] [01:04:47] [01:05:20] [01:05:51]
H/T	<i>[Prof. H talks about the MoU arrangement TTC has with a university in Indonesia that enables the study tours. Reiterates the necessity for students to gain practical</i>		

	<i>experience in the field. I ask how long the study tour lasts. Prof. H tells me it goes for 2 weeks.]</i>		
T	So, in that two weeks, what experiences, what examples of experiences do the students have?		[01:10:04]
H	Okay. Hanesan ezemplu ami baa iha nebaa, ita iha sala laran ita kona estudu kona ba enjenharia petroleu. [Perkilaan? ...enjenharia?]. Prosesu atu halo husi crude oil ba product, produtu. Kerosene saida. Kar ita estuda nee iha sala. Maibee, too iha nebaa, ita ho estudante ita bele tama langsung ba haree [veneria?]. Ita bele haree prosesu iha nebaa, maizoumenus mina atu sai produtu mai husi nebee too iha nebee. Maibee, [ho tetangga?] iha nebaa ita nunka kaer buat ida, sasaan. Maibee ita <i>haree</i> iha prosesu iha nebaa nee sa? Ida nee ba area enjenharia, segundu ba area profurasaun, pengeboran. Iha Cepur, fatin ida mak diak atu halo estudu. Tanba saida? Iha nebaa atividade profurasaun, produsaun, ema lao nafatin hanesan ema nia atividade loron-loron. Ita bele baa nebaa, ita bele haree loos maizoumenus atividade profurasaun oinsaa, ema halao oinsaa, atividade produsaun nee ema halao oinsaa. Ita bele haree iha hela. Tanba ida nee, husi ita nia atividade study tour, atu bele loke, loke hanoin estudante. Ou estudante bele aprende liu tan kona ba industri mina ho gas.	Okay. As as example, we go there, in the room we study petroleum engineering. [Perkilaan? ...engineering?]. The process of processing crude oil into a product [En], product [Tet]. Kerosene[En.], what's it called. We study this in the classroom. But, when we get there, we and the students can go straight and see [veneria?]. We can see the process there, maybe the oil will become a product, what it starts as and ends up as. But, [with our neighbours?] there we never touch anything, things. But we see the process there. This is in the area of engineering, the second is in the area of drilling [Port.], drilling [Ind.]. In Cepur, there is a good place to do studies. Why? There they have drilling, production, and people go about their daily activities. We can go there, we can really see more or less what the drilling activities are, how people do it, how the production activities are done. We can see it. Because of this, through our activity of the study tour, it can open, open up the students' minds. Or the students can learn even more about the oil and gas industry.	[01:10:57] [01:11:42]

A4.1.6 – ‘The offshore area...we don’t have access’

Excerpt begins at [01:24:45]. We have been discussing the kinds of work that students are being prepared for.

Cited data is Prof. S’ mention of ‘megacompanies’ [01:26:20] and also his comment about Timor not having access to its own offshore petroleum area and therefore needing to go to Indonesia [01:26:55].

Speaker	Original	Translation	Time stamp
T	The agriculture faculty at [NU] they are talking a lot about...they're producing students, graduates, but there's no jobs in the ministry anymore and there's no jobs, there's no big agriculture companies, so they need to be entrepreneurs,		[01:24:45]
O	Yes		
T	-they need to make their own work.		
O	Mmm. <i>[affirming]</i>		
L	Yeah		
T	Is it the same also for petroleum? Are there opportunities or do you hope that your students will somehow become entrepreneurs in the industry or grow the industry?		
S	Hau senti ... uh, diferente entre petroleum i agrikultura.	I, feel ... ah, there is a difference between petroleum and agriculture.	[01:25:20]
T	Of course.		
S	Agrikultor ... ita tenki saida duni, tenki inovativu, ita tenki ativu para atu bele transfere saida mak ita hanorin, saida mak ita aprende iha ... uh, husi eskola. Maibee, iha petroleo, nee diferente tanba nia presiza kustu nebee boot. Kustu nebee boot. I ita iha hanesan inovativu, ita iha hanoin atu halo buat nebee karik ita tuir neseseidade bele, maibee neseseidade buat ida, nusa, ...buat ida ita fila fali dehan osan boot,	Agriculture ... we have to really what's it called, have to be innovative, we have to be active to be able to transfer what we teach, what we learn in ... ah, from school. But, in petroleum, it is different because we need large expenditure. Large expenditure. And we have innovations, we teach to be able to do the things that fulfil the necessities, but the necessities are things that, what's it called ... something that costs a lot of money,	
L	High tech, high cost,		[01:26:01]
S	-and risky.		
L	-high risk. <i>[laughs]</i>		
S	Nebee sai...sai saida. Jadi, tanba hau nunka pernah rona ema harii industry perminyakan ho dua ribu dolar, tiga ribu dolar...	So, it becomes ... becomes what's it called. So, because I have never heard of someone starting a petroleum industry with two thousand dollars, three thousand dollars ...	[01:26:10]
	<i>[laughter]</i>		
S	Nunka mais! Jadi, tenki mega...mega-kompanhia maka sira iha saida nee.	Never! So, there needs to be mega... mega-companies and they can what's it called.	[01:26:20]
O	Sin	Yes	
S	Ida nee maka...ida nee mak sai obstakulu mai iha. I, hanesan agrikultor bele, tanba ita iha lapangan, ita iha natar, ita iha toos,	For me, this is what the obstacle is. A farmer can [make their own employment], because we have fields	[01:26:27]

	jadi ita bele. Mais, iha petroleum, hanesan hau foo ezemplu iha offshore - offshore, tuir loos, Australia ho Timor nian, mais ami la iha akses baa iha nebaa. Kali Australia bele akses mai baa, mais Timor la iha akses. Entaun ita tenki baa iha...saida mak iha Indonesia.	[<i>Ind.</i>], we have fields [<i>Tet.</i>], we have rice paddies, so we can [do it]. But, in petroleum...I'll give the example about it being offshore: it should be that the offshore area is shared by Australia and Timor, but we don't have access to it. Maybe Australia can access it, but Timor doesn't have access. So, we have to go to...to that [industry] that's in Indonesia.	[01:26:55]

A4.1.7 – Prof. L on the use of English for tools and equipment

Excerpt begins at [01:27:25].

Cited data is Prof. L's statement that he writes the names for tools and equipment in English [01:28:05] and his subsequent statement that he and his colleagues 'mix' Tetun, English and Indonesian plus pictures to teach about tools and equipment [01:30:05].

Speaker	Original	Translation	Time stamp
T	I think especially when you are translating... For example, you're talking about the processes and in Tetun to talk about processes is difficult.		[01:27:25]
O	Very difficult.		
L	Yeah.		
T	So, how do you do it? Especially when you need to teach them Indonesian and also English? And maybe Portuguese? ...How do you do it?		
L	Bee, iha teoria dala ruma iha hanesan 'tools and equipment',	Um, in the theory sometimes there is like 'tools and equipment' [<i>En.</i>],	[01:27:55]
T	Mmm, tools and equipment		
L	Tools and equipment hakerek iha lingua Ingles.	We write tools and equipment [<i>En.</i>] in the English language.	
T	On the board or something?		
L	Yeah, on board. Dala ruma ita uza gambar. Maibee ita hatudu tools, like [rings?] or like...uh, equipment. Show equipment. Ita hanya uza deit ninia funsaun. Ita bele esplika ho Tetun nia funsaun. Foo ezemplu, xave. Xave nia funsaun ita bele esplika ho Tetun, maibee iha slide bele hakerek ho Ingles, depois ita halo ho gambar.	Yeah, on the board. Sometimes we use pictures. But we show tools [<i>En.</i>], like [rings?] or like...equipment. [<i>En.</i>] Show equipment. [<i>En.</i>] We only use the function. We can explain its function in Tetun. For example, 'key' [drill key; <i>Tet.</i>]. The function of a key we can explain in Tetun, but on the slide we can write it in English and then we show it with a picture. [<i>Ind.</i>]	[01:28:15]

O	Mmm. Gambar. Picture.	Mmm. Picture [<i>Ind.</i>]. Picture. [<i>En.</i>]	
T	Okay		
L	Gambar, slide, pois ita bele esplika. Ita bele, iha slide, ita bele tau Ingles: 'tools and equipment.' Ita bele nee ekipamentu, xave, ho ita bele hodi esplika ho Tetun: 'Ekipamentu, hanesan xave - nee ekipamentu.' Ida nee mak ami esplika ba student[s]. Bainhira sira bele kompriende ka lae...se kompriende, ami bele hatudu 'Oh, ida nee-nee, tools. Oh ida nee-nee gambar mak nee.' Mereka/ uh, sira bele kompriende 'Oh, gambar ida nee'. Sira bele lalais kompriende ho lingua nebee mak ami bele nusaa. Nebee dala ruma ami *mix* Inggeris, Tetun, Bahasa. Ida nebee mak sira lalais bele...bele adapta, bele kompriende lalais ami nia, bee, esplika iha, bee, iha...iha sala laran. Ya. Nebee la maioria ami tenki uza Ingles, Ingles hotu la iha: <i>mix</i>. Tetun, Bahasa.	Picture, slide [<i>En.</i>], then we can explain. We can, in the slide, we can put in English 'tools and equipment' [<i>En.</i>]. We can, with this equipment, 'key', we can explain in Tetun: 'Equipment: like a key – this is the equipment.' We explain this to the students. When they understand or don't understand... if they understand, we can show them 'oh, these are tools [<i>En.</i>]. Oh, this is the picture.' They/ ah, they can understand: 'oh this is a picture'. They can understand quickly with the language that we can, what's it called. So sometimes we *mix* English, Tetun, Indonesian. Which ever one they can understand our explanations in the classroom the most quickly with. Yeah. So, it's not the majority we need to use English [for], not all English. It is a <i>mix</i>. Tetun, Indonesian.	[01:29:00] [01:30:05]

A4.1.8 – 'Whether we want to or not, we continue to write using Indonesian'

Excerpt begins at [01:35:40].

Cited data include Prof. H's comment about Tetun's lack of technical language [01:38:00], his claim that 'whether we want to or not, we continue to write using Indonesian' [01:38:20], and his claim that the Indonesian model of writing is better than the Portuguese model [01:39:10].

Speaker	Original	Translation	Time stamp
T	What are the biggest challenges students face with their thesis, in your opinion? And also what is the biggest challenge for <i>you</i> as orientador to supervise them? And how do you do it? What are your best strategies for being supervisors for the thesis? [01:35:48]		[01:35:40]
Int	[<i>Interpreter translates</i>]		
L	[<i>L talks briefly about assessment criteria</i>]		
H	Diak. Primeru tanba problemu lingua - ita hatene agora ita iha problem lingua -	Right. First because of the problem of language - we know now that we have	[01:37:00]

	automatis nia impaktu ba ita nia hakerek teoria mos iha nebaa. Iha problema boot atu hakerek, hakerek teze. Maibee, ba estudante, tui hau nia observasaun ba sira, se sira lee, hanesan se sira lee lian Bahasa kahur ho Tetun, sira sei iha hanoin. Sira kompriende. Maibee sira susar ba iha atu-	a language problem - and this automatically has an impact on our writing and teory. There is a big problem in writing, writing the theses. But, for the students, based on my observations of them, if they read, like if they read in the Indonesian language mixed with Tetun, they will have an understanding, they will understand. But they have difficulties with the -	
Others	Hakerek.	Writing.	[01:37:40]
H	-hakerek...ba Bahasa	- writing... in Indonesian	
O	Hakerek iha Bahasa.	Writing in Indonesian.	[01:37:45]
H	Tanba saida, se karik ita paksa, ka, ba hakerek uza lian Tetun, ita hatene katak lian Tetun iha araska ba tekniku, ba lian tekniku. Ba lian tekniku, lian Tetun la bele atu hakerek tanba sei menus hela. Se ba lian Ingles, kapasidade Ingles estudante seidauk too. Ema i-/ laos la iha, ema ida rua ka tolu nee bele, maibee maioria nee la bele. Hakarak lakohi, ita nafatin hakerek uza lian Bahasa. Maibee ita haree ho nia rezultadu, sira nia hakerek Bahasa la hanesan ema Bahasa, ema Indonesia. Maibee, maibee, ba sira nia referensi, hanesan ita atu hakerek buat ida, ita tenki iha teoria barak husi livru, husi jornal, saida barak liu ami sarankan tanba sira bele aprende lalais. Ita buka livru-livru nebee uza model-model nebee uza lian Bahasa. Tanba saida? [Tanba] estudante nia kompriensaun. Se ita foo model Bahasa, ida nee maizoumenus diak liu duke ita foo sira model Portugues. Se karik ita koalia Tetun nee la iha.	Why? Because if we force them, or to write in Tetun, we know that the Tetun language has difficulties with the technical, with the technical language. For the technical language, we can't write in Tetun because it is still lacking. For English, the English capacity of the students is not enough yet. People/ it's not that there are none, one, two or three people can, but the majority can't. Whether we want to or not, we are still writing using the Indonesian language. But if we look at the results, their Indonesian writing is not the same as Indonesian [speakers], Indonesian people. But, but, for their reference material, like when we are going to write something we have to have lots of theories from books, from journals, we advise lots so that they can learn quickly. We look for books that use the models that use Indonesian. Why? [Because of] the students' comprehension. If we give them the Indonesian model, this is more or less better than if we gave them the Portuguese model. If we are talking Tetun there aren't any [resources].	[01:38:00] [01:38:20] [01:39:10] [01:39:25]

A4.2 Excerpts from an interview with Prof. S (TTC-I1)

Date: 2nd September, 2015

Participants:

S	Prof. S, Petroleum Engineering lecturer
T	Trent Newman, interviewer/researcher
Int	Interpreter

A4.2.1 – Prof. S on the development of students' communication skills at university

Excerpt begins at [00:13:50]. Cited data is Prof. S commenting that 'students are still children' when they start in first semester [00:14:20].

Speaker	Original	Translation	Time stamp
T	Ok. Can you talk about the differences between – can you talk about how the students, what you observe about how the student's communication skills develop from when they first come to [TTC], to when they graduate. So, in the, in the time, in the years that you have been here. Maybe, have you seen any change, any development of the student's communication skills from when they start to when they finish? What do you observe?		[00:13:50]
S	Wainhira sira tama, sira tama start husi primeiru, sira sei lori sifat ida SMA nian, sekundaria nian. Sifat ida sei gosta barulhu, ah baruk, gosta, sira sei sifat sei labarik. Sei labarik nian. Sira sifat sei labarik. Nebee semester ida, rua, ita sei difisil. Maibee ita koko. Koko liu husi saida? Liu husi pendekatan. [Less?] communication maibee besik sira. Besik sira nee mak, maibee ida tan mak sei ami kaer ida nee – maske ita besik, maibee valor nee ami haree, kuandu wainhira nia valor ruma, ami tenki haree katak o bele duni mak ami foo liu. Kuandu o labele, ami laos deit besik nebee valor aat o bele. Entaun, ida nee mak importante. Jadi ita besik atu dudu sira, mais ita tenki sai uitoan para sira labele aproveta situasaun wainhira ita	When they come in, they come in and start from the start, they bring the characteristics of being high school [Bah], secondary school [Tet] students. The characteristics of being rowdy, ah lazy, they like, they are still like children. Still like children. They are still like children. So in the first, second semester, we still have difficulties. But we try. How do we try? Through approaching. [Less?] communication, but being close to them. By being close to them [we] can, but another thing - even though we are close, but the marks - we have to see, if they are going to get a mark, we have to see that they really can [do the work] and then we pass them. If they can't, we aren't just close to them and those with bad marks are passed. So, this is important. So, we are close to them to push them. But we need to be a bit removed so that they can't	[00:14:13] [00:14:20]

	besik nia ita bele hetan A ka B, lae. Jadi husi ida nee mak ita bele haree katak, sira saida, sira bele muda sira nia atitude uitoan. Katak, sekalipun ita besik, maibee ita kuandu la hakaas aan atu estudu, la berubah ita nia atitude, maka ita difisil atu tama ba loron diak.	take advantage of the situation, [the students think] 'if we are close to them we can get an A or a B', no. So, from this we can see that, they what's it called, they can change their attitude a bit. That [the students think], even though we are close, if we don't put the work in to the study, don't change our attitude, it will be hard for us to get good results down the track.	[00:15:35]

A4.2.2 – ‘There’s not yet a standard for Tetun’

Excerpt begins at [00:26:05]. We have begun discussing a sample of a student’s work – a draft of their final undergraduate thesis, which Prof. S is supervising. Cited data in this excerpt include:

- ‘they are not a product of the Indonesian language, like we are a product of Indonesian’ [00:26:25]
- Prof. S’ comment that there is not yet a standard for Tetun and that ‘we use Tetun Prasa’ [00:26:40]
- Prof. S’ suggestion that students pick up Indonesian quickly at university because of the ‘influence’ of television [00:27:25]

Speaker	Original	Translation	Time stamp
T	Ezemplu nee diak ka lae? Is this hakerek diak ka lae?	Is this example good? Is this writing good?	00:26:05
S	Fila-fali ba ida horiseik ita dehan, language ou lingua sira. Dala barak sira araska iha lingua, iha Bahasa Indonesia, tanba sira laos product Bahasa Indonesia. Hanesan ami sira product Bahasa Indonesia mak kemungkinan bele hatene oinsaa atu sei hakerek ho Ingles, atu Ingles. Sei ita hakarak haruka labarik sira atu hakerek Ingles, difisil. Ita haruka labarik sira atu hakerek ho iha Tetun mos difisil. La iha standar ida katak Tetun tenki para hanesan nee, ita seidaik iha. Ita sei Tetun nee prasa, campuran. Depois ita haruka sira ba iha Portuges mos araska. Sira Portuges iha senior sekundariu, sekundariu ou primaria sira Portuges maibee sira la domina diak liu iha Portuges. Entaun solusaun mak nee, ita tenki lori sira ba iha Bahasa Indonesia.	Going back to what we talked about yesterday, we said language [En.] or languages [Tet.]. Many times, they have problems with the Indonesian, because they are not a product of the Indonesian language [education system]. For those of us that are a product of the Indonesian language [system], there is the possibility that we know how to write in English, in English. If we want to get the kids to write in English, it is difficult. If we get the students to write in Tetun it is also difficult. There isn't a standard that says Tetun has to be like this. There isn't this yet. We don't have it yet. We still use Tetun that is mixed. And then if we get them to use Portugues it is also difficult. They use Portuguese in senior secondary school, secondary or primary school, but they haven't	00:26:25 00:26:40

	Maibee Bahasa Indonesia mos iha...iha difikuldade. Difikuldade. Mais iha, entre lingua tolu, Portuges, Ingles, ho Bahasa Indonesia, ho Tetun, ita haree ba, lian Indonesia sira bele saida liu. Sira bele diak.	mastered Portuguese. So this is the solution, we have to bring them to use Indonesian. But Indonesian also has...has difficulties. But in, between these three languages, Portuguese, English and Indonesian, and Tetun, we can see that the Indonesian language they can be the most what's it called. They can be good.	
T	Bele?	[They] can?	
S	Bele diak, tanba, karik mos ho pengaruh husi televizaun, sira bele aprende lalais liu, entaun sira bele hatene lalais. Tanba nee mak ami uza ida nee. Jadi ami hanesan supervisor nee haree deit. Haree, depois foo, foo koriji. Por ezemplu hanesan nee.	They can be good, because, maybe it is also the influence from the television, they can learn it more quickly, so then they can know it quickly. This is why we use it. So, we as supervisors, we just look. Look, and then give, give corrections. This is an example of how it is.	00:27:25 00:27:45

A4.2.3 – ‘There is no way without English’

Excerpt begins at [01:06:55]. Prof. S has been giving me examples of equipment names in English, such as ‘casing’ that he says cannot be translated into Tetun. I (T) press him on whether there is also some need for other languages in the field of petroleum. Cited data in this excerpt include:

- ‘If you want to work in this field you must know English...’ [01:07:50]
- ‘There is no way when you don’t know English.’ [01:09:10]
- ‘If our human resources are not well developed, we will become spectators in our own land.’ [01:09:45]

Speaker	Original	Translation	Time stamp
T	Okay, so you need various languages to explain the technology and the...information. But after they graduate, if they're getting a job in ConocoPhillips for example, even in ConocoPhillips of course they need English, but also do they need maybe, do they need Bahasa? I mean, what are the other languages maybe they would need to communicate when they are working on the oil platform, for example? They would need English, but maybe other languages too? Chinese?		01:06:55
S	No. You must, you must know English, you must understand English in the, in the...		01:07:31

S	But, Indonesia mos bele mai servisu iha nee.	But Indonesian [people] could also come here for work.	
T	Ah, right.		01:09:40
S	Ida nee mak...	It's this that...	
T	It's more competition.		
S	Iya, more competition. So, ita tenki prepara didiak iha rekursu umanu nee. Ita rekursu umanu la preparadu, ema hotu tama mai iha nee, ita sai penonton. Ita sai penonton iha ita nia rai rasik.	Yeah, more competition. So, we must prepare [our] human resources well. Should our human resources not be well prepared, everyone will come here [and] we will become spectators. We will become spectators in our own land.	01:09:45 01:09:55

A4.3 Excerpts from an interview with Prof. O (TTC-12)

Date: 2nd September, 2015

Participants:

O	Prof. O, Petroleum Engineering lecturer
T	Trent Newman, interviewer/researcher
Int	Interpreter

A4.3.1 – Prof. O on the need for her to develop her English skills

Excerpt begins at [00:04:00]. By way of introduction, Prof. O has been telling me about her educational background and how she recently came to work as a lecturer at TTC after graduating as a student in the petroleum program there.

Cited data is Prof. O telling me that she does not yet have good English and that she needs to ‘put in her own effort’ to improve her English skills [00:04:25].

Speaker	Original	Translation	Time stamp
T	What about experience in the petroleum industry? Do you have any plans to try to get some work with the petroleum industry?		00:04:00
O	Difikuldade ida, ah iha mos hanoin, maibee ba ami difikuldade mak Ingles. Tanba hau mos seidauk iha Ingles nebee mak diak. Seidauk standard nebee... tanba ema atu ba iha petroleum industry presiza standard Ingles nebee diak. Entaun nee hanesan dezafiu mai hau para atu apply iha nebaa. Maibee sei esforsu katak, sei esforsu an too iha nebaa. Maibee agora dadaun seidauk iha tanba haree ba difikuldade, difisil liu mai hau.	A difficulty, ah I have thought about it, but for us the difficulty is English. Because I also don't yet have English that is good. It isn't yet at a standard that is... because for people to go into the petroleum industry they need to have a good standard of English. So, this is a challenge for me to apply there. But I will put effort in, put my own effort in to get there. But for the moment not yet, because of the difficulties, it is a bit difficult for me.	00:04:25 00:04:38

A4.3.2 – Prof. O on the challenge of large class sizes at TTC

Excerpt begins at [00:09:20]. Cited data is Prof. O telling me that a challenge for her is presenting to classes with up to 100 people [00:10:35].

Speaker	Original	Translation	Time stamp
T	So, what are the, what are the subjects that you teach that you think the students find more difficult or less difficult?		00:09:20
O	Ah. Difikuldade mak nee. Konaba subject, mai hau primeiru, depois estudante.	Ah. The difficulties are like this. The first [difficulty] for me is the subject, then the students.	
T	Okay.		
O	[laughs] Dezafiu hau nian primeiru mak tanba hau foun. Tanba hau foun entaun hau presiza prepara fali lai materia sira. Silabus sira. Tanba karik dosente tuan-tuan sira, pasti sira iha molok atu hanorin sira iha preparasaun materia. Tanba hau foun, foin mak atu adapta. Dezafiu mos hau nian ba materia, hau presiza prepara fali materia sira mak hau atu hanorin. Prepara ninia, ah, subject sira nee. Depois nia slide sira mos hau presiza prepara hodi atu halo apresentasaun. Tanba ami mos uza projector iha nee. Fasilidade ida nebaa ami agora uza ba hanorin, nee ami uza projector. Depois dezafiu ida tan mak, ah... Tanba hau, durante iha eskola, hanorin ida, hanesan halo apresentasaun ba kolega sira. Maibee agora nee-nee hau tenki hasoru ema barak. Hau laos hasoru ema vinte ka trinta deit. Dalaruma ami sala ida bele too atus ida. Ya. Atus ida liu ami iha sala, ami iha sala. Ami uza sala rua boot deit. Tanba ami iha sala nebee sufisiente ba ema sira nee.	[laughs] My first challenge is that I'm new. Because I'm new, I need to prepare anew the materials. The syllabus. Because the older lecturers, they would definitely have the materials prepared prior to teaching. Because I am new, I have to adapt them [for the first time]. There is also a challenge with the materials, I need to prepare the materials that I am going to teach. Prepare the, ah, subjects. Then I also need to prepare the slides to do presentations. Because we also use projectors here. The facilities that we use to teach currently, we use projectors. And then another challenge is ah... Because I, when I was at school, one lesson, I was giving a presentation to my friends. But now, I have to be in front of lots of people. I am not only in front of twenty or thirty. Sometimes we can have one hundred in the room. Yes, more than one hundred in the room, we have the room. We only use two large rooms. Because we have rooms that are sufficient for these people.	00:09:40 00:10:15 00:10:35

A4.3.3 – The one or two ‘active’ students are the ones who are ‘enthusiastic to answer’ in class

Excerpt begins at [00:17:35].

Cited data is Prof. O telling me that the best students tend to come from schools in Dili [00:18:20], that when she asks questions in class, they are the ones who are enthusiastic to answer [00:18:25], and that it is only ‘one or two’ who are active in class [00:18:55].

Speaker	Original	Translation	Time stamp
T	With your students in your classes, in your Micro-Economics, your		00:17:35

	Introduction to Economics classes, the students that are the best students, what kinds of schools do they come from? And what are their qualities, what are their characteristics that make them the really good students?		
O	Ya.	Yeah.	
Int	Iha imi nia sala, iha estudante nebee mak koalia diak, mos estudante maka nee mai husi eskola mak nebee? No karakter sira nee saida deit?	In your classroom, are there students who speak well? And which schools do these students come from? And what're their characters like?	
O	Ok. Ah sira dala barak liu nee estudante nebee mak iha Dili laran. Sira mai husi eskola iha Dili laran. So...Hanesan karakter sira nee hotu-hotu hatene [...?] sira nia konhesimentu tanba wainhira ita foo perguntas, sira hataan. Sira ho antusias hakarak hataan. Maibee laos dehan sira la hataan nee mak hanesan la matenek, lae. Estudante balun iha karakter la hanesan. Balun sira hatene maibee sira nonook. Sira lakohi atu, hanesan, atu hatete sai deit. Sira lakohi, hau husu kolega sira seluk dehan [iklim?] hanesan nee, sira nunka. Nebee sira nonook, maibee ita haree fali sira nia ezame – sira nia ezame sira hataan kapaas. Maibee iha sala baibain ida nee, dala ruma ida ka rua deit mak hanesan ativu, hanesan nee. Maibee balun kadaves sira, ita atu hatene sira nee, liu husi sira nia ezame. Iha ezame sira hataan kapaas loos, ho konhesimentu no hanoin nebee luan. Nebee ah, nebee hau nia fokus liu nee atu haree liu estudante nee, wainhira sira iha sala laran. Tanba ezame nee kan dalaruma ita nega fali sira husu kolega ka ida nee. Maibee iha sala, saida, iha sala laran nee kan wainhira ita husu perguntas sira hataan nee kan, ita direktamente atu hatene sira nia hanoin. Nebee ita bele hatene katak estudante nee iha kapasidade diak liu. Nia kapasidade too iha nebee, ita bele hatene. Wainhira iha sala laran.	Ok. Ah most of the time they are students that are from inside Dili. They come from schools within Dili. So...Like the character that they all know [...?] their understanding because when we give them a question, they answer. They want to answer with enthusiasm. But this isn't to say that those that don't answer aren't smart, no. Some studentns have a different character. Some of them know the answers but they are quiet. They don't want to, like, to say anything. They don't want, I asked their other friends, saying [climate?] like this, they never [answer]. So they are quiet, but we see their exams- they answer really well on their exams. But in the classroom, usually there is only one or two that are active. But some of them, we know [what they know] from their exams. In the exams they answer really well, with a really deep level of understanding and thinking. So, ah, so my focus is to look especially at these students, when they are in the classroom. Because with the exams, sometimes we think they may be asking their friends, or something like this. But in the classroom, what's it called, in the classroom if we ask them a question and they answer, we know their thoughts directly. So, we can know that this student has a better capacity. What their capacity is, we can know this. When we are in the classroom.	00:18:05 00:18:25 00:18:55 00:19:25

A4.3.4 – ‘They just wait to be given [notes] by the lecturer’

Excerpt begins at [00:27:55]. Prof. O has been telling me about the homework tasks and assessments that she gives her students, including the task of having students submit handwritten notes on her lectures in class.

Cited data is Prof. O telling me that most students do not take notes in class but, instead, *rona deit* ('just listen') [00:28:05] because they're accustomed to *hein deit foti husi dosenti* ('just wait to be given notes by the lecturer') [00:28:25].

Speaker	Original	Translation	Time stamp
T	So, when you're teaching and you're giving the presentation, do you see the students, are they making notes?		00:27:55
O	Dala barak sira la halo, sira la ... -/ Sira rona deit. Tanba baibain ami iha nee, depois de apresentasaun hotu, send materia deit, send deit ba sira. Sira fo sira nia usb depois send deit. Nebee, tanba esperiéncia hau nian uluk hanesan nee. Uluk ami eskola mos hanesan nee. Ah depois nee hotu, materia hotu, ami send deit, entaun ami hanoin ami la presiza estuda livru. Ami hein deit foti husi dosente sira nee mai, ami lee deit ona.	Often they don't, they don't ... -/ They just listen. Because usually for us here, after the presentation is finished, we just send the materials, just send it to them. They give their usb sticks and then we just send [transfer] it. My experience in the past was also like this. When we were at school it was also like this. Ah after it was finished, after the materials were finished, we just got them [the notes] transferred, and then we didn't need to study books. We just waited to receive them from the lecturer, and then we just read them.	00:28:05 00:28:25

A4.4 Excerpts from an interview with Prof. L (TTC-13)

Date: 3rd September, 2015

Participants:

L	Prof. L, Petroleum Engineering lecturer
T	Trent Newman, interviewer/researcher
Int	Interpreter

A4.4.1 – Prof. L on the future of land-based oil production in Timor and the need for geologists

Excerpt begins at [00:10:05]. We have been discussing Prof. L's plans to complete his PhD in Indonesia. I ask about Prof. L's plans for when he returns and he responds with the broader future plans of the petroleum faculty at TTC.

Cited data is Prof. L telling me there will be a 'bigger focus on land oil' in Timor in the future [00:10:25], that there will be a need for geologists as well as other specialists in petroleum extraction and management [00:10:35], but, at the moment, Timor's human resources are still limited [00:10:55].

Speaker	Original	Translation	Time stamp
T	So when you come back, when you finish your PhD are you going to continue in your role as Dean of Petroleum Studies? Is that your plan?		00:10:05
L	Yeah. Hau nia planu ba ida nee: oinsaa mak atu hadia sistema iha petroleum. Tanba agora ita haree iha industria. Agora industria ba oin, iha nebaa futuru Timor iha rekursu naturais nee-nee, halai liu, fokus liu ba mina rai. Ya. Mina rai ida nee-nee, ita tenki iha ona hanesan ema geologi tenki iha, ema petroleum rasik iha, ema management mos iha. Jurusan hotu-hotu iha. Hanesan ema teknik sivil, komputer. Kuandu sira nee-nee akumulaa iha fatin ida mak ita bele foin halo servisu boot iha industria. Tanba agora kan, hanesan ita nia rekursu, rekursu umanu sei limitadu.	Yeah. My plan for this: how to fix the systems in petroleum. Because now we look at the industry. Now the industry, going forward, Timor has natural resources, and there will be a bigger focus especially on land oil. For this land oil, we're going to need to have people who are geologists; we have [already] petroleum specialists, we also have people in management. We have all of the majors/ departments. Like civil engineers and computer experts. When we have these people in one place, only then will we be able to do substantial work in industry. Because, after all, at the moment our human resources are still limited.	00:10:25 00:10:35 00:10:55

	Haree husi parte mina deit, hau hanoin foin tinan hira nia laran, tinan lima foin hanesan petroleum nee-nee, foin wisuda, la too lima ratus. Foin, kalau dua ratus ida lebih. Nebee hanesan ba, ba industri ida nee perlu ema barak iha servisu iha mina rai nee. I depois hau rasik, hau husi ami nia Suai. Kan iha nebaa kan planu supply base, iha hau nia rai.	Just looking at the oil. I think in just however many years, around five years in petroleum, we have just graduated, less than five hundred. Just over two hundred. So for, for this industry it needs lots of people to work in the area of the land-based oil. And then for me myself, I am from Suai. They are planning a supply base there, in my hometown.	00:11:25

A4.4.2 – Prof. L on students’ *kemampuan* (‘competencies’) and the value of practice-based learning

Excerpt begins at [00:20:55]. Prof. L has been telling me about the teaching methods applied in the TTC petroleum faculty that lecturers learn from completing their Certificate IV in Training and Assessment with the Canberra Institute. He has been talking about the use of videos so that students can ‘imagine’ what industry is like.

Cited data is Prof. L telling me that he and his colleagues learned about identifying students’ *kemampuan* (‘competencies’) and the importance of providing practical examples for students to ‘touch with [their] hands’ [00:22:03].

Speaker	Original	Translation	Time stamp
T	Before you talked about - maybe you can't remember now - but before you talked about the video, when you were saying what's good about the teaching method. You said the Cert 4, and what was the second thing?		00:20:55
Int	<i>[Interpreter clarifies Prof. L's earlier response]</i>		
L	Tanba hau iha esperiensi ida iha bee, iha Canberra Institute, iha sesta-sesta ami halo bee, training ba bee, oinsaa mak bele hatene labarik sira nia bee, ah sira nia kemampuan nee. Nebee ida, kuandu ita uza vizual, ida ita uza explain deit. Nebee ita haree, iha Certificate Empat, ou Certificate Dua, bainhira iha parte rua: teoria kuandu nia la kompriende, ita lori nia liu husi pratika deit. Mungkin jam pratika nee ita halo barak liu. Ema balun kan lebih, lebih bee, lebih ah, lebih diak liu hakarak kaer ho liman. Touch with hands. Ida nee mak sira hakarak lalais iha	Because I had the experience at the um, at the Canberra institute, every friday we did um, traning for um, how we can know the student's um, their abilities. So on, when we use visuals, one way is just to explain. So, we saw, in the certificate four (course), or the certificate two (course), when there were two parts: the theory, [and for] when they didn't understand then we just use pracs. Maybe the prac hours we did more of. Some people are more um, more ah, better, [they] prefer to touch things with their hands. Touch with hands. <i>[En.]</i> This is what they wanted to do quickly	00:21:25 00:22:03

	ida nebaa. Nia lalais kompriende bainhira nia kaer, 'oh how to open this', ida nee.	there. They understood quickly when they held it 'oh how to open this'[En.], like this.	00:22:15

A4.4.3 – Prof. L on the English that graduates need for petroleum job interviews

Excerpt begins at [00:31:55]. Cited data is Prof. L telling me that students will need to know the English names for equipment or for petroleum extraction processes to answer questions in interviews [00:32:55].

Speaker	Original	Translation	Time stamp
T	When a student graduates with a lisensiatura in petroleum, what are they going to need to do with their English? What will they need their English for? So, who will they be talking to? Will they need their English to talk to their supervizors for example, if they get a job in the petroleum company? Will they need to read English manuals? What about, what else will they need English for?	When a student graduates with an undergraduate degree in petroleum, what are they going to need to do with their English? What will they need their English for? So, who will they be talking to? Will they need their English to talk to their supervizors for example, if they get a job in the petroleum company? Will they need to read English manuals? What about, what else will they need English for?	00:31:55
L	Iha nee ita haree ba sira nia, bee, naran sa... agora kan sira iha, ah, skill ou bee, naran sa, pengetahuan nee-nee, pengetahuan nia bee, iha university, knowledge.	Here we look at their, um, what's it called... now they have, ah, skill [En.] or um, what's it called, knowledge um, at university, knowledge [En.].	00:32:25
Int	Knowledge		00:32:40
L	Nebee sira komesa ona iha naran sa, hanesan iha bee, dasar iha ona. Hau hanoin basic ba Ingles nee sira iha ona, liu-liu iha hanesan, bee, bainhira ita baa interview ruma iha industry kan, paling nia husu kona ba ekipamentu, ka ou prosesu ba mina nian nee toh. Nebee sira, sira la barak, maibee sira hatene ona. Hatene ona ba sira nia area nee. Liu-liu sira nia area.	So, they are now starting to have what's it called? Like the um, they now have the basics. I think they already have a basic [level] of English, especially for when they go to an interview in industry, they will at least ask about equipment, or about processes of oil [extraction]. This isn't a lot [of English] but they already know these things. They already know [these things] for their own area. Especially [for] their own area.	00:32:55 00:33:10

A4.4.4 – 'Equipment is in English'

Excerpt begins at [00:59:55]. Cited data is Prof. L telling me that students write their theses in Indonesian, use Tetun only to verbally 'explain', and must use English for the names of equipment [01:01:10].

Speaker	Original	Translation	Time stamp
T	If you could choose three communication skills that are the most important communication skills for students to have the most success in their lisensiatura for petroleum studies, what would the three skills be? Three communication skills that students need for success at university.	If you could choose three communication skills that are the most important communication skills for students to have the most success in their undergraduate degree for petroleum studies, what would the three skills be? Three communication skills that students need for success at university.	00:59:55
L	Nee mak agora nee mak difficult ba ami atu menentukan ida nebee mak, ya, difficult ba ami atu menentukan ida nee. Mais sai, naran sa, maibee iha realidade ami nian nee, lingua Bahasa mak ami bee, hanesan ba iha bee, sira atu pasang nee lingua Indonesia nee mak sira hakerek iha sira nia tesis nee.	This is why it is now difficult for us to determine which is, yeah, it is difficult for us to determine this. But it becomes, what's it called, but this is our reality, the Indonesian language we um, like for the um, they use the Indonesian language when they are writing their theses.	01:00:20
T	Ok. Is that one skill?		01:00:40
L	Ya, Bahasa. Nee sira dehan naran sa, sira iha skill. Tanba komesa husi rai [...] mai iha nee sira uza lingua Bahasa.	Yeah. Indonesian. They call this a what's it called, they have a skill. Because starting from the country of [...] all the way here they use the Indonesian language.	
T	Bahasa. Okay. What else? Two more. Three. [Interpreter's name] is that right? Is he getting...	Indonesian. Okay. What else? Two more. Three. [Interpreter's name] is that right? Is he getting...	
Int	Yeah, all thesis written in Bahasa.	Yeah, all theses written in Indonesian.	
L	Writing in Bahasa, maibee explain: Tetun.	Writing in Indonesian, but explain: Tetun.	01:01:00
T	Ok, so explaining in Tetun. Verbally explaining.		
L	[laughs] Ya, Tetun. Tapi, writing involve equipment iha nee-nee, Ingles.	[laughs] Yeah, Tetun. But, writing involves equipment – for this, [they use/need] English.	01:01:10
T	But equipment, recognizing equipment in English.		
L	Yeah. The equipment: Ingles.	Yeah. The equipment: English.	01:01:13

A4.5 Excerpt from an interview with Profs. V & W (TTC-I8)

Date: 8th February, 2017

Participants:

V	Prof. V, Petroleum Studies lecturer
W	Prof. W, Petroleum Studies lecturer
T	Trent Newman, interviewer/researcher

This is a follow-up interview following a second focus group with the TTC petroleum faculty on my return visit to Timor in 2017. I ask particularly about the study tour and field work trips to Gaja Mada University and Cepu, as well as about employment prospects for students. The conversation was held in the petroleum faculty staff room, with some occasional interruptions or background noise from other lecturers or students in the room.

A4.5.1 – Profs. V and W on students’ use of English and Indonesian on study tours

Excerpt begins at [00:13:55] with my question. Before this, I provide a summary of what prompted this question: Prof. W telling me that he needs to stop speaking Indonesian in his classrooms in the future because of TTC’s policy of using only English or Tetun for Petroleum Studies. Cited data include:

- ‘The lecturer in the field use Indonesian language, not English language.’ [00:25:45]
- ‘Powerpoint is in English...if their level of education is high’ [00:25:55]
- Students learn a lot of Indonesian from satellite television [00:26:30]
- ‘If they go to Cepu, they use Indonesian to talk with their supervisor’ [00:26:35]

Speaker	Original	Time stamp
W	<i>W talks about his classroom rule to 'speak in Tetun or English' ... explains 'I must stop speaking Bahasa in the future' [nervous laugh] 'because [TTC] has already stated their policy that we must use English or Tetun, Bahasa no more'</i>	00:13:30
T	But I thought that your field work, when your students go on the field trip, the study tour, they go to Indonesia, right?	00:13:55
W	Yeah.	
T	So, in there I think maybe they need to use some Bahasa, don't they?	
W	They speak with Bahasa but sometimes their slide written in English. So, you know like technical language they're using English, but how they deliver it sometimes in Indonesian. On the study tour, they present in English and Indonesian.	00:14:15

	We just go there and see the equipment, everything there, and then, when they [students] return here, we just advise them to use English, present in English...some Tetun okay.	00:14:55
	<i>[Interruption as students enter, ask W and V some questions, leave.]</i>	
T	So, going back to the study tour, [...] you mentioned that sometimes the powerpoint in the study tour is in English, is that right?	00:24:25
	<i>[W & V misunderstand and begin to talk about the implementation of English as Mol at TTC 'in the future', V saying 'we still use Bahasa']</i>	
T	But I'm talking about when they go to Cepu.	00:24:55
W	Ah! Yeah, okay.	
T	In Cepu, maybe they're going to talk, and if they're using the equipment and they're doing the practice for their <i>[seeks word from W & V]</i> kerja praktek. Fieldwork. Okay, so when they do their kerja praktek, sorry - not the study tour - maybe they need to speak in Bahasa then, right?	
V	Yes.	
W	Yes.	
T	So...is their Bahasa good enough to speak to them on the kerja praktek if they're not using it here in class, they're using Tetun and English more?	
V	Yes, I think so it's enough to students because we must to have another country, have another language. And then...in Cepu, normally the students, the lecturer in the field use Indonesian language, not English language.	00:25:45
W	Ah yes...	
V	But, in the class, or with some director, or with someone [whose] level of education is too high, maybe presentation, powerpoint, it's in English. But, in the field, normally they're...	00:25:55
W	Using Bahasa.	00:26:05
V	-people use Indonesian language. Using Bahasa.	
W	For my idea, I think the student understand Bahasa,	
V	Yeah.	
W	Because, as we know that satellites we use, we're watching TV, the all of program is from Indonesia, like [...?]. So they can learn a lot of Bahasa from that. And then[...] if they go to the Cepu, they also using Bahasa, speak with their supervisor, but for the equipment everything's in English.	00:26:35
T	Okay. So then in that case they can use Bahasa but mix the English into the Bahasa?	
W	Yeah	00:26:42
T	So maybe they don't know the technical words in Bahasa,	
V	Yes.	
T	-but they know the English words?	
W	The English words.	
T	And then so the supervisor will understand the English technical terms? The English equipment names?	
W	The supervisor also in English, yes.	00:26:50
V	All equipment name is English.	

T	But some, no, look - <i>[points to the title of V's Masters thesis written in Indonesian]</i>	
	<i>[V explains that he had to write his Masters in Indonesian but also had to provide a translation of the title (and abstract? in English)]</i>	

Appendix 5 (A5): Data excerpts from tourism lecturers

A5.1 Excerpts from a focus group discussion with TTC tourism lecturers (TTC-FG2)

Date: 7th September, 2015

Participants:

Az	Prof. Az, tour guiding and travel lecturer
F	Prof. F, hotel management lecturer
Pk	Prof. Pk, hotel management lecturer
C	Prof. C, hotel management lecturer
R	Prof. R, community-based tourism lecturer
T	Trent Newman, focus group facilitator/researcher
Int	Interpreter

A5.1.1 – The ‘best’ students are ready to ‘accompany’ our teaching; ‘they are all active’

Excerpt begins at [00:08:15] at the beginning of the second ‘rotation’ in the focus group.

Cited data in this excerpt include:

- Prof. R’s description of the ‘best’ students as those who read and search for information (*lee...buka informasaun*) [00:09:30], who can follow (*akompanha*) teaching in class [00:09:42], who are ‘all active’ [00:09:55].
- His statement that it is not many students who are active like this, only one or two’ [00:10:00]

Speaker	Original	Translation	Time stamp
T	Agora, ba rotasaun rua, bele uh, halo favor bele...can you think of one student that you really enjoy teaching? Try to think of one student who you think is a really *good* student, and can you tell some story, share some story about that student who is like a <i>model</i> student?	Now, for the second rotation, can you, uh, please can you...can you think of one student that you really enjoy teaching? Try to think of one student who you think is a really *good* student, and can you tell some story, share some story about that student who is like a <i>model</i> student?	00:08:15
Int	Yeah. Agora hanoin estudante nebee ita boot sira gosta hanorin. Hanorin. No estudante nebee ba ita boot estudante ida nebee ita boot sira hanorin diak. [voice faint - difficult to hear]	[Int. translating T’s question] Yeah. Now think [about] a student that you all like teaching. Teaching. And a student who, for you, this student is one that you teach well.	00:08:40

T	Just a short story about one student. La presiza ninia naran, maibee some experience you have working with the student. Tanba saa estudante nee hetan susesu? Or why is this student also good to work with? [To R] Halo favor.	Just a short story about one student. I don't need their name, but some experience you have working with the student. Why does this student achieve success? Or why is this student also good to work with? [To R] Please.	
R	Diak. Estudante iha - iha ida ka rua nebee hau senti diak tebe-tebes. Estudante nebee atu aprende, [hau?] gosta hanorin ho [laughs] estudante modelu hanesan nee tanba wainhira ita foo ona materia nee nee, sira mos dalaruma lee, sira buka informasaun, lee. Wainhira tama ona iha eskola laran nee-nee, iha aula nee-nee, ita fahe informasaun hanorin iha jeral mos, sira akompanha - akompanha buat nebee sira la hatene ho tuir sira nia hanoin nebee seluk, la hanesan [ho saida mak ita hanorin nia?]. Sira pergunta nee mos mai tenta senti diak...diak para ita atu bele foo resposta foun ruma ba sira. Ativu hotu. Nebbee hau senti nee esperiensi nebee diak ba estudante. Ida nee dala barak. Laos estudante barak, maibee hanesan ida [ka] rua deit maka bele ativu hanesan nee.	Right. There are students - there are one or two that I feel are really good. Students that are going to learn, [I?] like teaching with [laughs] students like this because when we give them the material, they also sometimes read, they look for information, read. When they come in to school, in to the classroom, when we give them the information in general as well, they pay attention - they pay attention to the things that they don't know and the things that they think are different, not the same [as what we have taught them?]. With their questions, they try to make it positive... positive so that we can give a new answer to them. [They are] all active. So I feel that this is a good experience for the students. This [happens?] many times. It is not lots of the students, but just one or two that are active like this.	00:09:15 00:09:30 00:09:42 00:09:55
T	Obrigadu.	Thank you.	00:10:02

A5.1.2 – TTC tourism lecturers on the translation of 'service' as *atendimentu*

Excerpt begins at [00:50:50], following some discussion about the value of the undergraduate thesis for students' learning about research in tourism and writing structured reports. Cited data in this excerpt include:

- Prof. Az and his colleagues affirming that the Tetun translation for 'service' is *atendimentu* [00:53:35];
- Prof. C's and Prof. F's comments that English is used for all industry 'terminology' in teaching students about tourism and hospitality [00:55:55];
- Prof. R explaining that they can use the English word 'service' but Tetun is needed to explain what 'service' means 'in tourism area economics' [00:56:22];
- Prof. Az explaining that 'there is no difference in attendance of the customer in Australia or Indonesia or Timor' [00:58:20].

Speaker	Original	Translation	Time stamp
T	Can you give me some examples of what are some of the <i>best</i> topics that you've seen or some of the best <i>skripsi, tesis</i> that you have seen?		00:50:50
	[Pause, 5 seconds.]		
T	Bele?	Can you?	
Az	It's difficult to...		
F	It's difficult.		
Az	-to classify.		
R	Sin.	Yes.	
Az	But, for the tourism faculty I think that, because we are related to the customer, to the tourist, so the best topic I think is service. The quality of service.		00:51:20
T	Okay.		
Az	Yeah. So...two years ago we had a topic about the impact of quality service for...for...I've forgot. The impact of quality service for guest satisfaction. Yeah. Because, I said just now, tourism, the main...uh...the main topic or...		
R	Sector.		00:52:20
Az	The main sector, the main work, the main job that tourism industry do is the service. Service. So, service including the how to communicate with the tourists. Yeah. So, when...as a tourism industry stakeholder, when we make miscommunication means that the customer will be unsatisfied. Yeah. So, service includes...uh...always communication, how to know the different answer from the tourist, etcetera.		
T	Ah?		
Az	Yeah.		
T	Entaun, oinsa eslika konseptu - konseptu, is that a word?	So, how do you explain that <i>konseptu</i> – <i>konseptu</i> , is that a word?	
R	The concept.		
T	Concept?		
R	Konseitu.	Concept.	00:53:20
T	Oinsaa eslika konseitu nee? Because...tanba, iha Tetun 'servisu' it can mean work, it can mean job.	How do you explain this concept? Because...because, in Tetun, <i>servisu</i> –	

	Entaun, oinsaa esplika 'service' iha Tetun?	it can mean work, it can mean job. So, how do you explain 'service' in Tetun?	
Az	In Tetun, 'service'...		
	[Others talking at once - inaudible]		
Az	-'atendimientu'.	-'attendance'.	00:53:35
F	[affirming] Atendimientu.		
T	//Atendimientu?//		
Az	//Atendimientu.// Yeah.		
T	Okay.		
C	And we can link to English.		
T	Iha Ingles mos?	Also in English?	
C	Yeah.		
Az	And 'service'. Tetun: 'atendimientu'.		00:53:48
Pk[?]	Atendimientu.		
T	I Bahasa mos?	And also Indonesian?	
R	[In quick succession, almost simultaneous:] Pelayanan.		
Az	Pelayanan.		
Others	//Pelayanan.//		00:53:52
Az	Bahasa: pelayanan.	[In] Indonesian: <i>pelayanan</i> .	
T	So when you're explaining to the students the idea of service, do you give them all of the translations and then you...?		
C	Yeah. Sometimes we use...		
R	Combine words.		
C	-combine.		
Az	*But* for the students who enter [TTC] on 2015, this year,		00:54:00
T	This year?		
Az	-we implemented English. Yeah.		
T	English only?		
Az	English as a final project for tourism. So, every subject, in one year they just have English.		
T	One hundred per cent?		
Az	Hundred per cent.		
T	Really? [<i>incredulously</i>]		00:54:30
Az	English.		

R	Ohhh... [<i>expressing doubt</i>] Ninety per cent.		
Az	Only...Ah?		
T	Ninety per cent?		
Az	//Nonono, //		00:54:35
R	//[<i>inaudible</i>] //		
F	[<i>inaudible</i>]		
Az	[<i>To R? Lecturer...project?</i>] There's only general subject, one or two. But-		
F	Their focus on...		
Az	They're focussed on the English.		
F	English.		
Az	So [<i>visiting foreign ESL teacher's name</i>] is here to help us. To prepare us for the next year.		
F	[<i>She is...?</i>] [<i>laughing</i>]		00:54:55
T	Maibee, se estudiante ida la bele kompriende,	But, if a student isn't able to understand,	
F	Sin, agora [<i>ita koalia kona ba?</i>] challenge.	Yes, now [<i>we talk about?</i>] the challenge.	
T	-entaun, oinsaa bele esplika?	-then, how can you explain?	
C	We use Tetun, English and Bahasa Indonesia.		00:55:10
T	Bahasa?	Indonesian?	
C	So, if the student not understand in Tetun, we can explain or translate some phrase or some word in Indonesian, or some in English. But, in our department, for the special subject[s], all the name of the facility, we're using English.		
T	Okay.		
C	Yeah.		
T	So, for example?		
C	For example in...		
T	Like hotel facilities?		
C	Yeah, facility in hotel. We call, like, 'cupboard', uh...		
Az	'Closet.'		00:55:50
C	'Dustpan.'		
Pk	'Housekeeping.'		
F	Istillah-istillah.	Terminology.[<i>Ind.</i>]	00:55:55

C	And, uh...service - we use service. In English.		
T	Okay.		
C	Yeah. And 'guest supplies' and 'cleaning equipment' and...'cleaning supplies' we...all in English.		
T	Okay.		
R	For some words we can't translate but we can explain. In Tetun.		
T	Por ezemplu?	For example?	00:56:20
R	Some Tetun...-/ Like 'service'. It's real [difficult?]-/ We can use 'service' but we can't explain what does service mean in tourism area economic[s]. So, we can just explain it in Tetun. Maybe we prepare the subject in English language, but with the explanation we can go by-/ use the Tetun.		
F	In Tetun.		
T	So, I'm interested in this idea of how you-/ Because service, like you said, is central to Tourism, so how do you explain, using Tetun - oinsaa esplika 'service' or...what's the word again?	So, I'm interested in this idea of how you-/ Because service, like you said, is central to Tourism, so how do you explain, using Tetun - how do you explain 'service' or...what's the word again?	00:56:40
R	Service?		
T	In Portugues?		
R	Atendimientu.		
Others	[All at once] Atendimientu.		
T	So how do you explain, por ezemplu, diferencia entre ... between the //atendimientu in-//	So how do you explain, for example, the difference between ... between the //atendimientu in-//	
C	//Servisu?//	[The meaning of the word] //Servisu?//	
T	-in *Dili*, compared to the culture of atendimientu in Australia, compared to the culture of service in Los Palos? How do you explain those differences?		
F	[inaudible]		00:57:18
T	[To Pk] Can I have your opinion?		
Pk	Hau nia hanoin, estudante ba esperi-/ sira servisu iha restaurante. Orsida tenki haree karakter nia bainaka sira. Husi nebee? Husi nebee? Esplika. Sira haree nee. O husi, karik, slang Australian nian hanesan [inaudible]	I think, the students' exper-/ they work in a restaurant. Then they have to look at the character of their guest. Where are they from? Where are they from? Explain. They look at this. You are from, if, Australian slang is like [inaudible]	

Az	Hau hanoin hanesan ne'e: ba service, ba service ne'e hanesan.	I think it is like this: for service, for service it is the same.	00:57:50
R	Sin.	Yes.	
Az	Hanesan deit. La iha diferente, diferente Los Palos, ho ne'e. Liafuan 'service' ne'e, hanesan deit. La iha diferente. Cuma oinsaa ita...ita...saida?	It is just the same. It isn't different in Lospalos and here. The word 'service', it is just the same. There is no difference. It is just how we... we... what's it called?	
F	[inaudible]		
Az	Ita foo hanoin ba sira, atu nunee sira kompriende diak liu tan, ya: [pokoknya kompetente sira nian iha tiha ona?] Dala ruma ema dehan 'service', 'service'. 'Service' nee dehan atendumtu ba kliente. La iha diferente tuir ba atendumtu ba kliente iha Australia ou Indonesia ou Timor - ne'e hanesan deit.	We instruct them, so that they understand even better, yes: [basically they already have the competence?] Sometimes people say 'Service! Service!' This 'service' is about attending to the customer. There is no difference in attendance of the customer in Australia or Indonesia or Timor – it's just the same.	00:58:20 00:58:37

A5.1.3 – 'Tourism policy is not implemented yet'...the government is 'not focussed'

Excerpt begins at [01:07:55]. We have been discussing a vision of sustainable, community-based tourism for the future in Timor. Cited data in this excerpt include:

- Prof. Az referring to the national strategic development plan, in which tourism is identified as a strategic industry [01:08:25];
- Prof. Az stating that the regulations from the government for the tourism industry are not yet implemented and 'they are not focussed' [01:09:00].

Speaker	Original	Translation	Time stamp
T	So, what are the problems, the barriers to that? You said that they need-/ government regulation needs to change - why? What needs to change?		01:07:55
Az	No, I think that government...not change - they are not focus. Because in the national strategic plan, they say that there are three sectors,		
R	Three pillars.		
Az	-to dezvoltolve...uh...	-to develop...uh...	
R	Timor-Leste.		
Az	Yeah. Petroleum, tourism, and agriculture. Yeah. Talking about tourism, for natural resources		01:08:25

	it is enough for Timor-Leste. But, the regulations, the policy from the government - it is not implemented yet. So, it is the problem. They already determined that tourism is the one sector for national development, but they are not focussed.		01:09:00

A5.1.4 – ‘Mass tourism is a threat’ ... ‘eco-tourism is our brand’

Excerpt begins at [01:09:40], shortly after the previous excerpt. Cited data in this excerpt include:

- Prof. Az explaining that the development of eco-tourism in Timor is still inhibited by limitations in funding, a lack of understanding from communities, and lack of government regulation [01:10:40];
- Prof. R saying that he hopes some graduates from TTC will get jobs in the ministry of tourism (‘government’) and influence the Timorese government to develop the tourism industry [01:11:40];
- Prof. R stating that ‘If we develop mass tourism, it’s like a threat.’ [01:12:15];
- Prof. R stating that ‘eco-tourism is...the brand of Timor-Leste’ [01:12:42];
- Prof. R and Prof. Az both emphasising that Timor’s oil and gas resources are ‘unrenewable’ [01:14:00];
- Prof. R suggesting that, without sustainable tourism, there will be no source of revenue for development ‘when the oil and gas is finished’ [01:14:10].

Speaker	Original	Time stamp
T	When a student graduates now with a <i>lisensiatura</i> [undergraduate degree], what kind of job are they going to get, do you think? What kind of work will they get now? Are there many jobs in eco-tourism or sustainable tourism?	01:09:35
F	No. Nothing. There is no tourism //jobs.//	
Az	//For// tourism faculty graduates, [TTC] graduates, most of them now work at a travel agency.	
T	Okay.	
Az	Yeah, agency. And the...uh...airline office.	01:10:10
T	And the airline office?	
Az	And the airline office. For how to develop the eco-tourism industry: limited. Because, when we want to...uh, plan...we have plan to develop some area in eco-tourism, we still have limitation in funding, in the best understanding from the community, regulation from the government, and etcetera. So, just	01:10:40

	now, our graduated students they are...uh, most of them work at the <i>ajensia</i> , agency and then airline officer.	
T	Do they start their own travel agency or do they get a job with another travel agent?	
F	They get a job	
Az	They...	
C	Both.	01:11:10
Az	They work for the agency and some of them - I try to keep contact with them - they said that when they have enough experience, they will do their own business.	
T	Okay	
Az	Yeah	
T	And is that what you hope that they will do? The students will?	
Az	Yeah. Yeah.	01:11:35
R	I hope that they graduate from [TTC], some students will going to the [laughs] government because in the government they have to understand the background of the tourism - how to develop the tourism. If they don't understand about the tourism, I think they will do nothing. And yes, many graduates they will work in the industry. Even in the industry, if they have the knowledge for the ecotourism, this is the Timor-Leste brand. If we develop the mass tourism, it's like a...uh...threat? <i>Ameasa</i> ?	01:12:15
T	Mmm-hmm. [affirming]	
Az	Yeah.	
R	Threat for industry because no tourist will come, will want to come to Timor-Leste if you develop the mass tourism. This is the Timor-Leste brand, yes. The eco-tourism is a type of tourism that's responsible for the nature and culture, yeah? Well-being for the community. This is the brand, I think the brand of Timor-Leste. And, if they have the good knowledge in tourism, even in the industry, they will suggest to the owner of the tour to make some packet tour related to the eco-tourism activity. So, this is really helpful for the future. And for sustainable I think it's same. But, if mass tourism, we can't compete with Indonesia, with another country. So [laughs] it's...I think it will not be sustainable. Tourism will not be sustainable.	01:12:42 01:13:20
T	Do you think it's possible to...	
R	Yes, this is the challenge.	
T	-to change the direction?	
R	This is the challenge. [laughs] Very difficult. If...-/ tourism is not only one sector, it's every sector. It's multi...	
Az	Multi-sector.	
R	Multi-sectoral. It's multi-sector industry. So it's the challenge - how we can try to make a good plan of political for the tourism development. Because we already put it: there is the three pillar for the development of Timor-Leste. And the petroleum and gas...we said that it is...	01:13:40 01:13:55

Az	Unrenewable.	
R	Unrenewable. So, it's very...-/ [laughs] When the oil and gas [is] finished, what we hope, Timor-Leste hope[s], to develop the community? It's a...-/ So this is a...-/ For me, I hope the leader[s] of Timor-Leste, they can understand well about the tourism. If you lose the tourism, you can lose the money also.	01:14:10 01:14:32

A5.1.5 – ‘The environment is political’ so tourism graduates need ‘political communication’

Excerpt begins at [01:23:40]. Cited data in this excerpt include:

- Prof. C telling me that ‘people who work in the ministry ... don’t have a background in tourism’ [01:24:08];
- Prof. R stating that the environment in Timor-Leste is political, making it difficult for TTC graduates or even the lecturers themselves to get jobs and shape industry [01:27:55];
- Prof. R suggesting that tourism graduates need political communication skills to influence the government [01:28:15];
- Prof. R explaining that government is important because ‘the general procedure of tourism is prepared by the government’ [01:28:25].

Speaker	Original utterance	Time stamp
T	So, <i>husi nebee estudante sira bele hetan o simu kapasidade nee? Abilidade ba fasilitar ... uh, diskulpa ...</i> [from where can students get or receive this capacity? This ability to facilitate ... uh, sorry ...] [moves recorder] - to facilitate communication between the ministry of tourism, community groups, tourism investment industry?	01:23:40
C	In my view, there’s a big problem that our academic institution encounters. The problem is with people who work in the ministry of tourism. Many of them don’t have a background in tourism. This is a problem.	01:24:20
T	Background ... <i>entaun background husi nebee?</i> [so their background is from where?] What's their background, if not tourism?	
R	Some, economics, general ...	01:24:30
	[Lecturers discuss the problem that the ministry of tourism does not collect and analyse data about the number of tourists who visit Timor each year, where they go, etc.]	
T	Are you worried about...uh, graduates, losing your tourism graduates to going overseas? Are you worried that they will go to Australia to get a job or go to Bali to get a job? Is that a problem or not really?	01:27:05

F	Not really.	
Az	Not, no.	
T	They stay here?	
R	I think it's...[<i>laughs</i>] very hard. In tourism-/ Not only in community-based tourism or eco-tourism but in tourism <i>management</i>, the important [thing] related to the tourism industry the student can get the job. Um...[<i>sucks teeth</i>] we worry about the...only about, as you said, that their skill - communication skill. This is the problem. When, even we, with the background from the tourism background...-/ But the environment is the political...uh...political. 'If you don't agree with this, with this...' I think we must give the ability, skill communication. To guarantee they have this skill for tourism.	01:27:40 01:27:55
T	So, you think that it's important for students to have political communication skills? Or,	
R	Maybe...	01:28:10
T	-political knowledge to...	
R	Yes.	01:28:15
F	Yeah.	
T	-help their communication?	
R	Tourism [<i>laughs</i>] political. Political in tourism. I think so. Because the industry is important, but the government is also very important. Because the general procedure of tourism is prepared by the government. Prepared by the government: the general infrastructure of tourism. So, it's very important for the government, also the tourism industry.	01:28:25

A5.2 Excerpts from an interview with Prof. R (TTC-15)

Date: 8th September, 2015

Participants:

R	Prof. R, community-based tourism lecturer
T	Trent Newman, interviewer/researcher

A5.2.1 – Prof. R: ‘The number of students is...very hard to control’

Excerpt begins at [00:17:20]. Cited data is Prof. R’s statement that the number of students is above fifty and ‘it’s very hard to control’ [00:18:18].

Speaker	Original	Time stamp
T	I think yesterday in the focus group you were saying that the more successful students are the ones who ask questions...or I think you said the <i>best</i> students are the ones who ask questions, the ones who are more active, the ones who want to give their opinion. So, can you tell me how do you help the students to develop those kinds of skills? How do you encourage them to develop those skills?	00:17:20
R	For...uh, for those students...?	00:17:55
T	For <i>all</i> of your students.	
R	Oh, for all the students. [pause, 4 secs] This is...[laughs] This is the problem I say - that the number of the students is more than thirty. About fifty, above. I think it's very hard to control...	00:18:18
T	Oh, right, yeah. To give individual attention?	00:18:20
R	Individual, yeah. Some student, yes. They very active to want to understand and ask, but some just sit and they - this is the problem - they important [only] to pass the exam. Only C or C minus, it's okay. For them it's okay. [laughs] So, sometimes, I'm confused how to...-/ For me, I just maybe want that they participate, just ask questions or just give to them the time to speak, but another...want to control one by one, I think very difficult because we must continue with the new subject. I say that: 'If you have time you can come to my office. When you make the homework, I can help you when you have time.' I waiting here in my office and no... [laughs] I can't help them.	00:18:40 00:19:10

A5.2.2 – Prof. R on sustainable tourism as the ‘uniqueness’ of Timor-Leste

Excerpt begins at [00:39:10]. Cited data is a large part of Prof. R’s comment from [00:41:05] to [00:41:50] about sustainable tourism constituting the ‘uniqueness’ of Timor.

Speaker	Original	Time stamp
T	In the focus group, you mentioned that you think that for the future of Timor, eco-tourism and, I think, did you say Community Tourism is particularly important?	00:39:10
R	Yeah. Yes, yeah.	
T	Where did this come from? This...this...value? This...this...-/ <i>Hano in ne'e husi ne'ebe?</i> [Where does this thinking come from?]	
R	I think like this, <i>Maun</i> [brother]: because, when we develop Tourism, the benefit [is] for the community. Because, if we develop eco-tourism, we must involve the community. [thumps desk to emphasise]	00:39:30
T	<i>Tanba sa?</i> [Why?]	
R	Ah?	
T	Why?	
R	Because they...they are the one of the tourism potential. And they live near the...uh.../ Tourists come to visit some places what are attract tourists to come. The tourism potential is in the rural areas. So, the communities live there and how...they...they have many resources but they don't understand how to use their resources get some benefit. And if we develop the mass tourism, many investors. And the investors come, I think community is not participate. They only in the.../ They are not the owner, but they are in the low management. So, they just...yeah. It's why we need involve them.	00:39:45
T	Yeah. Look, I said ' <i>Tanba sa?</i> ' [why] because I wanted to know what <i>you're</i> think but, I mean, of course I think so too. But, <i>many</i> people in Timor they don't...well, in <i>any</i> country - in Australia, too - they don't care about the local communities when they/ - they just want to build a hotel and make money. So that's why I'm interested why...why you think differently. <i>Tanba saida ita boot...</i> ? [Why do you...?]	00:40:10
R	<i>Ida tanba ne'e: tanba...</i> [It's because of this: because...]-/ It's, I think, about the sustainable. Because tourism is small; it's small country. You develop many...-/ The tourists come not only for the hotel, the good hotel! [laughs] If they come only for the good hotel, they don't come to Timor-Leste. They take another place, [with] more hotels better than in Timor. So, this is the image and I think that it is the...the point to attract tourists [to] come. This is the one part of the...uh, responsible for the environment and culture. This is the...uniqueness from Timor-Leste. The base of tourism is the uniqueness. And service. If mass tourism, ...uh, in the environment you build many five-star hotels, it will be...- / What will attract tourists to come again? Only five-star hotels, I think not come to Timor. In Europa, in Australia, in Asia already many, many star hotels. So, what is the uniqueness for the tourists? It's I hope, I hope...uh, I prefer to build eco-tourism.	00:41:05 00:41:50 00:42:20

A5.2.3 – Prof. R on students researching tourism potential in rural areas

Excerpt begins at [00:44:40]. Following on from the conversation in the previous excerpt about Prof. R's 'hope' for building an eco-tourism industry in Timor, we have been discussing whether students share this hope and these values when they graduate. Cited data include:

- Prof. R's statement that for the undergraduate thesis research the focus is on students' ability to identify tourism potential 'and some ask the perception of the community' [00:45:05];
- Prof. R clarifying that the community's perception is with regard to 'can we build the tourism facilities' [00:46:45];
- Prof. R's explanation that they (lecturers) hope the students' research will help contribute to an inventory of potential tourism objects in Timor [00:48:15].

Speaker	Original	Time stamp
T	When students do their research for their...uh, <i>monografia</i> [thesis],	00:44:40
R	Yeah.	
T	-do you look for them to have, to include some community-based tourism principles? Or ideas? In the... <i>iha monografia nia laran</i> [in the thesis]...or the <i>peskiza nia laran</i> [in the research]?	
R	General. Because Timor-Leste is still the potential of tourism but not...uh...I don't know how to call...-/ Have a planning to build some...-/ Just, we just introduce them to how to identify the tourism potential. And some ask the perception of the community: "Do you agree to develop this place to be tourist destination or not?" But more than this - I think it's not enough time for the student to do...	00:45:00 00:45:20
T	To understand?	
R	To understand, and for the...uh...undergraduate. I think they don't have...uh...resource and knowledge [analiza?] to make a research. I think it's for Master or Doctoral degree to...	00:45:55
T	You think?	
R	Yeah.	
T	To understand about eco-tourism?	
R	No, to make a research related to this for the...-/ Because the student...uh, I don't know how to say...	
T	<i>Iha Tetun bele. O mos iha...</i> [You can also [speak] in Tetun. Or in...]	
R	Community...uh, for.../ They just, uh...-/ It's based on the department - we decided that the student now for the identification for the tourism potential.	
T	That that's the main focus?	00:46:30
R	Ah. The main focus. And maybe some to the perception of the community.	
T	What do you mean: 'For some the perception of the community'? What do you mean? Some of them do that as a topic?	
R	Ah, yeah. Like, we ask their opinion about can we build the tourism facilities like the hotel, restaurant, in these places; they agree or disagree with this, implement...-/ We just, like, introduce the how to make the research but not...uh, the detail to implement and to do.	00:46:45

T	Ah, I see what you mean. And that's more master's or PhD level to go into that detail?	00:47:20
R	Yes, yeah.	
T	Okay. So how was that...-/ Who decided that this would be the focus - the identifying the potential for tourism development?	
T/R	[Prof. R names the head of tour and travel management at TTC. T confirms name.]	
T	So, what does that *mean* that that's the focus? That's the main, general broad topic that everyone should do their <i>monografia</i> [thesis] on? Is that...-/	00:47:45
R	Ah. But it's maybe they just identify in their district...or their village or sub-district. Depend on the topic. We hope that they...-/ Because, in Timor-Leste, maybe some tourist potential we not identify yet. We hope that the information can help us to...uh, inventory?	
T	Make an inventory?	
R	To make an inventory, yeah. Yes, as a reference to teach for the students also. Because we the limitation for resources to make the research. And the time.	00:48:15

A5.2.4 – ‘For the information, they ask from the local people’

Excerpt begins at [00:54:44]. We have been discussing a specific student who Prof. R supervised and whom I had observed present her thesis defence the previous day. Prof. R has been explaining why he questioned the student about her use of a local name *Maun Fahe* for a mountain in Same where she conducted her research on tourism potential. She had claimed that she got this name from a local person in the community and Prof. R questioned this source. Cited data include:

- Prof. R explaining that students collect information about local tourism objects from ‘the local leaders who know the stories’ [00:55:25];
- Prof. R saying: ‘I think it’s not enough, the narrated source’ [00:55:50];
- Prof. R expressing doubt about the need for an undergraduate thesis for all students [00:56:15].

Speaker	Original	Time stamp
T	So, this was one thing that I remember - now you tell me the story I remember there was talking a lot about <i>Maun Fahe</i> . What were some other...-/ Do you remember some other problems or some issues with this?	00:54:44
R	Yes. She identified the tourism potential. Same's tourism potential.	
T	She did? How did she do that? Was it based on a study, a survey of local people?	
R	Yes. For the picture they take by themselves but for the information they ask from the local people, or leader.	
T	Local leaders?	00:55:25

R	Mmm, local leaders. Who know the stories. So...uh...we need more...uh, continual research. This is the information, but we must continue to write again the...	
T	More?	
R	More. Even they already submit, but, for me, I think it's not enough the...uh...the narrated source. Because, in every one place, maybe another man we ask, maybe he will tell another story. So...-/ But, I don't know - for the undergraduate, we need the thesis or no?	00:55:50 00:56:15
T	Mmm. What do you think?	
R	When I ask to [TTC School of Languages Director], [she] said that in Australia also you need but not for all students. But I say...I also still prefer it but...if for the good students, it's okay. If they want to continue their study, as I said to you before, it will be good. But for just want to...just make a report, I think it's okay. For coursework, just coursework - it's okay. But they still...this is still in discussions. Still in the process. Because it's already in the Indonesian time right now when we must all, before finishing undergraduate, we must do the thesis.	00:57:15
T	So that's come from Indonesian...	
R	Yeah.	
T	-system?	
R	Indonesian system, yeah.	00:57:40

A5.2.6 – Prof. R on why tourism graduates need political communication skills

Excerpt begins at [01:04:40]. Cited data include:

- A large part of Prof. R's explanation of what he means by students needing 'political communication skills', from [01:05:30] to [01:09:20]. This full excerpt has been condensed and summarised in the citation within the thesis.
- Prof. R's specific statement that even the Rector of TTC with his doctoral degree may fail in influencing the minister of tourism towards an eco-tourism agenda [01:08:25].

Speaker	Original	Time stamp
T	In the focus group, you mentioned about...I think just very briefly, we were talking about developing the industry and what role, what <i>papel</i> [role] the students, graduates will play in the future in developing the tourism industry. Right? And having the communication skills to...uh, to be able to communicate with local people so it still has the community involvement, but also with the government. And I think you said something like maybe students need political communication skills?	01:04:40
R	Ah, uh-huh. [<i>affirming</i>]	
T	Could you say more about what...what does that mean, in your opinion?	

R	Political communication?	
T	Yeah. What did you mean by that?	
R	Ah, because...uh...we must meet the strong people. Because when we are already in the field, many people [have] the...power and they don't appreciate whether you are lecturer or whoever, but you must...-/ I don't know, with political you must have a good relationship and you must have strength to influence the people. I mean to influence the people. To believe what you want to do. That's what I mean. If you have a good knowledge but you don't have a good communication, then...-/ Political means...it means the power. If you have knowledge and you can't influence the people, it's a problem. What you want, it's will not to do. Will not realise.	01:05:30 01:06:15
T	So what kind of influence do you hope they will have?	01:06:35
R	I mean that how...how to make sure the government or the industry - they will believe. About our program. So maybe you think your program good, very good. But you don't have the skill, ability to explain or to make sure that they get it. So, I think it is related to the political communication...or no?	01:07:07
T	Uh...*I* think so but I'm just interested in what *you* think. I mean, I think I can see that, yeah.	
R	Yeah, I think it's the problem in here. Even in the government, I say my friend - he also say, in the government they don't do this, don't do this, or this. Even we, with the master's in tourism, when we go to the minister of tourism, I think, maybe, depend on the environment and the [inaudible], if the influence of the political, you have a good program, I think that you will not realise. Because the other party you must meet, there's another opinion for another party; from institution, from industry. So even doctoral [level], like Maun Rector, even he is going to the minister of tourism and maybe we can try but will not realise our...program	01:08:25
T	When you say: 'To realise our program', what's 'our program'?	
R	I mean that if you want to develop, like, eco-tourism. That's what I mean that you want to do. But, if you not have the power in how to influence the institution, organisation, government, political party, it's very hard. [laughs] Even if you have good knowledge. This is the Timorese problem. Because our staff are from another party. And...uh...this is a problem. [laughs] I...also I hear from my friend that we can't do anything. If you don't have the power or influence in the political party or community, it's difficult.	01:09:20

A5.3 Excerpts from a joint interview with Prof. C and Prof. F (TTC-I6)

Date: 17th September, 2015

Participants:

C	Prof. C, hotel management lecturer
F	Prof. F, hotel management lecturer
T	Trent Newman, interviewer/researcher

A5.3.1 – Prof. F & Prof. C on students writing for industry and for the academy

Excerpt begins at [00:12:38]. Cited data is Prof. F saying ‘they can explain but sometimes the difficult thing is their writing’ [00:15:05] and, following on from this, Prof. C commenting that some students do well in industry but have difficulty transferring this competency to their writing [00:15:28].

Speaker	Original	Translation	Time stamp
T	So, when the students are writing about their experiences, either in the PKL or in the study tours, what do you feel about their writing about their experiences? Are they <i>good</i> at expressing themselves about what practical things they have learned?		00:12:38
C	Yeah.		
T	What do they do well, what do they do not so well? ...When they are writing about their practical experiences?		
C	Because in our system of practical reports, they will describe what is the weakness of the industry and what is the strength of the industry.		
T	The weakness and the strength of the industry? Ah, okay.		
C	And what is the new ... uh ... new <i>thing</i> . What we call ... uh ...		00:13:20
T	Innovation?		
C	[To F] Pertemuan baru? Uh...'Discover new things'.	[To F] New discoveries? [Ind.] Uh...'Discover new things'.	
F	New things. What...-/ Yeah.		
C	Things like some facilities in hotel, some facilities that's in campus not have but they get it in industry.		
F	Industry.		00:13:50

T	Oh, okay. So, they use a.../ So you have like a structured template that you give them that they have to fill in for the report?		
C	Yeah, yeah. Systematic of the report.		
T	Oh, okay. Can I get a copy of that, so I know what are like the headings or titles, subtitles, and things like that?		
C	Yeah, yeah. I have.		
F	Yeah, yeah, I will give you.		00:14:10
C	For the intensive.		
T	That will be good.		
	[pause, 4 sec]		
F	Yeah...but, I think sometimes the students, the problem that they get...like, uh, they understand, they get, like, the experience and the new knowledge in industry, but the problem sometimes we get is their ability to <i>writing</i> . Like, they understand, but how to tran-/ Like, you know? How to make a good writing - it's very, very difficult.		
C	I have some reports, but I have...-/		00:14:50
F	Like...uh... <i>writing</i> .		
T	What kinds of problems do they have with the writing? Like, for example?		
F	Like, uh... Hanesan... [switches to Tetun and addresses C] Hanesan...uh, saida? Sira la...-/ Estudante sira barak nebee ita hasoru, seluk-seluk nee ga lae maun? Hanesan sira halo PKL nee ...sira <i>kapas</i> , sira aprende buat barak, sira bele esplika, maibe dalaruma difisil mak sira <i>hakerek</i> , ka lae?	Like, uh... Like... Like...uh, what? They don't...-/ Many students who we meet, [...?] [to C] isn't that right? Like they do the PKL, they do really well, they learn many things, they can explain, but sometimes the difficulty is [in] their writing, right?	00:14:55
C	Yeah.		00:15:10
F	Dalaruma, oinsaa sira nia hanoin ida nee, sira *transfer* jadi sira nia tulisan yang baik dan benar.	Sometimes, [they have trouble with] how they can transfer their thoughts into writing that is good and correct [<i>Ind.</i>].	
C	[addressing T] Yeah, some students they do best in the industry but, when they make a report, difficult for they transfer to their writing.		
F	Mmm. [affirming] In writing.		00:15:28
T	So... for example? Like, what kinds of difficulties?		
C	How to use the good language so the...so we can understand what they're writing. Sometimes it makes us confused what they're writing. So, when		

	we ask to the industry, they say that he is or she is a good student, a good trainee,		
T	Right...		
C	Yeah, but when he or she writes the report it...makes us confused.		00:16:05

A5.3.2 – ‘She is good in theory, but when go to industry...she is not good’

Excerpt begins at [00:33:40]. Prof. C and Prof. F have been telling me that it is because of students’ personalities that they sometimes cannot write well. Cited data in this excerpt is Prof. C saying they had a student who was very good in theory but did not do well in her professional placement [00:34:50].

Speaker	Original	Translation	Time stamp
T	Okay, but, what about the students - you said sometimes students get a good report from the industry but they can't write their ideas well?		00:33:40
C	Yeah!		
T	So, these students, maybe they're not lazy? Maybe they haven't got a...		
F	Maybe they're not...like, I mean, uh...-/ Sira laduun toman, bee, gosta hakerek. Gosta..	Maybe they're not...like, I mean, uh...- / They're not yet accustomed, um, to liking writing. Liking...	00:33:58
C	Yeah.		
F	Loos ka lae?	It's true, right?	
C	Like, some [=one?] student in this, in our department, for the theory...he do difficult for the theory for...uh, writing test. But for the praktek he is good. So sometimes we...[laughs] we are difficult. For the theory, he can't do anything here, but for the practice, he or she can do it. And that's it. Hotu deit.	Like, [one] student in this, in our department, for the theory...he struggles for the theory for...uh, writing test. But for the fieldwork he is good. So sometimes we...[laughs] we are difficult. For the theory, he can't do anything here, but for the practice [=fieldwork?], he or she can do it. And that's it. All done.	00:34:10
	[Pause, 5sec]		
C	Uh...we have a student from two thousand...2010, maybe. She is good in theory, but when go to industry, the industry say: 'Oh, she is not good.' But on campus she is clever.		00:34:50
F	Clever like [inaudible].		

C	And some students, in the campus, not clever.		
F	But in the industry...[inaudible]		
C	Sometimes we say 'Oh, he's stupid!' - but go to the industry, industry says: 'Oh, he's good.' So, sometimes we are confused - why? [laughs]		00:35:20
F	We are confused! Why are they like that? Like, maybe it's about their personality. Nee ka lae?	We are confused! Why are they like that? Like, maybe it's about their personality. Isn't it so?	
C	Yeah.		
F	Tanba...[inaudible]	Because... [inaudible]	
C	Like my friend, his name's [friend name].		
F	[laughs]		
C	When in campus, oh! He's crazy!		
F	Crazy! [laughs]		
C	But when go to industry, manager say: 'Oh, good man!'		00:35:45

A5.4 Excerpts from an interview with Prof. C (TTC-17)

Date: 23rd September, 2015

Participants:

C	Prof. C, hotel management lecturer
T	Trent Newman, interviewer/researcher

A5.4.1 – ‘Their problem is that sometimes they can’t explain it’

Excerpt begins at [00:17:20]. We have been discussing Prof. C’s tourism law subject and how students often struggle to explain about *Tara Bandu* (traditional land law) in relation to protecting tourism sites in Timor-Leste. Cited data is Prof. C saying ‘their problem is that sometimes they can’t explain it...in their writing or in oral [00:17:45].

Speaker	Original	Time stamp
T	So, when the students analyse a problem like this,	00:17:20
C	Yeah	
T	-what are their <i>analytical</i> skills like? Do students do a good job of...of analysing problems like this?	
C	Their problem is that sometimes they can't explain it.	
T	They can't explain it?	
C	Yeah.	
T	In their writing or in oral?	
C	In their writing or in oral. In their speaking. Like, in Bali, no. In Bali they have clearly about the protected area. How big the measure area. The protected area they protect with the fence.	00:17:45 00:18:07

A5.4.2 – ‘It’s easy for them to communicate with [local people]’

Excerpt begins at [00:31:37]. We have been discussing students’ undergraduate thesis research project. Cited data is a shortened combination of:

- Prof. C explaining that they use two questionnaires, one in English for research in industry, and one in Tetun for research in communities [00:33:55];

- Prof. C explaining that students tend to conduct their research in their own districts, 'so they know the local dialect' and it's 'easy for them to communicate' [00:35:14].

Speaker	Original	Time stamp
T	So, when they do the collection of the data...so, interview skills and questionnaire skills - these are difficult research skills.	00:31:37
C	Research skills, yeah.	
T	So, what do you think: what are some of the challenges? Uh, how do students go with collecting the information?	
C	Because before they go to the field, we will supervise them how to design the questionnaire.	00:32:05
T	Yeah?	
C	And first they have to identify the variable[s]. How many variable[s]. And from the variable[s] they design the indicator[s] of the variable[s], and from the indicator[s] we will design the questions.	
T	So, there's no class for this? This is just from supervision?	00:32:25
C	Yeah, we have some subject that's taught specific about this.	
T	Research subject?	
C	Methodology, research, research methodology.	
T	Right, okay. And when the students go out into the districts, many of them, to interview the local leaders, or...	
C	Local leaders, yeah.	00:32:50
T	How do you find the quality of their research? Their ability - do you feel like they have good ability to do the interviews, or...?	
C	Yeah, because, before they go to the research, they will...in their paper, we will explain them how to approach to the...respondents.	00:33:15
T	Yeah?	
C	Yeah.	
T	What about if the respondent doesn't speak much Tetun? Like, the respondent's Tetun is not so good? How can the students communicate with them?	
C	Because sometimes, if we go to the hotel industry, we have two questionnaire, two versions [of] questionnaire. Tetun and English.	00:33:45
T	English?	
C	English. But if we go to the community, we use Tetun.	00:33:55
T	Okay. So, I think I remember that one of the thesis presentations was about the potential for tourism development in Same, maybe?	
C	Mmm, Same.	
T	And this student was interviewing local people about their opinions about tourism development.	

C	Yeah.	
T	So...that's difficult, I think, to explain and to ask questions if the local people don't understand what they mean by 'tourism development'?	
C	Tourism development	
T	So how do the students...how do the students communicate that, their research ideas to the local people?	00:34:43
C	They have to explain. Explain. Because many of our students or most of our students that go to [do the] research, they go back to their district.	
T	Oh, their own district?	
C	Yeah, their own district.	
T	Okay.	
C	So, they know about the characteristic of the community, and they know the local dialect. So [it's] easy for them to communicate with the respondents.	00:35:14

A5.4.3 – Prof. C on the importance of English for the tourism industry

Excerpt begins at [00:35:28], following a long pause after the previous excerpt. Cited data includes:

- Prof. C explaining that lecturers currently use the writing method of Indonesia and hope to learn to write in academic English [00:36:55];
- Prof. C talking about the significance of Timor joining ASEAN and the importance of English to be able to 'compete' regionally [00:37:55 – 00:38:52].

Speaker	Original	Time stamp
T	So...yesterday or Monday we were talking about the tourism department gradually having more and more English.	00:31:37
C	Mmm. <i>[affirming]</i>	
T	So, is the plan, the <i>hope</i> that in the future students will write their theses in English?	
C	Yeah.	
T	That's the hope?	
C	Yeah.	00:35:52
T	Okay.	
C	So now the lecturer has to try hard to learn English. But I think the first few years I think it's still difficult for us because our English is still...not fluent yet. So, we try to attend the English course, to talk with tourists more, so we can communicate well with our students. And I think we will...invite some English lecturer to teach about the methodology of writing in English. Maybe we need that.	00:36:20

T	Oh okay. So what do you mean by that? What kind of methodology of writing in English do you hope...-/?	
C	Hope to write in English, in good method in English, for example. Yeah. Because now we just use the method of Indonesia.	00:36:55
T	When you say the method, what do you mean? The structure, or...what do you mean?	
C	Structure, or how to desc-/ I think not different but, uh...the formal language in the...uh, final research in English, for example.	
T	Okay.	00:37:23
	<i>[Recording pauses as person enters and talks with C. Recording resumes at 00:37:43]</i>	
T	On the last question - because we started to talk the other day, but I didn't have much time - about the importance of ASEAN?	
C	Ah, ASEAN.	
T	Yeah. So, can you talk about why is that important for tourism?	
C	Because next year Timor-Leste will go to the ASEAN Economic Community. In ASEAN Economic Community we should compete with the ASEAN nations. ASEAN nations. That's big competition for the economic. So, uh...the students of [TTC] can work in ASEAN nations. In Indonesia, Malaysia, Philippines - how to compete with them? If we want to compete with them, we should learn English. Because the ASEAN nations no...don't understand any Portuguese. How to compete with them? We have to learn English. So, in our new curriculum for the first year we...our students just learn in English. After that, they can understand in English and, for the next year, we can teach in English because the all subject will be change to the English version, so they can understand what we teach.	00:37:55 00:38:52 00:39:21

A5.4.4 – English for hotel management means ‘how to link the facility with the guest’

Excerpt begins at [00:40:07]. We have been discussing the implementation of English medium of instruction for the tourism faculty at TTC. Prof. C has just told me that some subjects will remain in Tetun, such as tourism law, but most hotel management subjects will be in English. Cited data is a shortened version of Prof. C's explanation that ‘the essential’ thing is ‘how to communicate with the guest’ in English [00:40:50 – 00:42:48].

Speaker	Original	Time stamp
T	How do you decide which subjects should be in English and which subjects should be in Tetun?	00:40:07
C	We decided with the Tetun...uh...English Centre. Language Centre. With <i>[names the director of the TTC School of Languages]</i>	00:40:20
T	Okay. But I mean how? What, uh, what influences <i>//[inaudible]//</i> ?	
C	<i>//Yeah, because//</i> for law, if you go to work in the tourism industry, we not talk about the law.	

T	In English?	
C	Yeah. We not talk about the law. But we will do work to learn in [TTC] because all the facilities in a hotel, all the name is English. In English. So, we have to know English. If the guest come from Australia, come from America; if they ask [for] some, like guest supplies we don't know, what we can provide for the guests? So, all the subjects that's specific for our department we will teach in English. So, the student can know the name of the facilities, become familiar with the language that we usually use in front office. Then [when] they go to the industry, [it's] not difficult for them.	00:40:50
T	Okay. I mean, names of facilities, for example, and the names of...like, special words - that's vocabulary. You can teach in Tetun and still give them the English words. So why do you need to teach, completely teach in English for some subjects?	00:41:32
C	How to communicate. This is the essential: how to communicate. Because all the names of the facilities [are] in English, but how to communicate with the guests, [inaudible], how to be with the...guests, or some visitors, or some tourists? Because if you know the name of the facility in English but if we never talk in English, sometimes it's hard for us to deal with the guest. So, the essential: if you know about the name of the facility but you have to talk English, how to...how to link the facility with the guest. So, we changed the curriculum to English.	00:41:57 00:42:48

A5.4.5 – Prof. C on his plans to complete his PhD in the Philippines

Excerpt begins at [00:49:50]. We have been discussing Prof. C's plans to undertake his PhD in the next few years. Cited data include:

- Prof. C explaining that studying in the Philippines will enable him to learn more English, compared with Indonesia, where he says he will 'just learn Indonesian' [00:50:11];
- Prof. C stating that Indonesia is better than the Philippines for 'tourism experience' [00:50:22].

Speaker	Original	Time stamp
T	Where will you do your PhD, do you think?	00:49:50
C	I want to do it in [the] Philippine[s].	
T	You want to do it in the Philippines? Why Philippines?	
C	Because Philippines all in English, so I can learn more about English.	
T	Ah okay.	
C	So easy to me to come to [TTC] to teach again. If I go to Indonesia, just learn Indonesian.	00:50:10
T	Yeah. And Philippines has good tourism experience, right?	
C	For tourism experience, Indonesia is better than the Philippines.	00:50:22

T	Oh, okay.	
C	Especially in Bali.	
T	Of course.	00:50:26

Appendix 6 (A6): Data excerpts from community development studies lecturers

A6.1 Excerpts from NU-FG3 - a focus group discussion with community development studies lecturers at NU

Date: 10th September, 2015

Participants:

D	Prof. D, sociology of development and community-based tourism lecturer
I	Prof. I, community development studies lecturer
PT	Prof. T, gender and development, research methods lecturer
N	Prof. N, community development studies lecturer
Fo	Prof. Fo, gender and development lecturer
T	Trent Newman, focus group facilitator/researcher

A6.1.1 – Prof. T: ‘Tetun is not really a well-structured language’

Excerpt begins at [00:12:35]. Prof. I has been talking generally about the impacts of Timor’s developing status on the education system, telling me that ‘basic education from primary to high school is still lacking’.

Cited data in this excerpt include:

- Prof. T [PT] saying that Tetun is not really a well-structured language [00:13:42];
- Her example of ‘stereotype’ as a difficult concept to translate and explain to students [00:14:48 – 00:15:25];
- Her claim that students sometimes struggle to distinguish between the Tetun *hahalok* and the Portuguese *atitude* [00:15:50].

Speaker	Original	Time stamp
T	Okay. Any other thoughts on this? [Prof. T], you've taught research methods, what do you think about the students' writing? And you said you've been teaching here since 2004, is that right?	00:12:35
PT	2003.	
T	2003, sorry. So what changes have you noticed? Any changes that you've seen in that time, 12 years?	

PT	I think it depends. We cannot generalise for all the students -	00:12:58
T	Of course.	
PT	-some are really good, if they have experience of working and they are really...uh, how to say? I think they learn a lot, much better than the others. Generally, we can blame the language policy. I think the problem is they are not really mastering one language to express their ideas really fluently. For example, if they want to write in Tetun, Tetun is not really a well-structured language. And also, to express their idea they have to mix up with Indonesian language or they have to borrow from Portuguese. And then, you can see in my teaching I also have a lot of difficulty to express some abstract ideas. So, having said that, it's very hard to describe in Tetun, so [for] much of my lecturing I try to find as many examples as possible. More examples, more illustrations. So, just through the concrete experience, concrete example, concrete story that make them understand more about something you want to introduce. Because if you just say something very abstract, they don't understand what's it about.	00:13:02 00:13:42 00:13:55
T	Can you give me an example of an example that you would give the students in trying to describe a difficult concept?	00:14:35
PT	For example, to understand what are 'stereotypes',	00:14:45
T	Stereotypes?	
PT	Yeah, stereotypes. Uh, gender stereotypes. Because if you translate it into Portuguese, <i>eterutipus</i> [NB: Prof. T uses a Tetunised form of the Portuguese '<i>estereótipos</i>'] and they don't know what is 'eterutipus'. Maybe because I don't have the...another support - some lecturers they can use Bahasa to explain the concept. I don't have Bahasa language, so I have to give example, some story that...to show the example is that stereotype, gender stereotype, for example like that. Uh, even when we talk about to distinguish the language, the distinction between 'behaviour' and 'attitude' - the student cannot [make the distinction]. For them, in Tetun, attitude and behaviour are the same, they cannot distinguish it. So, I have to explain and give example to them.	00:14:48 00:15:25
T	Sorry, so what are the Tetun words for attitude and behaviour?	00:15:48
PT	<i>Atitude</i> they get from Portuguese. And behaviour they call <i>hahalok</i>. But sometimes they mix up <i>hahalok</i> and <i>attitude</i> as the same thing. Yes. It's just a concrete example I gave you of a lot of abstract concepts that it's very hard to convey in Tetun. But what I'm doing is to give the story or example to explain the different concepts.	00:15:50 00:16:25

A6.1.2 – 'Our students here [...] they don't have custom or culture to write and read'

Excerpt begins at [00:16:25] with a question of mine to Prof. D that picks up from comments made by Prof. T at the end of the last excerpt. Prof. D then explains his own experience of coming to teach community development studies at NU and some of the challenges with communication in teaching and learning that he has witnessed in that time, particularly challenges with finding and reading references.

Cited data in this excerpt include:

- Prof. D commenting that many schools 'don't have a library' and that students 'don't have a custom or culture to read' [00:20:00];
- Prof. D explaining that even though students study with Portuguese in high school, 'high level Portuguese or scientific Portuguese' is difficult for them [00:21:20];
- Prof. T explaining that students do not get sufficient opportunities to write in high school, with multiple-choice an all too common means of assessment [00:22:30 – 00:23:11];
- Prof. D's statement that he is focussed more on students ideas than the structure and form of their writing [00:23:45].

Speaker	Original	Time stamp
T [to D]	[Prof. D], do you have anything to add to that?	00:16:25
D	Uh...I think generally I have the same case - how to communicate with the students. My experience [...] <i>[Prof. D explains his own experience of coming to teach community development studies at NU and some of the challenges with communication in teaching and learning that he has witnessed in that time, particularly challenges with finding and reading references.]</i> But, after that, when I continued here, I taught about the community development theory and practice course. But, for me, still difficult about the reference. And then we give work for them: they go to community, live in community, and after they come back, they make presentation - what experience they get when they live in the community one or two days like that. In community, and they come...-/	00:18:47
T	This is the <i>estagio</i> presentation?	00:19:24
D	Not <i>estagio</i>, no. Not <i>estagio</i>. It's like the field study, like that. Only for that subject. Like this time, I'm teaching about the community-based tourism. Community-based tourism. And we have plan to go to Matebian. And then, one subject about the <i>[inaudible – Indonesian word?]</i> - writing skill. Writing skill. Our students here, they don't have culture to read. To read is very difficult. Many of our schools, public schools, they don't have library, they don't have custom or culture to write and read - it's very difficult for them. And then when they come here, we give them many, many, many works. They make and they find in the internet, after that they make a report, report to give, to make a presentation. But I think that the big, big problem is the transition about the language. [The first/fears to them?] Also, with us - like me, we're taught first with Indonesian. The subject we prepare in Indonesian but explain with the Tetun. And like me when I finished my study, my master's degree in Portugal, when I come here I prepare my subject in Portuguese and I explain in Tetun. And I think about what [Prof. T] say that they...that I want that they know... For example, I want to say <i>novo modalidade</i> [Port.], <i>modalidade foun</i> [Tet.] - it's different, very different. But our students, when they finish in the secondary school, they study with the Portuguese but high, high level Portuguese or Portuguese scientific is very difficult for them. Yeah, for them. But here, when I taught them about the writing skills,	00:20:00 00:20:45 00:21:20

	only one student write with the Portuguese - all of them use the Tetun. But that student, I said you must write in Tetun. But I think other department still use Indonesian language. Only in our department we use the Tetun - like the final report, monograph, or thesis, like that. Since 2010 we use the Tetun.	00:22:18
T	Okay. And before that?	
D	Before that Indonesian. Bahasa Indonesia. But this time our department we use Tetun.	
PT	Can I complete your idea?	00:22:25
D	Yeah.	
PT	Because, Trent, the problem is, so far what I've observed is the high school level - even in secondary or primary school - the way they are doing, they give the test or the exam to the students, they don't encourage the students to write. They choose the options: A, B, C, D-	00:22:30
D	Yeah. A, B, C, yes.	
PT	-and you choose it. So, if you do the exam, and you just choose ABCD, then you don't have the effort to form a phrase, a sentence or a phrase, to explain your own idea. That's the way of examination. That's not really to encourage the student to write a paragraph, even a paragraph.	
D	Yeah. It's very, very difficult //to start one paragraph [inaudible]//	00:23:11
PT	//They have to change// from the basic education, they have to change the way the examination or the test, the homework - they have to encourage the student more own writing. Because, in the future, if they work in the civil society, NGO, or the government, whatever - they have to write the report, they have to write. Writing is going with them their whole life if they choose academic work.	
D	And when they come here, they don't have one outline, some outline to write. And then sometimes they say: 'Oh, we want to make paper [inaudible] - introduction, objective, like that. But, when I teach, I say that: 'I don't need that. I need you to express your idea, not the outline.'	00:23:44

A6.1.3 – Prof. I: All lecturers, students ‘still use the old paradigm: Indonesian style’

Excerpt begins at [00:24:55], with me attempting to pick up the discussion started earlier with Prof. T’s comments about the challenges of translating abstract disciplinary terms.

Cited data in this excerpt includes Prof. I saying most students ‘enjoy their old-style learning, dependence mentality ... Indonesian style’ [00:30:15].

Speaker	Original	Time stamp
T	About how to explain a technical term or an abstract idea like [Prof. T] was saying. How do you-/ [code switches to Tetun] Oinsaa esplika liafuan abstratu iha...se la iha iha Tetun, oinsaa esplika iha Tetun? Se tenki uza liafuan Portugues ka iha Bahasa? [=‘How do you explain an abstract word in...if it doesn’t exist in Tetun, how do you explain in Tetun? If you have to use a Portuguese word or in Indonesian?’]	00:24:55

I	Yeah, we use both [...] - Indonesian, Portuguese sometimes, Tetun. Tetun...yeah, I myself, I try to construct to my ideas from the Indonesian style to the Tetun. Yeah, sometimes mixed with Portuguese also. My experience, when in 2011 I team-teaching with a Brazilian professor, lecturer. The Brazilian lecturer used Portuguese, I tried to explain that in Tetun, you know? We both in front of the students. But, what happened, we meant different things in final test. We give them essay test - five questions, in Portuguese. But what happened - they did not understand, you know? But they come from the Portuguese, they learn Portuguese in high school, just finished their study in Portuguese. But, what happened, we started introductions in Portuguese, but, yeah, I still lack at Portuguese, but I joined with the Brazilian lecturer - he talked in Portuguese, I tried to get some ideas from him, I [get it?] in Tetun. But, differently, when we read the results, the answers from the students, differently - they did not understand what we asked to them to answer. That's the problem.	00:25:55 00:26:43
T	You mean you and he interpreted their answers differently or...?	00:27:44
I	No, the students. But we just used two languages to facilitate them to understand what we taught, you know? That's the problem. The problem is that the Brazilians use the Portuguese, Timorese people use the Tetun. [We mixed it?] to make it easy to understand, but when we try to ask them to answer 'what do you learn in this semester?' The question is like a case study - you answer to connect with the current situation; we taught about the development, you know.	
T	Okay.	00:28:40
I	But the answer is different or not linked with what we want to know from them - they got something from us when we lecture or not. That's the problem. So, that's one case. So, yeah, I agree with Mana Tam saying that we can't generalise things - not all of the students are the same.	00:29:05
T	Of course.	
I	But [I combine?]. Excellent students we have five - five from a hundred, maybe. Because, since establishing this department I know well the characters of the students. They still enjoy their old-style learning, dependence mentality to the lecturer, to the teacher, you know? Yeah, we - all of the Timorese lecturers, all of the students - still use the old paradigm: Indonesian style, where the teachers or lecturers know everything, and the students come to get from the lecturers, you know? But we try, in this department we try to combine or to transform to the adult learning principles. Yeah, not only give lectures but we try to learn from the student also. Yeah, sometimes we ask them 'What do you think about this topic [or issue?]' Yeah, we try to connect, or to <i>concretise</i>, concretise to the reality.	00:30:15 00:30:42

A6.1.4 – Prof. N on his individual approach to ‘mixing’ language in the classroom

Excerpt begins at [00:35:48]. Prof. N has joined the focus group a little late and I have just welcomed him, briefly explained my research, and recapped the discussion so far.

Cited data in this excerpt includes Prof. N's whole explanation of his language mixing practices [00:38:26 – 00:40:13], including his comment that he uses text books, ‘references’

in Malaysian and Indonesian [00:39:07]. Note that the prompt for Prof. N's explanation of his language mixing practices comes from his colleague, Prof. I.

Speaker	Original	Time stamp
T	[to Prof. N] So, I'm wondering if you could start and maybe some others can join in and share, maybe if you can think of one individual student in your mind that you think is one of your best students. Just tell me, tell us, share with the group, about what are their characteristics, what makes them a really good student? Especially in terms of communication skills?	00:35:48
N	Maybe I just...uh...	00:36:12
T	You don't have to say the student's name,	
N	Yeah, yeah	
T	But if you can think of a specific student and talk about them.	
N	Yeah. In particular in my class there are several students and their communication with [<i>names head of department</i>] and also with the lecturer is very...[appropriate?]. In terms of subjects, in terms of when we are in class, they [argue?] their ideas, comments, based on the subject that we are teaching, we offer to them. So, there is one student who is a man, and two or three others who are women, their understanding of the subject is very good. And they have good ethics to communicate with, approach with the lecturer particularly. And, also, they have good cooperation, to help each other as they work together to finalise their assignment when we offer them an assignment. So, finally they get a good score. Excellent scores: As, Bs. I think the students that I've mentioned to you get very good scores in the end.	00:36:24 00:37:10
I	So what language do you use?	00:38:26
N	Uh, probably...uh, not probably, but we're mixing the language in the class. Mixing. The majority we use Tetun, for us, and mix...uh...me, not Portuguese - I'm mixing with English. And even there is references from <i>Melayu</i> [=Malaysian[<i>Ind.</i>], Indonesian, but I try to translate into Tetun. And if I take some from books from English and I can also put some [word?] mixed with Tetun so they can understand better. And then my subject I always give them in English and they can translate.	
T	When you say your subject, what do you mean? The subject guide, or...?	00:39:22
N	Uh...	
T	The materials?	
	The materials. Assignments...yeah. Even, it's very difficult - also myself, but I try to develop my own self also, try to encourage them to learn English and Tetun, and also Portuguese. Maybe I have a friend who graduated from Portugal, they use more Portuguese in their class. But my particular is Tetun and English a little bit and ... yeah. Indonesian, no. Just for myself, Indonesian. Only for myself - only to read and to understand the concept and then transfer to the students.	00:39:40 00:40:13

A6.1.5 – On where community development studies graduates find work

Excerpt begins at [00:52:38]. Prof. I has just been speaking about the importance of ‘active learning’ and has made a point about the need to balance the learning of theory with its application in practice.

Cited data in this excerpt include:

- Prof. N stating that the Timorese government recruits many CDS graduates to work in communities, followed by him and his colleagues listing some of the NGOs and local political leadership roles that they know graduates to be employed in [00:54:14 – 00:55:45];
- Prof. D commenting that ‘we consider our library is [the] community’ [00:55:50];
- Prof. D saying that CDS graduates can be ‘like a community facilitator’ [00:57:28];
- Prof. T clarifying that ‘we are just talking about the really excellent students who got the job’ [00:59:00] and ‘we don’t know how many per cent [...] not yet got a job’ [00:59:25].

Speaker	Original	Time stamp
T	[to Prof. I] I'm glad you raised this point, actually, because I wanted to ask about this. So, I think, in Timor, in any discipline,	00:52:38
I	Yes.	
T	-arguably, graduates should be able to communicate in the theoretical level-	
I	Yeah, yeah, yeah	
T	-but also...for example, in the agriculture faculty, the lecturers there talk about the importance of their ability to communicate the science to farmers.	
Fo	Mmm. <i>[affirming]</i>	00:53:00
T	Right? So, for Community Development, what...-/ How would you describe what students need to be able to <i>do</i> with their knowledge after they graduate? What sort of jobs are they going into? Who are they needing to communicate with? So, if you imagine a student graduates - some of your best students who are graduating with a <i>lisensiatura in...uh...dezenvolvimentu comunidade</i> ['community development'] - who do they need to communicate their knowledge to? And what skills do they need to communicate that knowledge?	
N	Okay. I think this is the good question. My observation is when our community development students graduate from this university faculty and then...I think not majority but most of them - they are get job in the government institution. In particular, <i>[inaudible - asking colleague for word in English? 'estatao'? Prof. T says something inaudible - possibly a translation to English]</i>	00:53:37 00:54:14

	In particular, the government recruit them to work with community[ies] in rural areas. They're the majority. They are most students from community development [department]. Because, you see, when we went to the districts to do the...uh...field work, or...-/ [to colleagues] <i>KKN na saida?</i> ['How do you say KKN?']	
I	Fieldwork.	00:54:32
PT	Fieldwork.	
T	KKN? Ah, KKN.	
N	Fieldwork. And then we meet students from this department: 'Oh, Mister! We are here!', 'What are you doing here?', 'Oh I make employment here! For community service.' 'Oh, are you?!' And we go to the rural district and meet them, [they say]: 'Oh I am here as a...um, director!' or 'I'm <i>xefe</i> ['chief of'] department of this institution.' And one of them, or I think not...some is the... [to colleagues] ' <i>Lider</i> ' bee? ['What's "leader"?']	
D	Leader of the village.	00:55:12
N	Village...	
PT	<i>Xefe suco</i>	
N	<i>Xefe suco</i> ['village chief'] and <i>xefe du posto</i> ['regional leader']. And ... yes. And some of them are work[ing] in the non-governmental institution, and some, now the final year students, some work in the hotels, restaurants ... yeah.	00:55:20
D	I think, uh, that...-/	00:55:40
PT	Some governor ... tribunal.	
N	Yeah, the tribunal [<i>inaudible</i>]. The tribunal. Court.	00:55:45
PT	Yeah.	
D	For my case, I consider...but I think all of us, also - we consider our library is [the] community. For that, when our students come here, in second year we give them opportunity to go to [like be?] volunteer in the NGOs. I think in the second semester in the second year, yeah? Students second year for three semesters. Some of them this time they [are] like volunteers in the NGOs.	00:55:50
N	Yeah.	
D	Some of them. And then they learn that they have capacity. They have capacity to ... -/ They have opportunity to learn with the NGOs like [Aburan?], Hamutuk, KSE, Ba Futuru. Some of them. And also here [at NU], like Peace Center, they have volunteer - we have volunteer here. And when they go to do the volunteer - the NGO or some institution like that - they have opportunity to make something there. To make something there. And when they [are] in the [first?] year, we look at ... -/ They have a chance... [to colleagues] ' <i>mudansa</i> '? ['progress?']	00:56:45
Others	Yeah.	00:57:15
D	Yeah. About the writing, about the talk something. And then, I think, for me, when they finish or they graduate here, they can [be] like a community facilitator. This time, in the National Program for Development...Village...uh, <i>Program Nasional Dezenvolvimentu Suco</i> ['National Program for Village Development']	00:57:28
PT	Rural development program.	
T	Yeah.	

D	Some of our students now [are] like sub-district coordinators for this project. For this project. I think some of them they ... -/ But, in national...national...national coordinator here for this program, is our student. <i>[Names a female student. Murmurs of agreement from others.]</i> She is national coordinator for that. But about <i>[inaudible]</i> . And one of our students already graduated now is <i>[inaudible]</i>	00:57:50
N	Yeah. Yeah. Yeah. I think I met her. One student, she worked with [the] Secretary [of] State for Youth and <i>[inaudible]</i> .	00:58:14
D/N	<i>[Prof. D and Prof. N continue to discuss this student's new role in this government department, trying to clarify what exactly her role is. They agree that it is an advisor role to the secretary of state for the named department of youth affairs]</i>	
PT	But I'm thinking...uh, <i>[to colleagues]</i> Can I? Because all of you talk a lot already, so...!	00:58:40
Others	<i>[laughter]</i>	
PT	Because we don't have the data base to say how many percent [of] students get the jobs. Actually, we don't have that.	
N	Yeah.	
PT	So, we are just talking about the really excellent student[s] who got the job[s]. But I'm sure that, at the bottom, there's a lot of student not getting a job. But we don't have the percent of that. As what we really we plan, um, next year plan - for many years we do the planning but, I don't know, the percent is not realised for our department. As a [department?] we should have a database to update after the graduations - where are the student go? We each of us we don't know how many percent of that for not yet got a job. And [who's?] in the different countries - where are they now? We don't know. That's the reality and we really want to have that but...yeah. The <i>[inaudible]</i> or whatever are the reason, so far, we [are] in the situation like that.	00:59:00 00:59:12 00:59:25 00:59:51

A6.1.6 – Prof. N: The graduates who get jobs are ‘the excellent students ... very open to talk’

Excerpt begins at [01:01:18]. Prof. I is adding to preceding discussion (including in the previous excerpt). Cited data include Prof. I's description of the work graduates are doing ‘facilitating’ conflicts and problems in communities [01:01:35], and Prof. N's response to Prof. I's comments, saying that the students who get the government and village leadership jobs are those whose ‘communication is good ... they are very open to talk’ [01:05:04].

Speaker	Original	Time stamp
I	So, I want to add something. So, the outcomes of our department, like [Prof. D] and [Prof. N] said, there are many of them. Like, some of our graduates [work] as local leaders - how to communicate the science that they got from our department, you know? When they met the problem, they met the community problem or conflict there, they facilitate this. When I, when we visit them, we talk a little bit about their experience - you know, what they got from our department is useful for them. Yeah, like conflict management, you know? Facilitate them how to...uh, not to become violent, you know?	01:01:18 01:01:35

	That's why it's relevant. These are the outputs, relevant outputs from this department. Yeah, some of our graduates also they run the cooperative. Cooperative.	01:02:28
N	Yeah.	
I	That's why I met some final year student, or just finished from this department, they run the cooperative, local cooperative, you know? Yeah, develop the economic - that's really, really concrete community development. They go from this department. When we met this situation, these conditions, yeah - we [are] satisfied. Satisfied [with] what our...our...our product. Our...our graduated [students]. Yeah, some of them just start work with the initiative like you said, but some of [them] work with government, with their local NGOs, international NGOs, yeah some of them [are] local community leaders. That's why is the...yeah, I think this is the outcomes or outputs from this department.	01:03:06
N	And one more,	01:04:05
I	Yes?	
N	One more - the student that got job in the government institution or non-government institution, they are actually...they are the excellent students, who are active there before. They are showing [me?] that organisation, like a student organisation, student movement. So, they have good experience and then when they do some test or do some ... uh ... practice work or ...-/ What do you call it? Then the institutional leaders know them that they have good skill. Their communication is very good. They are very attractive, they are very open to talk with the leaders or the seniors in the institution. So, from that, they are the...-/ What do you call? They are the best ... the best graduates or best students from this community [development] department.	01:05:04 01:05:41

A6.1.7 – Prof. I: ‘We try to change the old paradigms’ to make ‘the community as actors’

Excerpt begins at [01:23:25].

Cited data in this excerpt include:

- Prof. D saying that he hopes graduates will become ‘community facilitators’ [01:25:16];
- A summarised version of the full explanation provided by Prof. I of the goal of community development studies at NU ‘to change the old paradigms’ of development [01:27:15 – 01:29:20], and specifically his statement that the goal is to make ‘the community as actors [...] as subjects of development’ [01:27:50];
- Prof. T’s explanation of the graduate-educated development work that needs to be done, to ‘analyse the impact of development agencies on the community’ [01:29:35 – 01:30:40];
- Prof. N claiming that war veterans get their pensions and ‘don’t want to work more in their farm’ and ‘they just sit and talk and talk’ [01:34:20].

Speaker	Original	Time stamp
T	I'm just conscious of time, because we've already had a lot of time and I really appreciate the discussion, it's been really good. I just want to finish, though, with maybe just some quick ideas from everybody about what do you see is the future of community development studies in Timor-Leste? So, given everything that we've talked about in this discussion, casting your mind forward, imagining what is going to happen in five years, or even ten years time. Students coming through now maybe with more Portuguese, uh, and I don't know - any other factors that you think might influence the experience of students - what do you think are the skills that students will need in the future that are going to be more and more important to be prepared for the kinds of things we've talked about today? [01:24:17] [pause, 3 seconds] Is that clear? Sorry, that's a really terrible question! [laughs]	01:23:25 01:24:17
N	No, no!	01:24:22
Others	[laughter]	
T	Do you get what I am trying to say?	
PT	Yeah.	
I	Yes.	
D	Yeah. For me I think that this is an applicant course. [Applicable?] In Indonesia, we say that [praku?] - applicant course. For that, I think that we need to...to have a balance between the theory and practice. Like me, when I say about the community-based travel and tourism, how about the guesthouse [and that?]. When I talk only about the theory, but they don't see, practically they don't see *what* is [a] guesthouse, what is tourism, what is side of tourism, it's...uh, we don't get ...-/ They don't know something. And then, I think, this is the one case. And the other: I think they need to, our goal for them in the future, they need to have capacity how they can be like community facilitator[s]. For that they need...they need to have capacity how to...to make responsibility, like community facilitator. For that I think that we need [to] have a balance between the theory and practice. But the facility is important. [At?] This time, I think we depend on the funding from the university. University and government. Like that I think [...?] very difficult for us. And also [inaudible] like the library [like that?] is too difficult for us. [pause, 4 seconds]	01:24:30 01:25:16 01:26:10
T	Okay.	
I	[pause, 3 seconds. Then Prof. I responds to the question by first sharing his idea that there should be a Community Development Center, piloted in 2 or 3 districts, and 'when we learn a theory in class, we practice there'] The other one is I feel that we try to transform...like I myself [consider that?] we try to produce the young people from this department, we connect, link with community-based development. Yeah. Development based on community. We try to prepare the people, prepare the young people [who] join us, join this department, prepare [them] how to get the knowledge, get enough knowledge, competency, to change the society or community to community as an actor of development. We try to change the old paradigms [that] consider that people is the object of development. We try to change this concept, this paradigm, to the people, the community as actors, as the subject of development. So, the [top is?/focus?] community-based development. That's my ... what I'm ... -/	01:27:15 01:27:50

	Because, this we try to implement, I think, is really, we consider, <i>sustainable</i> development...will become. Because, as I know, every development agency says that participation, participation, you know? Collect the ideas, collect the information for the project, but not encourage the people to participate directly or actively in the whole process. That's why we try to make to develop this department in the next, when we transform the concept of community-based development: how to create the situation [where] the people are active. Involved from planning to implementation. I think that's one...one idea to implement in the future.	01:28:10 01:29:20
PT	Yeah, I'm thinking in the next 5 years, or even more in the future, community development [will] still [be] needed. Because lots of investment come, a lot of industrial companies come, and a lot of things will develop in the future. And we need a group of people to analyse the <i>*impact*</i> of the project on the community. And we want to capacitate the student[s'] analytical thinking: <i>how</i> development agency impact on the community or society itself; how the industry, how the developing agency - or, I mean, the investors - <i>*how*</i> their work in the future, in terms of exploiting the natural resources, or whatever - related to environment, climate change, whatever. We need a group where they have critical thinking about this issue; can be not only based on community but a kind of <i>*movement*</i> , or whatever, for to support the society and to protect the community from those impacts.	01:29:35 01:30:40
	[pause, 5 seconds]	
I	[to N] How about you? What do you think?	01:30:45
N	Yeah.... Uh, all has been mentioned, so I just...I agree. Uh...yeah. You know that Timor-Leste [is a] new nation. Timor-Leste new nation. So, we talk about community development still relevant - <i>little</i> bit - relevant to the needs of the society or needs of the country or government or state. Uh...and also, in this department, development must [have] links with national political strategic development. Because now the priority is rural development. So rural development means that...to the community development [needs /means?]. This [is exact same?]. So, if you talk about development, [it's?] only by community needs. So, development by community needs. So, this is still potential. This is still potential for the new nation. So, we're still on that. But we need more resources, human resources, and how to understand well the principle of the community development, goal of the community development. And we have to do some comparative study in the developing country and non-developing country. Because we went to [Waseda?] university, we went to some small village, they did a ... -/ What do you call it?	01:31:50
PT	Farming?	01:32:55
N	Farming and ...?	
PT	Sheep?	
N/PT/I	[Prof. N, Prof. T, and Prof. I have brief exchange to clarify]	
PT	They're raising the sheep. But, you know, that farming is for the industrial purpose. They are selling the milk, they are selling the [meat?].	01:33:10
N	But it's not only... In the beginning we have to think for that and then we think is whether we offer...establish the small industry or not. But, in the beginning, we have to educate or encourage people to participate in the community development. Because you know that our government also did wrong. Wrong things. Their decision is wrong. When they give money to the veterans. They get	01:34:20

	some subsidy from the government and then they don't want to work more in their farm. They just sit and talk and talk.	
Others	[laughter]	
N	And when the [agencies come?], they come and they take their money. So, this is not that good. Okay.	01:34:40

A6.2 Excerpts from NU-I9, an interview with Prof. D

Date: 16th September, 2015

Participants:

D	Prof. D, sociology of development and community-based tourism lecturer at NU
T	Trent Newman, interviewer/researcher

Notes:

This is a brief interview following an observation of Prof. D's 'Community-based Tourism' class. I am asking particularly about Prof. D's use of videos and images of visitors to rural villages (taken on a previous field trip), as well as images from developed tourism locations in Portugal (from his own visit there) in his presentation for the class.

Other collected data relevant to this interview includes a recording of the class that preceded it, and a copy of the PPT that Prof. D presented to his class (text, not images), which is filled with long paragraphs in Portuguese with definitions of eco-tourism and sustainable tourism. The conversation was held in the classroom where the class was just held, so there is a lot of background noise and interference and the recording quality is not great.

A6.2.1 – Prof. D on developing community awareness of tourism opportunities

Excerpt begins at the start of the recording.

Cited data include:

- Prof. D saying that community development workers need to explain to communities about tourism [00:01:50];
- Prof. D explaining that sacred houses may become tourism objects and the benefits of this need to be explained to communities [00:02:35].

Speaker	Original	Time stamp
T	This is the second time you've taught this class?	00:00:00
D	Mm-hmm [<i>affirming</i>]	
T	I noticed you using the videos.	
D	Yeah.	
T	And I think that I understood that you were pointing out the features and saying about the ways that visitors were interacting with the villages?	
D	Yeah. Yeah. But the question from the student - he say that sometimes you have a community, the place is like traditional, traditional culture. You want to visit some village [that] has some tourism object, but the community says that this is sacred.	00:25:00
T	Sacred. Ah.	
D	Sacred. For that we don't have a right to see or to look in that place. For that I show[ed] this video. We talk about the sacred - it's a right. But, [in relation to mass tourism?], we need some organisation or institution like that to make...approximation. <i>Aprosimasaun</i> ? ['approach']	00:55:00
T	Yeah, I didn't understand that question about <i>aprosimasaun</i> . <i>Aprosimasaun kona ba saida</i> ? ['Approach about what?']	00:01:27
D	<i>Aprosimasaun</i> is like...uh...I don't know what's the word...	
T	Approximation? But about what?	
D	Like, this community, they [learn] the information about the tourism and then return to their village. We explain for them, what is tourism, why is tourism, if some tourists visit to their village what is the value for them.	00:01:50
T	Ah, okay.	00:02:02
D	We need information, to transfer information for them. About the advantage of tourism. And then the object, the sacred house, like [...?], is the object of tourism. For that community, [they] need to know what is tourism.	
T	Right. So, what was the student's question, then? About the sacred...?	
D	Ah, in his village they also have like a sacred house but the people don't visit that place because they say that it's sacred. You do not visit. But then if only one person come[s] to visit, they will say that 'No, it's sacred, do not come to visit. But *if* tourists visit every day, every year, every week, the organisation or NGO will make contact with the community. We need [a] stakeholder to inform to the community. Because our community is different with the other community.	00:02:35
T	So was his question about if there's too many tourists, or if something, a sacred object like a <i>uma lulik</i> ['sacred house'],	00:03:12
D	<i>Uma lulik</i> , yeah.	
T	-becomes a tourist object, then maybe does that affect...doesn't that damage the sacredness of it?	
D	Ahh. The sacred is still sacred, but we need to respect. When we visit the place, we need to respect. For that, as we show in the video, we need to make like [it's?] possible to respect. Respect the sacred house.	00:03:32 00:03:54

A6.2.2 – ‘When I come to the village, I tell them: “Make better your house!”

Excerpt begins at [00:15:44].

Cited data includes Prof. D explaining how he educates rural communities to prepare accommodation for visiting tourists [00:18:27 – 00:19:01].

Speaker	Original	Time stamp
T	So, can I ask why did the community development department decide to include this subject?	00:15:44
D	Ah...I think that this... One of [the] resources in community, our community. We have many, many, many tourism objects, but we still don't develop [them] in communities in rural areas. Like I show[ed in] some pictures here [<i>pointing to where he projected the PPT during class</i>]. The [tourism] objects are in rural areas, but we need to inform to community. Or to students. So [that] they know that tourism is important. Community tourism is important. Because if they build their house complete with the toilet, with the...everything. And when [a] tourist comes, he [can] live with community. And after [the] tourist is leaving their house, the tourist will give them money! You know, practically, if one day five tourists visit my house in rural area and when they leave they give me [for] one day ten dollars, then five people they will give fifty. One day ten dollars and if they are five, fifty. If they live in my house three days, maybe one hundred and fifty. Only to live and sleep. If they eat something there, they will get more. Like fifteen dollars to them. This is practical. [00:17:58] In my village, my family - my uncle, brother and sister - make like this.	00:16:25 00:17:06
T	They do this?	
D	They do this.	00:18:08
T	Where is your district?	
D	We will visit. We will visit there.	
T	Oh, for the field trip?	
D	Yeah, yeah. In Baucau. Near to Matebian.	
T	Oh, okay.	
D	This [is the] case in my village. My family, some of my family, do like this.	
T	And how did they decide to do that? They just made their own plan, or...?	
D	I only.../ When I come to the village, I tell them 'Make better your house.'	00:18:27
T	Oh, so you suggested it?	
D	Room. And when some visitors come to visit, they will sleep in your house. You give them one room, they sleep one day, ten dollars for you! You don't even need to make something, you only prepare them the tea, coffee, like this. Because many tourists they like the juice. And in my village I only inform[ed them of] this, and they do! You know, before we buil[t] our house[s] with the natural material. In the Indonesian time[s] we made like that. After the independence time we use the modern...	00:19:01
T	Materials?	

D	Material. And then, the wall like this ... [<i>walks to wall and touches it</i>]. In the Indonesian times we still used the traditional ones, but, now, we've changed. Like this. In my village. That's the <i>mudansa</i> ['progress']. Changes. In my village. In my village.	00:19:50

A6.3 Excerpts from NU-I11, an interview with Prof. Ab

Date: 26th September, 2015

Participants:

Ab	Prof. Ab, community development studies lecturer at NU
T	Trent Newman, interviewer/researcher

Notes:

This interview was conducted in two recorded parts (i.e., two recordings). I include the transition between the recordings as part of the first excerpt, below. All of the cited excerpts used in this thesis come from the second recording (NU-I11B).

No interpreter is present. Discussion is in a mixture of English and Tetun. Some misunderstanding occurs but translation and clarification is helped by T switching to Tetun and/or A explaining further in English. The interview takes place outside, close to the ocean, so there is some background noise interference in the recording at times.

A6.3.1 – Prof. Ab on the educational legacies of the Indonesian *Pancasila* doctrine

Excerpt begins at [00:18:40] in the first recording (NU-I11A), then transitions to a second recording (NU-I11B).

Cited data includes Prof. Ab explaining that students' generally poor communicative expression, their lack of opportunity to develop 'creativity of thinking', are legacies of the Soharito era of Indonesian colonial education [00:01:05]. I have included much more of what Prof. Ab had to say on this in order to further illustrate the point made in the thesis.

Speaker	Original	Time stamp
Ab	I think, because you asked me about //their presentation skills//	00:18:40
T	//Their presentation skills.// Yeah. We can talk about writing also, but yeah...	

Ab	Yeah, also, after. So, they have a problem about how to explain one concept, or how to explain their think. Because they don't have experience about how to...how to speak structurally. How to think structurally, how to explain...uh, structurally.	
T	Step-by-step?	
Ab	Step-by-step something. This is the big problem.	
T	Why do you think that is? Why do you think they have that problem?	00:19:24
Ab	Excuse me I will go to the toilet.	
	[Recording ends. New recording, NUI-11B, starts.]	
T	[T reminds Ab he was about to explain why he thinks students have problems describing things step-by-step]	00:00:00
Ab	Because, do you know, in ... -/ We have a problem. In the past, with the educational systems in the past. In Portuguese times, the colonialism systems of education were *very*, very elite and paternalistic system. So, in Indonesian times they say that a *little* bit democratic. The Soharito system of education, the education in Soharito system, never get us opportunity to think critically, yeah? To never ... -/ Same like in Portuguese times. So, we...we never had opportunity to develop our creativity of thinking. Yeah? To develop our creativity to.../ We [should try?] based on books, based on the text, based on the Pancasila doctrine. Yeah? [laughs] To not out of Catholic doctrine and Pancasila doctrine. If out of Catholic doctrine and Pancasila doctrine, and [=then] you are a Communist, and a Communist is the bad [laughs] ... the bad man or ... yeah, something like that. So, it is the *big* problem of our generation now. And, for me, this is the big negative impact of educational systems in the past. So, until now, we...the new.../ And when we got independence, when we...when we declared, we declared our restoration of independence, we only - I don't know, maybe I'm wrong, but many of concepts we only copy-paste from outside[rs?]. Yeah?	00:01:05 00:01:38 00:02:12
T	Mmm. [affirming]	00:02:50
Ab	And we never develop...we never develop the systems based on our history, reflection of our past. This is the big problem. So we.../ If you are the minister of education, and your background from Indonesian systems, then you just copy-paste, you just call your friend from your university that you was studied too, to come, to develop ... -/ So, they only bring ... -/ And the Indonesian, they think that Timor-Leste same, like Indonesia. Yeah? Timor-Leste systems, Timor-Leste society, same, like Indonesian systems. They say that <i>culturally</i> we have the same. [But] Yeah, we have the different experience.	00:03:25
T	Mmm. [affirming]	00:03:45
Ab	So, the reflection on this is we never reflect on our experience, we never reflect on our...our history, our culture. And we think that Portuguese culture is better than us. And we minimise or sometimes we...how to call? We think that our culture is subordinate with their culture. So, we got independence, we should like Portuguese style of education...is the only.../ Yeah. For me, Portuguese education system is provide the opportunity to the people to be elite, to be paterna-/...to express the paternalistic things.	00:04:30 00:04:43

A6.3.2 – ‘They should speak community’s language’

Excerpt begins at [00:16:03] in the second recording (NU-I11B).

Cited data include:

- Prof. Ab expressing the expectation that some CDS graduates will become ‘community facilitators’ [00:16:30];
- Prof. Ab describing the appropriate approach to communities that a community development worker should take, including:
 - o ‘They should realise they are outsiders’ [00:16:50];
 - o ‘Do not teach them’ [00:17:55];
 - o ‘They should speak the community’s language [...] adapt to them’ [00:19:40 – 00:21:10]

Speaker	Original	Time stamp
T	So, coming back to the...the communication skill, then. If you see that the main goal of the ... -/ You just said that you hope that students who graduate with the community development licenciatura, they will become community facilitators, is that right?	00:16:03
Ab	Yeah.	
T	So, what does that mean? What is that role?	
Ab	Uh...not many of them. Not all of them. We expect that <i>some</i> of them will be community facilitators. If they go back to their community, they should be community facilitator.	00:16:30
T	So, what is a community facilitator?	
Ab	Community facilitator is...how.../ They should...they should realise they are outsiders. Yeah? They come to the community,	00:16:50
T	Their own community?	
Ab	- their own community or the other community - to *identify* what experiences the community has, what capability the community has, what resource that they has, what problem that they have, they found. So, ask them to think critically, to facilitate them, encourage them, or discuss with them. Yeah? Discuss with them to think that they have capability. But they also have a problem, but they have also the resource. So how they can use the resource...they can use the resource, how they can explore their capability to use the resource that they have to resolve their problem. So ... -/ And who facilitate this? The community facilitator. Do not teach them how they should resolve their problem - no, they have experience! Explore from their experience, not teach them based on your experience. Because your experience may be very, very different with them. And maybe un-useful, yeah? Maybe un-useful. Because your experience acceptable to the other community, or to the other...culture, yeah? So, it's very different. This is ... yeah, this is my expectation.	00:17:18 00:17:55
T	So, you hope that...	00:18:45

Ab	Yeah.	
T	-that...that the *ideal*, the best outcome for community development students is that they will do this kind of work?	
Ab	Yeah.	
T	That's your hope?	
Ab	Yeah.	
T	Of course, that maybe some of them will do other work, but the best outcome is that they do this work.	00:18:57
Ab	Yeah.	
T	Okay. So then now my next question is... I mean, you've sort of already answered this, I think. You've already answered this a little bit.	
Ab	Yeah.	
T	If they need the ability to identify the capabilities and the resources, as <i>well</i> as the problems and the challenges, to get that understanding from the community, and then to facilitate the community to connect the resources and capabilities to solve the problems, like you just said,	
Ab	Mmm [<i>affirming</i>]	
	-What communication skills do they need to be able to do that?	
Ab	They should speak community's language. No, not...it's mean that not verbally they should, if they go to the Ermera they should speak Mambae - no. What I mean is, they should speak [as?] a community's languages, do you know? For example, if they go to the community, they should show their...they can't show their language as students for academic society, yeah? They should adapt themselves to the community, yeah? Yeah?	00:19:40
T	Yep, I understand. Keep going, yeah?	
Ab	Yeah, they should.../ So, I don't think that, or I don't say that if they go to Ermera they should speak Mambae, no. Or Liquica, Tokodede, no. But they should think that they are...they are a part of community. Yeah? They should realise that they are outsider, but they are as part of community. So, they should adapt themselves to the community's situation. Yeah? Not push community to adapt themselves. Adapt to them. Yeah?	00:20:26 00:21:10

A6.3.3 – Prof. Ab explaining his teaching of Freire's different types of consciousness

Excerpt begins at [00:36:40].

Cited data include several points within Prof. Ab's lengthy explanation of how he teaches his students about different kinds of consciousness via discussion with them about the question 'why is someone poor?'

- Prof. Ab's emphasis on dialogue and discussion [00:37:16];
- Examples of students' explanations for why someone is poor categorised as critical consciousness, e.g., 'lack of political power' [00:45:04];

- Examples of students' explanations for why someone is poor categorised as magical consciousness, e.g., 'God punishes him' [00:46:20];
- Examples of students' explanations for why someone is poor categorised as naïve consciousness, e.g., 'he's lazy' [00:46:32];
- Prof. Ab's statement that he deliberately uses students' own words: 'I can internalise the concept to them based on what they describe' [00:46:45].

Speaker	Original	Time stamp
T	I mean, you've just been telling me they have to go, and they have to immerse ... -/ Do you understand 'immerse'?	00:36:40
Ab	Internalise? No, no.	
T	Ah ... immerse means ... I can immerse myself in the ocean.	
Ab	Ah!	
T	Like go fully inside.	
Ab	Ah yeah! Yeah.	
T	They need to go fully inside a community and, like you said, try to understand it from the community's experience, not from their understanding but try to get the community's understanding.	
Ab	And dialogue and ... discuss.	00:37:12
T	In dialogue with the community.	
Ab	Dialogue and discuss.	00:37:16
T	But then, they have to come back to the classroom, and they have to use terms like 'critical consciousness' and 'magical consciousness',	
Ab	Yah.	
T	-and they have to try to apply these community development theories. Even if you use participatory observation methods, even you are using dialogical methods, they are still moving between academic language and an academic way of understanding and communicating,	
Ab	Yeah.	
T	-and a community specific way, whatever that is. So, can you...	
Ab	Ah, some-/	
T	Yeah, what's your thoughts about that?	
Ab	Sometimes, I should use simple ... simple words or simple language or simple explanation to internalise academic, uh, how to call? A concept. For example, uh ... They show the PowerPoint.	00:37:50
T	Yeah	
Ab	I just put an example. In [Nasuka?]. Last year I sent them to Nasuka, Boboro and ... [Kaitehu?]. Three places in Liquica district. Okay? Okay. In Nasuka, they also participated in one cultural ceremony - not the <i>Tara Bandu</i> , but they say, uh: <i>halo lulik</i> ['sacred activity']. I don't know how to explain it. <i>Maun hatene 'halo lulik'</i> ? [Do you understand 'halo lulik'?	

T	<i>Uma lulik hatene. Halo lulik...?</i> ['Sacred house I understand. Sacred activity...?']	00:39:20
Ab	Ya, a little bit the same, yeah, but small ... -/ Sacred house is <i>uma lulik</i> but sacred ceremony is <i>seremoni lulik</i> . So, they come, and they attend this. So, they have a [inaudible] for that they use the chicken -/	
T	Like a chicken sacrifice?	
Ab	Ah. A chicken sacrifice they use. And I ask [the Ss] why they use? And they explain: 'Sira halo ida nee tanba atu harohan ba sira nia oan tanba atu ba eskola.' ['They do this in order to pray for their children to go to school.'] They pray for their...	
T	Their children to be able to go to school?	
Ab	To be able to go to school. Yah. And the other is some of them every day in their family they have a problem, so they pray, they use this to pray, yah like this. And, yeah, they show this. And, uh, when I try to explain what is the magical consciousness, I say that why they don't ask their children to study hard? Yeah? [laughs]	00:40:18
T	Yeah.	
Ab	It's very different! <i>Tanba sa la hatete ba oan: 'O tenki estuda'?</i> 'Tenki estuda para o pase ezamin.' Yeah? ['It's very different! Why don't they say to their children: 'you must study'? 'You must study in order to pass the exam.' Yeah?]	00:41:05
T	Mmm, mmm. [affirming]	
Ab	<i>Entaun</i> , they say that: 'Yeah, because this is <i>sira nia fiar</i> . Their faith.' ['So, they say that: 'Yeah, because this is their faith. Their faith.']	
T	Their beliefs.	
Ab	Their beliefs. Yah. And they believe that if they do like this, and their children will pass. So, I say okay, and I try to use this to explain about magical consciousness.	
T	Okay.	00:41:52
Ab	And naival consciousness, for example. And we make analysis about this, and I put like this [writing on notebook on table]. And I ask them: 'Why is someone poor?' Poor.	
T	Why is someone poor?	
Ab	Yeah. Why someone poor? And one say that: 'Ah, <i>nee maromak ma kastigu. Maromak kastigu.</i> ' ['And one say that: 'Ah, it's God that punishes him. God punishes.'] Do you know <i>maromak kastigu</i> ? Because the God...	00:42:12
T	Put in prison?	
Ab	[laughs] Yeah, put in prison. And [another says]: ' <i>Ou tanba uma lulik ... la halo seremoni uma lulik.</i> ' ['Or because of the sacred house ... they don't do the sacred house ceremony.']	
T	Oh, they didn't do the <i>uma lulik</i> ceremony, yep.	
Ab	Yeah, yeah. Or, ' <i>la lori ai funan ba rate.</i> ' [='They didn't bring flowers to the grave'] [00:42:37] <i>Ou tanba nia kiak tanba nia avoo kiak</i> . His ancestor is poor, so //he is poor, also.// Yeah?	00:42:35

T	//He's poor, also.// There's some truth in that!	
Ab	Yeah! But some say that: 'Why someone poor? Ah, because <i>nia baruk teen</i> .' 'Baruk teen', do you know? [<i>baruk teen</i> = 'lazy body']	
T	No.	
Ab	Lazy man.	
T	Ah, okay.	
Ab	Yeah. <i>Nia Baruk teen</i> . [= 'He's a lazy man.'] He's a ... -/ <i>Hemu hela deit</i> . He's drunk every day.	00:43:05
T	Yeah, yeah.	
Ab	Or: ' <i>Nia baruk tanba</i> ... lack of knowledge, lack of education, lack of information, lack of access to the ... -/ Yeah? To the production or to the mode of production or something like that. But someone say that: 'No, this is about the system, yeah? It's about the political system. What do you mean by 'political system'?	00:43:25
T	A student says this?	
Ab	Yah! [<i>gives student's name</i>] from Los Palos, and [<i>another student's name</i>] - two of them, they say that 'No! Because this is the system.' I say that 'Why? Why you say that? Why you think that this is the system?' And they explain like this: 'This is our structure. We have high class, middle class and lower class. So, we can [count?] - many of people in high class they have good opportunity, big opportunity to have the access to the rich, to the resource of our country. But in the poor level, they don't have access to the resource that we have. Because politically they don't power. Politically they don't have power.	00:43:52
T	This is students' words?	00:45:05
Ab	Yeah!	
T	Students are saying this?	
Ab	Yah. [<i>student name</i>] and [<i>student name</i>].	
T	And they're all from Los Palos?	
Ab	No, no. [<i>student name</i>] from Baucau, I think. They were studying in the Catholic - San Pedro.... Yeah, some of the best.	
T	So, you think that's why maybe they're able to...?	
Ab	Yah. Yah.	
T	-because they've gone to a good school?	
Ab	Yeah, they have a background. Yeah, their high school is a good high school.	00:45:35
T	A good high school? Ah.	
Ab	And I give them discuss. But I put it like this: 1, 2, 3. [<i>drawing up three columns in notebook on table</i>]. This is the example of magical consciousness - the community saying that they [can't? ... <i>inaudible</i>]. And this is the naival consciousness,	
T	Naïve?	
Ab	Naïve! Naïve consciousness. And this is the critical consciousness.	00:46:03
T	So, what examples did you give? You use the students'-	

Ab	Yah.	
T	-answers, explanations about why somebody is poor, to explain the...	
Ab	Yah. <i>Maromak ma kastigu; la ba uma lulik; la ba rate.</i> [‘Yeah. It’s God that punishes; they don’t go to the sacred house; they don’t visit the graves.’]	
T	So that's the magical consciousness?	
Ab	Yeah, the magical consciousness.	00:46:20
T	And then the naïve consciousness?	
Ab	<i>Nia beik, beik teen.</i> [‘They’re lazy, a lazy-body.’]	
T	They're drunk, or they're-	
Ab	Drunk or-	
T	-lazy.	
Ab	-lazy...and stupid.	
T	Right.	00:46:32
Ab	It's naïve consciousness. And [Jay? ...], three of them - this is the critical consciousness. So, I try to simplify. To...how to call? Yeah, to simplify, right? So, I can internalise the concept to them based on what they describe.	00:46:45
T	Yeah.	
Ab	So, they're: 'Oh!' like this. And then they say: 'Why the mentality of the community like this?' here [<i>indicating magical consciousness column in notebook</i>] and I can I try to explain to them why the mentality of dependence is high in the community, because the perspective of outsiders is very naïve perspective. Right? It's very naïve perspective. So, when the outsider intervention approaches, naïve perspective, naïve approach, in the community that's very strong with the magical thinking, it's very complicated to resolve. So, you should think about how to transform or how to facilitate community based on [<i>taps notebook</i>] this. Not based on this but to critical - please think critically about this. This is the situation now. This is the analysis.	00:47:37 00:48:14

A6.3.4 – ‘They [lecturers] do not read, and they barely write’

Excerpt begins at [01:02:10] in the second recording (NU-I11B). Prof. Ab has been explaining how we debriefs with his students in the classroom via dialogue and discussion following their fieldwork visits to communities.

Cited data include Prof. Ab stating that not only students but also lecturers ‘do not read, and barely write’ [01:03:30] and that there’s a ‘really average’ academic culture on campus [01:03:55].

Speaker	Original	Translation	Time stamp
T	So, you know from the dialogue and discussion that they understand, but what about when they have to write a <i>monografia</i> , or what about if they have to write their <i>estagio</i> report? How can they translate? Dialogue and discussion are one thing, but writing...?		01:02:10
Ab	Writing nee Maun. Ohin hau hatete, nee problema. Writing nee problema boot ba estudante hotu-hotu, hau hanoin, iha hau nia departamentu. Estudante *barak* [<i>strong emphasis</i>] hetan problema iha writing. No, ida fali mos ba ... saida? Sira la bele, ohin hau hatete, they can't ... sira la bele hakerek. Sira susar atu hakerek. Sira ideas barak, maibee atu hakerek susar.	Yes, brother, writing. As I said before, it's a problem. Writing is a big problem for all students, I think, in my department. *Many* students find problems in writing. And, another thing to ... what['s the word]? They can't, as I said before, they can't ... they can't write. It's difficult for them to write. They [have] many ideas, but to write [them] is difficult.	01:02:31
T	So, what's the problem there? What's preventing them from translating their ideas to writing?		01:03:03
Ab	Mmm...		
T	Tanba sa la bele?	Why can't they?	
Ab	Hau hanoin tanba ... uh ... kultura. Kultura lee. Kultura lee, no kultura hakerek. Laos iha estudante deit, mais iha dosenti sira mos. Dosenti sira minus lee. Do not read. No minus hakerek. Dosenti hira mak hakerek [<i>inaudible</i>].	I think it's because of the ... uh ... culture. Reading culture. Reading culture and writing culture. It's not just students, but the lecturers as well. The lecturers barely read. Do not read. And barely write. The lecturers' writing is [<i>inaudible</i>].	01:03:15 01:03:30
T	Okay, so there's not a culture of reading or writing.		01:03:40
Ab	Yeah. Yeah.		
T	La iha kultura ...	There's not a culture ...	
Ab	La iha. No iha kultura akademiku iha kampus maiz-ou-menos tebe-tebes.	There isn't. And there's an academic culture on campus [that's] really average.	01:03:56

A6.3.5 – ‘We should negotiate with the other power that’s very strong than us’

Excerpt begins at [01:04:45] in the second recording (NU-I11B). Following on from the previous excerpt, Prof. Ab has been explaining why he thinks that academic culture in Timor-Leste is ‘not developed’. For brevity’s sake, the excerpt below includes summarised parts

where Prof. Ab is telling me about his educational background by way of explanation for how he became a community development studies lecturer.

Cited data includes a shortened version of Prof. Ab's explanation of how foreign actors came to dominate Timor's post-conflict development [01:11:05 – 01:13:20] and that 'the outsider thinks [...] that we are weak' [01:14:15].

Speaker	Original	Time stamp
T	So, why do you choose to be an academic yourself? I mean, why don't you do community development work, educating people in the communities, you know? Why is it important to you to be at the university?	01:04:45
Ab	<i>[Ab tells T that this is related to his background. Says he did his undergraduate degree in Indonesia in the 90s under the Soeharto system, when he didn't have opportunity to read about Marx or Gramsci. Says he learned about these theorists when he joined the Sahe Study Club, connected to the Sahe Institute for Liberation and became a student activist. Says he participated in resistance activities during the Indonesian occupation on campus in Indonesia and this is how he developed his critical lens. When he returned to Timor in the late 90s, he established the Sahe Institute for Liberation NGO (Timor branch). A makes clear that he thinks that 'academic culture' does not produce critical thinking and discussion, dialogue, and activism, but doesn't really answer the question about why he chooses to stay in academia now.]</i>	01:04:58
T	<i>[T asks Ab about his observations of Ss' political activities on campus nowadays. Ab says that there is no group discussion on campus, that the environment is very 'paternalistic'. Says the student association is passive, and students generally are passive. T asks again why Ab stays, given this situation. Ab says this is a good question - it's because he established the CDS department with some of his friends after independence. Ab's response continues below.]</i>	01:09:28
Ab	When we got independence, we realised that in the resistance times we didn't have enough opportunity to think about how to develop, how to...how to build, how to develop Timor-Leste as a state. So, when we got independence, many actors come to Timor-Leste. The actors. Many actors here. The resistance actors, outsider actors. Yeah?	01:11:05
T	Mmm. <i>[affirming]</i>	
Ab	UN, veterans, political parties, World Bank, IMF, ADB - <i>many</i> of them!	
T	Many, many of them. Yeah.	
Ab	And, at that time, we don't have power to decide. At that time. Because we should negotiate with the other power that very strong than us. Yeah? They were very strong than us. So, we... And when we got independence, many of outsider come and think that Timor-Leste is victims, not the hero. Yeah?	01:12:15
T	Mmm. <i>[affirming]</i>	01:12:50
Ab	They don't realise that we stand up, or we make a resistance to the Indonesian army...based on our small resource that we have. Based on our small capability that we have. But we can stand up. We can still resist at that time. But, when outsider come, outsider ignore all of those ... all of the experience that we had. And they come, they think that 'You are the victims! So, we will give you the material like this to build your house. We will give you money. Please clean your house! We will pay you ten...or three dollars a day. Please clean up your street,	01:13:20

	we will pay you three dollars. Because you need money. You are the victims' I say that 'No! We are not the victims, we are the hero!' Yeah? <i>[laughs]</i> So, the perspective - this is about the perspective. The outsider thinks, their perspective, they think that we are <i>weak</i> , we are very <i>weak</i> . They don't think that we have a good experience; that <i>they</i> should develop our country based on what good or strong experience that they have. Yeah?	01:14:15
T	Mmm. <i>[affirming]</i>	
Ab	This is the big problem. So why I still in the campus here? Because I want to say that we <i>should</i> , we should develop our country based on small experience but very strong that we have. How to develop this[?] That's why sometimes my strategy, my perspective is very different with the others. So, I think they should develop theory based on the reality, not just read the theory in the books and teach students, teach the students, and ask student to clarify this theory: it's true or no. <i>[laughs]</i> Yeah? You should develop theory based on your experience! And you can! [...] The problem is how to document those experiences. Yeah?	01:15:31
T	Mmm. <i>[affirming]</i>	
Ab	If we can't, if the students are very weak on writing, we can develop the other, for example audio. Yeah? The audio. We can document, audiovisual document of the experience. This is important. But ... I don't know. I'm ... <i>[laughs]</i> Community Development. Because if, the community, we ask them to read the book, they <i>[laughs]</i> don't want to read. But if we show them the film, they will enjoy to watch [it]. Rather than ask them to read the book. But, from my perspective, the writing is also important.	01:15:58 01:16:20 01:16:50

A6.3.6 – Prof. Ab on the translation of ‘naïve consciousness’

Excerpt begins at [01:21:15] in the second recording (NU-I11B). Prof. Ab has been telling T about problems with students’ writing, especially their poor spelling and orthography in Tetun. For brevity’s sake, some parts of the discussion shown in this excerpt have been summarised.

Cited data includes Prof. Ab’s explanation that the translation of ‘naïve consciousness’ to Tetun is difficult, so they can ‘mix’ loans from both Portuguese and English [01:24:25].

Speaker	Original	Time stamp
T/Ab	<i>[T confirms again with Ab that the policy now is for all students to write in Tetun. T asks whether any students ever submit any in Bahasa or Portuguese or English. Ab says no.]</i>	01:21:15
T	Okay. So, about the Tetun, <i>[T tells A that other lecturers have said that the problem with writing in Tetun is that it is not a 'developed' language.]</i>	01:21:35
Ab	First, I agree with you. The second...	

T	It's not my opinion! <i>[laughs]</i> It's other people's opinion.	
Ab	Okay, I agree. But, the problem is, if we push them to write down in Indonesian they don't understand. If we push them to write down in Portuguese they also have a problem because of the language. So, that's why we ask them to try to write down in Tetun...as possible as they can.	
T	<i>[T points out that English has not always been an academic language and needed to borrow from German and Latin, the earlier languages of academia, when becoming an academic language. T suggests that this same process of intellectualisation is happening now with Tetun and therefore he doesn't agree with the idea that the problem is with Tetun as a language.]</i>	01:22:50
Ab	That's why, in ... in monografia, if they have difficulties to translate the concepts or the terms into Tetun they can borrow. They can ... they can use the other languages that they can, but they should use italics, they should write in italics. Yeah. So, they can do this. Or ... or if they have a concept that very difficult to translate into Tetun, they can write in ... -/ For example, 'naïve consciousness' <i>[laughs]</i>	01:23:22 01:23:58
T	Naïve consciousness!	
Ab	Naïve! How to translate naïve to Tetun? <i>[laughs]</i> It's very difficult!	01:24:15
T	Yes ...	
Ab	Consciousness we can translate. We can borrow from <i>consciência</i> , in the Portuguese. But naïve is very difficult. Yeah? So, they can mix. But they should make sure that they write it and they understand.	01:24:25
T	So, what do they pick? <i>Consciência</i> ...naïve?	01:24:38
Ab	<i>Consciência</i> naïve. [/konsiensia naiv?]	
T	So, they mix Portuguese and English?	
	Yeah. <i>Konsiensia majika, konsiensia naiv, konsiensia kritiku.</i> <i>[Note that Ab is listing all three terms in the set of terms and the third with 'kritiku' signals a Tetunisation of the Portuguese loan (the clear 'u' sound at the end), I therefore assume that Ab is voicing all of these terms in their Tetun forms, hence the Tetun spelling]</i>	01:24:51

A6.3.7 – Prof. Ab on the problem of lecturers' supervision of students' writing

Excerpt begins at [01:31:30] in the second recording (NU-I11B). Following on from the previous excerpt, Prof. Ab has been explaining how students often struggle to translate pivotal concepts in their writing, and that they confuse the process of writing a translation with the process of writing a definition.

Cited data includes a summarised version of Prof. Ab's comments on the 'big problem' of lecturers not knowing how to supervise students in their writing [01:32:00 – 01:33:20].

Speaker	Original	Time stamp
Ab	But, sometimes, many of them just translate and they think that the translation is the definition!	01:31:30
T	Right.	01:31:38
Ab	[laughs] Yah? So, the translation is very different with the definition.	
T	Ah. Okay.	
Ab	Yah. And this is the problem also about how to ... how to <i>orient</i> . Yeah?	
T	How to supervise?	
Ab	How to supervise. This is the problem also. So, I don't want to say that, I don't want to blame only to the students, yeah? We also have a problem about the supervisors. Many, yeah, I think many of us, we don't...we don't think seriously about how to make a good supervision to the students. This is the big problem of us.	01:32:00
	[Pause, 10 seconds. T asks if he can ask one more general question.]	01:32:28
Ab	Sorry - and the other problem also is-	
T	Oh. Yeah?	
Ab	Many of us, other lecturers, we don't have good experience on writing. [laughs] That's why we can't make good supervising [tools?], yeah? To supervise them. If we don't have a good experience on writing, or we don't have writing experiences, we can't make a good supervisor also. Yeah? To supervise them. Here is the problem. So, not only [are] the students [a] problem, but the lecturers [are a] problem also.	01:32:45 01:33:20
T	I think also surely time, right?	
Ab	Yeah, time also.	01:33:30

A6.3.8 – ‘This is not about the multi languages’

Excerpt begins at [01:38:55] in the second recording (NU-I11B).

Cited data include:

- Prof. Ab's assertion that the problem is not 'multi languages' but, rather, a lack of clear institutional policy or 'strategy' [01:39:25 – 01:40:45];
- Prof. Ab describing the repetitious, unhelpful nature of the Portuguese classes he is required to attend at NU [01:41:45].

Speaker	Original	Time stamp
T	One more question. About multilingualism. Many people believe that multilingualism, especially in higher education, is a problem. What do you think about this? I mean, other people say that multilingualism is a resource, is a strong thing, is a good thing for education. So, ... ?	01:38:55
Ab	In one part, this ... this is not right. But, in the one part it's not true.	01:39:20

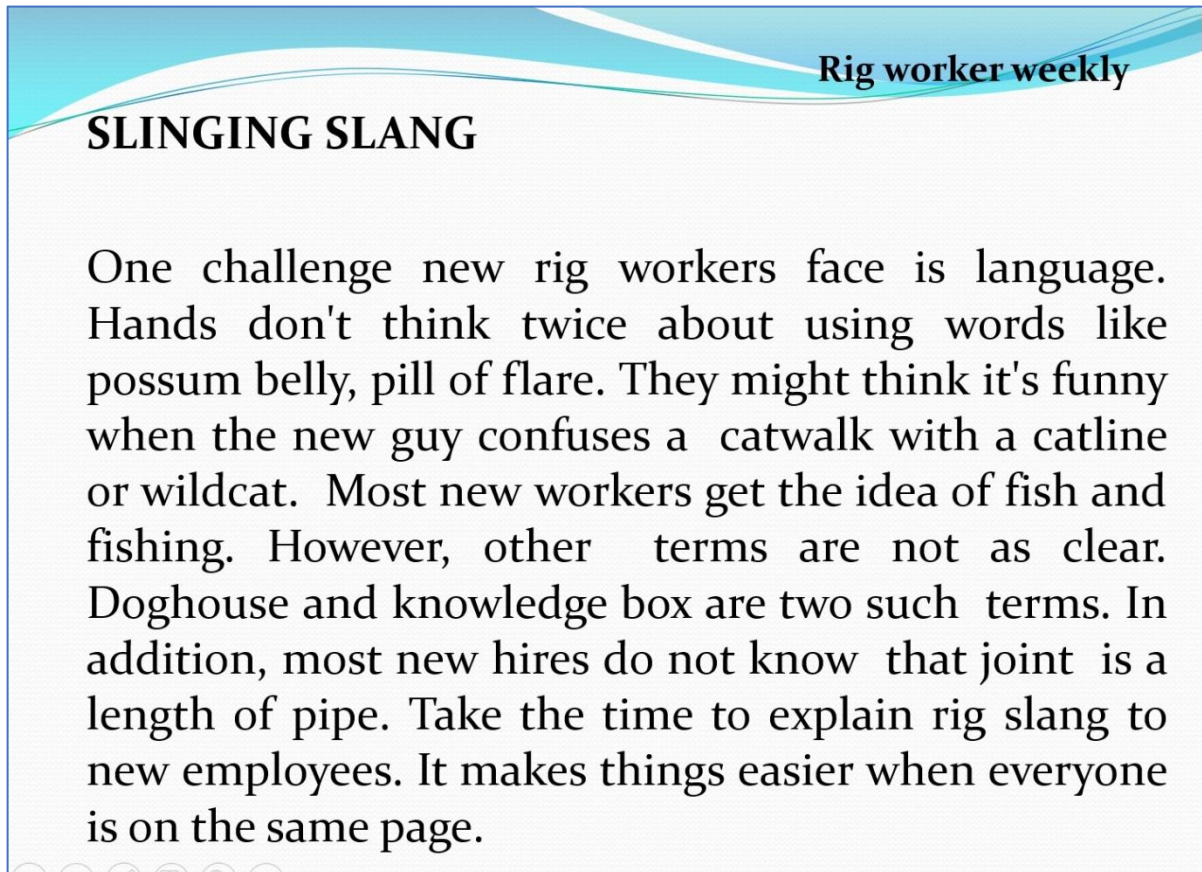
	[pause, 3 seconds] This is not about the multi languages. You can use multi languages, because multi languages is good. So, give...give to the...-/ If we have multi languages in the school, its mean that we should create also the condition. We should create the <i>systems</i> so the students can...can absorb. The students can adapt themselves. Yeah? Do not leave them...like uh, how to call? We just say that 'Ah, Portuguese is our national language, Tetun is our national language, English and Bahasa Indonesia is our wor-/ administration languages.' But we don't have a policy, we don't have a strategy to introduce this, or to engage students, or to link the students on this. This is the problem. So, not about the languages.	01:39:25
T	The systematic-	01:40:45
Ab	The system!	
T	-systematic teaching of the languages?	
Ab	Systematic teaching. [laughing] Do you know I was attending Portuguese school from 2002 until now? [laughs]	
T	Attending a Portuguese course?	
Ab	Portuguese course. But <i>every</i> day,	
T	Thirteen years?!	
Ab	Yah! But, do you know that every year, when I come to the class, the teacher, Portuguese teacher from Portuguese or from Brazil come and say that '<i>Bondia. Eu chamo me...</i>' ['Good day. My name is...']. So, we only learn '<i>Eu chamo me</i>', [other phrase, inaudible]. They don't have the syllabus, they don't have a model. So, we can't evaluate our progress because the ... the syllabus, the model is still the same every year! [laughs] And, do you know, I don't have...clearly information about how much budget they put on...on the Portuguese languages development, but I think that we spend a <i>lot</i> of money on this but we don't...we don't...now we don't know what the progress of this, the impact or...yeah, the progress. We spend a lot of money, but we don't know the progress. Until now, since two thousand and...ten? 2010 or 2008, they say that we should use Portuguese. But... And they spend a lot of money...for this. But the progress...is still stagnant. No progress. It's a problem. So, if the government, if we're serious to introduce or to use Portuguese, if we want to use Portuguese, okay we should have a policy, strong policy, a strategy - how to introduce, how to use, how to develop. What resource we have and how to develop the resource to implement this. Yeah? Many of Timorese lecturers, they went to the Portugal for their Masters, their PhD, but when they back from Portugal they still attend the Portuguese language course in the same level, with the other students that never go to Portugal. Three or four years there, their Portuguese undeveloped. [laughs] Yeah?	01:41:30 01:41:45 01:42:23 01:42:58 01:44:16

Appendix 7: Supplementary data

A7.1 Sample PowerPoint slides provided by participants

A7.1.1 - Sample slide from an observed 'English for Petroleum' class at TTC

Observation date: 20th September, 2015



Rig worker weekly

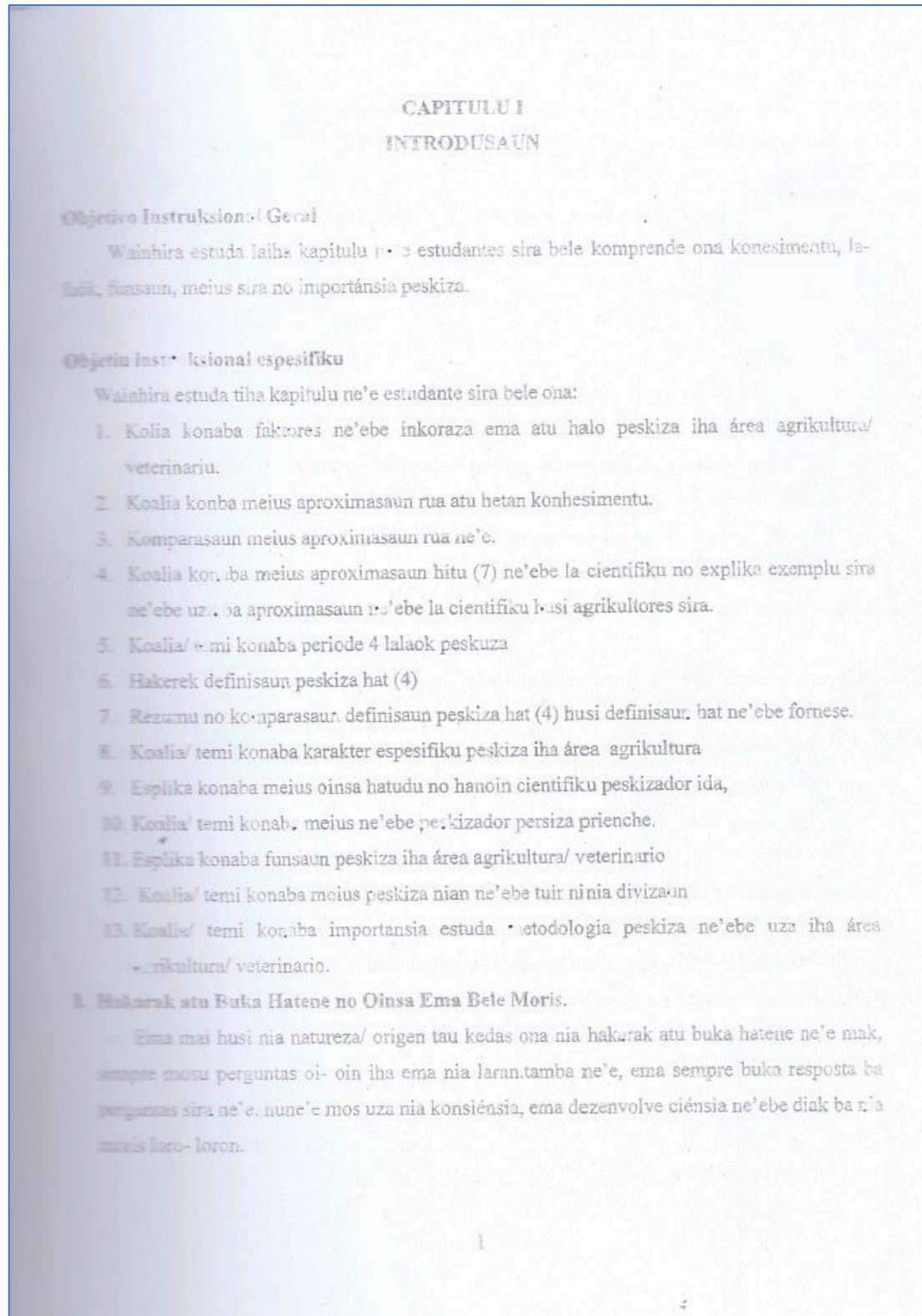
SLINGING SLANG

One challenge new rig workers face is language. Hands don't think twice about using words like possum belly, pill of flare. They might think it's funny when the new guy confuses a catwalk with a catline or wildcat. Most new workers get the idea of fish and fishing. However, other terms are not as clear. Doghouse and knowledge box are two such terms. In addition, most new hires do not know that joint is a length of pipe. Take the time to explain rig slang to new employees. It makes things easier when everyone is on the same page.

A7.2 Sample pages from thesis writing guides in three languages

A7.2.1 – Introductory page from a thesis writing guide in Tetun

NB: This is the original Tetun version of the thesis writing guide produced by Prof. X, research methods teacher in the agriculture faculty at NU. This version was produced in 2004.



A7.2.2 – Introductory page from a thesis writing guide in Indonesian

NB: This is the Indonesian version of the thesis writing guide produced by Prof. X, research methods teacher in the agriculture faculty at NU. This version was produced in 2011.

KATA PENGANTAR

Para mahasiswa sekarang dapat berbanga hati karena sekarang dikembangkan perangkat belajar yang baik dan dapat digunakan secara mandiri. Tujuan utama tersusnya Diktat Kuliah ini adalah untuk mengurangi ketergantungan mahasiswa pada dosen sebagai nara sumber utama. Meskipun demikian, ini barulah langkah awal. Mahasiswa dapat menggunakan diktat ini dengan manfaat yang maksimal bila memperhatikan beberapa hal berikut : pertama, dalam diktat ini disediakan beberapa petunjuk yang akan sangat berguna bila diperhatikan . Tujuan Instruksional merupakan petunjuk mengenai apa yang akan diajarkan dan ketrampilan apa yang diharapkan akan diperoleh atau diukur. Petunjuk untuk mahasiswa menjelaskan bagaimana sebaiknya mahasiswa dapat mengatur strategi belajarnya. Kedua, untuk mengetahui tingkat penguasaan materi. Ketiga, diktat ini disusun hanya berisi informasi minimal yang harus dikuasai mahasiswa. Dengan demikian mahasiswa dianjurkan untuk menambah pengetahuannya sendiri lewat sumber-sumber lain. Keempat, mahasiswa dianjurkan agar membaca tiap pokok bahasan sebelum tatap muka (waktu kuliah). Dengan demikian, waktu tatap muka dapat dipakai untuk menjelaskan hal-hal yang belum dipahami betul. Sealin itu juga, waktu dalam kelas juga baik sekali digunakan untuk pembahasan yang lebih kritis dalam diskusi.

Semoga diktat kuliah ini dapat bermanfaat bagi para mahasiswa yang memerlukannya.

Dili, Januari 2011

Penyusun

NB: This is the thesis writing guide produced by the Portuguese teacher from Senegal who visited the NU agriculture faculty from 2015 to 2016. This version was produced in 2015.

INTRODUÇÃO

Todos os trabalhos académicos são monográficos e devem ser feitos sob a supervisão de um orientador. As monografias constituem o produto de leituras, observações, investigações, reflexões e críticas desenvolvidas nos cursos de graduação e pós-graduação. A sua principal característica é a abordagem de um tema único (“monos” = um só e “graphein” = escrever).

Os trabalhos de conclusão de curso, seja de graduação, especialização e/ou aperfeiçoamento, chamados geralmente de monografias são documentos que exibem o resultado de um estudo emanado da disciplina, módulo, estudo independente, curso, programa e outros ministrados.

A redação de trabalhos académicos segue um conjunto de regras e procedimentos que variam de uma instituição para outra. Entre os vários procedimentos e regras relativos à apresentação de trabalhos científicos, procurou-se seguir diversas orientações tais como a Norma Portuguesa (NP 405), a Associação Brasileira de Normas Técnica (ABNT, 2003), a Norma APA (American Psychological Association), as Normas Internacionais de Vancouver entre outros.

Este manual de monografia é composto de duas partes: externa e interna, as quais contêm elementos obrigatórios e opcionais, dispostos na ordem a seguir:

Parte externa: capa (obrigatório) e lombada (opcional)

Parte interna: constituída por:

- **elementos pré-textuais** que antecedem o texto com informações que ajudam na identificação e utilização do trabalho.
- **elementos textuais** que formam a parte em que é exposto o conteúdo do trabalho.
- **elementos pós-textuais** que sucedem o texto e complementam o trabalho.
- **diretrizes para a padronização do trabalho científico.**

A7.3 Sample assessment criteria and marking rubrics

A7.3.1 – Copy of assessment criteria used for agriculture student oral thesis defence

Page 1:

Thursday, 28-8- 2015

Nama:

Judul: Pengaruh ppencucian Telur terhadap Daya Tetas dan Fertilitas Telur Ayam Kampung

Pembimbing :

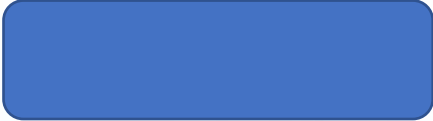
Penguji :

Tanggal: 31 Agustus 2015

Saran dan Pertanyaan

No	Pertanyaan dan Saran	Nilai/ Tanggapan Mahasiswa
1	Penelitian ini sama dengan penelitian sdri. Ines Soares de Jesus? Bedanya dimana? Nama: Judul: Pengaruh ppencucian Telur terhadap Daya Tetas dan Fertilitas Telur Ayam Kampung Pembimbing : Penguji : Tanggal: 1 Juni 2015 Jangan mulai kalimat dengan AKAN – DAN ini adalah kata sambung Halaman 8 alkohol....(28oC – 28oC) Ada kalimat2 yang tdk selesai, sehingga tidak berarti (hal 10)	
2	Berapa macam cara penetasan yang anda ketahui?	
3	Apa arti fumikasi dan apa fungsinya?	
4	Jelaskan taxonomi unggas	
5	Sebutkan bagian struktur telur	

1




Thursday, 28-8-2015

6.	Apa yang harus dipertimbangkan dalam memilih telur tetas? Bedanya dengan telur dimakan?	
7	Apa itu daya tetas telur? Kalau anda punya telur 87 butir dengan daya tetas 76% itu artinya apa? Bagaimana mengukur fertilitas telur? Apa guna telur infertil?	
8	Apa beda fertilitas dan daya tetas telur?	
9	Mengapa penelitian ini penting?	
10	Bagaimana anda mengatur temperatur dalam mesin tetas? Apa yang dijadikan patokan untuk mengukur suhu tersebut?	
11	Bagaimana anda mengeahui alkohol dengan kadar 40, 60, 70 dan 90 %? Bagaimana cara mengencerkan larutan untuk mencapai molalitas atau tingkat leenceran dalam penelitian ini?	
12	Pada suhu berapa telur mulai retak kerabangnya? Di hari keberapa?	

A7.4 Excerpts from TTC-I10, an interview with Prof. Lu

Date: 8th February, 2017

Participants:

Lu	Prof. Lu, lecturer in the TTC English department; 'English for petroleum' lecturer
T	Trent Newman, interviewer/researcher

Notes:

This interview was conducted on my follow-up visit to my research sites in February 2017. Prof. Lu had told me earlier in an unrecorded conversation about her difficulties with facilitating English conversation role plays set on offshore oil rigs. She agreed to revisit the conversation in a recorded interview.

A7.4.1 – Prof. Lu on the challenges of facilitating English role plays set on offshore oil rigs

Excerpt begins at the start of the recording. Recording begins with Lu and T already speaking. T prompts Lu to repeat what she has just told him about the challenges of teaching with role plays in her English for Petroleum classes.

Cited data include:

- Prof. Lu explaining how she uses videos to show students the context for the role plays, asking students to 'imagine' that it is Bayu Undan [00:40:00];
- Prof. Lu explaining that 'sometimes they [students] stop to ask you about the situation' and she struggles to help them because neither she nor her students have been to offshore oil rigs [00:01:14 – 00:01:30].

Speaker	Original	Time stamp
Lu	So first we explain the situation: 'Okay, imagine that you are in Bayu Undan.' We try to explain the situation,	00:00:00
T	//Some emergency happens//	
Lu	//And then, after that,// they don't understand. They don't understand. Maybe because of the situation and maybe also because of the language that we use. [That] Teachers use. So we try to download videos to watch. And then the videos is not about Bayu Undan, but we will tell them that: 'Okay, just imagine that this is Bayu Undan, and then just look at the situation.'	00:00:35 00:00:40

T	Right.	
Lu	Okay, and then, after that, they watch the videos and we stop the videos, and then we tell them to try. So, when they are trying, sometimes they stop to ask you about the situation or about the words they don't know in English. And then, sometimes, we have to help them.	00:01:14
	Okay.	
Lu	And, like I said before, it's very hard to imagine the situation because of the teachers and also the students - both haven't been to these places.	00:01:20
T	Yeah.	
Lu	Places or the situation - they haven't experienced this before.	00:01:32

A7.4.2 – Prof. Lu on the recent changes to the English for petroleum curriculum

Excerpt begins at [00:09:27].

Cited data is Prof. Lu explaining that there used to be more opportunities for students to practice communicative English in role plays but the petroleum faculty cut some of the English for petroleum subjects [00:10:10].

Speaker	Original	Time stamp
T	The reason I'm asking about role plays especially is because when I was talking to the petroleum faculty that's what they said is most important, you know, that the students need to be able to communicate in the industry context.	00:09:27
Lu	Yeah.	00:09:40
T	So, I think, okay, well where are they getting those skills? They're not practicing those skills in the petroleum lectures, so they have to be practicing them in the ESP classes.	
Lu	But, before, when they had this, then they would go to another textbook. But I don't think this one. English 4. I mean English 4.	00:09:50
T	There was an English 4 for petroleum but now they don't have that class anymore?	00:10:02
Lu	Yeah. So they could practice more about role play and other activities.	00:10:10
T	But they cancelled that class?	
Lu	Yeah. It was from petroleum. They told us that "No more English 4."	00:10:18
T	And you don't know why?	
Lu	No. Maybe [<i>names the head of the English dept.</i>] knew about this. Because he was here when they cancelled, when they took out the subject.	00:10:32